

Shouldering the Burden of Militarisation

SPDC, DKBA and KPF order documents and forced labour since September 2006



Karen Human Rights Group
Documenting the voices of villagers in rural Burma

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Cover photo: People in Kwih T'Ma village (Dweh Loh Township, southwestern Papun district) assemble a bamboo raft on May 12th 2006 to transport 250 lengths of giant bamboo down the Bilin River to the SPDC Infantry Battalion #30 camp at Wa Mu. The camp officers demanded the bamboo allegedly to repair the camp buildings, but possibly to sell for personal profit. The villagers were paid nothing. Wa Mu camp regularly issues such demands for bamboo and thatch. *[Photos: KHRG]*

The Karen Human Rights Group (KHRG) was founded in 1992 and documents the situation of villagers and townspeople in rural Burma through their direct testimonies, supported by photographic and other evidence. KHRG operates completely independently and is not affiliated with any political or other organisation. Examples of our work can be seen on the World Wide Web at www.khrg.org, or printed copies may be obtained subject to approval and availability by sending a request to khrg@khrg.org.

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Abstract

Forced labour continues to be among the most pervasive of human rights abuses in Burma and a leading cause of displacement, both internally and as refugees into neighbouring countries. Villagers living in Karen State have expressly condemned the regular, and in many cases daily, demands for forced labour imposed upon them. According to these individuals forced labour has led to collapsing livelihoods, increased poverty and severe difficulties in addressing health, education and other community needs; leading them to respond with varied strategies including flight and displacement. Such views have been consistent in thousands of KHRG interviews with local villagers conducted over the past 15 years. Despite these testimonies the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), the military regime currently ruling Burma, continues to deny the practice of forced labour. However, order documents explicitly demanding forced labour and signed by SPDC officers are regularly collected by KHRG field researchers working throughout Karen State. These documents provide tangible evidence of the continued large-scale perpetration of forced labour in Karen State by military officers and civilian officials of the SPDC, the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army and the Karen Peace Force. This report has been written to provide contextual details on the widespread and systematic perpetration of forced labour as background to a compendium of 145 order documents sent to villages in Karen State since September 2006, translations of which are included in the appendices below. These order documents have been compiled for submission to the International Labour Organisation's Committee of Experts meeting in September 2007.

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I. Introduction and executive summary

“Tatmadaw¹ men are doing everything in accordance with laws and rules. Transportation of materials and construction of buildings are made through tender system [sic] by paying charges. Forced labour is never used.”

- Brig-Gen Kyaw Hsan, SPDC Minister for Information (June 2006)²

“The length of Mother’s [the village head’s] section of the vehicle road that has been designated must be finished rebuilding today and then a set tha³ must report to K--- Camp. This is to inform you.”

- Text from an SPDC forced labour order document (November 2006)⁴

Forced labour continues to be among the most pervasive of human rights abuses in Burma and a leading cause of displacement and the movement of refugees into neighbouring countries. Nevertheless, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), the military regime currently ruling Burma, continues to deny that the practice exists. In the face of official statements to the contrary, villagers throughout Karen State speak of ongoing coerced and uncompensated labour so prevalent that it undermines their very lives and livelihoods. By consuming their time and resources, forced labour exacerbates poverty and aggravates the overall humanitarian crisis in Karen State. These adverse consequences compound with the physical exertion, threats and abuse of individual incidents of forced labour to create a pervasive climate of insecurity. This situation is not solely prevalent in areas under direct or partial SPDC control. Villagers living in ceasefire areas controlled by the SPDC-allied military groups, the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) and the Karen Peace Force (KPF; also known in Burmese as *Nyein Chan Yay*), report similar demands for forced labour. Villagers’ testimonies about forced labour are supported by order documents issued by these groups which KHRG field researchers have collected in large numbers (see Appendices).

A deeper understanding of the role of coerced uncompensated civilian labour requires that it be seen within the broader context of military rule. As a widespread and systematic abuse, forced labour is crucial to the ongoing militarisation of Karen State and other, especially rural, areas of the country. The SPDC has sought to rapidly expand its military presence in Karen State beyond what can be supported by the resources allocated. Following a practice where outlying military units must “live off the land”⁵ it has become necessary for the Army to access alternative means of support in order to feed troops and maintain operations. This requirement has led to a heavy dependence on local civilian forced labour alongside the regular extortion of money, food and other supplies. Local-level military corruption leads to further demands for civilian forced labour as entrepreneurial officers, fully aware of the climate of impunity within which they operate, exploit such labour for personal aggrandisement.

Awareness of the essential role of coerced uncompensated civilian labour in the ongoing occupation and militarisation of Karen State sheds light on the reasons behind the SPDC’s

¹ *Tatmadaw* is a Burmese language term which the SPDC, and most civilians, apply in reference to the official State Army.

² “Government has always been opening the door for peace talks Not only people, even its party members do not believe in NLD any longer and resign as membership of their own volition,” *New Light of Myanmar*, June 11th 2006. Accessed at www.myanmar.com/press_conference/2006/11-6g.html on June 18th 2007.

³ A Burmese term for forced labour typically as a messenger to and from army camps.

⁴ The translated text of this order document is included below as Order #11 in Appendix #1.

⁵ “Burmese Troops ‘Live off the Land,’” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 18, 2000. Accessed at <http://www.burmalibrary.org/reg.burma/archives/200005/msg00024.html> on July 3rd 2007.

consistent denials of this practice and lack of political will in taking appropriate measures, such as legal action against military perpetrators, to eliminate it. Were efforts to eradicate forced labour successful and the abuse to stop in Burma, many SPDC military units, especially those active in rural non-Burman majority upland areas, would be forced to cut back their operations, if not withdraw completely.

Given the military's heavy dependence on forced labour, incidents of this abuse are not primarily the isolated acts of low-level renegade officials. Rather, they form an integral component to the nation-wide system of militarisation. This dependency, furthermore, points to the reasons behind much of the forced relocation of dispersed rural villagers into consolidated population centres more firmly under the authority of the SPDC Army. Where civilians are not under military control, the possibilities for forced labour and general exploitation are severely limited as villagers retain greater options and avenues to evade such abuse. In contrast, the confinement of civilians to military-controlled villages and relocation sites located near to SPDC bases creates a ready pool of exploitable labour; one with fewer options for avoiding such work.

In response to ubiquitous forced labour demands, local people have employed, often successfully, varied resistance strategies aimed at minimising this work or even avoiding it altogether. The extent to which local villagers strive to circumvent this abuse is suggestive of how pervasive and damaging forced labour is to local communities. As forced labour is a regular, in some cases daily, abuse village-level resistance is crucial to maintaining livelihoods, protecting individual, family and community welfare and upholding personal dignity. Resistance strategies which villagers in Karen State have employed include, among others, understating village populations to garner reduced worker quotas, appealing to local officers or paying small bribes for a reduction in demands, foot-dragging and shoddy workmanship on forced labour projects and flight and displacement to evade forced labour altogether. As such resistance reduces forced labour it undermines the strength of the Army and thus the SPDC's capacity to support its expanding militarisation over the entirety of Karen State. Those who evade or attempt to evade forced labour are thus perceived as a threat to the military system, deemed enemies of the State, targeted as such and hunted down.

The insidiousness of forced labour can be difficult to grasp for those unfamiliar with the situation and brought up in more prosperous and less oppressive settings. The abuse lacks the sensational ring of rape, torture and mass killings yet the implications on the lives of tens of millions of people across Burma are nonetheless atrocious. As a form of intermittent slavery, forced labour involves harassment, threats and physical abuse; undermines the livelihoods of whole communities leading to complete collapses of village economies; creates large-scale displacement and refugee flows; and functions to support the structures of military power which continue to violently persecute, imprison, torture and kill the civilian population of Burma. This report attempts to shed light on the context of forced labour in Burma and sketch some of the implications of this abuse for the lives and livelihoods of the civilians upon whom it is enforced.

The report has been written as background to a set of 145 order documents which SPDC, DKBA and KPF personnel have sent to villages in Karen State since September 2006. English language translations of the documents are included in full in the appendices below. These orders give a firsthand glimpse of the daily pressure of military demands for labour and supplies enforced on villages throughout Karen State. The documents have been compiled for submission to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Committee of Experts in time for its annual meeting in Geneva in September 2007 where it attempts to address the Burmese military regime's non-compliance with its obligations under the 1930 Forced Labour Convention. The order documents included in this report have been limited to those composed since September 2006, when ILO Committee of Experts last met, in

order to illustrate the immediacy of this abuse. However, the information included here is overwhelmingly consistent with what villagers have been saying in interviews with KHRG for the past 15 years.

Out of the total 145 order documents included in this report SPDC officials wrote 97; the DKBA another 41 and the KPF 3. This leaves 4 documents for which the sender is not clear, although their place of origin suggests that they are SPDC orders. These 145 orders have their source in Papun, Pa'an, Thaton and Doolaya Districts. As an illustration of life in Karen State under military rule, 20 of the SPDC order documents included below as well as another from the DKBA were sent to a single village in Thaton District over a period of only three and a half months from September 13th 2006 to January 7th 2007 (see Appendix 1).

The SPDC order documents included in this report cover a range of demands, almost all of which entail some amount of uncompensated forced labour (as will be explained below). These demands include (with examples in brackets) forced purchases of seeds, calendars, rice and hand tractors (Orders #51 and #57); participation in regular and impromptu meetings with SPDC personnel (#73 - #104); requirements to organise dance teams and other entertainment for festivals (#31); extortion of money, food and supplies (#59); manufacture and delivery of thatch shingles and bamboo poles (#48); work as "*set tha*" [messenger duty] (#14); "*loh ah pay*" [general forced labour] on roads and other construction (#12); provision of information (#64); registration of village leaders and submission of their biographies (#65); documentation of all 'illegal emigrants' (#62); restrictions on movement (#66); forced donations to monks and monasteries (#52); the clearing of brush from around villages (#26); construction of homes for members of ceasefire group, the Karen National Union / Karen National Liberation Army Peace Council (KNU-KNLA PC), at Toh Kaw Ko (#36); recruitment into the Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association (MMCWA) (#69); work on agriculture projects (#37) and various duties imposed as part of the local Village Peace and Development Council (VPDC) administration (#39). Orders from DKBA personnel included below cover demands for villagers to attend meetings (#132-#142); to prepare and send thatch (#116-118), bamboo (#115), rice (#125) and betelnut (#122; #123); to engage in *loh ah pay* (#111); to pay arbitrary 'taxes' (#124); to work on agricultural projects (#109); to purchase calendars (#126); to serve as 'military staff' (#129-#131), to participate in football tournaments (#22; #23); and to make donations to monks and monasteries (#30). Other DKBA order documents decree restrictions on trade (#128) and the operation of saw mills (#127). Documents from the KPF include orders to attend meetings, labour on agricultural projects, and give hand tractors to KPF personnel (#143 - #145). In many of these order documents the demand for forced labour is direct, as for example when ordering villagers to build roads, fences or buildings. In other documents, however, the demand for forced labour is indirect, as when ordering items which must be fabricated or money, information and supplies which must be delivered. Overall the variety of demands evident in the sample of orders included here – which represent but a fraction of all those disseminated annually across Karen State – illustrate the systematic character of forced labour as an integral component to the ongoing militarisation of the region.

Prior to presenting the translations of the order documents themselves, the body of this report elaborates on the context in which military forces dispatch such written demands. Following the introduction and executive summary, this report contains two sections addressing the evolving manner in which the military regime requisitions forced labour; specifically through the increasing regimentation of village life and the shift in language use within the order documents themselves. The report then describes common types of forced labour, treatment of civilians during this work, the implications of forced labour on livelihoods, health and general welfare for the affected population and the strategies which civilians employ to resist this abuse. Following this, the report briefly surveys Burma's relationship with the ILO on the issue of forced labour and the legal framework applicable to the perpetration of this abuse by SPDC personnel.

Given the central role of forced labour within the SPDC's overall efforts at militarisation, the eradication of this practice requires that a clear signal be sent that military status will provide no immunity from punishment. The superficial measures which the regime has so far implemented are grossly insufficient for severing the root causes of this abuse. In order to end forced labour, *military officers* – the main perpetrators of this abuse – must be tried, convicted, stripped of their rank and imprisoned for demanding it. So far the SPDC has been unwilling to do this; restricting the small number of permitted legal cases to those brought against civilian officials while furthermore using such local-level civilian officials as scapegoats for the larger system of military forced labour. The reasons for this are quite clear when seen in the light of the military's extensive reliance on this abuse in its ongoing efforts to extend militarisation and subjugate the civilian population.

Notes on the text

This report has been compiled as a general outline providing information on the usage, scale, and context of forced labour in Burma. The text of the report should be read in conjunction with the 145 order documents included in the appendices below. These order documents have been compiled for submission to the International Labour Organisation's Committee of Experts (on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations) in time for their annual meeting in September 2007 where they will examine the Burmese regime's non-compliance with the 1930 Forced Labour Convention. This report draws on the testimony of villagers living throughout Karen State in order to illustrate the widespread and systematic nature of forced labour and provide further details of its perpetration.

While the SPDC's exploitation of convicts from across Burma for service as military porters comprises one particularly heinous form of forced labour, this report does not examine this particular abuse in detail as it falls outside the bounds of the civilian labour demanded in the printed order documents on which the body of this report is focused. Further information and testimonies on the subject of the SPDC's abuse of convict porters can be found in *Less than Human: Convict Porters in the 2005-2006 northern Karen State offensive* (KHRG, August 2006) as well as in other KHRG reports and bulletins.

Many of the place names mentioned in the report are indicated on the accompanying maps. Most districts, townships, villages and rivers have both a Karen and Burmese name. We have tried to be consistent throughout this report and favour the names preferred by local people. While districts are identified with Burmese names, their boundaries follow Karen designations as used by local people and the Karen National Union (KNU) but not the SPDC. Under SPDC designations, sections of western Nyaunglebin and Toungoo Districts fall within eastern Pegu (Bago) Division, while western Thaton and Dooplaya Districts form part of Mon State. Karen and Burmese names transliterated into English follow KHRG standards and may deviate from those used by other organisations as no convention has been universally adopted. Please note that KHRG revised our transliteration rules in 2006 to make them more consistent and accurate, causing the spelling of many place names to change in our reports.

Terms and abbreviations

BSPP	Burma Socialist Programme Party
DKBA	Democratic Karen Buddhist Army; an armed group allied with the SPDC
DPDC	District Peace and Development Council
IB	Infantry Battalion
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KNLA	Karen National Liberation Army
KNU	Karen National Union
KNU-KNLA PC	Karen National Union / Karen National Liberation Army Peace Council
KPF	Karen Peace Force (<i>Nyein Chan Yay</i> in Burmese); ex-KNLA 16 th Battalion which agreed to a ceasefire in 1997 and has since been allied with the SPDC
LIB	Light Infantry Battalion
MMCWA	Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association
MWAF	Myanmar Women's Affairs Federation
SPDC	State Peace and Development Council
TPDC	Township Peace and Development Council
VPDC	Village Peace and Development Council
<i>kyat</i>	Burmese currency; US \$1 equals 5.8 kyat at official rate, approx. 1300 kyat at current market rate
<i>loh ah pay</i>	Forced labour; a Burmese term traditionally referring to voluntary service for temples or the local community, but not military or state projects
<i>set tha</i>	A Burmese term for forced labour as a messenger at army camps, but also involving other tasks when no messages are in need of delivery
<i>Sd.</i>	Denotes the signature of the relevant official at the end of a given order document.





II. Streamlining forced labour

“The SPDC army forced the villagers to construct the vehicle road between Bp’Yah Raw and Lay Gkay village. The villagers went and dug it on November 15th 2006. The SPDC ordered this through the village chairperson and the chairperson told the villagers, and one person from each household had to go. Both males and females had to do construction on this vehicle road. The villagers had to pack rice from their own houses and the villagers had to take their own tools as well.”

- Saw M--- (male, 37), Kh--- village, Thaton District (Dec 2006)

The extent to which civilian and military personnel can requisition forced labour varies in proportion to the level of military control over a given civilian community. While forced labour is crucial to sustaining the army presence in all areas of Karen State under militarisation, the different levels of control limit the degree to which this practice can be employed in any given region. Where military forces exert sufficient control – and are thus able to both restrict the movement of civilians attempting to flee and back up threats with force – efforts to requisition forced labour more readily succeed.

In those areas on the periphery of SPDC military control, however, where the Army can only partly enforce its authority, the situation is different. In these areas, which comprise much of northern Karen State, civilians have employed various advanced warning systems in order to monitor troop movement and flee prior to the arrival of patrols seeking forced labour. This evasion constitutes a form of open resistance to militarisation and undermines the Army’s efforts to establish a consolidated hold over the civilian population. In response, the Army has embarked on a vigorous campaign of forced relocation combined with a scorched earth policy targeting villages, farm fields, food stores and food storage facilities, in part to force these communities into areas where their labour can be more easily exploited. Despite these efforts, the SPDC military has been unable to requisition adequate numbers from the civilian population to porter supplies for army patrols serving in these areas. This is one reason why the Army has had to increasingly rely on the importation of convict labourers from prisons across the country to serve in this capacity.⁶

In contrast to communities living on the periphery of military control, those over which the SPDC has been able to more completely consolidate its rule confront regular demands for forced labour as well as greater restrictions which undermine flight, evasion and other strategies to avoid compliance. The military has been able to enforce its authority in this way in Dooplaya, Thaton, much of Pa’an and parts of Nyaunglebin and Papun Districts. A similar situation now exists around the SPDC-controlled roadways, camps and bases recently developed in northern Karen State. In these areas the Army has been able to enforce movement restrictions and other measures so as to both prevent civilians from evading forced labour and other demands as well as to systematise the manner in which such labour is requisitioned. In order to support the systematisation of forced labour in Karen State, the Army has, amongst other things,

1. Required that communities fence in their villages;
2. Forcibly registered the civilian population;
3. Required household registers be posted on the exterior of all houses;
4. Forcibly recruited civilians into parastatal organisations; and
5. Appointed SPDC-designated chairpersons.

The first of these measures – that of fencing in villages – prevents the common civilian practice of fleeing from approaching patrols in order to avoid forced labour demands. The

⁶ For more information on the SPDC’s use of convict labour in Karen State, see [Less than Human: Convict Porters in the 2005-2006 northern Karen State offensive](#), Karen Human Rights Group, August 2006.

forced registration of all residents in a given village then allows SPDC officials to demand civilian labourers in proportion to the community's population. A KHRG field researcher working in Dooplaya District explained it as follows.

"The SPDC demands that village heads conduct a family registration every year. The purpose of this process is to force villagers to do things, because after the SPDC knows the numbers of villagers, they order and force villagers to do many things, such as organise village wards, cultivate castor according to their quotas, cultivate Hsin Thway Lat paddy [a species of dry season paddy], buy type-16 hand tractors,⁷ organise [villagers to join] the Myanmar Women's Affairs Federation and the Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association, recruit villagers for the militia, etc."
- KHRG field researcher (Dec 2006)

In SPDC-controlled areas where such registration has yet to be imposed, village heads have been able to misrepresent the population of their village in order to garner reduced forced labour quotas and limit the scale of other demands.

"The villagers elected me. My duty as village head is to provide them [SPDC forces] with things when they demand them, and if they order us to find things for them then we must find them. If they fine us, we must pay them. Even if we don't have the money, we can't refuse them. The most difficult thing for me as village head has been when they demand bullock carts. If the Burmese [SPDC personnel] demand bullock carts at night, then I have to go looking for some, and it bothers the villagers because they have to do it too. Our village has 45 houses but I've reported that there are 30 houses [to lessen SPDC demands]."
- Naw K--- (F, 53), village head, N--- village, Dooplaya District (Jan 2006)

"The SPDC soldiers demanded taxes for the plantations, hill fields and flat fields. They also asked us for the number of households in our village. We told them we had only over 80 households, not over 100 households. We took out the widows and orphans' households because we thought that if they demanded taxes from us, the widows and orphans shouldn't need to pay them."
- Pu Ht--- (male, 48), Dt--- village, Dooplaya District (Nov 2006)

Item three, the posting of household registers on the exterior of homes, not only ensures that military forces can obtain the full quota of village labourers, but also that individuals absconding from this work can be easily identified and punished.

The fourth measure listed above – recruitment into parastatal organisations like the Union Solidarity Development Association (USDA), the Myanmar Women's Affairs Federation (MWAFA) or the Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association (MMCWA) – brings together a pool of civilians that can be called on to attend mass public ceremonies or political denunciation rallies; essentially streamlining the forced labour pool for these particular tasks. This obligatory recruitment is furthermore a form of forced labour in and of itself. The last of the measures listed above, the appointment of SPDC-designated village chairpersons, has been carried out through the establishment of local-level administrative units within the framework of Village Peace and Development Councils (VPDCs). SPDC-designated village chairpersons serve as the local VPDC administrators, although those occupying this position are also often the traditional village head of a given community. The local VPDC chairperson must attend monthly meetings at the Township Peace and Development Council (TPDC) headquarters where SPDC officials dictate the latest batch of orders and demands which village heads are then required to enforce on their communities. On top of the regular

⁷ These are long-handled self-propelled (petrol-fuelled) ploughing machines used mainly to plough irrigated rice fields; the operator walks behind the machine.

monthly meetings, VPDC village chairpersons must also attend other intermittent 'trainings' and attend to the sporadic whims of local military officers wishing to make use of their position to extort civilian labour, money or other supplies for personal benefit.

The military has been increasingly relying on SPDC-appointed village chairpersons as intermediaries through whom to disseminate demands for forced labour. As these individuals, even in their roles as VPDC chairpersons frequently retain a strong loyalty to their community, they are put in the difficult position of having to arrange forced labour while completely aware of how such work undermines their fellow villagers' livelihoods and subsistence base. Village chairpersons or traditional village heads, where the VPDC framework has yet to be imposed, thus often appeal to local military officers for a reduction of demands; typically on the grounds that their communities are already overtaxed, have no time to comply with forced labour and need to be out tending their own crops. They therefore cannot possibly meet the quota set for them. Combined with a small bribe of money, alcohol and/or other goods, this strategy has on occasion been successfully employed. However, if the officer or civilian official persists in demanding the stated quota and the chairperson is unable to arrange the number of labourers demanded, they are fined for each villager short of the total. In this way a local army officer can increase his personal financial remittance beyond the limited bribe that was initially offered. In some SPDC-controlled areas of Toungoo for example, the fine reported by villagers as of mid-2007 for not meeting the stated quota was 2,500 kyat per person. In such situations the village head must attempt to gather a reimbursement from among the villagers. In order to avoid this fine, many villagers have chosen to hire a stand-in to take their place. This must be someone who has not already been called on to engage in the current round of forced labour. The cost of this option is often less than the cost of the fine that would otherwise be imposed.

"The villagers have to do set tha [messenger service and general camp duty] every day and aside from the villager who does set tha another villager must carry water for the officer to take a bath. As there is less water in dry season, the place to collect the water is about 30 minutes away. If the villagers don't want to do set tha they must give money or if they don't want to give money, they must hire someone else for two days at a cost of 1,000 kyat. If the villagers give money, they give it to the village head and the village head goes to give it to the Major."

- Saw G--- (male, 31), P--- village, Toungoo (March 2007)

Whether paying the fine or the wage for their stand-in, villagers must often borrow money from others or sell off rice stores or other possessions in order to cover their costs. The financial cost of paying the fine or hiring out the labour of another villager, or alternatively, the opportunity costs of complying with forced labour, all undermine the livelihoods of those forced to pay. Many communities therefore pool their resources in order to jointly cover such fines so that the burden of payment does not fall on any single villager; as others will inevitably be called on to serve in forced labour themselves. By implementing, amongst other things, the five measures listed above, the SPDC has facilitated a more efficient system of exploiting forced labour. This in turn has led to an intensification of the military's use of such labour and an increase in the military's dependence on this particular form of exploitation as well. The effects of all of this have forced village heads to take on the complex and frequently dangerous role as intermediary between the SPDC, and other armies demanding forced labour, and the villagers themselves who primarily wish to avoid such work. The case of Daw K---, a female village head from Doooplaya District is illustrative of the complexities which those in this role must manage. Quoted at length below, Daw K--- described her efforts in an interview with a KHRG researcher conducted in September 2006.

We must do it without fail...

“The *Nyein Chan Yay* [Karen Peace Force (KPF)], which is led by Gkler Paw, demanded 500 bamboo poles from us to construct a fence. We had to cut these down and carry them to them [to the KPF]. They have also forced each person from each household to cut down trees for them because they are going to cultivate hill fields [and therefore need the land cleared]. The *Nyein Chan Yay* [officer], Kyaw Eh Gay, stationed at Meh Dt’Raw army camp has also demanded 1,000 bamboo poles from my village. We went and appealed to him very passionately to lessen it [the number of poles demanded]. So he told us to cut only 700 bamboo poles for them. We had appealed to him and told him that it was almost time to do the flat fields and hill fields, so we didn’t have as many as 1,000 bamboo poles. After that he agreed with us about the 700 bamboo poles.

At the moment, [SPDC] Operations Commander Aung Kyaw Nyein is forcing us to do castor planting. We have to do it ‘without fail’. They called us to a meeting... [and] forced us to buy castor seeds. They sold us one basket full for 70,000 kyat... When the seeds arrived at my village, I had to explain to my villagers that the cost for the seeds would have to be shared among the villagers. The villagers also have to work on their fields so they don’t have time to plant this castor. I told the soldiers about the villagers’ problem, but it didn’t work. I am in the middle of the soldiers and the villagers. I couldn’t persuade either, so now I’m in trouble. The villagers don’t want to plant it and don’t know how to plant it, so they don’t want to pay me the money... I don’t want to be the village head anymore because I feel really worried and afraid.

We have to attend the monthly [SPDC] meeting. They [SPDC] said that if we didn’t attend the meeting, it meant that our village belonged to the ‘*black area*’. We found out later that the ‘*black area*’ is the rebel area. We were afraid that they would designate our village as part of the ‘*black area*’ so we attended the monthly meeting. In the meeting they ordered us to plant castor. They also said that they were going to do flat field cultivation and they had already decided that they would force us to plough the field, broadcast [the seeds] and transplant [the seedlings] for them. In the meeting, they already told us to do this when the time comes, but as of now it’s not yet time, so we haven’t done it. They said to us, ‘*When it’s time you must come to do it and you can’t refuse.*’

For the villagers, they have to do both their own work and forced labour and they are also having food problems. The villagers are in trouble now. They came frequently to discuss it with me. They came and asked, ‘*If we have to do the broadcasting and transplanting, can we hire people to go instead of us? Or can we pay them money instead?*’ But the Operation Commander won’t take money. He said he needs only people to do the work.”

- Daw K--- (female, 40), village chairperson, B--- village, Dooplaya District (Sep 2006)

For some tasks, such as *set tha*, sentry duty and portering, local military officers have ordered villages to provide labourers on a rotational basis. For all forms of rotational labour, new orders need not be dispatched so long as villages continue sending replacement workers at the assigned times.

“Today myself and three villagers had to carry SPDC army loads from P’ Yah Raw to Kyo Waing. We were three women and one man. I don’t know the name of commander or the military unit. Villagers have to carry the loads on rotation once per month.”

- K--- (male, 45), Bp--- village, Thaton District (Dec 2006)

The measures as listed above all serve to simplify the requisitioning of forced labour and minimise the extent to which civilians are able to evade such work. These widespread policies and procedures are indicative of the military’s long-term intentions of systematising and ‘normalising’ this abuse and hiding it within an ostensibly legitimate development framework.

III. Evolution of forced labour order documents

"I had to go and carry supplies for them as well. Seven or eight villagers in my village had to go that time. Sometimes they wrote [and sent] order documents and sometimes they came and gave the orders in person. They demanded [forced labour] once a week or sometimes once over two or three months. It depends on them."

- Saw E--- (male, 35), G--- village, Toungoo District (March 2007)

"Sometimes the SPDC, DKBA and KPF wrote letters to our village head and demanded villagers for work. The SPDC forced the villagers to cut bamboo and wood and to fence their army camp. We had to bring our own machetes and bamboo to tie and make the fence. We carried the bamboo on carts. Sometimes they demanded two carts of bamboo and sometimes three carts."

- Saw H--- (male, 64), former village head, B--- village, Dooplaya District (Dec 2006)

Over the past 15 years, KHRG has collected, translated and reprinted thousands of order documents sent out to villages. Most of these have been composed by SPDC and DKBA officers operating in Karen State. During this time the common language and content (but not the underlying demands) of order documents have in many ways become more vague and elusive. To some extent, this change is indicative of the success of groups working to raise awareness of the issue of forced labour in Burma. Original copies of SPDC order documents demanding forced labour from civilians in Karen areas have served as crucial evidence for the International Labour Organisation in pressing the SPDC over their widespread and systematic perpetration of this abuse. Order documents which the military issued in the 1990s were frequently more brazen in their choice of words and more explicit in their threats and therefore highly incriminating as evidence. Nevertheless, unambiguous threats against non-compliance do continue. In SPDC order #66 below, for example, the issuing officer declared, in reference to those villagers caught violating restrictions on movement, that *"if the soldiers shoot [them], it will not be our responsibility."*

As the regime has become increasingly aware that its own order documents and the associated demands on the civilian population are being used as evidence against it, written orders have become more discreet. Rather than explicit demands for labour, money or supplies, many – but not all – recent order documents which the military sends out to villages contain only limited language demanding the attendance of village heads for 'meetings' or 'trainings'. Among the 97 SPDC order documents included in the appendices below, 40 of these, roughly 41%, involved summons to 'meetings' where more explicit orders are issued. Such meetings include both regular monthly assemblies of VPDC chairpersons at township headquarters as well as impromptu meetings with local military officers. Obligatory attendance at such 'meetings' and 'trainings' constitutes a form of forced labour in itself, as village chairpersons are required to attend 'without fail'. Moreover, those attending incur additional costs of travel, time, food and any other expenditures or material requirements imposed. However, the primary labour or other demands for which the document was drawn up, are often left out of written orders in order to limit the 'paper trail' of systematic forced labour. Instead, specific demands are often left to be disseminated in person directly to village heads by SPDC officials, often at the regularly scheduled meetings at regional Township Peace and Development Council (TPDC) offices.

At monthly VPDC meetings SPDC officials lecture village heads on the importance of 'community development' and 'village security'. The former demands compliance, typically including forced labour, with various agricultural and infrastructural projects. The latter requires that villagers dispatch messengers to notify local SPDC units about the arrival and activity of KNU/KNLA personnel in or around their village and construct perimeter fences

around their communities. Such fences, in turn, serve to contain the local population and prevent them from fleeing further military demands. Non-compliance with such orders entails retributive punishment ranging from monetary fines to imprisonment, physical abuse and village destruction. At the completion of monthly assemblies and other formal meetings conducted by SPDC officials, village heads typically receive the list of 'decisions' which they are then required to implement; as for example is included in Order #39 of Appendix 1 below.

These 'decisions' moreover, written up as joint resolutions drawn from the meeting minutes, constitute order documents in themselves. This is the case because such meetings serve as venues for SPDC officials to lecture village heads on their 'national duties' in the form of forced labour tasks. While in a limited number of cases township officials have told village heads that they can discuss their concerns at these meetings, there has in fact been no space allowed to shape the conclusions or policy outcomes of the discussions. Most often, no input is sought at all or even permitted from village heads. SPDC officials attempt to portray the demands imposed during these meetings as components of community and national development. Village heads, however, have consistently rejected such claims, as the 'duties' imposed on them are typically blatant means of extortion and exploitation meant to benefit local military officers and the larger structures of military authority. Moreover, agricultural policies disseminated at such meetings not only involve forced labour and coercion, but they are frequently inappropriate to the local environmental context as well and interrupt the well-defined work schedules and seasonal labour patterns of local villagers. Village heads, therefore, reject claims by SPDC officials that such 'duties' are in any way supported by or otherwise beneficial for them.

"We must attend the SPDC meeting once every month. In the [last] meeting the Defence Commander told us that if we needed any help, we could report it to them. But nothing changes even when you report it to them. The Defence Commander was Aung Kyaw Nyein. Since they told us to report what we needed, we reported it to them. They helped us with what we reported but we had to pay them for it. They didn't help us freely... There were about over 20 villages, 25-30 villages, which attended the meeting."

- Pu Ht--- (male, 48), Dt--- village, Dooplaya District (Nov 2006)

"Every time we attend these meetings we must cover our own expenses. They never provide us with anything. We collect money among our villagers. Those meetings have no benefit for our villagers because their plans have no benefit for our villagers. Our people cannot follow their plans. For example the castor crop scheme has had no benefit and is not a success. The [SPDC introduced] paddy seeds [called] Hsin Thway Lat, M'Naw Tun, M' Naw Thu Ka and Shwe Myanmar which are very strange for our people and [the villagers] dare not plant them because we have never cultivated them before. All of us [village heads] discussed together that we must act properly because we can't oppose this armed organisation."

- Ko M--- (male, 44), N--- village, Dooplaya District (June 2006)

Using the language of 'community development' and 'national duty' are just two ways the SPDC officials attempt to minimise civilian resistance to forced labour and other demands. A further example of the ways in which the SPDC attempts to legitimise the requisitioning of forced labour, and thereby mitigate civilian resistance, is through the use of the Burmese language term '*loh ah pay*'. This term, which translated literally as 'support work', has been traditionally used to refer to meritorious voluntary labour on temples or other community projects. The SPDC, however, uses the term when demanding forced labour on military projects, a usage which violates both the voluntary nature and community-centred meaning of the term in its original use. Villagers in Karen State have therefore come to use the term *loh ah pay* in reference to most forms of forced labour. KHRG therefore leaves the term in

its original Burmese form, as a literal translation drawing on the traditional meaning would miss the contemporary application of the term as used by local villagers and thus misrepresent the nature of the work being demanded.

“Up until now the SPDC has continued to enforce ‘loh ah pay’ such as forcing [villagers] to cut and clear the compound of their army camp, cut and clear the roadway, dig out car roads, make fences and carry rice to the army camp. The villagers have been forced to carry food supplies from Maw Gkeh Thah Bper Koh to Gk’ Bpa Htah army camp. They forced all the villagers, including children and women, to do this. No one was free to leave. From Maw Gkeh Thah Bper Koh to Gk’ Bpa Htah army camp is a distance of about three hours... Now, the villagers under control are disturbed a lot by the SPDC soldiers. They are not even allowed to go to their own plantations. Before I came here [to the IDP camp], we couldn’t even go to collect our durian. We were allowed to go to our plantation only during the day time and in the afternoon we had to come back to do ‘loh ah pay’.”

- Saw Gk--- (male, 36), M--- village, Nyaunglebin District (Dec 2006)

In the face of the SPDC’s unconvincing rhetoric of ‘community development’ and ‘national duty’, widespread civilian resistance remains. Villagers readily perceive that projects involving forced labour, coercion, extortion, land confiscation and other abuses are not in their own, or their community’s, best interest. Despite the evolving language of order documents and the development of township-level VPDC meetings, the widespread and systematic military reliance on forced labour in Karen State continues. Indeed, the increasing regimentation of village life in Karen State and reliance on local VPDC administrative structures for implementing forced labour demands serve to systematise this practice in order to more efficiently support local military forces and the broader structures of military authority.

Although the SPDC has been working to incorporate the regimentation of forced labour into the systematic administration of village life, demands by passing Army patrols nevertheless continue on a wide scale by SPDC, DKBA and KPF forces. This form of requisitioning is especially common in those areas outside of consolidated SPDC military control and throughout areas where DKBA and KPF forces operate. In such situations threats and abuse are commonly applied to enforce compliance with orders to supply workers.

“Last year, Nyein Chan Yay [KPF] wrote a letter to us and demanded 1,000 thatch shingles. So when we were at the meeting, we reported that we couldn’t manage 1,000 shingles of leaves.”

- U Bp--- (male, 60), village track head, M--- village, Doooplaya District (Nov 2006)

“DKBA Brigade #333 Commander Bih’s group demanded fewer porters. They demanded only five or six porters, but for Mo Kyo’s group, they always specially demand 30 porters. Those DKBA battalions have been conducting operations during Wa Hso and Wa Kaw [June and July]. We must provide them with the porters without fail. If we don’t provide them, they shout a lot to us and maybe tie up the village head. They have said that if people don’t provide them with porters they will shoot to kill all the men that they meet.”

- Aunty B--- (female, 46), Kh--- village, Thaton District (Jan 2007)

IV. Types of forced labour

The structures of SPDC and DKBA militarisation in Karen State have developed in a manner dependent on the forced labour of the local civilian population. Such labour thus supports all facets of military and administrative structures for these groups. Were such labour to end, neither the SPDC nor the DKBA would be able to maintain their current rates of expansion nor their levels of operations, as the framework of militarisation on which both groups rely in Karen State would collapse.

While there are many common types of forced labour which SPDC, DKBA and KPF personnel demand wherever their troops operate, to some extent the character of this labour varies in relation to the extent to which military forces control a given area and its civilian population as well as the particular military operations being carried out therein. In areas where the SPDC has yet to consolidate its authority – which include much of the three northernmost districts, Toungoo, Nyaunglebin and Papun and to a lesser extent the districts further south – the army primarily demands forced labour to porter military supplies alongside army patrols; serve as ‘guides’ for these same patrols, which frequently requires villagers to march ahead of troops as ‘human minesweepers’; construct new vehicle roads, which involves clearing brush alongside these roads, collecting foundation stones, laying these stones and paving the road surface; and construct army camps and bases, which includes collecting and/or manufacturing building supplies such as bricks, thatch shingles and bamboo and wood poles. As part of the construction of military camps and bases, villagers must also build barracks, offices, trenches and perimeter fences.

“Until now, the SPDC continues to enforce ‘loh ah pay’ which includes forcing [villagers to] cut and clear the compound of their army camp, cut and clear the roadway, dig [the foundations of] the car road, construct fences and carry rice to the army camp. The villagers were forced to carry food supplies from M--- to Gk--- army camp. They [SPDC] forced all of the villagers, including children and women, to do it. No one was free to leave. From M--- to Gk--- army camp is a distance of about three hours.”

- Saw Gk--- (male, 36), M--- village, Nyaunglebin District (Dec 2006)

Other forms of forced labour include service as *set tha*, which primarily involves service as a messenger based at army camps and bases delivering orders from army officers to village heads and information from village heads to officers. However, when no orders are in need of delivery, those serving as *set tha* must carry out other menial tasks such as cooking, cleaning and repairing buildings and fences. Sentry duty around both military camps and villages is also a common form of forced labour.

“They demand two villagers every two days to be their set tha. The set tha had to cut bamboo for them but were been compensated. They forced the set tha to cut wood and bamboo to construct a fence and build their army camp. It is not only my village that has been ordered to do set tha, but the other villages as well. Two villagers are demanded from different villages every two days. For example, if these two days it is my two villagers, then the next two days it will be two other villagers from another village.”

- Daw Th--- (female, 55), village head, Gk--- village, Thaton District (Jan 2007)

In order to build, repair and stock the ever-expanding network of army camps and bases encroaching further into Karen areas, the Army has also been increasingly commandeering vehicles, including cars, trucks and bullock carts, to transport supplies. Such work likewise involves forced labour as the owners must drive their vehicles and the military supplies with which they are loaded to the designated army camp or base.

“My village is close to the Kya In Seik Gyi – Kyaikhto road. This year the SPDC has demanded bullock carts [as they have done] for already one or two years. My cart has never gone to carry things for SPDC because I sold all my bullocks and the cart. There was all this forced labour and I was fed up with it. This year we haven’t carried things for them, but last year we did. Once we went to carry things for them, the walking distance was over two hours.”

- Pu Ht--- (male, 48), Dt--- village, Dooplaya District (Nov 2006)

“The SPDC demands porters from our village for emergency situations. They demand two to five porters, usually two, but sometimes have they demanded up to five. As of now, the cart road is available so they also demand bullock carts all the time. They demand one bullock cart - one cart and a pair of bullocks - every day. So we have to send two villagers and a bullock cart to their army camp every day. They use the carts to carry their rations. The bullock carts have to carry rations to Ta Oo Nee, but if rations arrive at Lay Gkeih, they force the bullock carts to go and carry rations from Lay Gkeih back to Yoe Gklah.”

- Daw A--- (female, 48), village head, Y--- village, Thaton District (Jan 2007)

In areas more firmly under military control the army similarly demands forced labour for the construction of roads, camps and bases; portering of military supplies to stock camps and bases; sentry duty and service as *set tha*. However, as military control in these areas is more fully entrenched the SPDC and the DKBA define their operations more commonly as ‘developmental’ and the character of forced labour therefore leans more towards infrastructure construction and the regimentation of civilian life. In line with its ‘development’ agenda the SPDC has ordered villages in military-controlled areas of Karen State to construct, among other things, schools, libraries, medical clinics and perimeter fences. The SPDC typically provides no financial or in-kind support for either the initial construction of these facilities or their subsequent maintenance and provision of services. Nevertheless officials of the regime frequently show up at these sites to attend brief opening ceremonies, which their accompanying photographers dutifully capture on film to advertise to both national and international audiences as SPDC-supported development programmes. Villagers must also build perimeter fences around their own villages as well. SPDC officials have said that such fences help keep out ‘bandits’. But as villagers are typically restricted from travel beyond their confines the function of these fences is more accurately to hamper, among other things, civilian efforts to evade demands for forced labour.

Other forced labour programmes imposed on villagers in military-controlled areas include various agricultural cultivation schemes which seek to introduce new crops or intensify the production of pre-existing ones. Where new crops are introduced they are frequently inappropriate to the local climate and reduce the land and labour available for the traditional crops which villagers prefer. These new agricultural schemes are furthermore aimed primarily at supporting the military through various modes of agricultural exploitation, most notably through crop quotas or ‘taxation’ proportionate to the area of under cultivation. Two widespread examples of new crops imposed on villagers in Karen State are dry season rice paddy – most commonly a species known in Burmese as *Hsin Thway Lat* (qif;OG,fvwf) and, more recently, physic nut⁸. Villagers have been forced to cultivate both crops on a large scale.

⁸ Physic nut, a biofuel feed stock, includes both the jatropha and castor bean. The SPDC has referred to all three, often interchangeably, in reference to a single nation-wide agriculture programme. Local SPDC officials have told villagers that once harvested the beans can be processed to provide them with fuel for cars and motorcycles. For more information on the forced cultivation of physic nut see [Development by Decree: the politics of poverty and control in Karen State](#) (Karen Human Rights Group, April 2007).

“Previously, the SPDC also forced us to plant castor seeds. We bought the castor seeds and we threw them away. We didn’t want to buy them, but we had to do so ‘without fail’. They forced us to make the purchase, so I told the villagers to collect money amongst each other and buy them [the castor seeds]. The [villages in] Kya In village track had to buy three bowls of the seeds. For each bowl we had to pay them 6,000 kyat. Some of the villagers took a fistful of the seeds and threw them anywhere they liked. It was like we bought [the seeds] in order to throw them away. They [the SPDC officials] haven’t come to say anything. Maybe they think that it’s enough that they were able to sell them [the seeds] and get money.”

- Pu Ht--- (male, 48), Dt--- village, Dooplaya District (Nov 2006)

Aside from forced labour on their own fields, villagers are also ordered to labour on large-scale plantations and military-owned paddy fields. These include plantations owned as military, private business and joint military-business endeavours. In Karen State such plantations include vast forests of rubber, sugar cane, coconut, fruit and cashew trees. The list of forced labour in areas firmly under military control goes on to include the construction of pagodas, preparation for and service at seasonal festivals, obligatory participation in football tournaments and a variety of other tasks, most of which the SPDC has defended as part of its ‘Border Areas Development Project’.⁹

In addition to demands for forced labour as such, many orders indirectly call for forced labour by requiring that villagers provide building materials, money or information. Demands for materials, such as bricks, thatch shingles and bamboo poles all require labour-intensive preparation. Bricks must be formed from clay and baked. Thatch must be collected from the forest and woven into two meter long shingles. And bamboo must be cut down according to the specified lengths. All of these items, in turn, require labour to deliver them from the village to the relevant army camp or base. Demands for money and information likewise require labour insofar as a villager serving as a *set tha* must travel between villagers and military officials in order to make the delivery.

⁹ “Questions and answers at the Press Conference 4/2006,” April 2006, *Myanmar.com*. Accessed at www.myanmar.com/press_conference/2006/27-4d.html on July 30th 2007.

V. Treatment during forced labour

While the enforcement on the civilian population of uncompensated labour is an abhorrent abuse in and of itself, those who must comply with such demands – the vast majority of whom are rural villagers – must furthermore deal with maltreatment and abuse at the hands of those overseeing particular labour projects. The system of military-implemented forced labour includes no provisions to compensate or otherwise support those working. Military units enforcing such work therefore threaten, harass and physically punish civilians in order to create an incentive which, lacking any form of remuneration, they are otherwise unable to provide.

"I've never gone to do portering. Actually, I have had to go but I couldn't manage to go. So I had to hire another person to go instead of me. I had to hire them with [the payment of] a big tin of rice. If we can't find any person to go instead of us, we have to go ourselves. Even if we are sick, we have to go because we must go 'without fail'. Whether we can manage it or not we have to go. No one is willing to go because they treat us very roughly. If we can't go any further, they hit and kick [us]. You can imagine it."

- Saw M--- (male, 40), Gk--- village, Thaton District (Sep 2006)

All costs, financial or otherwise, of supporting army units and carrying out 'development' and other military programmes are diverted away from the regime itself and onto the local civilian population. Those villagers required to serve as forced labour must cover all travel costs and bring their own tools and equipment. Children, sick and the elderly must work, not because they are primarily targeted as such, but because military personnel demand forced labour indiscriminately and villages must meet labour quotas irrespective of age and sex.

"We have to do 'loh ah pay' [forced labour] once a month because our village is a big village and the big villages were ordered to do it once a month. But, with regards to going to the SPDC army camp and doing work for them, we have been ordered to do it everyday. All men, women, children, youth and old people have gone to do 'loh ah pay'. The oldest people [that have had to work] are around 50 to 60 years and the youngest people are over 15 years."

- Naw W--- (female, 48), S--- village, Toungoo District (March 2007)

"Children under 18 years had to go to cut bamboo for the DKBA as well. We went to cut bamboo near the DKBA camp. But from the place where we cut bamboo to the DKBA camp took one and half hours walking. Everybody had to do as the DKBA demanded 'without fail'. The DKBA has written orders to us and if they write to us this week, next week we must and go to do it."

- Saw P--- (male, 59), K--- village, Papun District (Feb 2007)

Interviewees often report that sick and elderly villagers must labour without rest and army personnel deny them permission to return home – like all of those labouring – until the work day is over. Rarely is any food provided for labourers who must therefore get by on whatever they have brought themselves and no medical treatment is ever supplied to those falling ill or injured on the worksite.

"The SPDC ordered it through the village chairperson and the chairperson told the villagers, and one person from each household had to go. Both male and female had to do the construction of this vehicle road. The villagers had to pack rice from their own houses and the villagers had to take their own tools as well."

- Saw M--- (male, 37), Kh--- village, Thaton District (Dec 2006)

In the case of portering, villagers are required to march long distances, covering many kilometres, on foot. Many forms of forced labour, especially portering military supplies, require that villagers leave their homes for days, even weeks, on end. In May 2007, for example, villagers in Toungoo District reported being forced to work for ten-day stretches before they were allowed to return to their homes and families. Often porters must walk ahead of military patrols so that they, and not the soldiers, will detonate any landmines. On road construction civilians similarly serve as 'human shields' so as to dissuade potential KNLA ambushes. In northern Karen State, for instance, SPDC personnel have ordered villagers to march in front and alongside bulldozers working on road construction while others sit atop the vehicles' chassis.

"He [SPDC LID #66 Commander Maung Maung Aye] demanded one person from each household from Maw Pah Der village to accompany the bulldozers. Three people had to ride on the bulldozers, five people had to walk along the left side, five people had to walk along the right side and the other people followed behind and walked in front of the bulldozers. The SPDC army has been coming to build a new camp in Wa Thoe Koh and has already confiscated five acres of the villagers' land."

- KHRG field researcher, Toungoo District (Feb 2007)

More directly, compliance with forced labour places civilians in situations of heightened insecurity as they must travel away from their villages and communities either individually or in small numbers frequently under the supervision of low level officers and soldiers. As military personnel in Karen and other areas operate under blanket impunity, they are aware that they will not be called to task for any mistreatment of civilians. On top of this, low level officers and soldiers carrying out forced labour projects are under pressure to meet demands coming down the chain of command. Threats and harassment as well as beatings and other physical abuse all serve to ensure compliance and the rapid completion of forced labour tasks. Furthermore, where women are isolated from their communities the risk of rape and other sexual abuse increases.

VI. Implications of forced labour on civilian livelihoods

"We have so many weaknesses in our village. ...Out of 30 households, there are about 25 households which do not have enough food. Only 3 households, very few households, have sufficient food because they have some cattle and buffaloes. But the other households just search in the morning to eat in the evening, and search in the evening to eat in the morning. They are suffering from poverty. Sometimes these people work all day, but only get enough rice for one meal and sometimes they don't even get enough food to share with their children and grandchildren. They have to work very hard day and night, without time to rest. ...The insufficiency of food among the villagers has been caused by sickness, loh ah pay [forced labour] and the travelling [for the forced labour and meetings to which they are summoned]. Both the SPDC and Nyein Chan Yay [KPF] have summoned us. There have been many demands from many armies, so the villagers can't manage it all."

- K--- (male, 30), village secretary, G--- village, Kawkareik township, Dooplaya District (Dec 2006)

Villagers consistently decry even single instances of forced labour as unjust, abusive and dangerous to themselves. Beyond the indignity of enforced servitude, villagers must also confront the maltreatment and abuse pervasive in situations of forced labour. However, when forced labour in Burma is seen in context, as a widespread and systematic practice crucial to maintaining the ever-expanding military, the broader implications of this abuse can be more adequately grasped.

Even more than the particular dangers of an individual occurrence of forced labour are the consequences of it as a systematic practice. Forced labour rarely, if ever, occurs as a single incident, isolated in time and context from other facets of civilian life. As such, the implications of forced labour on villagers in Karen State must be understood in the context of villagers' daily efforts to maintain their livelihoods and the military's regular demands for uncompensated labour, as well as money, food and other supplies, which combine over time to undercut villagers' lives and livelihoods.

In regards to the direct effects, villagers forced to labour on military-decreed programmes, whether those of the SPDC, DKBA or other, must cover all costs for the duration of their work. This includes travel costs to the worksite, food consumed over the labour period and any tools needed to carry out the tasks demanded. In almost no cases have villagers reported to KHRG that military officials have met any of these expenses. The persistent demands for such labour mean that cumulative costs on the community create a major drain on financial and other resources.

Time spent labouring on forced labour programmes furthermore cuts into other aspects of village life. Precious time that could be spent labouring on villagers' own livelihoods is pointlessly lost, children miss out on school and the daily village routine and community social activities are interrupted, if not completely obstructed. This drain on villagers' work hours is especially detrimental during labour intensive times in the crop cycle (such as the planting period of May – June and the harvesting period of November – December).

"This year we've been worrying about our food. No one has enough food because our villagers were portering all the time during the rainy season. The villagers didn't have enough time to cut and clear the brush in their hill fields. So the villagers' paddy fields weren't good enough and [the villagers] didn't get enough food. If we had no problems or situation like this, it would be good for us. We could also continue to attend our school."

- Saw D--- (male, 55), T--- village, Thaton District (Jan 2007)

In some cases, such as with the SPDC-decreed forced cultivation of physic nut and other imposed crops, the programme for which the labour is ordered can cut into villagers' agricultural and other land, thereby decreasing, or even eliminating, land available for villagers' other crops. The drain on time, land, finances and other resources needed to fulfil forced labour demands combine with military extortion of food, money and supplies and restrictions on travel and trade to effectively undermine the village economy and exacerbate poverty.

"We must do 'loh ah pay' [forced labour] and pay money as they order us. Sometimes our children get sick and we have no money to buy the medicines. But if the SPDC or DKBA order us, we must find [the money] and give [it] to them."

– Naw M--- (female, 35), K--- village, Papun District (2006)

For civilians, the overall effect of forced labour is a progressive degradation of health, village economies, and community-based social infrastructure. For the regime, on the other hand, forced labour supports the increasing militarisation of Karen State which, in turn, leads to increasing forced labour demands on the local civilian population. The Army therefore uses local villagers to establish and entrench the very system of militarisation which allows for their continued exploitation.

VII. Civilian resistance to forced labour

As local economies collapse under the weight of persistent demands for labour, money and supplies to support the army and restrictions on travel and trade, these villages confront greater difficulty in financing education, health care and other social services for their communities. Added to this is the indignity of being forced into poverty and deprivation by a parasitic military authority which claims such extortion to be beneficial to local communities and a necessary component of national duty. Villagers in such situations have responded to demands for forced labour in a variety of ways. Local people, very aware of how much or how little space exists to resist abuse, exploit whatever openings there are to avoid or at least mitigate demands.

Some of the resistance strategies employed by villagers in Karen State have been listed above. These include negotiating with the issuing officer for a reduction in demands, often with the support of a small bribe of money, alcohol and/or other items or understating village populations to garner reduced worker quotas. While both of these measures reduce the number of villagers forced to labour, those who do eventually serve in this capacity have employed foot-dragging and shoddy workmanship on military projects to reduce their own exertion and undermine military activities.

Another strategy has been to send the least productive member of the family to meet the household forced labour quota. Often this means sending children to labour in the place of adults. While such a choice may at first seem an affront to child rights, the practice must be taken in the context of overall household welfare. While no family members should be forced to labour, if adults are unable to avoid such work at crucial times in the crop cycle, the family could lose a significant amount, if not all, of their crop. In such cases the whole family, including children, could find themselves in an even direr situation of food insecurity. At other times, however, even this strategy isn't an option and adults, children and the elderly must all go just to meet the number of labourers demanded. Alternatively, if adults are able to avoid forced labour and stay back to work on agricultural fields, they may at least be able to maintain the family's crops and thereby provide for the children, elderly and themselves.

"When SPDC soldiers force us to labour, everybody that can do the work goes. Women, old people and children also go. Counting only men there are not enough to do the work and sometimes it is the time when the men work in the field. The oldest men that go to work for the SPDC are about a little over 50 years old and the youngest children are 12 years old, but these civilians are not compensated. Instead of compensating us for working for them, we have to help by giving them the food and money that they demand from us."

- Saw K--- (male, 34), W--- village, Nyaunglebin District (August 2006)

"Sometimes those who have to go for 'loh ah pay' but are sick and can't go, ask their children to cancel their school and go instead of them. They have to bring whatever the SPDC or DKBA asks [them] to bring."

Naw Kh--- (female, 13), Ht---, Papun District (March 2007)

A further resistance strategy which villagers have employed in response to the combined drain on their livelihood from forced labour and other demands and restrictions has been flight and displacement. Villagers exhausted and frustrated with years of regular forced labour and other demands and restrictions have fled their homes to avoid any further exploitation. Those living in areas on the periphery of military control, where forced labour may not as yet be pervasive, likewise frequently choose to evade demands for forced labour in this manner.

“Sometimes I tell the village men to run away if they can manage to run. But some people can't flee anymore... So, if they [soldiers] need them, we call them out. But if they hear them [soldiers] coming from a far distance, all of them [villagers] will flee. But if they [soldiers] get too close to them, they [villagers] can't do anything. And if they are seen, they must follow them. And they must go as guides. Even if they don't dare to go, they must go. They can't do anything even if they are afraid.”

- Naw M--- (female, 37), village head, W--- village, Thaton District (Sep 2006)

Rural communities employ various monitoring and advanced warning systems in order to detect approaching military patrols, often in search of civilians for forced labour, and many are thus able to flee prior to the arrival of these troops. If and when army units retreat or move on, villagers may be able to return to their villages. However, should the army units stay to set up a camp or new base – as has been increasingly happening through the extensive militarisation of Karen areas – villagers may either remain in hiding in the nearby forest or flee further afield to Internally Displaced Person (IDP) camps in Karen State or refugee camps in Thailand. Such flight and displacement not only evades forced labour and other demands which undermine household livelihoods and village economies, it also serves as a means by which villagers maintain their independence and dignity. Less civilian labourers for military projects also slows down the Army's efforts to extend its control into Karen areas. This displacement furthermore expresses a political statement rejecting an illegitimate military authority. As an application of the democratic principle of 'voting with their feet' villagers in Karen State expose the fallacy of the SPDC's claims that the militarisation of their homeland is in any way beneficial for, or supported by, local peoples.

VIII. Burma's relations with the ILO

Forced labour in Burma dates back to pre-colonial *corvée* systems controlled and administered through feudal networks tied to monarchical authority.¹⁰ Historians have termed this system, which included bonded servitude to the king, as 'state slavery'.¹¹ During the colonial-era British authorities exploited the forced labour of the civilian population to support the structures of Imperial authority and the exploitive industrial practices on which it relied.¹² In line with the British Empire's belief that legitimising exploitation required no more than legislation, colonial authorities codified the practice of forced labour in two separate legal statutes. These were the 1908 Village Act and the 1907 Towns Act. Together, these two laws created a legislative framework within which the colonial authority could administer and defend the use of forced labour in Burma.

While the country's post-independence government displayed a seeming conviction against the exploitive practices of the earlier Imperial authority and its colonial economy, it nevertheless maintained much of the legislation codified by the outgoing regime and repealed neither the Village Act nor the Towns Act. By leaving these two laws in place, Burma's governing authorities upheld the legal basis for forced labour. In the 1960s the International Labour Organisation (ILO) began pressing the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) – the military junta led by General Ne Win – to repeal or amend these two items of legislation. These demands for legislative reform were asking no more from Burma than that it meet its international obligations, having become a State Party to the 1930 Forced Labour Convention upon acceding to the treaty in March of 1955. In a flagrant rebuff of all international appeals, the Ne Win regime not only refused to rescind these laws but went further and strengthened the wording to allow the military greater liberty in the requisitioning forced labour.¹³ Despite the existence of this legislation, the Acts themselves were rarely, if ever referred to in specific orders for forced labour. Moreover, most of the forced labour demanded by military and civilian officials would fall outside the legal boundaries of the Acts, which require payment for service, limit the types of labour that may be demanded and allow exemptions for civilians who provide "*reasonable excuses*".¹⁴

The increased documentation and advocacy of human rights abuses in Burma since the early 1990s has led to greater international awareness of the scale and intensity of the junta's use of uncompensated forced labour. This awareness has led, in turn, to external calls for an end to this form of abuse and a reformation of the legalistic and militaristic structures which have supported it. In line with such appeals, workers' delegates to the 83rd Session of the International Labour Conference submitted a letter to the ILO's Director General on June 20th 1996 in which they outlined a complaint "*against the Government of Myanmar for non-observance and the Forced Labour Convention*."¹⁵ This letter and the

¹⁰ Fernquist, Jon. 'The Flight of Lao War Captives from Burma back to Laos in 1596: A comparison of historical sources,' *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 2005. Accessed at <http://web.soas.ac.uk/burma/pdf/Ferquist1.pdf> on June 26th 2007.

¹¹ Reid, Anthony. (1999) quoted in Jon Fernquist, 'The Flight of Lao War Captives from Burma back to Laos in 1596: A comparison of historical sources,' *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 2005. Accessed at <http://web.soas.ac.uk/burma/pdf/Ferquist1.pdf> on June 26th 2007.

¹² South, Ashley. 2003. *Mon Nationalism and Civil War in Burma: the Golden Sheldrake*, London: RoutledgeCurzon, p.89-90.

¹³ For a detailed examination of these changes see [SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2003-A – Papun, Pa'an, Thaton, Nyaunglebin, Toungoo and Dooplaya Districts, Appendix A](#), Karen Human Rights Group, August 2003.

¹⁴ Texts of 1907 Towns Act and 1908 Village Act with accompanying analysis can be found in [SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2003-A – Papun, Pa'an, Thaton, Nyaunglebin, Toungoo and Dooplaya Districts, Appendix A](#), Karen Human Rights Group, August 2003.

¹⁵ "Forced labour in Myanmar (Burma), Report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed under article 26 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organization to examine the observance by Myanmar of the Forced

subsequent ILO response initiated a more involved engagement with the SPDC over its use of forced labour. This engagement has continued ever since. At its 268th Session in March 1997, the ILO Governing Body established a Commission of Inquiry to investigate claims of forced labour and after gathering clear evidence of the practice began pressing for reforms to which the regime was bound under its international legal obligations. The ILO at this time took a progressive stance on the situation of forced labour in Burma, stating that it was "*widespread and systematic*" and that military officials "*treat the civilian population as an unlimited pool of unpaid forced labourers and servants at their disposal*" with impunity, as "*part of a political system built on the use of force and intimidation to deny the people of Myanmar democracy and the rule of law*".¹⁶

In response to ILO pressure, the SPDC issued Order 1/99 on May 14th 1999 which explicitly banned most forms of forced labour. The following year, the regime issued two subsequent decrees, on October 27th and November 1st 2000 respectively, which broadened the scope of Order 1/99 and declared criminal penalties for anyone requisitioning forced labour.¹⁷ In some areas, such as eastern Pa'an District, many village heads have obtained copies of Order 1/99. For practical purposes, however, this has proved to be without value as local officers to whom village heads have appealed have dismissed its relevance with responses such as "*Don't show us this. We don't understand about this, so you have to go and show it to our superior leaders.*"¹⁸ As villagers are aware that SPDC authorities or international agencies based in towns and cities far from their villages cannot protect them from reprisals by local military units, they dare not take their petition further.

In recognition of the likelihood of retaliation and the limits on providing any kind of tangible protection to appellants, the ILO pushed for the establishment of a complaint mechanism under which victims of forced labour could press charges against the authorities over the perpetration of this abuse without fear of persecution. The ILO first negotiated such a mechanism in 2003 in an arrangement with former SPDC Prime Minister, General Khin Nyunt. Over a period of roughly a year about 10 villagers from across Burma were able to lodge civil suits against local civilian authorities. These cases were largely free of SPDC efforts to harass plaintiffs or block their cases. Moreover, some of these cases were even successful and the ILO responded positively to the results of the mechanism, although also cautioning that it nonetheless remained insufficient to address the full scope of forced labour in Burma. This was especially so given that the SPDC allowed no cases to be brought against military officials – who were and are the main perpetrators of forced labour in Burma. Whatever potential this mechanism held was quickly cut short with the internal SPDC purge of October 18th 2004 and the ouster of Khin Nyunt. Following the purge and the junta's increasingly hard-line stance, the military blocked all subsequent civil cases and retaliated against complainants – most famously with the arrest and imprisonment of Daw Su Su Nway on fraudulent charges after she successfully sued local officials in her home area for using forced labour.

As the SPDC backtracked on its earlier agreements, the ILO reiterated in November 2006 that it "*deplored the fact that forced labour continued to be widespread, particularly by the*

Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29)," Geneva, July 2nd 1998. Accessed at: www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/yangon/ on June 15th 2007.

¹⁶ Press Release (ILO/98/32): "[Report of ILO Commission of Inquiry reveals widespread and systematic use of forced labour in Myanmar \(Burma\)](#)," International Labour Office, August 20th 1998.

¹⁷ The text of Order 1/99 and subsequent decrees banning forced labour is available in full in [SPDC & DKBA Orders to Villages: Set 2003-A – Papun, Pa'an, Thaton, Nyaunglebin, Toungoo and Dooplaya Districts](#), Appending B, p.401.

¹⁸ Quoted from [Eastern Pa'an District: Forced Labour, Food Security and the Consolidation of Control](#), Karen Human Rights Group, March 2004.

army"¹⁹ and suggested that it would seek an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the subject of Burma's continued non-compliance with the 1930 Forced Labour Convention.²⁰ Following this move, the SPDC appeared willing to reengage the ILO and discuss a renewal of the earlier mechanism of allowing charges of forced labour to be brought against State officials. On February 26th 2007, Nyunt Maung Shein, SPDC ambassador and permanent representative to the ILO, signed a 'Supplemental Understanding' with the ILO according to which the regime agreed not to retaliate against complainants of forced labour. While this mechanism was initially lauded by the ILO and UN officials operating in Rangoon who called it an "*historic deal*"²¹, it nevertheless remains an insufficient means of addressing the full scope of forced labour in Burma. This follows by virtue of the fact that the ILO remains unable to guarantee the safety of complainants – a limitation made clear by the harassment of at least one forced labour plaintiff from Kyauktagar Township in Bago Division by local military officials following the submission of a claim to the ILO's office in May 2007.²² The ILO furthermore maintains no offices outside of Rangoon and is highly restricted in travelling outside the main urban centres of central Burma. Furthermore, travel for local people anywhere in Burma remains highly restricted, especially for those in rural areas; of which most of Karen State is comprised. These communities also lack access to most means of learning about the mechanism in the first place.²³ These factors all combine to limit the number of cases that are able to be reported to the ILO.

Beyond the barriers to actually reporting cases of forced labour, the ILO agreement furthermore requires that those cases initially submitted be vetted by the ILO and then handed over to the SPDC where it is then investigated by "*by the most competent civilian or military authority concerned as appropriate*"²⁴ who then makes a final judgement on the validity of the charges. Given such restrictions it comes as little surprise that as of June 13th 2007 the ILO's office in Rangoon had received only 23 complaints of forced labour.²⁵ Richard Horsey, the ILO's Liaison Officer up until his resignation in May 2007 (subsequently replaced by senior ILO officer Steven Marshall), dismissed ten of these cases on the grounds that they were not directly related to forced labour, but were rather related to disputes over welfare, pensions or dismissals from work.²⁶ The SPDC then imposed its own filter and rejected further cases, which had already met the ILO criteria, on the grounds that they were either of "*a minor communal nature implemented by community elders in consultation with the villagers,*" or alternatively of "*a self-reliance basis.*"²⁷

¹⁹ *Developments concerning the question of the observance by the Government of Myanmar of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29)*, 297th Session, Geneva, November 2006, ILO Document GB.297/8/2. Accessed at www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/realm/gb/docs/gb297/pdf/gb-8-1.pdf on June 26th 2007.

²⁰ *Legal aspects arising out of the 95th Session of the International Labour Conference, ILO Governing Body*, 297th Session, Geneva, November 2006, ILO Document GB.297/8/2. Accessed at www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/realm/gb/docs/gb297/pdf/gb-8-2.pdf on June 26th 2007.

²¹ "*Shackles, torture, executions: inside Burma's jungle gulags,*" *The Observer*, March 28th 2007.

²² "ILO complainant threatened by officials," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, May 29th 2007. Accessed at: <http://english.dvb.no/> on June 18th 2007.

²³ For more in-depth analysis of the limitations of the ILO mechanism, see [The limits of the new ILO mechanism and potential misrepresentation of forced labour in Burma](#), Karen Human Rights Group, April 2007.

²⁴ *Supplementary Understanding – Appendix to "Developments concerning the question of the observance by the Government of Myanmar of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29)*," International Labour Office, Geneva, February 26th 2007. (ILO ref: GB.298/5/1)

²⁵ "Burma Wants Review of Past ILO Resolutions on Forced Labor," *Irrawaddy*, June 13th 2007. Accessed at: www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=7463 on June 18th 2007.

²⁶ "New ILO liaison officer for Rangoon," *Irrawaddy*, May 29th 2007. Accessed at: www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=7307 on June 18th.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

In the ILO's engagement with the SPDC over the latter's perpetration of forced labour, the military regime has expressed contradictory positions; denying that any forced labour occurs in Burma whilst also stating its willingness to work with the ILO in order to eradicate the practice. As quoted above, for instance, SPDC Minister for Information, Brigadier General Kyaw Hsan has said explicitly that "*Forced labour is never used,*"²⁸ and that accusations of forced labour "*are totally false and no such incidents occurred in Myanmar.*"²⁹ At other times, however, the SPDC has been willing to acknowledge the existence of this abuse. In an official report on the issue released in January 2006, U Soe Nyunt, SPDC Director General of the Ministry of Labour, stated that he "*urges the International Labour Organisation to take a constructive approach in its cooperation with Myanmar to help eradicate forced labour.*"³⁰ The reason behind this contradictory position and the junta's willingness to co-operate with the ILO may rest on the regime's insistence that much of the forced labour perpetrated in Burma falls outside the criteria defined within the ILO Forced Labour Convention. The details of this claim will be examined in more depth in the following section covering the legal framework of forced labour in Burma.

²⁸ "Government has always been opening the door for peace talks Not only people, even its party members do not believe in NLD any longer and resign as membership of their own volition," *New Light of Myanmar*, June 11th 2006. Accessed at www.myanmar.com/press_conference/2006/11-6g.html on June 18th 2007.

²⁹ "Karen Rights Group Reports New Cases of Forced Labor," *The Irrawaddy*, March 27th 2007. Accessed at www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=6918 on August 9th 2007.

³⁰ "Tsunami, National Convention among highlights of 2005," *Myanmar Times and Business Review*, January 2006. Accessed at <http://www.myanmar.com/myanmartimes/MyanmarTimes15-298/n009.htm> on June 18th 2007.

IX. Legal framework

Specific incidents of forced labour as perpetrated by military and civilian officials of the SPDC violate numerous international declarations and conventions as well as domestic Burmese legislation promulgated by the SPDC itself. Relevant prohibitions against the SPDC's use of forced labour are included within, *inter alia*, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Furthermore, treaties binding on the SPDC under international law with provisions violated by the junta's perpetration of forced labour include the 1930 ILO Forced Labour Convention (Convention 29) and the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which Burma is a State Party, having previously signed and ratified or otherwise acceded to these conventions. Relevant domestic Burmese legislation prohibiting and criminalising the use of forced labour includes Order 1/99 and Order Supplementing Order 1/99.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights³¹

Having been universally adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10th 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) sets out basic tenets delimiting the conditions necessary for a life of freedom and dignity. While not a legally binding document in its own right, the UDHR nevertheless forms the basis of subsequent international human rights law, with many of its provisions representative of customary international law. In relation to forced labour as perpetrated in Karen State and other areas of Burma, the UDHR carries clear proscriptions. Specifically the document affirms that "*No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms*" (Article 4) and furthermore that "*Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection*" (Article 23.3). The very nature of forced labour clearly violates the first proscription and the lack of any form of compensation for the work carried out violates the second.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights³²

While neither the SPDC nor its predecessor regimes in Burma have signed or acceded to the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) the treaty has nonetheless been ratified or otherwise acceded to by 153 nations, with additional countries having signed but not yet ratified the document. Given such overwhelming support for the Covenant, the document is representative of growing international norms on human rights and therefore increasingly relevant to the perpetration of human rights abuses in Burma. Most pertinent to the present report, the Covenant reiterates the words of the UDHR in its statement that "*No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave-trade in all their forms shall be prohibited*" and "*No one shall be held in servitude*" (Article 8.1 and 8.2). In addition, however, the ICCPR states that "*No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour*" (Article 8.3.a).

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights³³

As with the ICCPR, Burma remains aloof of the international trend towards accession to the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Nevertheless, the Covenant is, like the ICCPR, representative of growing international norms on human rights. As an expression of such norms, the military regime in Burma bears a

³¹ Available online at <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>.

³² Available online at <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm>.

³³ Available online at <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm>.

responsibility to adhere to the principles enshrined therein irrespective of its non-accession to the treaty. With regards to the perpetration of forced labour, the Covenant affirms “*the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work*” (Article 7). The covenant lists such conditions as “*Fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value*” (Article 7.a.1) which will allow workers to provide for a “*decent living for themselves and their families*” (Article 7.a.2). The lack of any compensation for their labour, which in addition takes away from crucial labour on their own livelihoods, means the forced labour demanded by SPDC officials, officers and soldiers transgresses the requirements listed under Article 7 of the ICESCR.

Forced Labour Convention (ILO Convention 29)³⁴

The 1930 Forced Labour Convention, also known as ILO Convention 29, comprises the most exhaustive international legal document addressing the perpetration of this abuse. Rather than an absolute prohibition on the use of forced labour, the Convention is more accurately a detailed set of conditions under which such labour may and may not be employed. While the 1959 Abolition of Forced Labour Convention is a much stronger document in terms of eradicating this abuse, Burma’s successive military regimes have as of yet been unwilling to bind themselves to its proscriptions. Nevertheless, the manner in which military and civilian officials exploit forced labour in Burma violates numerous articles in 1930 Forced Labour Convention (hereafter ‘the Convention’). Moreover, as a State Party to the Convention, having acceded to the treaty on March 4th 1955, Burma is bound under international law to the regulations enshrined therein. While many of the regulations are pertinent to the present report, only the most applicable of these will be examined in detail. As a framework, the Convention defines forced labour as “*all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily*” (Article 2).

While the SPDC denies the perpetration of forced labour in Burma it also asserts that numerous coercive practices which do occur are not in fact forced labour at all. In defending this position, the SPDC falls back on the weak language of the Convention itself. Specifically, the regime has paraphrased the categories listed under Article 2 to qualify the most common forms of forced labour in Burma as outside the criteria of the Convention. More specifically, the SPDC, via its Deputy Minister of Labour, Major-General Aung Kyi, has set out criteria according to which it rejects claims of forced labour. These criteria have been reprinted in the SPDC’s official English-language newspaper *New Light of Myanmar*.³⁵

While they seemingly reflect the stipulations contained in Article 2 of the Convention, the criteria listed by Major-General Aung Kyi actually omit key conditions which would otherwise circumscribe much of the forced labour imposed by SPDC personnel. According to Major-General Aung Kyi, the SPDC would not consider particular cases to be forced labour if they involved any of the following situations.

1. Conscription prescribed under compulsory military service law;
2. Tasks for regional development and health care and social sector carried out under public civics in the interests of the people;
3. Hard labour for those who are sentenced to prison terms under law;
4. Work done collectively by the people under a state of emergency due to natural disasters such as fire, floods and earthquake; and
5. Contributions of the members towards the social organization concerned.

³⁴ Available online at <http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/31.htm>.

³⁵ “Questions and Answers,” *New Light of Myanmar*, December 17th 2006. Accessed at: <http://www.myanmar.com/pressconference/index.html> on June 18th 2007.

While the Convention, under Article 2, does contain similar criteria to those listed above, Major-General Aung Kyi has left out key phrases which circumscribe the permissible forms of labour more fully. Compare the deputy Labour Minister's five points with their corresponding items in the Convention itself listed below, which qualify forms of labour outside its scope.

- a. Any work or service exacted in virtue of compulsory military service laws for work of a purely military character;
- b. Any work or service which forms part of the normal civic obligations of the citizens of a fully self-governing country;
- c. Any work or service exacted from any person as a consequence of a conviction in a court of law, provided that the said work or service is carried out under the supervision and control of a public authority and that the said person is not hired to or placed at the disposal of private individuals, companies or associations;
- d. Any work or service exacted in cases of emergency, that is to say, in the event of war or of a calamity or threatened calamity, such as fire, flood, famine, earthquake, violent epidemic or epizootic diseases, invasion by animal, insect or vegetable pests, and in general any circumstance that would endanger the existence or the well-being of the whole or part of the population;
- e. Minor communal services of a kind which, being performed by the members of the community in the direct interest of the said community, can therefore be considered as normal civic obligations incumbent upon the members of the community, provided that the members of the community or their direct representatives shall have the right to be consulted in regard to the need for such services.

The initial ILO Commission of Inquiry furthermore elucidated these qualifications in depth so as to eliminate any ambiguity.³⁶ Article 2.2.a, for example, which corresponds to Aung Kyi's first item, goes on to add that such service only covers work "*of a purely military character*" which the ILO has interpreted to exclude "*compulsory service obligations for the execution of public works.*" This point should anyways be irrelevant given the SPDC's insistence that "*the Myanmar Armed Forces is a voluntary army*"³⁷ and therefore lacks "*compulsory military service laws*". Article 2.2.b of the Convention, corresponding to Aung Kyi's second item limits such work to that "*which forms part of the normal civic obligations of the citizens of a fully self-governing country.*" The ILO qualifies 'normal civic obligations' as "*compulsory military service, work or service required in cases of emergency and minor communal services.*" These categories essentially reiterate the criteria of the Convention stated in Articles 2.2.a, 2.2.d and 2.2.e respectively. The regular forced labour of civilians in Karen State clearly falls outside the scope of the first two types of work and with regards to "*minor communal services*", or Article 2.2.e, the Convention includes the requirements that the work be "*in the direct interest of the said community*" and that "*the members of the community or their direct representatives shall have the right to be consulted in regard to the need for such services.*" Local villagers in Karen State regularly explain that they are not consulted regarding the military programs on which they are forced to labour and if they nonetheless provide input, their views are disregarded. Furthermore, as these villagers consistently reject the legitimacy of the forced labour imposed upon them such work cannot be considered "*minor communal services*" as included in the Convention.

³⁶ The details of this examination can be found in *Forced labour in Myanmar (Burma) - Report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed under article 26 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organization to examine the observance by Myanmar of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29)*, Geneva, July 2nd 1998. Accessed at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/yanon/> on July 21st 2007.

³⁷ *Union of Myanmar: The Length of Borders with Immediate Neighbouring Countries*, Myanmar Information Committee, Yangon, October 10th 2002. Accessed at <http://myanmar.tempdomainname.com/political/english.pdf> on June 26th 2007.

The conspicuous omissions in the criteria listed by Major-General Aung Kyi are suggestive of the reason for the SPDC's conflicting statements on the issue of forced labour in Burma. The regime would benefit most from international acceptance of its denial of systematic forced labour as expressed, for instance, in Brigadier General Kyaw Hsan's statement that "*Forced labour is never used.*"³⁸ However, the voluminous human rights documentation now available on the issue exposes the fallacy of any such denials. The regime therefore appears to be attempting to argue that, while coercive uncompensated labour is systematically used, such labour nevertheless falls outside the scope of the Forced Labour Convention. As the criteria listed by Major-General Aung Kyi misrepresent the content of the Convention and leave out the very points which make it clear that the forms of forced labour used in Burma are not excluded by the Convention, this argument loses all validity. The criteria which follow Article 2 in the Convention and further circumscribe the use of forced labour are therefore applicable.

To begin with, any forced labour demanded must meet the requirements that it "*is of important direct interest for the community called upon to do the work or render the service*"; "*is of present or imminent necessity*" and does "*not lay too heavy a burden upon the present population*" (Articles 9.a, 9.b, and 9.d respectively). As the forced labour imposed in Karen State serves primarily to expand and support the military presence and furthermore undermines local livelihoods through its systematic imposition, it clearly transgresses these conditions. Furthermore, no forced labour may be requisitioned unless "*it has been impossible to obtain voluntary labour for carrying out the work or rendering the service by the offer of rates of wages and conditions of labour not less favourable than those prevailing in the area concerned for similar work or service*" (Article 9.c). As villagers in Karen State are almost never offered any form of remuneration, whether monetary or otherwise, no assertion can be made on whether or not they would have been willing to engage in such work had they been offered adequate pay.

Other regulations on the imposition of forced labour in the Convention include Article 11 which stipulates that "*Only adult able-bodied males who are of an apparent age of not less than 18 and not more than 45 years may be called upon for forced or compulsory labour.*" By indiscriminately requisitioning children, women and men under blanket quotas for village labourers, the SPDC has consistently violated these requirements. Villagers in Karen State have reported that in 2006 to 2007 SPDC forces have imposed forced labour on children at least as young as twelve and as old as 60. Beyond the qualifications on prohibited forms of forced labour, the Convention requires that "*forced or compulsory labour of all kinds shall be remunerated in cash at rates not less than those prevailing for similar kinds of work either in the district in which the labour is employed or in the district from which the labour is recruited, whichever may be the higher*" (Article 14). The lack of compensation in any form thus violates this requirement.

Lastly, the Convention stipulates that "*The illegal exaction of forced or compulsory labour shall be punishable as a penal offence, and it shall be an obligation on any Member ratifying this Convention to ensure that the penalties imposed by law are really adequate and are strictly enforced*" (Article 25). Despite this stipulation, the SPDC has not once prosecuted, or even allowed charges to be brought against, any military official for the perpetration of forced labour anywhere in Burma.

³⁸ "Government has always been opening the door for peace talks Not only people, even its party members do not believe in NLD any longer and resign as membership of their own volition," *New Light of Myanmar*, June 11th 2006. Accessed at www.myanmar.com/press_conference/2006/11-6g.html on June 18th 2007.

Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions³⁹

Article 3 common to all four Geneva Conventions comprises a concise set of regulations delimiting acts which are not legally permissible in either international or non-international armed conflict. As an expression of Customary International Humanitarian Law (IHL), these rules are binding on all States irrespective of their individual ratification status with respect to the Geneva Conventions themselves. Nevertheless, on August 25th 1992, the then SLORC regime acceded to the first three Geneva Conventions, thereby acknowledging obligations to international laws to which Burma was nonetheless already bound. While the regime was unwilling to sign and ratify Geneva Convention (IV) relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, it nevertheless remains bound to Common Article 3, as included in Conventions I – III and as an expression of Customary IHL. In respect to the present report, Common Article 3 is relevant in those areas of overt armed conflict, which include much of northern and parts of southern Karen State.

Common Article 3 stipulates that “*Persons taking no active part in hostilities... shall in all circumstances be treated humanely...*” and therefore that “*violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture*” as well as “*outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment*” are expressly prohibited. The maltreatment, torture and other abuse of villagers taking part in forced labour for SPDC forces, especially where such work involves labour in support of military operations, such as portering for army patrols and building or repairing camps, contravenes these stipulations.

Convention on the Rights of the Child⁴⁰

The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child is applicable to the regime’s perpetration of forced labour in Karen State insofar as SPDC soldiers and officers continue to requisition workers indiscriminately of their age. As a consequence of this indiscriminate imposition of forced labour, the army frequently exploits children for work on forced labour tasks. As stated above, this has included children at least as young as 12 in 2006-2007. The Convention defines a child as “*every human being below the age of eighteen years*” (Article 1). In reference to forced child labour, the Convention stipulates under Article 32.1, that

“States Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.”

Having acceded to the Convention on June 15th 1991, Burma is bound, as a State Party, to “*take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article*” which includes the implementation and enforcement of “*appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article*” (Article 32.2). Given the impunity with which officers and soldiers perpetrate the forced labour of children in Karen State, the SPDC is guilty of neglecting its obligations to enforce “*penalties or other sanctions*” against the relevant officers or soldiers.

³⁹ Available at <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/92.htm>.

⁴⁰ Available online at <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/k2crc.htm>.

SPDC Order 1/99⁴¹

In response to continued ILO pressure on the SPDC to abolish or amend legislation supportive of ongoing forced labour, the regime issued Order 1/99 on March 14th 1999 as an official repeal of the Towns Act, 1907 and Village Act, 1908. Specifically, the text of the decree read: *“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”* (paragraph 5). Additional qualifications listed in the Order reflected the conditions of the Forced Labour Convention, examined above. The Order furthermore stated that *“Any person who fails to abide by this Order shall have action taken against him under the existing law”* (paragraph 6).

In a memorandum to the ILO, the SPDC claimed that the document *“specifically orders ... that any and all unpaid or compulsory labour be terminated henceforth”*.⁴² However, this was simply inaccurate. As the ILO correctly noted at the time, the Order only covered those forms of coercive labour covered under the Village Act and the Towns Act. While the Order was promulgated in March of 1999, there was no indication at the time that the SPDC had circulated it to civilian or military authorities at any level. The Order itself was likely composed solely to show the ILO and other international organizations and persuade them of the regime’s compliance with the Forced Labour Convention. The eventual circulation of the directive appeared only once a visit of the ILO country team to evaluate the implementation of the Order became imminent.

While the issuance and dissemination of this order was in itself an important and necessary step towards the eradication of forced labour in Burma, it has nonetheless remained insufficient in effectively ending the practice. Most significantly, the regime has consistently obstructed any charges being brought against military personnel over the use of forced labour despite the requirement to take legal action against such individuals stipulated in paragraph 6. Moreover, the increased perpetration of forced labour in many areas of Karen State contradict any claims that the regime is in any way willing to enforce the prosecutorial requirement of the Order.

SPDC Orders Supplementing Order 1/99

Following the promulgation of Order 1/99, the regime issued two subsequent directives to supplement the stipulations contained in the initial document. These were *Order Supplementing Order 1/99*, October 27th 2000, issued by the Home Ministry and *Additional Instruction to State and Divisional Peace and Development Councils*, November 1st 2000, issued by then SPDC Prime Minister, General Khin Nyunt. These two supplementary directives expanded the scope of Order 1/99 and clarified ambiguities in the original document. Both for example stated that anyone, including *“members of the armed forces”* responsible for ordering forced labour *“shall be prosecuted under section 374 of the Penal Code or any other existing laws.”*

While these two directives elaborated on the initial stipulations of Order 1/99 and clarified ambiguities in the original document, the SPDC was initially only willing to provide English

⁴¹ The text of Order 1/99 has been taken from Appending XIII of [Developments concerning the question of the observance by the Government of Myanmar of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 \(No. 29\): Report of the High-Level Team](#), International Labour Organisation, Document Number GB.282/4, November 2001.

⁴² Second report of the Director-General to the members of the Governing Body on measures taken by the Government of Myanmar following the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry established to examine its observance of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), [Appendix II](#), ILO, Geneva, February 25th 2000.

language copies to the ILO. The SPDC refused to provide Burmese language copies of the documents despite repeated ILO requests to this effect. There was also no indication that the regime had circulated these two subsequent directives in any language within the country. As with Order 1/99, the initial appearance of the two supplementary orders within the country coincided with the ILO visit to appraise the implementation of the initial Order.

Despite the issuance of these two supplementary directives and Order 1/99 itself, there appears to be an understanding, if tacit, that military personnel may continue to requisition forced labour. As evidenced by the SPDC unwillingness to allow charges to be brought against military officers and the extensive collection of SPDC order documents included in the appendices of this report, the practice continues in a systematic manner that would be otherwise impossible without official sanction.

X. Conclusion

“The SPDC ordered it through the village chairperson and the chairperson told the villagers, and one person from each household had to go. Both male and female had to do the construction of this vehicle road. The villagers had to pack rice from their own houses and the villagers had to take their own tools as well.”

- Saw M--- (male, 37), Kh--- village, Thaton District (Dec 2006)

The regular and widespread perpetration of forced labour is indicative of its systematic character. The testimonies in this and other KHRG reports and most of the 145 order documents included in the appendices below provide tangible evidence that, far from being isolated acts of renegade officials, forced labour has become thoroughly incorporated into the system of militarisation; a system which the SPDC has shown itself to be set on imposing over the entirety of Karen State.

As a regular and, in many cases, daily abuse, forced labour has detrimental implications beyond the threats, harassment, maltreatment and loss of time of any individual incident. By keeping people away from their own families, occupations and social roles, forced labour obstructs civilian efforts to manage their livelihoods, care for and educate their children, support their families and communities, and take control of their lives. By exacerbating poverty and obstructing non-State agriculture, widespread and systematic forced labour has increased malnourishment, weakened health care strategies, and intensified the overall humanitarian crisis.

Faced with coercive and uncompensated labour and the deleterious fallout of such abuse, villagers across Karen State have actively responded to evade or otherwise minimise the forced labour imposed upon them. Civilian resistance strategies are varied and contextual. Aware of the conditions of militarisation in which they live, villagers are deft at perceiving how much or how little space exists to oppose forced labour orders. Village resistance includes misrepresenting the village population, appealing to or otherwise bribing SPDC, DKBA or other personnel for a reduction in demands, sending the least productive members of the household to fill forced labour quotas, performing shoddy workmanship on construction projects and ‘foot-dragging’ or under-working. Lastly, where the military has yet to consolidate its hold over the civilian population, villagers have employed flight and displacement as a means of evading forced labour demands. This evasion may initially lead to forest hiding sites in the hills near their village. However, where the military establishes a more permanent presence close to their homes, these people may choose to flee farther afield to the relative security of larger IDP camps or refugee camps in neighbouring Thailand. As these strategies weaken and otherwise slow down the militarisation of their homeland, civilians resisting forced labour are deemed rebels and enemies of the State.

With the increasing regimentation of village life, designation of SPDC-appointed village chairpersons and dissemination of forced labour orders via the VPDC structures, village heads are forced to become the reluctant emissaries of abusive State policy. As such, limited prosecution of village-level civilian officials over cases of forced labour submitted through the recently reintroduced ILO mechanism will not only lead to erroneous verdicts but furthermore misrepresent the systematic character of forced labour in Burma. Forced labour continues to be enforced on a widespread and systematic level in Karen State and across Burma by primarily SPDC military officers. Progress in addressing forced labour therefore requires that *military officers*, as the main agents of forced labour, are tried, convicted, stripped of their rank and imprisoned for demanding it. Despite SPDC claims about its willingness to carry out prosecutions over forced labour, not a single military officer has ever been charged, let alone punished for demanding it.

The reasons behind the SPDC's unwillingness to permit charges from being brought against military officers is likely twofold. For one, the SPDC is keen to avoid any official recognition of military abuse that would tarnish the image of the *Tatmadaw* as the unblemished vanguard of the nation. A second, and possibly more direct, concern seems to be the fear that, given the military's dependence on forced labour, any effective prosecutions and punishment risk being just that, effective. Were military officers at all dissuaded from making use of forced labour, the inability of 'frontline' units to support themselves would lead to a rollback of the military presence from rural areas, especially the non-Burman dominated uplands. An awareness of these two concerns illuminates SPDC statements on the subject of forced labour and serves as necessary background in efforts to eradicate the practice.

XI. Appendices

The order documents included in translation below represent a small sample of the large number of such documents regularly distributed across Karen State. KHRG researchers collected these documents from Papun, Pa'an, Dooplaya and Thaton Districts. In order to show the ongoing nature of forced labour only those written orders decreed since September 2006 have been included. This date also marks the last time the ILO Committee of Experts met and addressed the SPDC's continued non-compliance with the 1930 Forced Labour Convention. The actual dates of the orders included here cover the period from September 2nd 2006 to March 30th 2007. While all SPDC and KPF documents and most DKBA documents were written in the Burmese language, a handful of those issued by the DKBA were written in Karen.

For the sake of clarity, the order documents have been primarily sorted according to the armed group which dispatched them, whether SPDC, DKBA or KPF. The documents have then been grouped according to the type of order issued and then listed chronologically. Due to the large quantity of orders decreed by the SPDC, there were sufficient numbers collected from two individual villages to group together as a means of illuminating daily life for communities living under SPDC control. The orders are broken down as follows:

Set from a Village I and II:

Each of these two sets of order documents were sent to individual villages in Karen State. These two villages are subject to both SPDC and DKBA oppression and must bear regular demands from both groups. For the first village, situated in Thaton District, 21 order documents are included covering a period of roughly three and a half months from September 13th 2006 to January 7th 2007. All but one of these documents came from the SPDC, with the other having been sent by the DKBA. For the second village, situated in Dooplaya District, 14 documents are included covering a period of just under three months from September 5th to February 19th. The SPDC sent eight of these orders and the DKBA sent the remaining six. The large volume of written orders sent to individual villages is indicative of the systematic character of these demands.

General forced labour:

This section includes orders for forced labour building roads, *set tha* at army camps and bases, *loh ah pay* constructing buildings, transportation of supplies to camps, clearing brush from around villages, agricultural work and forced participation in football tournaments.

Forced labour supplying materials:

The documents in this set include orders for building supplies which indirectly demand forced labour. Commonly demanded items such as thatch shingles and bamboo poles are both labour intensive to fabricate and deliver. Where order documents demand money, food, livestock or other possession that do not require extra labour to produce, they are not included under this section.

Extortion of money, food and other supplies:

The documents included under this heading are those which demand payments of cash and food such as rice, fruit and livestock as well as other items like betel nuts. These demands nearly always entail some element of forced labour in collecting the items demanded and/or delivering them to those who demanded them.

Regimentation: recruitment, restrictions and information:

This section covers those demands connected to the increasing regimentation of village life commensurate with more intensive militarisation. These orders include demands for information on individual villagers, submission of biographies of village leaders and teachers,

restrictions on trade and travel, registration of those villagers who have 'illegally' left for work in other countries; and recruitment of villagers as 'military staff'. Such activities not only constitute or involve subtle forms of forced labour in themselves, but also contribute to creating a more ready pool of forced labour for future requisition.

Summons to 'meetings':

These order documents demand villagers' attendance at monthly VPDC meetings or at impromptu meetings with local military officers. While these orders comprise the largest single group, more specific demands for forced labour are typically issued in person during such meetings. An illustration of this is order #39 which lists requirements for labour on agriculture, fish breeding and other duties which were originally disseminated at a regional meeting for VPDC chairpersons at a Township Peace and Development Council meeting.

Likely SPDC origin:

The final group of orders comprises four documents with no clear indication of their issuing party. However, all four came from areas heavily saturated with other orders of SPDC origin. Nevertheless, the DKBA is also active in these same areas and cannot therefore be ruled out as the issuing party.

Notes on the translations:

In order to reflect most accurately the contents of order documents, we have favoured a word-by-word translation rather than approaching a given sentence as a whole, where possible. As word order in English sentences is roughly the reverse of that found in Burmese grammar, some sentences may initially appear disjointed. Where the retention of Burmese word order would prove incomprehensible in English translation, we have written the sentences according to English word order. The texts have been formatted in line with the layout of the original documents. Official stamps indicating the issuing office are typically circular in shape, but have been represented below as boxed text with the word "stamp:" in bold. In DKBA documents, the English pronunciation of the four-letter acronym "DKBA" is typically written out in Burmese letters (i.e. 'D au bD at) so as to read as it would in English. This has therefore been translated below as "Dee Kay Bee Ay". The italicized marker "Sd." indicates the signature of the issuing officer. The formats of dates in the translations follow those used in the originals. Different orders include Western, Burmese and Karen calendar years. In some cases the issuing officer has written all three in a single document. The western calendar year of 2007 corresponds to the year 2746 on the Karen calendar and 1368 on the Burmese calendar. The Burmese word *wondan* (ဝေဖန့်) as used in orders #129-#131 has been translated below as "military staff". The terms "Gentleman" and "Mother" as used in order documents refer to the relevant village head/chairperson. In order to avoid reprisals against civilians, the villages, village heads, chairpersons, camp and base locations as well as column and order numbers have been censored. In many cases orders have incorrect number/noun agreements (ex. "those village head") which have been translated as such into English. Individual and place names have been replaced by alphabetically consecutive numbers followed by three dashes (i.e. A---, B-- , C--- etc.). These letters do not correspond to the initial letter of the original name. Numbers have been replaced by three hash marks (i.e. ###). In some cases KHRG has included italicized notes below the translations of the order documents in order to provide additional information regarding specific incidents.

Appendix 1: (SPDC and DKBA orders) Set to a village I: Thaton District

Order #1 (Thaton)

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

Development of Karen Buddhist National Union
Organising Committee - Thee Ha District - # (333) Brigade
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Date: 13-9-2006

To

For the (chairpersons) of all villages
Bilin Township, A--- village/ Pa'an Township _____ village (eastern)

Subject: Invitation to participate in Karen New Year.
Regarding the above subject –

DKBA – All the people of every village situated in Pa'an Township / Bilin Township along with our DKBA organisation for the celebration of the 2746 / 47 New Year will make arrangements on the (5th) day of the waxing of the moon of the month of Tha Tin Kyaut (1368) Tuesday 2006 September (26th) in the morning at 9 o'clock and so must go to B--- District - # (333) Brigade C--- Operation Office village. This is to invite you.

Sd.
Secretary (Major)
Organising Committee
- (333) Brigade - Dee Kay Bee Ay
/ ### - Saw D---

Order #2 (Thaton)

Frontline #101 Light Infantry Division Headquarters, A---
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 September 19th

To

Daw B--- (C---) village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, for discussions with the Chairman and the Gentleman on 2006 September 21st at 11:00 o'clock, come with 4 people whose present duty it is to look after the village, without fail. This is to inform you.

Sd.
LID Commander

Order #3 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #255 Infantry Battalion, Column # (###) Letter # ___ Date ___</p>

To
Village head
C---

Date: 20-9-06

Subject: Announcement about attending a meeting

The Army headquarters which is situated at A--- village will conduct a meeting. Two village-heads of C--- and C--- must arrive on 21.9.2006 at 08:00. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Captain
Camp Commander
D--- Camp

Order #4 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: Frontline # 101 Light Infantry Division Military Operation Command Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Frontline #101, Light Infantry Division, A---
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 September 24th

To
C--- village Chairman

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding above the subject, [I] must meet with the A--- village Chairman and the Gentleman. Therefore, the present leaders who are responsible for the village must attend the meeting without fail on 2006 September 30th at 10:00 o'clock. This is to inform you.

Sd.
LID Commander (For)

Order #5 (Thaton)

To
 Mother Chairperson
 C---

11-10-2006

We will sell rice to Mother's village. Therefore, on 12-10- 2006 come and buy the rice. This is to inform you.

Sd.
 Camp Commander
 D--- Camp

<p>Stamp: Frontline #251 Infantry Battalion Letter #____ Date____</p>
--

Order #6 (Thaton)

16-10-2006

To
 C--- Chairperson
 D--- Chairperson

Come to encampment just now with a *set tha* and meet for a discussion. This is to inform you.

<p>Stamp: Frontline #101 Infantry Battalion Headquarter Military Intelligence Agency</p>
--

Sd.
 Captain E---
 A--- Camp Commander

Notice: Bring with the left of money which for the calendars. This is to inform you.

Order #7 (Thaton) 07-16-D7-27

To
 C--- Chairperson
 D--- Chairperson

17-10-06

Subject: The issue of discussing the military camp

Regarding the above subject, the Gentlemen and Camp Commander must have a discussion. For this reason, [we] inform you to come to the discussion on 17-10-06 without fail.

Sd.
 Camp Commander (E---)
 A--- Camp

Order #8 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: #251 Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #___ Date___</p>

24-10-2006

To
Chairperson
C---

Chairperson – To discuss work issues, the Chairperson himself must come to D--- on 25.10.2006 at 7 o'clock without fail. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander
D--- Camp

Order #9 (Thaton)

29-10-2006

<p>Stamp: Frontline #251 Infantry Battalion Column headquarter Letter #___ Date___</p>
--

To
Chairperson
C---

Chairperson, now when you receive this letter, (5) people, (3) [of whom are] already involved with the Chairperson along with those members' biographies, must come to the camp at once. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp commander
D---

Order #10 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #101 LID Headquarters Letter #___ Date___</p>

Frontline #101 LID Headquarters A---
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 October 4th

To
C---

Subject: The purchase of calendars

Regarding above the subject, everyone must fulfil their duty to buy calendars as has been delegated. This is to inform you.

Sd.
LID Commander (For)

Order #11 (Thaton)

9-10-2006

<p>#253 Light Infantry Battalion Frontline Command Headquarter Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

To
Chairperson
C---

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

[We] must have a discussion with the Gentleman of every village. Therefore come to D--- on 10.10.2006 at 11:00 o'clock. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander
D--- Camp

Order #12 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: #251 Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter # ___ Date ___</p>

Date: 12-11-2006

To
C---

The length of Mother's section of the vehicle road that has been designated must be finished rebuilding today and then a *set tha* must report to D--- Camp. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander
D--- Camp

Order #13 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #251 Infantry Battalion Letter #____ Date____</p>
--

Date: 13-11-2006
Monday

To
Mother Daw G--- (Chairperson)
C---

On the new moon of the month of Ta Zaw Mo [November 19th 2006] sends five men to D--- camp. This is to ask for help from you.

Camp Commander
D--- Camp

Order #14 (Thaton)

27.11.2006

<p>Stamp: #250 Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #____ Date____</p>

To
Chairperson
C---

Chairperson Mother Daw G---, from Mother's village from 28-11-2006 to 29-11-2006 [you] must take responsibility to prepare two *set tha*. For that reason, tomorrow at 2:00 o'clock send them. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander
D--- Camp

Order #15 (Thaton)

Date: 29-11-2006

<p>Stamp: #251 Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #____ Date____</p>

To
Chairperson
D---

Mother Daw G---, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, November (30th) and December (1st), Mother's village must take responsibility to send *set tha*. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander (For)
D--- Camp

Order #16 (Thaton)

12-12-2006

To
Chairperson
C---

Mother Daw G---, on the days of 14-12-2006 – 25-12-2006 Mother's village must take [its] turn for *set tha*. During those days arrange to send 2 people as *set tha*. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander (E---)
D--- Camp

Order #17 (Thaton)

14.12.2006

To
Mother Daw G---
C--- village head

We will arrive today.

For the materials that have been sent by bullock carts to the monastery, send one person as *set tha* to wait for them.

Sd.
Intelligence Officer
Southeastern Command
Infantry Battalion #257

Order #18 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #251 Light Infantry Battalion Column Headquarter Letter #___ Date___</p>

2.12.2006

To
Chairman, C---

All the teachers from C--- must write their biography. Therefore, let them come to A--- School on (3.12.2006). This is to inform you.

- The education coordinator has arrived at A--- village.

Sd.
Camp Commander
D---

Order #19 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #11 Light Infantry Battalion Column Headquarter</p>
--

4-12-2006

To
Chairman
C---

Chairmen - Tell me now what time you went to A---

Sd.
Camp Commander
D--- Camp

Order #20 (Thaton)

7-1-2007

<p>Stamp: #251 Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #___ Date___</p>

To
Chairperson
C---

Mother Daw G---, send two people as *set tha* from Mother's village on the 9th/10th. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander (For)
D--- Camp

Order #21 (Thaton)

To
C---
Mother

<p>Stamp: Frontline #251 Infantry Battalion Letter #___ Date___</p>
--

Now, send bags of rice, bags of yellow beans, tins of oil and a letter to D--- Camp.

Sd.
Captain I---

Appendix 2: (SPDC and DKBA orders) Set to a village II: Dooplaya

Order #22 (Dooplaya)

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

To

The Gentleman
A--- village

Date: 5-9-2006

Subject: Invitation for every village to attend the annual meeting of K'Lo Htoo Baw Operation Command football secretary's raining season football match.

Regarding the above subject, K'Lo Htoo Baw Operation Command football secretary needs to discuss about the raining season football match. So, the chairperson and secretary must come to the DKBA office in B--- village on Monday the (5th) day of the waxing of the month of Taw Tha Lin [September 11th 2006] at 1:00 pm without fail. You are informed.

- Be informed -

1. K'Lo Htoo Baw Operation Commander Secretary
2. # 901 Battalion Commander
3. Deputy Commanders, #901 Battalion
4. Village heads
5. Office copy

Sd.

5-9-06

Company Commander/ Company Headquarter (For)
(###) Captain C---
#901 Central Security Battalion
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Notice: Be on time on the (5th) day of the waxing of the month of Taw Tha Lin.
K'Lo Htoo Baw Organised Region
Dee Kay Bee Ay
D--- Camp

Order #23 (Dooplaya)

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

Date: -9-2006

To

The Gentleman
A--- village

Subject: K'Lo Htoo Baw Organised Region football game secretary sends the meeting decision about the raining season football teams.

Regarding the above reason, Gentleman, we inform you about the decision for the raining season football game that we decided on 11-9-2006.

The meeting's decision was that every football team must pay 25,000 kyat and 1 tin [16 kg. / 35.2 lb.] of rice on the (8th) day of the waning of the month of Tha Tin Kyaut [October 2nd 2006] and send it to B--- village. Furthermore, all of the football teams must come to B--- village after the (4th) day of the waxing of the month of Tha Tin Kyaut [October 10th 2006] at 4:00 pm to meet each other. This is to inform you.

Notice: If any teams are absent from the competition, the team must pay 100,000 kyat in cash.

Sd.

16-9-06

Company Commander/ Company Headquarter (*For*)

(###) Captain C---

#901 Central Security Battalion

Dee Kay Bee Ay

Be informed

1. K'Lo Htoo Baw Organed Region Secretary
2. # 901Battalion, Camp Commander
3. # 901Battalion, Deputy Commander
4. Officers, Commanders, # 901Battalion
5. Village heads

The village names list for the competition.

1. #901, Battalion team
2. Kyaug Sha Kone team
3. Taung Kya In team
4. Myaut Kya In team
5. Yee Pu village
6. Ngah Yah Kwat team 2
7. Taung Ka Ma Yaik team
8. Myaut Ka Ma Yaik team
9. Mih Ga Lo team
10. Kaw Ka + Kayin Kyaut Phya team
11. Kyaut Phya + Myay Nee Gone team
12. Ywa Ka Lay + Kah Toh Khee villages team
13. Khan Nee village team
14. Kah Hlyan village
15. Kah Khing vilage team
16. Nwah Chan Gone + Pa Ka Law team
17. Ka Yin Ka Tah village team
18. Pa Boh + Ngah Pyaw Tah villages team
19. Kan Ma Laik village team
20. Kaw Kay village team
21. Ah Ley Kyon village team
22. Ta Tah Gyi + La Lah Pa villages team
23. Ta Tah Oo village team
24. Win Poh + Khu Nee villages team
25. Kha Yin village team
26. Win Tha Lweh village tem
27. Win Ka village team
28. Tha Main Dot village team
29. Ngah Gone village team
30. Paing Yat village team
31. Shan Kyon village team
32. Gyi Oh village team
33. Pah Pyauk village team
34. Mya Ma Liang village team
35. Kayin Hlaing village team

36. An Ga Leh village team
 37. Mu Hsoh Gyon village team

Total 37 teams

Order #24 (Dooplaya)

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

Date: 24-9-06

To/

Chairperson / Secretary
 A--- village

I am writing to you. Find 3,000 betelnuts for me. I send 30,000 kyat with B---. Find the betelnuts quickly for me.

Sd.
 ### / ###
 #906 Central Security Battalion
 Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #25 (Dooplaya)

Date: 27-10-06

To A--- village
 Chairperson - Secretary

Subject: The betelnuts which I have ordered from you send tomorrow on (28-10-06). I don't have time to go and take [them]. I will give money at the same time when I receive [them]. Send [them] because I have to send [them] to the Camp Commander.

That's all.

Sd.
 B---
 D.K.B.A

Order #26 (Dooplaya)

Date: 24-11-2006

To Chairperson
 A---

Subject: Annoucement about cutting down the bushes alongside the road

Regarding the above subject, every year your village must take responsibility for cutting the bushes from A--- village to the B--- spirit house. When you have done so, send news.

Sd.
 Camp Commander

Order #27 (Dooplaya)

12-2-07

To
 Chairperson / Secretary
 A--- village

From the Gentleman's village we haven't yet received any thatch and bamboo. So, send them quickly. If it rains, all the rations will become wet. Moreover, the huts need to be repaired. So, send the thatch and bamboo on 20-2-07. This is to inform you.

Thatch (400)
 Bamboo (200)

Sd.
 Camp Commander
 C--- village

Order #28 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: #62 Infantry Battalion Military Operation Command Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Date 3-12-2006

To
 Chairperson
 A--- village

I need to discuss with the Gentleman some cases about your village. So, come to C--- camp on Tuesday (5-12-2006) at (9:00 am). You are informed about the meeting.

Date: 3-12-2006
 Place: C---

Sd.
 Camp Commander (For)
 (C--- Camp)

At this meeting SPDC officials demanded information from the village head regarding whether or not any NLA soldiers had entered the village. The officials then threatened the village head against non-compliance.

Order #29 (Dooplaya)

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

To
 The Gentleman
 A--- village

Date: 7-1-2007

Subject: The issue of having to send money for the (2) festivals of the B--- Three Pagodas and the C--- Pagoda.

Regarding the above subject, for the two festivals, the Gentleman's village must send 15,000 kyat and 2 tins [32 kg. / 70.4 lb.] of rice on the new moon of the month of Pya Tho [January 17th 2007]. This is to inform you.

Money 15,000
 Rice 2 tins

Sd.
 Company Commander/Company Headquarter
 (### / ###), Captain Saw D---
 #901 Central Security Battalion
 Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #30 (Dooplaya)

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen Nation Army
#906, Central Security Battalion
D.K.B.A

Date: 7-1-2007

To

With respect, A--- Chairperson, I am writing to you. I would like your village to donate 200,000 kyat because Sayadaw Myaing Gyi Ngoo will crown the pagoda's finial on Friday the (2nd) day of the waning of the month of Ta Po Tweh [February]. We inform and request that the Gentlemen give assistance.

Notice: The money must be collected on the (9th) day of the waxing of the month of Pya Tho (22-1-06) in B---'s house.

Sd.
 Company (3) Company Commander
 #906 Center Security Battalion
 Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #31 (Dooplaya)

Date: 18-1-07

To

Chairperson / Secretary
 A--- village

Subject: Invitation to pagoda crowning ceremony

1. We will crown the pagoda finial on the (2nd) day of the waning of the month of Ta Po Tweh [January 18th 2007] at 7 o'clock in the morning in B--- village / D--- section.
2. A--- village must take responsibility for Karen traditional dancing and entertainment when the pagoda is crowned.
3. Tomorrow morning at 7 o'clock, the chairperson himself must lead them and come to D--- village without fail (without fail). You are informed.

Stamp: #62 Light Infantry Battalion Column ### Letter# ___ Date ___
--

Sd.
 Major E---
 Frontline Commander
 Light Infantry Battalion (#62)

Order #32 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Myanmar Country Police Southern Police Station Kawkareik Township Letter# ___ Date ___ Karen State</p>

Kawkareik District / Kawkareik Township
Southern Kya In Police Station
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 February 18th

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: To inform about the situation of the help that has been requested

1. Karen State Peace and Development Council's chairperson has examined the police station at Kya In. He found that the apartments need to be fixed. As a result, he has decided to change the roof to tin, the floors and the walls to wood. The village heads must collect different types of wood for the building and send them on 15-12-2007.
2. Therefore, we have to report to the other officers about the different types of wood which have been requested. Therefore, let us know on time when you are ready to send the wood.

Sd.
Southern Police Office
Kawkareik Township

Order #33 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Myanmar Country's Police Kya In Police Station Kawkareik Township</p>

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Sending wood

Kawkareik township southern Kya In police station's building will be rebuilt from thatch to tin and wood. Karen State Peace and Development Council chairperson orders that wood for the building be sent. This is to request assistance.

The required wood

4 x 2" x 15' - 30 planks - 10 hand spans
4 x 4" x 9' - 13 planks - 6 hand spans
3 x 2" x 15" - 30 planks - 10 hand spans
3 x 1" x 15" - 20 planks - 10 hand spans

Notice: Send them on 15-2-2007.

Sd.
Camp Commander
Southern Kya In Police Office
Kawkareik Township

Order #34 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: #230 Infantry Battalion Assistance Group Letter #____ Date____</p>

Date: 16-2-07

To
Chairperson / Secretary
A--- village

The Gentleman's village must send 300 thatch [shingles], wood and nails for #230 Infantry Battalion at Kya In Seik Gyi.

You must do it rapidly.

1. 4 x 2 - 21 nails
2. 6 x 1 - 6 pieces
3. (300) thatch [shingles]

Sd.
Camp Commander
F---
Personal No-###
#230 Infantry Battalion

Order #35 (Dooplaya)

Date: 19-2-07

To
Chairperson
A--- village head

I am writing to you as a representative of the Camp Commander. We inform you that we have received 180 bamboo [poles] and 400 thatch [shingles] which you sent with two bullock carts.

We hope that the chairperson and all of the villagers will be in good health.

Sd.
Assistant of Camp Commander
G---
Light Infantry Battalion

Appendix 3: SPDC Orders

a. General forced labour

Order #36 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi town Letter # ____ Date ____</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 March 30th

To

Chairperson / Member (A--)
Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: The issue of sending Pan Yan carpenters

1. On the day of (28-3-2007) send (30) Pan Yan carpenters to construct a new village for Karen Peace Group families in Karen State / Kawkaeik District / Toh Kaw Ko region. Those carpenters must build houses for Karen Peace Group families. Therefore, [you] need to help them with food while they are there.

2. Therefore, the Gentleman's village must send money to Township Peace and Development Council secretary Soe Thain on 7-5-2007. This is to ask you and request help from you.

We would like you to donate 15,000 kyat in cash.

Sd
30-3
Chairperson (For)
Soe Thain, Secretary

Copies

Office copy / interdepartmental circular letter

Identical copies of this document were sent to every village located within Kya In Seik Gyi ward.

Order #37 (Pa'an)

To

Chairperson
_____ village

Subject: To come for loh ah pay

One person from every house in the Gentleman's village must come on a rotating quota to LIB #548 at 7:00 on Sunday, the 8th day of the waning of the moon of the month of T'Hsaung Mone, 1368 [November 12th 2006], to harvest paddy and bring along [your] own tools at the same time without fail. This is to inform you.

<p>Stamp: #548 Light Infantry Battalion Staff Officer Headquarter Letter # ____ Date ____</p>
--

Location: A---
Date: (10.11.2006)

Sd.
Battalion Commander (For)
#548 Light Infantry Battalion

Order #38 (Dooplaya)

Township Peace and Development Council
Karen State - Kawkareik town
Letter No: ### / ###
Date: 2006 December 15th

Subject: The issue of having to plant dry season rice

Regarding the above subject, the villages which are situated in Kawkareik Township, starting in 2006 and 2007 must plant rice in the dry season. Some village ward names which must plant the rice in the dry season are listed below.

The village names which are included in the Htee Hu Tha village ward

1. A--- (100 acre)
2. B--- (100 acre)
3. C--- (100 acre)

Sd.
D---
Township Survey Department
Kawkareik Town

Copies

1. Chairperson, District Peace and Development Council / Kawkareik District / Kawkareik Township
2. Chairperson, Township Peace and Development Council / Kawkareik town
3. Manager, Myanmar Agriculture / Kawkareik town

Order #39 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter #___
Date___

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 March 19th

To

Township departments
_____Department
Sub-township administrator
(A--- / B---)
For all of Village Peace and Development Council Chairperson
(C--- / Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association / Woman's Affairs / Red Cross / Fire
Brigade / Former Officer)
Non-government social affairs groups
Kya In Seik Township

Subject: The issue of having to implement the meeting decisions regarding the four month term as recorded in 2006

1. There are (32) objectives that were decided by the Karen State Peace and Development Council during 2006 for the four months term. Among those, there are (27) objectives which the government departments, Village Peace and Development Council and Social Affairs Group must implement. You are informed.
2. The situation regarding the decisions from 2006 about the four month term must be reported to the Township Peace and Development Council at the end of the month (without fail) regarding whether or not the implementation was successful. You are informed.

Attached: (3) office copies

Sd.
Chairperson
D---, Secretary

Copies

- State Peace and Development Council / Pa'an town
- Strategic Command (Station) Kya In Seik Gyi town
- District Peace and Development Council / Kawkareik town
- Office copy / interdepartmental circular letter

2006 / Four Months Term Meeting Decisions

No	Subject	Responsibility
1.	Must plant 10 main types of crops and extend the acreage of castor and crop cultivation. This is a duty to carry out.	-DPDC -Sub-township -TPDC
2.	Must extend the acreage of rainy season rice farms / must plant Hsin Thwey Lat rice to reach the goal. Then the people whose duty it is must go into the field and plant the rice.	“
3.	Must plant more Khaung Htin rice in the hill fields and extend the acreage of those fields.	“
4.	In 2007-2008 must plant Hsin Thwey Lat and Khaung Htin rice and extend the acreage of the farms. Prepare for those two types of rice.	“
5.	For the farms which do not receive rain, the people whose duty it is must persuade the villagers and try to get natural fertilizer and humus from them.	“
6.	Must take care of the crops which produce seeds and oil and extend the acreage of the farms.	-DPDC (Myawaddy) -TPDC (Myawaddy)
7.	Must plan for planting more rubber and other crops to get more money and extend the acreage of the garden.	-DPDC -Sub-township -TPDC
8.	Must plan to extend (1,000) more acres of coffee farms, tea farms and (500) more acres of pepper farms.	-TPDC -Sub-township
9.	Every district must plan to collect seeds and extend the acreage of the farms to achieve this objective. Also must plan to plant more castor in 2007-2008.	“
10.	Every district must plan to find places for more crops and extend the acreage of the farms.	“
11.	Every township and district must be developed. Individual people must plan to increase their income.	“
12.	Must take care of the public budget and use it wisely.	-DPDC / Township -TPDC -Sub-township and Departments
13.	Must improve the quality of goods and produce to a high standard.	-Departments
14.	In 2007-2008, more than 90% of the public must be involved in an NGO.	-DPDC / township -TPDC -Sub-township and NGO

15.	Starting from kindergarden to college and university, the students must love their country, people and be united. It is the duty of the people to encourage them.	-District Peace and Development Council/ Township -Peace and Development Council -Sub-township.
16.	Must think about the civilians' survival and decrease the price of goods for them.	"
17.	Must plan to make sure that every village, town and region is clean and also free from plastics.	- DPDC -TPDC
18.	Must plan to check the registered number of NGO members by examining the application forms of the people who are involved as members in NGOs.	- DPDC / Township - TPDC - Sub-township
19.	Must plan to plant more Ta Tih Mo coffee and extend the acreage of the farms.	-DPDC (Pa'an) -TPDC (Papun) -Than Taung Gyi -Sub-township of Than Taung Gyi.
20.	Must plan to breed more fish, lobsters and extend the acreage of the lakes.	-DPDC (Pa'an) -TPDC
21.	The villages which do not have a Village Peace and Development Council yet must form one.	-DPDC (Pa'an) -TPDC
22.	Must plant the rainy season rice and dry season rice in the farms and measure the amount of rice produced from one acre.	-DPDC -TPDC -Every township
23.	Must make a registration list for the export of pepper and the price in every region.	"
24.	Must make a plan for every region to get 60% of cooking oil.	-DPDC -TPDC -Sub-township
25.	Must make better corn produce and extend the acreage of corn.	-DPDC (Myawaddy) -TPDC (Myawaddy)
26.	Must be careful of Bird Flu (H5N1) so the regions which are located along the border line must not import chicken, birds and eggs into the country.	-DPDC (Pa'an) -Kawkareik and Myawaddy
27.	Must report about the meeting decisions for the third four-month term of 2006. After the implementation has been completed, inform the Karen State Peace and Development Council in May.	-DPDC -TPDC) -Sub-township -Every department

Order #40 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 January (30th)

Subject: Issuing duties for the chairperson and members of village and village ward Peace and Development Council (VPDC)

1. The training of the Township Peace and Development Council was successfully completed between 2007 November (27th) to 2007 December (22nd). Some people are suitable for the position of chairperson and member of the Township Peace and Development Council. Therefore, they have been chosen as chairperson

and member for Kya In Gyi ward / Village Peace and Development Council. Therefore, the names below will register on 1-1-07 as Village Peace and Development Council chairperson and member.

Kya In Gyi ward / Township Peace and Development Council (TPDC)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. <u>U</u> / Daw <u>A---</u> | chairperson |
| 2. <u>U</u> / Daw <u>B---</u> | member |
| 3. <u>U</u> / Daw <u>C---</u> | accountant |

2. Other people who have attended the training have gotten the position of stand-in member and the duty which they must take is below.

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------|---------------------------|
| 1. <u>D---</u> | village | (U / Daw E--- |
| 2. <u>F---</u> | " | (U / Daw G--- |
| 3. <u>H---</u> | " | (U / Daw I--- |
| 4. <u>J---</u> | " | (U / Daw K--- |
| 5. <u>L---</u> | " | (U / Daw M--- |
| 6. <u>N---</u> | " | (U / Daw O--- |
| 7. <u>P---</u> | " | (U / Daw Q--- |
| 8. <u>R---</u> | " | (U / Daw S--- |
| 9. <u>T---</u> | " | (U / Daw U--- |
| 10. <u>V---</u> | " | (U / Daw W--- |

Sd.
Chairperson (For)
W---, Secretary

Copies Copies
State Peace and Development Council/ Pa'an Town
District Peace and Development Council/ Kawkareik
Office copy / interdepartmental circular letter

Order #41 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: #251 Infantry Battalion Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Date: 10-11-2006

To
Chairperson
A--- village

On Sunday the eighth day of the month of Tan Saung Mone (12-11-2006) let six men from A--- village come to B--- camp at 7 o'clock.

Sd.
Camp Commander
B--- Camp

Order #42 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: #251 Infantry Battalion Letter #____ Date____</p>

Date: 14-11-2006

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Chairperson - Mother Daw B--- at the new moon of the month of Tan Saung Mone (19-11-2006) let six men come to C--- camp at 7 o'clock. This is to request you.

Sd.
Camp Commander
C--- Camp

Order #43 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town Letter#____ Date____</p>

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 January 31st

To
Township Operation Commander
Information and Publication Communication Operation Commander
Kya In Seik Gyi Town

Subject: The issue of carrying out the duty for every library and reporting back to us

Reference: District Peace and Development Council
Kawkareik Town (12-12-2009) Letter No: ### / ### / ###

1. Every township / village ward has already built a library. 50 villages have good transportation and those villages must keep the libraries clean and take care of the library materials. This is to inform you with a letter.

2. Then every village ward must report back about the duty which they must carry out, such as keeping the libraries clean, taking care of the building and materials and whether it is possible or not. The latest day to report to the office is 2-2-2007. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Chairperson (For)
A---, Secretary

Copies
District Peace and Development Council / Kawkareik Town
B---, Village Peace and Development Council

Order #44 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Town

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 November 29th

To

Chairperson
A---
Kya In Seik Gyi Town

Subject: The issue of monetary donations

1. For the 51st anniversary of Karen State, Kya In Seik Gyi Township must provide 2 Karen traditional dance teams. The cost for each team is 1,000,000 kyat. Therefore, the two teams must give 2,000,000 kyat.

2. Therefore, every village in B--- ward must combine their money of 6,000 kyat [each] and donate it for the anniversary. Send it on 15-1-2007 without fail.

Copies

Office copy/ Interdepartmental circular Letter

Sd.
Chairperson (For)
C---, Secretary

Order #45 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter #___
Date___

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township / Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 January 29th

To

Wards / Village Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: The issue of having to participate in the duty as a member of the Ward / Village Peace and Development Council

1. From 2006 November 22nd to 2006 November 27th the Township Peace and Development Council has already finished giving a training. At the same time, there were three people who were chosen as members of the Village Peace and Development Council.

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| 1. U / Daw A--- | chairperson |
| 2. U / Daw B--- | member |
| 3. U / Daw ___ | accountant |

2. Some wards / Village Peace and Development Councils confuse the village head with the chairperson because there are many sub-villages in a village ward. The real chairperson is the one who was chosen by the

Village Peace and Development Council and the other members are called Village Peace and Development Council stand-ins. There are three examples below.

1. C--- (chairperson)
Kya In Seik Gyi village ward, Peace and Development Council,
Kya In Seik Gyi Township
2. D--- (Village Peace and Development Council member)
E--- village, chairperson (representative)
Village ward, Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi village
3. U F--- (Village Peace and Development Council stand-in)
G--- village, chairperson (representative)
Village Peace and Development Council
Tha Pan Ya village ward.

Stamp:
Village Peace and Development Council
Tha Pan Ya village ward

Sd.
Chairperson (*For*)
H---, Secretary

Copies

Office copy / interdepartmental circular letter

b. Forced labour supplying materials

Order #46 (Papun)

To

Chairperson
A--- village

Date: 13-9-2006

There is a meeting on Friday, 15-9-2006. At that time bring along 50 thatch [shingles] from each village to repair DKBA huts which are situated in B--- camp. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Battalion Commander
Frontline #234 Infantry Battalion

Order #47 (Dooplaya)

To

VPDC
Village Chairperson

Date: 7-9-2006

Subject: Request for assistance

Regarding the above reason, the Southern Kya In police officer requests that 40 bamboo [poles] be sent from individual villages on 11-9-2006 to the Southern Kya In Police Office. This is to inform you.

Notice: The cost will be given later.

Sd.
Chairperson

Despite the statement the "cost will be given later" no monetary compensation for the bamboo demanded in this document was subsequently paid.

Order #48 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #263 Infantry Battalion Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Frontline #263 Infantry Battalion
A--- Camp
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 October (13th)

To
Chairperson/ Secretary
B--- village

Subject: Request to send thatch

For repairing the roof of a building at A--- camp, the villages which are listed below must send thatch to us. This is to ask you.

1. C--- [village]	250 [thatch shingles]
2. D--- [village]	150 [thatch shingles]
3. E--- [village]	100 [thatch shingles]
4. F--- [village]	150 [thatch shingles]
5. G--- [village]	50 [thatch shingles]
6. H--- [village]	150 [thatch shingles]
7. I--- [village]	50 [thatch shingles]
8. J--- [village]	250 [thatch shingles]
9. K--- [village]	500 [thatch shingles]

Sd.
Battalion Commander (For)

Order #49 (Dooplaya)

To
VPDC
Village Head

Date: 22-11-2006

Subject: The issue of a bridge and the New Year's money

Regarding the above reason, Southern A--- must cut 80 bamboo [poles] and Northern A--- must cut 20 bamboo [poles] to build the bridge. Everything must be ready and be on time when the order comes to you.

Notice: Send the New Year's money rapidly.

Sd.
Chairperson (For)

c. Extortion of money, food and materials

Order #50 (Pa'an)

<p>Stamp: #549 Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #____ Date____</p>

A--- village,

4*2 = 6 nails
 2*2 = 1 nail
 6*1 = 10 nails
 2*1 = 5 nails
 4*4 = 1 nail

On 16-1-2007 send these materials.

Sd.
 Light Infantry Battalion (#549)

Order #51 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi town Letter #____ Date____</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
 Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
 Letter # 2 / 5 - 12 / Oo 6 (756)
 Date: 2006 October 17th

To
 A---
 _____ Department, section / village
 Kya In Seik Gyi town

Subject: Have to pay money which remain

1. In Kya In Seik Gyi township, according to the above address from department / section / villages have to pay for the cost of the dry season paddy, castor, and calendar. According to the following below:

(A)	Dry season paddy (cost of fertilizer)	-----
	Dry season paddy (cost of paddy seeds)	-----
(B)	Castor	<u>36,500 kyat</u>
(C)	Calendar	-----
	Total =	<u>36,500 kyat</u>

2. As shown above [you] must come to pay the amount of 36,500 kyat in cash by 31-10-2006 as the last day at the Township Peace and Development Council office without fail. This is to inform you.

Sd.
 Chairperson (For)
 (B---, secretary)

Copy-
 Office receipt / file

Order #52 (Papun)

Date: 17-10-2006

To
 Chairman
 A--- village

The Battalion Commander orders [you] to buy some ripe or unripe fruit to offer to monks and to send to B--- camp. If [you] have to purchase with your own money [I] will repay.

Notice: banana / papaya / pomelo / sweet lime and other ripe fruit

<p>Stamp: #20 Infantry Battalion Battalion Headquarters Letter ___ Date ___</p>
--

Sd.
 Column Office

Order #53 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: #20 Infantry Battalion Battalion Headquarters Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Date: 4-10-2006

To
 Chairman (A--- village)

On the full moon of October we have a celebration for offering meals to the monks and praying. Therefore, we invite you to come to the celebration. We need some fruit such as pomelo and sweet lime and other fruit. Tomorrow on (5-10-2006) I want to meet with the Chairperson or secretary. At that time bring along some fruit and I will pay money later.

Sd.
 Leader B---

Order #54 (Pa'an)

To: A--- village ward – (16-11-2006)

Sub-township B--- order letter

1. Karen State calendar (5) calendars 3000 %	= 15,000
2. Karen State postcard (10) cards 500 %	= 5,000
3. Karen State boxing ticket (15) tickets 1000 %	<u>= 15,000</u>
Total	30,000

Send the money on (19-11-2006) in the morning to C--- because this money must be given to the township office.

Sd.
 C--- Ward

Order #55 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: #60 Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Office</p>
--

Date: 20-11-2006

To
Chairperson
A---

Subject: To come promptly

We have rice to sell to your village. If you need it, come quickly. You are informed.

Sd.
Camp Commander
B---'s Camp

Order #56 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: #60 Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #___ Date___</p>
--

Date: 30-11-2006

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

[I] need to meet to discuss with the Gentleman. Therefore, come to B---'s camp on (4-12-2006) at 10:00 o'clock without fail. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander
B---'s camp

Bring along money to replace the bag of rice that you took before.

Order #57 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kawkareik Township Letter #___ Date___</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kawkareik town / Karen State
Letter No: ### / ### / ###

Date: 2006 December 7th

To
Chairperson
A--- ward/ Village Peace and Development Council

Kawkareik Township

Subject: The issue of having to buy No.16 Farm hand tractors

Reference: Office letter No: ### / ### / ###, Date: 7-7-2006

1. In 2006-2007, Kya In Seik Gyi Township will change from human arm power to machine power for planting raining season and dry season rice on time. Therefore, every village / ward must buy (50) hand tractors from No.16 Farm on 31-8-2006. However, some Village Peace and Development Council members have not bought the tractors yet.

2. For that reason, the villages and wards which have not bought the tractors must each buy one and the final day is on 31-12-2006. This is to inform you a second time.

Sd.
Chairperson (For)
B---, Secretary

Copies

- Office copy / interdepartmental circular letter

Order #58 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: #284 Infantry Battalion Battalion Officer Letter# ___ Date ___</p>

20-3-2007

To

Chairperson
A--- village

I need castor for planting. So, Chairperson, I would like you to sell me 5 pyi [13.2 kg. / 29 lb.] of castor. You can send it tomorrow. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Quartermaster

Order #59 (Pa'an)

To

Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Carrying out management responsibility

The Gentleman –

For carrying out the management responsibility come now to B--- village rapidly when you receive this letter. Come to meet with the Company Commander today to carry out the management responsibility. You are informed.

Bring along three chickens.

Sd.
/ ###
Major C---
LIB (#709)

Order #60 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: # Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Date: 20-11-2006

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Come promptly to the camp

[We] have rice to sell to the Gentleman's village. If [you] want to buy [the rice], come promptly. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander
B---'s Camp

d. Regimentation: recruitment, restrictions and information**Order #61 (Dooplaya)**

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kawkareik Township Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kawkareik town / Karen State
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 January 6th

To
Chairperson
Ward / Village Peace and Development Council
Kawkareik Township

Subject: Invitation to a meeting to discuss work issues

1. Work issues connected with Kawkareik Township / wards / Village Peace and Development Council and Township Peace and Development Council must be discussed. Therefore, attend the meeting without fail (without fail). The meeting will be carried out according to the following agenda.

- a. Date: 25th.Jan.2006 (Wednesday)
- b. Time: 12:00 (in the afternoon)
- c. Place: A--- meeting hall, Township Peace and Development Council, Kawkareik town
- d. The people who must attend the meeting: Village Peace and Development Council chairperson, members and accountant.

2. [Information] must be brought regarding the following duties that have already been done.

1. The list of family units / population / ages / 10 - 17, 18 - 30, 14 - 17 and 18 - 60 / males and females on separate sheets.

2. Must report about the situation of castor planting, the planting of 200 castor plants by each person and the area of the land and the condition of the soil.

3. The number registered for the Woman's Affair Federation / Maternal and Child Welfare Association must be brought along with the fees and the receipt.

Sd.
Chairperson
B--- / ### / ###

Copies _____ Department / Kawkareik town
You are invited to attend the meeting
Office copy / interdepartmental circular letter

Order #62 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 September 15th

To _____
A--- Village Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: To compile and send a list of people who left to work illegally in foreign countries

Reference: Letter ### / ### / ### dated (8-9-2006) by the Township Peace and Development Council, Kya In Seik Gyi Town

Wards and villages from Kya In Seik Gyi Township are informed again to prepare a list with the attached chart of the people who left to work illegally in foreign countries. This is to inform [you] to send the list to the office on (1-9-2006).

Sd.
Chairperson (for)
(B---, secretary)

Copies to _____
Office copy / interdepartmental circular letter

No.	Name	Age	Father's name	ID No.	Address	Country of arrival	Year of departure	Daily wages		Salary	
								baht	kyat	baht	kyat

Order #63 (Thaton)

Frontline #255 Light Infantry Battalion Column (1) Letter #____ Date____
--

Date: 2-10-06

To

Relevant person

Subject: The provision of a recommendation ticket for travelling

Karen state / A--- village father U B--- [and] mother Daw C---'s daughter called Daw D--- (age 37) must go to E--- village for an urgent issue about the village. This is the recommendation ticket for her.

Sd.
 Camp Commander
 F--- Camp

1. Villager names, family members' names chart
2. Village head - secretary - list
3. Village monastery – church – monks –
4. Male and female population
5. Number of houses

Order #64 (Papun)

Stamp: #251 Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #____ Date____
--

27-11-2006

To

Chairperson
 A--- village

[I] know that (100) KNU soldiers entered the inside and the outside of A--- village. Did they enter or not? And if they entered, report how many soldiers, who was the commander and what was the date? The Chairperson himself must report it and send a letter with a *set tha* so that [I] know [the information]. This is to ask help from you.

*Write back.

Sd.
 Camp Commander
 B--- Camp

Order #65 (Thaton)

<p>Stamp: #251 Infantry Battalion Column Headquarter Letter #___ Date___</p>

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Date: 3-11-06Subject: To come to meet with the Column Commander

The regional Column Commander wants to inquire about the situation of your village area and the biography of the village head. Therefore [you] must come today. This is to inform you.

[You] must come to meet at B--- village.

Sd.

Column Commander, Column # (###) Representative
Frontline #251 Infantry Battalion

Order #66 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: #60 Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #___ Date___</p>
--

Date: 4-12-2006

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Announcement for the villagers.

1. The villagers in the Gentleman's village after December (15th) must stay within the village and are not allowed to sleep in their hill field huts.
2. After the designated date, if the army sees villagers in their huts in the night time [they] will be arrested and if the soldiers shoot [them], it will not be our responsibility. This is to inform you.

Sd.

Camp Commander, B---

Order #67 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kawkareik Township Letter #___ Date___</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kawkareik town / Karen State
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 December 13th

To

Chairperson
Ward / Village Peace and Development Council
Kawkareik Township

Subject: The issue of having to send the list of generators and farm tools

1. The list of generators and farm tools must be sent to the State / District Peace and Development Council by the third week of December 2006.

2. Therefore, every ward / village tract, after they finish registering the farm tools and generators, must send the list to the Township Peace and Development Council on 20-12-2006.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. The number of hand tractors | (Name and address) |
| 2. The number of water pumps | (") |
| 3. The number of harvest machines | (") |
| 4. The number of threshing machines | (") |
| 5. The number of generators | (") |

The horsepower number / the type of generator / the hour of using the generator and then the names and addresses of the owners must be recorded.

Sd.
Chairperson
A--- / ### / ###

Copies

- Chairperson / District Peace and Development Council
- Office / interdepartmental circular letter

Order #68 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: #602 Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter # ___ Date ___</p>

Date: 4.12.2006

Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Declaration for the villagers

1. The villagers which stay in the Gentleman's village, after the (15th) of December must sleep in their village and nobody is allowed to sleep in their farm house.

2. After the designated days, if the army sees and shoots [somebody] incorrectly, [we] won't take the responsibility and if [we] notice anybody staying in a farm house, [s/he] must be taken into detention. All the villagers have to commit to memory this announcement. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp Commander
B---'s Camp

Order #70 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #219 Light Infantry Battalion Column # ### Letter #__ Date__</p>
--

Frontline #219 Light Infantry Battalion
A---'s Camp
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 February 19th

To
Chairperson (B---) village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

1. Regarding the above subject, [we] must discuss about health, business, education and social affairs for the Gentleman's village. Therefore, you are invited to come to A---'s Camp on 2006 February 19th at 11 o'clock.

2. At the same time bring the registration list with the number of students, teachers, males and females, and family units which [you] have already collected. This is to inform you.

If you have already sent [it], you do not need to bring [it] again.

Sd.
Column Commander

Order #71 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #219 Light Infantry Battalion Column # ### Letter #__ Date__</p>
--

Frontline #219 Light Infantry Battalion
A---'s Camp
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 February (19th)

To
Chairperson (B---) village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

1. Regarding the above subject, [we] have to discuss about health, business, education and social affairs for the Gentleman's village. Therefore, you are invited to come to A---'s Camp on 2007 February 19th at 11 o'clock.

2. At the same time bring the registration list with the number of students, teachers, males and females, and family units which [you] have already collected. This is to inform you.

If you have already sent [it], you do not need to bring [it] again.

Sd.
Column Commander

Order #72 (Dooplaya)

Stamp:
Township Administration Department
Kawkareik Township

Township Administration Department
Kawkareik Township / Karen State
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 March (19th)

To
Chairperson
Ward / Village Peace and Development Council, Kawkareik

Subject: Declaration and warning to stop forcing loh ah pay

1. Nowadays, some township and region inside Burma still force civilians to loh ah pay; we have been accused by the ILO because of this news and also some civilians have sent news to the media.

2. Therefore, every district, ward, township and village must stop forcing loh ah pay. So, [we] declare and warn you to realize the condition that has happened in the country. Every district, township, ward, village and authority must promise that they realise this serious issue which has happened in Myanmar. The promise letter must be collected on 19-3-2007 and sent with a set tha. Karen State general Governing Department, letter ### / ### / ### has informed you.

3. All village wards have to come to the office to sign a document about your promise and bring along your stamp on 21-3-2007. If you fail, this is your responsibility. You are informed.

Sd.
Township Administrator (for)
Maung Maung Aye

Copies
- State Administrator
- State Administration Department
- Karen State- Pa'an Town

While this order documents appears as to address the use of forced labour in Dooplaya District, it contains three conspicuous shortcomings. First, although forced labour demands are overwhelmingly issued by military personnel, this order targets instead civilian VPDC chairpersons. Where such persons ever implement forced labour, it largely comes in response to military demands for them to do so. Second, the forms of forced labour referred to here are limited to those included under the current usage of the term loh ah pay. This term excludes many common types of forced labour requisitioned in Karen State such as messenger, guide and sentry duty, fabrication of building supplies and other tasks. Third, the letter itself contains in the second paragraph a demand for forced labour in the form of a set tha who must collect the signed documents and deliver it to the regional SPDC office.

e. Summons to 'meetings'**Order #73 (Dooplaya)**

To
Chairperson (A--- village)
Village Peace and Development Council

Subject: Invitation to a meeting about the issue of security

Regarding above the subject, the Gentleman himself must come to B--- for a security meeting on 14-12-2006 at 1:00 pm without fail. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Lieutenant, C---
B--- Camp
Infantry Battalion #6 Camp

Order #74 (Papun)

To
A--- village head (Chairperson)

B--- village head or secretary must come to give news to the Battalion Commander at C--- village on 2006 September 22nd at 12 o'clock in the afternoon. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Intelligence Officer

Order #75 (Papun)

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Summons to attend a meeting

As soon as you get this letter the Chairperson, secretary or a representative must come to a meeting at B--- camp at once because of an urgent issue. Therefore, come today without fail. This is to inform you.

Location: B---
Date: 30/8/2006

Sd.
Deputy Commander
Frontline # (234) Infantry Battalion, Battalion Commander

<p>Stamp: Frontline #234 Infantry Battalion Column # ### Letter # __ Date __</p>

Order #76 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #263 Infantry Battalion Letter # __ Date __</p>
--

To
Chairman / Secretary
A---

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, [we] know that your representative was absent from the weekly meeting at B---. Therefore, on 2006 September 29th at 12:00 o'clock, [we] will have the meeting again. Therefore, attend the meeting without fail. This is to inform you.

Location: B--- Camp

Date: /9/2006

Intelligence Officer
Frontline
#263 Infantry Battalion

Order #77 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: Peace and Development Council K'Htaing Dih village ward Letter #____ Date____</p>
--

K' Htaing Dih Peace and Development Council

Date: 28-11-06

A---... Chairperson

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding above the subject, for the village heads, the B--- town Township Peace and Development Council chairperson wants to meet and discuss [with you] at the K'Htaing Dih Township Peace and Development Council office at ____ day ____ o'clock. The Gentlemen themselves must attend (without fail). This is to invite you.

Sd.
28-11-06
Chairperson (For)
Village Peace and Development Council
K' Htaing Dih village ward (B--- sub-township)
Papun Township

Day and time were left uncompleted in original order document, despite this being a hand-written order.

Order #78 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: Peace and Development Council K'Htaing Dih village ward Letter # ### Date <u>17-10-06</u></p>
--

To/

Village head of A---
K'Htaing Dih Peace and Development Council

Date: 17-10-06

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding above the reason, to the village-heads, the K'Htaing Dih Village Peace and Development Council Chairman wants to meet. Therefore, come to the K'Htaing Dih Village Peace and Development Council office on Thursday 19.10.06 at 11:00 am and the Gentlemen themselves must attend (without fail). This is to invite you.

Sd.

17-10-06
 Secretary
 Village Peace and Development Council
 K'Htaing Dih village ward (B--- sub-township)
 Papun Township

Order #79 (Papun)

K' Htaing Dih Peace and Development Council

Date: 14.9.06

<p>Stamp: Peace and Development Council K'Htaing Dih village ward Letter #____ Date____</p>
--

To
 Village head A---
 K'Htaing Dih Peace and Development Council

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding above the reason, to the village-heads, K'Htaing Dih Strategic Operation Command Major wants to meet and discuss [with you]. Therefore, come to the K'Htaing Dih Village Peace and Development Council office on Sunday 17.9.06 at 11:00 am and the Gentlemen themselves must attend (without fail). This is to invite you.

Sd.
 14-9-06
 Chairperson-(For)

Order #80 (Dooplaya)

To
 Village Head

Date: 1-2-2007

Subject: The issue of the expenses of the monthly meeting

Regarding the above subject, come to the temporary camp on 2-2-2007 at 9 o'clock to discuss the monthly expenses and correct the list at the same time.

Sd.
 Chairperson

Order #81 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: #60 Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Office</p>
--

Date: 30-11-2006

To
 Chairperson
 A--- village
 Subject: Invitation to a meeting

I will have a meeting with the the Gentleman on (4.12.2006) in the morning. Therefore, [you] must come to B---'s Camp at 10:00 o'clock without fail. This is to inform you.

Sd.
B---'s Camp

Order #82 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 December 31st

To
Head of department
_____ Department/ Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Chairperson / village head
A--- ward/ Village Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: Invitation to attend the regular end of the month meeting.

1. Township Peace and Development Council / wards and village heads will hold a regular monthly meeting for security / business and social affairs in Zami Hall at the end of the month on the (~~30th~~/31st) day. Therefore, the Township Peace and Development Council's chairperson and all members must attend the regular monthly meeting.
2. Therefore, the Township Peace and Development Council Chairperson and all members and heads of departments must attend the meeting on (December) (~~30th~~/31st) (Sunday) (10:00 am) in Zami Hall without fail (without fail). You are invited.

Sd.
Chairperson (For)
B---, Secretary

Copies
Office copy / interdepartmental circular letter

Order #83 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 February 26th

To
Head of department
_____ department/ Kya In Seik Gyi town
Chairperson / village head

A--- ward / Village Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: Invitation to attend the regular end of the month meeting

1. Township Peace and Development Council / ward and village heads will hold a regular monthly meeting for security / business and social affairs in Zami Hall at the end of the month (30th/31st). Therefore, the Township Peace and Development Council chairperson and all members must attend the regular monthly meeting.
2. Therefore, the Township Peace and Development Council chairperson, all members and heads of departments must attend the meeting on 2007 (February) (28th) Wednesday at (12:30 pm) in Zami Hall without fail (without fail). You are invited.

Sd.
22-2
Chairperson (For)
B---, Secretary

Copies

Office copy / interdepartmental circular letter

Order #84 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town Letter #____ Date____</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 October 24th

Head of department

_____ Department / Kya In Seik Gyi

Chairperson / village

A--- ward / Village Peace and Development Council / Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: Invitation to attend the regular end of the month meeting.

1. Township Peace and Development Council / ward and village head will hold a regular monthly meeting for security / business and social affairs in Zami Hall at the end of the month (30th/31st). Therefore, Township Peace and Development Council chairperson and all members must attend the regular monthly meeting.
2. Therefore, Township Peace and Development Council chairperson, all members and heads of departments must attend the meeting on (October) (~~30th~~ / 31st) (2:30 pm) in Zami Hall without fail (without fail). You are invited.

Sd.
24-10
Chairperson (For)
B---, Secretary

Copies

Office Copy / interdepartmental circular letter

Order #85 (Dooplaya)

Southeast Command Headquarter
Strategic Operation Command Group (Station)
Kya In Seik Gyi
Letter # ___
Date ___

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Date: 7-10-2006

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

On 2006 October (11th) at (10 o'clock) Strategic Operation Commanders will have a meeting at Strategic Operation Command Group (Station) Kya In Seik Gyi meeting hall. Therefore, come to attend the meeting without fail. You are informed.

Sd.
Strategic Operation Commander (For)

Order #86 (Papun)

Date: 23-10-2006

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Informing to come to the military base

Regarding above the subject, the Village Peace and Development Council [requests that you] come to B--- military base on 24.10.2006 at 11 o'clock without fail. This is to inform you.

Notice: Without fail.

Stamp:
#20 Light Infantry Battalion
Battalion Office
Letter # ___
Date ___

Sd.
Camp Commander
#20 Light Infantry Battalion

Order #87 (Papun)

Stamp:
Village Pace and Development Council
K'Htaing Dih village ward
Letter # ###
Date 17.10.06

To
Village head... A---

K' Htaing Dih Peace and Development Council
Date: 17.10.06

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding the above subject, the K'Htaing Dih Village Peace and Development Council Chairperson wants to meet and discuss with the the Gentleman. Therefore, come to the K' Htaing Dih Peace and Development Council Office on Thursday 19.10.06 at 11 o'clock. The Gentleman himself must attend the meeting without fail. This is to invite you.

Sd.
17-10-06
Secretary
Village Peace and Development Council
B--- village (Kya In Township)
Papun Township

Order #88 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #263 Infantry Battalion Letter # ___ Date ___</p>
--

Chairperson / Secretary

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

Regarding the above reason, at A--- camp [we] find out that the Gentleman was absent from the weekly provincial security meeting. Therefore, on 26th October 2006 at 12:00 o'clock [we] must hold the meeting again so come and attend the meeting without fail. This is to invite you.

Sd.
Intelligence Officer
Frontline
#263 Infantry Battalion

Place: B--- Camp
Date: 29-9-2006

Order #89 (Dooplaya)

To
VPDC
Village Head

14-11-2006

Subject: The issue of the football match expenses

Regarding the above subject, [we] need to discuss about the football match expenses for K'Lo Htoo Baw Organised Region and Township Peace and Development Council (TPDC). Therefore, attend the meeting on 16-11-2006 at 9 o'clock at the temporary camp. You are informed.

Sd.
Chairperson (For)

Order #90 (Thaton)

To
 Chairperson
 A--- village

Date: 17-10-06

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

Regarding above the reason at B--- camp on 2006 October 8th at 8 o'clock in the morning [we] will have a meeting. Therefore, the Gentleman himself must come to attend [the meeting] in C--- village without fail (without fail). This is to invite you.

<p>Stamp: Frontline #252 Infantry Battalion Column (###)</p>
--

Sd.
 (Column Commander)

Order #91 (Dooplaya)

22-12-2006

To
 Village Chairperson (A---)

Subject: The issue of vocational training

Regarding the above subject, for giving vocational training in Myawaddy, it is better to have a discussion first. Therefore, attend the meeting on 22-12-2006 at 5:30 in the evening at the Chairperson's house.

Notice: Bring along the football match money.

Sd.
 Chairperson (*For*)

The regional Village Peace and Development Council chairperson sent a similar order to every village head in the area of Myawaddy town informing them that they were required to send a representative to attend vocational training. Those who did not attend were required to finance a replacement at a cost of 10,000 kyat.

Order #92 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: Frontline #252 Infantry Battalion Column (###)</p>
--

Date: 27-10-2006

To/
 Chairperson / Secretary
 A--- village

I know that Saw B--- [the Chairperson] is not well. Therefore, be careful of [your] health. I want to meet with the B--- village Chairperson, Secretary and three other members: the representatives of health, education, and religion. I want to know their condition. If the chairperson is not well, Secretary C--- himself must come to meet [me] at D--- village monastery. After [we] finish the agenda [I] will release [you].

Notice: C--- must to come to D--- monastery without fail. This is to invite you.

Chairman, don't be cool or hot [don't be worried]. Let C--- come today.

Sd.
Your Friend
Column Commander

Order #93 (Pa'an)

Stamp:
#549 Light Infantry Battalion
Military Operation Command
Letter # ___
Date ___

To

U A---
B--- village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

1. I have something to discuss about U A---'s business. Therefore, come to the Cantonment Area Commander Office at the Northeastern Command Headquarters (#549) on (14-1-2007) at 10:00 o'clock in the morning.

2. It is the responsibility of U A--- to be on time and without fail. This is to inform you.

Location: C---
Date: 13-1-2007

Sd.
Cantonment Area Commander
(#549) Light Infantry Battalion

Order #94 (Papun)

Stamp:
#602 Infantry Battalion
Battalion Office
Letter # ___
Date ___

To

Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

[I] have to meet with the Gentleman for a discussion. Therefore, come to B---'s camp on Monday 16.10.2006 at 10:00 am without fail. This is to inform you.

Sd.
Camp commander (For)
C---'s Camp

At the meeting on October 16th 2006 referred to above, an SPDC official stated that villagers were no longer allowed to use lights at their homes after 8:00 pm. If any lights were visible after this time, villagers were informed that they would be punished accordingly. The SPDC official further stated that villagers wearing

headscarves, as is common among rural Karen communities, were forbidden from travelling in groups of more than three.

Order #95 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town Letter #___ Date___</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 December (24th)

To
Chairperson
A--- village
Kya In Seik Gyi Town

Subject: Attend the meeting

Recently a meeting was held with every ward in Kya In Seik Gyi Town about attending the training of the Township Peace and Development Council. Some villages attended the meeting but some did not. The chairpersons who did not receive any duty, must get some duties. So we inform [you that] people must come to the meeting (without fail).

Agenda

1. Date: 31-12-2006 (Sunday)
2. Time: 10:00 o'clock in the morning
3. Place: Township Peace and Development Council (TPDC) Office.

Copies
Office copy/ interdepartmental circular letter

Sd.
Chairperson (For)

Order #96 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town Letter #___ Date___</p>
--

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2nd January 2007

To
Head of department
_____Department/ Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Chairperson / Village head

A--- ward / Township Peace and Development Council (TPDC)/ Kya In Seik Township

Subject: Invitation to attend the regular end of the month meeting

1. Township Peace and Development Council / wards and village head commonly hold the meeting for security / business and social affair in Zami Hall at the end of the month (30 / 31). Therefore, Township Peace and Development Council's chairperson and all members have to attend the regular monthly meeting.

2. Thus, wards / Township Peace and Development Council's chairperson, all members and head of departments have to attend the meeting on 30th / 31st January 2007, Thursday at 10:30 am in Zami Hall without fail (without fail).

Sd.
Chairperson

Copies

Order #97 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Township Letter #___ Date ___</p>

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 November 14th

To

Head of department
_____ Department / Kya In Seik Gyi Township
Chairperson / village head
A--- section / Village Peace and Development Council / Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: Invitation to attend the regular end of the month meeting

1. Township Peace and Development Council has been holding a regular monthly end of the month meeting at the Zami Hall with all ward / village head on the (30th / 31st) of the month for security, business and social affairs. For that reason, chairpersons and members of Village Peace and Development Council must come and attend the regular monthly end of the month meeting on the (30th / 31st) of the month.

2. Therefore, the chairpersons, members and heads of departments of all wards / villages of the Township Peace and Development Council are invited to attend the meeting without fail (without fail) at Zami Hall on 2006, November the (30th / 31st) Thursday at 12:30 o'clock.

Order #98 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Township Letter #___ Date ___</p>

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2007 March (19th)

To

Chairperson/ village head

A--- village
Kya In Seik Gyi Township

Subject: The issue of sections / village wards reporting to the members of Peace and Development Council

1. Karen State Peace and Development Council orders section / village wards to pass on their duties to the new members of Village Peace and Development Council for every section and village ward.
2. Therefore, the new Village Peace and Development Council chairperson, members and stand-in members in A--- village, will be confirmed according to the following agenda. Attend the meeting without fail. You are invited.

Agenda

Date: 23-3-2007, Friday
Time: 10 o'clock in the morning
Place: Township Peace and Development Council Office

Sd.
Chairperson (*For*)
B---, Secretary

Copies:
Office Copy / Interdepartmental circular letter

Order #99 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: #602 Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #___ Date___</p>

Date: 29-12-2006

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

[I] want to have a meeting with the Gentleman. Come to B---'s Camp on 4-1-2007 at 10:00 pm. You are informed.

Sd.
Camp Commander
B---'s Camp

Order #100 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: #602 Light Infantry Battalion Battalion Office Letter #___ Date___</p>

Date: 10-11-2006

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Invitation to a meeting

[I] want to have a meeting with the Gentleman. Come to B---'s camp on 15-11-2006 at 10:00 pm. You are informed.

Sd.
Camp Commander
B---'s Camp

Order #101 (Dooplaya)

<p>Frontline #203 Light Infantry Battalion Column # ### Letter # __ Date __</p>

Date: 1-3-2007

To
Chairperson
A--- village

Subject: Discussions about the situation in village and other issues

Regarding the above subject, come to B--- camp on 2007 March (2th) at 10 o'clock without fail. You are informed.

Notice: If the chairperson is not in the village, ask the secretary or village head to come.

Sd.
Column Commander

Order #102 (Dooplaya)

Township Peace and Development Council
Kya In Seik Gyi Township - Kya In Seik Gyi Town
Letter No: ### / ### / ###
Date: 2006 October 15th

<p>Stamp: Township Peace and Development Council Kya In Seik Gyi Town Letter # __ Date __</p>
--

The village chairperson and an elder of the community must come to A--- village

Subject: The issue of having to attend a meeting
Discussions about the development of the village

Regarding the above subject, [We] will hold a meeting according to the agenda and you must attend without fail. This is to inform you.

Date: (17-10-2006) (Tuesday)

Time: 11:00 am

Location – the big Township Peace and Development Council office

Sd.
Chairperson (For)

Copy-
Office receipt / interdepartmental circular letter

Order #103 (Papun)

K'Htaing Dih village ward
 A--- village
 Letter No: ### / ### / ###
 Date: 2006 December 14th

Stamp: Peace and Development Council Village Peace and Development Council Letter # ___ Date ___

To
Village head of A---

Subject: The issue of rotating the carrying of water with bullock-carts in the dry season

Regarding the above subject, [I] would like to meet and discuss with the Gentleman U / Daw village head of B--. Therefore, come to the A--- Village Peace and Development Council office on 22-2-06 at 10:00 am without fail (without fail). This is to invite you.

Notice: If you fail to attend, it is the responsibility of the Gentleman.

Sd.
 19-12-06
 Chairperson
 A--- Village Peace and Development Council

Order #104 (Dooplaya)

To
 Chairperson

Date: 20-3-2007

Subject: The issue of forcing *loh ah pay*

We need to have some discussion, so we invite you to come to a meeting.

1. Date: 21-3-2007
2. Time: 8 o'clock in the morning
3. Place: The temporary office

Sd.
 Chairperson
 A--- ward

f. Likely SPDC origin**Order #105 (Papun)**

To
 A---
 Village head

Date: 2 - 9 - 2006

You must come to give news to the Column Commander at B--- monastery on 3-9-2006 at 9 o'clock in the morning.

Sd.
Intelligence Officer

Order #106 (Papun)

Date: 1-11-06

To/
Saya A---

I am writing to you. Send 10 of your villagers to my camp along with the *set tha* who will come presently. Let me know which day you will send the rice. Send the villagers so as to arrive today at 11 o'clock in the morning.

Sd.
1/11/06
Camp Commander
B--- camp

Order #107 (Papun)

16-11-2006

To
Captain A---

Young Father orders you to come today instead of tomorrow.

Sd.
Warrant officer, B---

Order #108 (Papun)

7-11-2006

To/
Ko A---

I am writing to you. Tomorrow at around 8 o'clock the Chairperson or Secretary must come to the military camp to have meeting.

Sd.
7/11/2006
Camp Commander
B--- Camp

Appendix 4: DKBA Orders

a. General forced labour

Order #109 (Papun)

Stamp: Democratic Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A
--

Date: 2-9-2006

To
 Village Head A---

Subject: Participation in agriculture

Regarding the above subject, on 31-8-2006 in the B--- Department meeting hall, the decision was made that everyone must participate in the field. So, let the people come to participate in the field.

Sd.
 2/9/06
 Office Base Commander, C---
 Major D---
 K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
 Dee Kay Bee Ay

Distribute - Battalion Commander
 - Office Copy

Order #110 (Papun)

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

To

Date: 2-9-2006

Village head A---
 Subject: The issue of going to do cultivation

Regarding the above subject, on (31-8-2006) the meeting in the B--- headquarters hall it was decided that everyone must participate in cultivation. Therefore send people to the field. This is to inform you.

Sd.
 2-9-06
 Officer
 Major C---
 K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
 Dee Kay Bee Ay

Distribution by - Battalion Commander
 - Office Copy

Order #111 (Papun)

To
Village head A--- village

On 16-9-2006 send two people as *loh ah pay* to plant rice in DKBA field. At the same time bring along 20,000 kyat for the celebration of the DKBA anniversary.

Order #112(Papun)

Village head
A--- village

Send one person to do *loh ah pay* on the DKBA farm on 16-9-2006, at the same time send along 10,000 kyat in cash for the celebration of the DKBA anniversary.

Order #113 (Papun)

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen Army
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Letter / *Ka Hsa Wa* / ### / ###
Date: 2006 December (19th)

To /
Village head, A--- village

Regarding the above subject, for the coming (12th) [anniversary] at Myaing Gyi Ngoo Special Region of the Karen New Year celebration, every rural village is to send the money which [we] asked for. Also, some people fulfilled the duty of planting rice but some village did not fulfil their duty. So for the coming (25-9-2006) on the 4th day of the waxing moon of the month of Tha Tin Kyaut send the money and the people who will do *loh ah pay* to the Operation Office. This is to inform you.

Sd
19-9-06.
Office Base Commander
Major B---
Battalion Office

Copies
Battalion Commander
Battalion Deputy Commoner
Office Quartermaster
Office Copy

The village which have not fulfilled their duty

No.	Village name	Remaining money	Remaining <i>loh ah pay</i>
1	K'Leh Kye Ko	1,000 kyat	1 person for <i>loh ah pay</i>

2	Leh Kheh Khaw	10,000	kyat	
3	Boo Wah Khee	20,000	kyat	
4	Thaw Khey Hta	10,000	kyat	
5	Hswee Pa Lah Kyat Ka Na	10,000	kyat	
6	Kway Nek	10,000	kyat	1 person for <i>loh ah pay</i>
7	Htee Theh Lay	No money		1 person for <i>loh ah pay</i>
8	Ka Htaing Ti	20,000	kyat	
9	Po Ma Heh	10,000	kyat	
10	Pa Lo Gyi	20,000	kyat	
11	Pa Lo Lay	15,000	kyat	
22	Htaw Thoo	10,000	kyat	1 person for <i>loh ah pay</i>
13	Baw Gyi Lay	20,000	kyat	Do not have
14	Nee Paw Htee	10,000	kyat	
15	Htih Htaw	15,000	kyat	1 person for <i>loh ah pay</i>
16	Baw Ko	15,000	kyat	1 person for <i>loh ah pay</i>
17	No Kih Hta	5,000	kyat	
18	Upper Kyaut Kwin	5,000	kyat	Do not have
19	Lower Kyut Kwin	5,000	kyat	
20	Kheh Ka Lah	5,000	kyat	
	Remaining money	240,000	kyat	9 people for <i>loh ah pay</i>

Order #114 (Papun)

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

Date: 18-9-06

To

A--- village head

With respect, I would like you to know that the six tins of rice which B--- took, come and take them back from C---.

Sd.
D---
K'Hsaw Wah Battalion

b. Forced labour supplying materials**Order #115 (Papun)**

<p>Stamp: Karen Buddhist Army</p>
--

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army
D.K.B.A

Date: 26-10-2006

To

Chairperson
A--- village
Papun Township

Subject: Asking for help

Regarding the above subject, the Papun Frontline Office needs more security so collect 250 bamboo [poles] to make a fence. This is to request you.

Notice: Ask the people who go to buy their daily food at Papun to bring the bamboo.

A---
B---
C---
D---

Send those people.

Sd.
26-10-06
Saw E--- (Responsibility)
Papun - Frontline Office
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #116 (Papun)

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

Date: 5-2-2007

To
Village head
A--- village

Major B--- orders that 50 thatch [shingles] be sent from each house and the final date is at the end of the month of Tan Paung [March]. This is to inform you.

Sd.
5-2-07
Saw B--- (Responsibility)
Papun- Frontline
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #117 (Papun)

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

Date: 5-2-07

To
Village head
A--- village

Major Saw B--- orders 50 thatch [shingles] per house to be sent to repair his house and the DKBA Frontline Office at the end of the month of Ta Paung [February]. Send them to Major Saw B---'s house or the Frontline Office Commander's house. This is to inform you.

Sd.
5-2-07
Saw C--- (Responsibility)
Papun Frontline Office
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #118 (Papun)

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

Date: 5-2-2007

To
Village head
A--- village

Major Saw B--- orders 50 thatch [shingles] per house to be sent to repair his house and the DKBA Frontline Office at the end of the month of Ta Paung [February]. Send them to Major Saw C---'s house or the Frontline Office Commander's house. This is to inform you.

Sd.
5-2-07
Saw D--- (Responsibility)
Papun Frontline Office
Dee Kay Bee Ay

c. Extortion of money, food and materials**Order #119 (Dooplaya)**

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army
#901 Central Security Battalion
D.K.B.A

Date: 8-11-06

To
Village heads
(A---) village
Kawkareik Township

Subject: Donation money for the Karen New Year celebration

This coming 2745 on the 1st day of the waning of the month of Tha Lay, Karen Year 1368 and the (1st) day of waning of the month of Pya Tho [12-12-06] Karen New Year will be held at B--- Military Operation / #901 Central Security Battalion area / Kyaik Myaw Township. So the 300 households of the Gentlemen's village must donate 300,000 kyat, 5 tins of rice [80 kg. / 176 lb.] and 7 viss of fish paste [11.4 kg. / 25.2 lb.]. Therefore, send the money and the rations on the (4th) day of the waning of the month of Nah Daw 1368 to C--- village. If the transportation is too difficult to send the rations you can substitute them with money.

If it is too difficult to send the rice and fish paste, then for one of rice – (7,000) kyat; one viss of fish paste (500) kyat.

Entertainment: sport / traditional fashion show and other festivities...

Camp Commander's order

Sd.
Office Base commander
(###) Captain D---
#901 Central Security Battalion
D.K.B.A.

Order #120 (Thaton)

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Union
Organising Committee - Thee Hah District - # (333) Brigade
Dee Key Bee Ay

Letter / DKBA / ### / ### / ###
Date: November 17th

To
Chairperson
_____ Village
Pa'an Township- Bilin Township

Subject: 2746/47 Karen Year - send the money which has been collected for Karen New Year.

The villages which are situated in DKBA – A--- District - # (333) Brigade - are Karen people. So for the Karen New Year celebration everybody must participate enthusiastically. Therefore, on the (5th) day of the waning moon of the month of Tha Tin Kyaut (1369), Tuesday 2006 September (26th) a meeting was held.

Therefore, in the meeting the duty which was given to every village to collect money, if there are problems [about this, we] want to know. By December (5th) at the latest [you] must come and explain and give the money which was collected. You have been informed again.

Sd.
Secretary (Major)
Organising Committee – A--- District
- (333) Brigade - Dee Kay Bee Ay
/ ### - Saw B---

Order #121 (Thaton)

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Union
Organising Committee - Thee Ha District - # (333) Brigade
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Letter / DKBA / ### / ### / ###
Date: September (29th)

To
Chairperson
_____ village
Pa'an Township - Bilin Township

Subject: The issue of sending the compiled list of the money which was decided at the meeting would be collected. Regarding the above issue -

DKBA- A--- District - # (333) Brigade on (26/9/2006) for the celebration of Karen New Year, every village which is situated in Pa'an Township and Bilin Township (Myaing Gyi Ngoo – Special Region) (Saung Nan Tha Myaing – Sway Myo Taw) will celebrate successfully at In Lay Tha Ya Kwin Gyi.

Therefore, the attached list of the individual villages which are to send money, as was already decided, is to be sent [back] on the new moon of the month of Tha Tin Kyaut (1368) - 2006 October (20th) Friday. As was already agreed, this is the final date for giving [back the list]. You are informed.

Sd.
Secretary (Major)
Organising Committee – A--- District
- (333) Brigade - Dee Kay Bee Ay
/ ### - Saw B---

The villages which have to give money

No	Village Name	Appointed Money	
1	Su Khee	10,000	kyat
2	Ta Meh Khee	10,000	kyat
3	Lah Kyo Ko	10,000	kyat
4	Meh Taw Khee	10,000	kyat
5	Lee Kyo Kaw	5,000	kyat
6	Taw K'Law Po Khee	4,000	kyat
7	Taw K'Law Po	50,000	kyat
8	Wah Keh Ta	6,000	kyat
9	Noh Bih Taw	30,000	kyat
10	Kyee Lay Khaw	50,000	kyat
11	Ka Wah Tah Gyi	5,000	kyat
12	Ka Wah Tah Lay	10,000	kyat
13	Ka Law Tah	50,000	kyat
14	Toh Thee Khee	30,000	kyat
15	Kwee Lay Pu	20,000	kyat
16	Baw Naw Khee	5,000	kyat
17	Nyah Po Khee	10,000	kyat
18	Taung Lweh	100,000	kyat
19	Dah Zan Gyi	100,000	kyat
20	Paw Khee	50,000	kyat
21	Law Ka Taw	50,000	kyat
22	Kyauk Taw Lay	30,000	kyat
23	Thu Ka Beh	30,000	kyat
24	Myih Kyoh	70,000	kyat
25	Lay Keh	200,000	kyat
26	Kyauk Pum	60,000	kyat
27	Win Ta Pa	80,000	kyat
28	Gam Mai	30,000	kyat
29	Lay Khaw Tin	10,000	kyat
30	Htee Pa Do Khee	25,000	kyat
31	Khone	50,000	kyat
32	Taw Ka Law Tah	10,000	kyat
33	Kya Thaung Hsaik Eastern	40,000	kyat
34	Kyaut Thone Hsaik Western	70,000	kyat
35	Bpyin Ma Bpin Hsaik Western	150,000	kyat
36	Bpyin Ma Bpin Hsaik Eastern	150,000	kyat
37	Kyo Waing Kam Nah	120,000	kyat
38	Noh Ka Nee	60,000	kyat
39	Ta Gay Laung	150,000	kyat
40	Bpan Zaw	100,000	kyat
41	Mya Lay	10,000	kyat
42	Htee Hsaw Khee	10,000	kyat
43	Kyaung	10,000	kyat
44	Kaw Heh – On Taw	20,000	kyat

45	Hswe Ohk	40,000	kyat
46	Kway Kay	20,000	kyat
47	Kway Lay	30,000	kyat
48	Kyone Taw	50,000	kyat

Order #122 (Dooplaya)

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen Nation Army

Date: 14-10-06

To/
Chairperson / Secretary

Subject: I want (3,000) betel nuts for planting.

I request that you find [them] for me because I have to send [them] to the Battalion Commander. I will buy [them]. So, I will go and take [them] on 16-10-06. Try to search until you get [them all].

Sd.
Captain, A---
/ ###
Quartermaster
#906 Central Security Battalion
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #123 (Dooplaya)

Date: 27-10-2006

To
Village Peace and Development Council
Village Head

Subject: Request for assistance

Regarding the above reason, send 10,000 betel nuts for D.K.B.A #901 Battalion on 27-10-2006 at 9 o'clock in the morning to the temporary office.

Sd.
Chairperson (For)

Order #124 (Dooplaya)

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

Date: 13-1-07

To/

A---
Chairperson - Secretary

Subject: Collection of tax from coal traders
Collection of tax from chainsaw owners

Regarding the above subject, I want you to collect taxes from coal traders and chainsaw owners whether they are guests or villagers in your village. For one bag of coal the tax is 20,000 kyat and for one chainsaw the tax is 15,000 kyat and also include 1 basket [25 kg. / 55.2 lb.] of rice. I will come and collect [it] on 15-1-07. If I have no time to go, I will ask someone to go and take [it].

#901 Central Security Battalion
Company 2nd-in-Command
Company Commander

Sd.
Captain, B---
Quartermaster
C---, Deployment Security Battalion
D.K.B.A

Order #125 (Dooplaya)

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

To/

Chairperson / Secretary
A--- village

Date: 20-11-2006

I inform you with this letter, the Gentleman's village needs to help the soldiers by giving rice. So, today send the rice to the monastery.

1. Rice - 8 pyi [27.6 lb.]
2. Cooking oil - 1 bottle
3. Onion- 1 viss [3.6 lb.]
4. Fake meat - 1 viss [3.6 lb.]
5. Sweet powder [monosodium glutamate (MSG)] - 1 bag

Sd.
/ ###
Quartermaster
#906 Central Security Battalion
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #126 (Papun)

<p>Stamp: Karen Buddhist Army</p>
--

Date: 5-1-2007

To

Village head (A---) village

Subject: The distribution of the calendars

Regarding the above subject, for people who stay in Myaing Gyi Ngoo Special Region, our people should [buy] the calendars as a donation to contribute to the finances of Sayadaw Way Ya Wissa. The price of one calendar is 2,500 kyat. This is to inform you to get more blessing by buying the calendars.

The date for sending the cost of calendars is (15-1-2007).

Sd.
5-1-07
Office Base Commander
Major B---
K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
Dee Kay Bee Ay

d. Regimentation: recruitment, restrictions and information**Order #127 (Papun)**

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Letter / Ka Hsa Wa / ### / ###
Date: 2006 December (28th)

To

Village head (A---) village

Subject: Announcement about using saw mill.
Battalion Commander's order

1. Regarding the above subject, in year (2007) DKBA (K'Hsaw Wah) does not allow anybody to use saw mills in its area.

2. For organizations and for individuals which want permission to use saw mills, they must ask at (B---) the eastern office of the Deputy Battalion Commander in order to get a document. If someone uses a saw mill without any documentation [s/he] will be punished.

Sd.
28/12/06
Office Base Commander
Major C--- (D---)
K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Copies

- Battalion Deputy Commander- B--- Frontline Office
- Platoon Commander_____
- Operation_____
- Papun eastern office- Dee Kay Bee Ay
- E--- Gate - Dee Kay Bee Ay
- Office Copy

Order #128 (Papun)

Stamp: Karen Buddhist Army

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army
Dee Kay Bee Ay

K'Hsaw Wah Battalion Office
 Letter / *Ka Has Wa* / ### / ###
 Date: 2006 / October (13th)

To/

Village heads A--- village

Subject: The issue of limiting the trading of cardamom
Battalion Commander's order

1. Regarding the above subject, (Yunzalin River) is divided into two parts, the eastern part and the western part.
2. The traders who transport cardamom from eastern Yunzalin River and from the upper part of Papun must get a permit from Sayadaw Waynuwon. The Dee Ka Bee Ay frontline gate will confiscate the cardamom [we] see being trading without a permit.
3. Again, from the eastern part of Yunzalin River (Daw Mwe [tributary]) and the upper part of Myin Tha Bpin area, Bpin Ma area, Kah Law Hta and Oo Thaw Hta area the trading of cardamom is not allowed.
4. Therefore, in those defined areas, if any trader trading cardamom is seen, they must pay (30) hundred thousand [3 million] kyat to the Battalion Headquarter Office. If any who does not have the permit is seen trading, [they] will be punished. This is to inform you.

Sd.

13/10/06

Office Base Commander, B---
 Major C---
 K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
 Dee Kay Bee Ay

Copies

- D---
- Battalion Deputy Commander
- E--- Gate Commander
- F--- Commander
- G--- Gate Commander
- H--- Gate Commander
- Intelligence Commander

Order #129 (Papun)

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

Date: 29-2-2007

To

Village head
A--- villageSubject: Informing [about] the military staff

On 20-1-2007 at the meeting it was decided that [you] must send one person as military staff on 1-2-2007. This is to inform you.

Sd.
29-1-2007
Saw B--- (Responsibility)
Papun Frontline Office
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #130 (Papun)

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

Date: 4-3-2007

To

Chairperson
A--- WardSubject: The issue of the duty of military staff

Regarding the above subject, the DKBA frontline needs more military staff. So, A--- village ward and B--- village ward had a duty to send military staff on 3-3-2007 but have not sent them. So, Major C--- orders that [you] let him know by letter if it is possible or not to send the military staff. This is to inform you again.

Notice: Send the letter to B--- village

Sd.
4-3-2007
Saw D--- (Responsibility)
Papun Frontline Office
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #131 (Papun)

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

Date: 6-3-2007

To
Village head
A--- village

On 3-3-2007 send one person as military staff for DKBA #3 Column. Bring along the remaining money for the calendars. This is to inform you.

Sd.
6-3-07
Saw B--- (Responsibility)
Papun Frontline Office
Dee Kay Bee Ay

The issuing officer appears to have erred when writing out this order as the date by which the military staff was to be sent (March 3rd 2007) was three days prior to the date on which the letter was written and signed (March 6th 2007).

e. Summons to 'meetings'**Order #132 (Papun)**

Date: 6-9-2006

To
A--- village head

1. Come rapidly to the Column Commander when you have received this letter.
2. I have heard that a rebel, who was arrested by DKBA Captain B---, died. Bring along the person who saw the rebel's dead body.
3. The village head and the one who saw the dead body must come promptly to me.

Sd.
Intelligence Officer

Order #133 (Papun)

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army
K'Hsaw Wah Battalion Office

Letter / Ka Hsa Wa / ### / ###
Date: 2006 December (30th)

To
Village head (A---) village

Subject: The Battalion Commander orders an urgent meeting

Regarding the above subject, an urgent meeting will be held at K'Hsaw Wah Battalion Command Headquarter. Therefore the village heads must come without fail.

Meeting place – K'Hsaw Wah Battalion's hall

Meeting date – 5-1-2007

Meeting time – 7 pm

Notice: On 4-1-2007 in the evening [you] must arrive without fail.

Copies

Battalion deputy Commander - K'Hsaw Wah Battalion

Quarter _____

Company Commanders _____

Office Copy

Sd.
Office Base Commander
Major A---
K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #134 (Papun)

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

Date: 21-2-2007

To
Chairperson
A---
Papun Township

Subject: Come to the meeting

Regarding the above subject, the chairperson of A--- and other chairpersons have an important meeting. So, on 22-2-2007 at 8 o'clock come to the frontline office without fail. This is to inform you.

Sd.
21-2-07.
Saw B--- (Responsibility)
Papun Frontline Office
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #135 (Papun)

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

Date: 7-2-2007

To
A--- village head
With respect

I write some words to you. At the time when you get this letter come to me rapidly on 18-1-2007 at 12 o'clock because of an important issue. Don't waste your time.

Sd.
K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
B--- Camp

Order #136 (Papun)

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

Date: 16-1-07

To
A--- village chairperson

With respect

Come to B--- on 17-3-2007, because [I] have an important meeting with you.

Sd.
Saw C---
Brigade #333 Battalion Deputy Commander
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #137 (Papun)

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

Date: 1-3-07

To
Daw A---
Chairperson
B--- village

I am writing to you.

When [you] receive this letter come to the bottom of C--- hill to meet [me]. This is to inform you.

Sd.
1-3-07
Secretary, (Major)
Organising Committee – D--- District
Brigade #333 - Dee Kay Bee Ay
/ ### - Saw E---

Order #138 (Dooplaya)

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

Date: 14-3-2007

To
Chairperson - Secretary
A--- village

With respect, I really want to know about the problem of collecting paddy. Therefore, tomorrow morning on 15-3-2007 come to B--- Dee Kay Bee Ay office without fail.

Notice: Sergeant C--- will be with us.

Sd.
 ### / ###
 Quartermaster
 #906 Central Security Battalion
 Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #139 (Papun)

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

Date: 12-10- 2006

To/
 Village head
A--- village

Subject: The issue of an invitation
Battalion Commander's order

Regarding the above subject, on the coming day of (15-10-2006) a meeting will be held. Therefore, the village heads themselves must come to K'Hsaw Wah Battalion at B--- Camp without fail. This is to inform you.

Sd.
 Office Base Commander
 Major D---
 K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
 Dee Kay Bee Ay

Order #140 (Papun)

To
 A--- village head

All of the below names of the village head have to come rapidly to a meeting.

1. B--- village head
2. C--- village head
3. D--- village head
4. D--- village head
5. E--- village head
6. F--- village head

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Letter/ *Ka Hsa Wa* / ### / ###
 Date: 2006 / September (12th)

To/
 The village head himself A---

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

Regarding the above village head names, all of them must attend the meeting on time without fail. This is to inform you.

Notice: Bring the owners of sugar cane fields and the owners of betelnut fields

Date - 17-9-2006, the 11th day of the waning moon of the month of Taw Tha Lin
 Time - 3 o'clock in evening
 Place - B--- meeting hall.

Sd.
 Office Base Commander
 Major C---
 K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
 Dee Kay Bee Ay

Copies

- Battalion Commander
- Battalion Deputy Commander
- Office Quartermaster
- Office Copy

Order #141 (Papun)

Stamp: Democratic Karen Buddhist Army D.K.B.A
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18-9-06

To

A--- village head

Regarding the above subject, when you receive this letter come to attend a meeting at B--- Frontline Office on 20-9-06. Come rapidly because this is an important issue.

Sd.
 B--- Frontline Office
 Dee Kay Bee Ay
 K'Hsaw Wah Battalion

Order #142 (Papun)

26-9-2006

To A--- village head
 With respect

I am writing to you. When you receive this letter, you must come rapidly to B--- today. Don't waste your time. This letter comes from column C---.

Sd.
 K'Hsaw Wah Battalion
 26-9-2006

Appendix 5: KPF Orders

Order #143 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Karen Peace Force Hong Tha Yaw Special Region Letter #____ Date____</p>
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Date: 16-11-06

Subject: An announcement about the issue of saw mills

Regarding the above subject, in the area of the Gentleman's village, [declare] the number of saw mills and the remaining logs and also the owners of the saw mills. On 2006 November 20th, the wood traders and saw mill operators along with the village Chairpersons must come to the Karen Peace Force frontline headquarters at Kyaik Doh town and meet. This is to inform you.

Notice: If [anybody] fails, [they] will face the consequences.

Sd.
K.P.F.
U Saw A---
Major (Battalion Deputy Commander)
#1 Battalion
Karen Peace Force Group
Hong Tha Yaw Special Region,
Karen State

At the above mentioned meeting on November 20th 2006, saw mill owners were forced to pay a 'tax' of 50,000 kyat for each saw mill.

Order #144 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Hong Tha Yaw Special Region Karen Peace Group Letter #____ Date____</p>
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Date: 2006 December (15th)To

A--- village
Chairperson / Secretary

Subject: Proclamation about hand tractors

Regarding the above subject, chairperson / secretary must send 5 hand tractors to B--- on 16.12.06 at 8:00 am. This is to inform you.

Notice: Don't be absent from the appointment.

Sd.
Company Commander
Company # ###
Peace Group

Order #145 (Dooplaya)

<p>Stamp: Karen Peace Force Hong Tha Yah Special region Letter #____ Date____</p>
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Date: 28-2-2007

To

A--- village

I am writing to you. I request that one person for each house comes and helps for one day to make a new hill field. [We] must cut down the trees on the hill. Give your time to us and come to help us please!

Sd.
Company 2nd-in-Command

Following the receipt of this order, the village head sent six people to do forced labour cutting trees for the KPF. However, the KPF Company Commander who sent the order was angry that too few people had come for the work. Villagers reported that the Company Commander personally came to the village and told the village head "You sent only six people, what about the other people? Do I have to kill them all?" Following this threat the village head sent 15 people to work cutting down trees on the KPF's new hillside rice field.