

## **SPDC and DKBA order documents**

---

August 2008 to June 2009



**Karen Human Rights Group**

Documenting the voices of villagers in rural Burma

**SPDC and DKBA order documents: August 2008 to June 2009**

Written and published by the Karen Human Rights Group  
KHRG #2009-04 August 2009

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 independently and is not affiliated with any political or other organisation. Examples of our work can be seen online at [www.khrg.org](http://www.khrg.org), or printed copies may be obtained subject to approval and availability by sending a request to [khrg@khrg.org](mailto:khrg@khrg.org).

This report published by KHRG, © KHRG 2009. All rights reserved. Contents may be reproduced or distributed on a not-for-profit basis or quoted for media and related purposes, but reproduction for commercial purposes requires the prior permission of KHRG.

**This report is not for commercial sale**

## **Abstract**

This report includes translated copies of 75 order documents issued by Burma Army and Democratic Karen Buddhist Army officers to village heads in Karen State between August 2008 and June 2009. These documents serve as supplementary evidence of ongoing exploitative local governance in rural Burma. The report thus supports the continuing testimonies of villagers regarding the regular demands for labour, money, food and other supplies to which their communities are subject by local military forces. The order documents collected here include demands for attendance at meetings; the provision of money and alcohol; the production and delivery of thatch shingles and bamboo poles; forced labour as messengers and porters for the military; forced labour on road repair; the provision of information on individuals and households; registration of villagers in State-controlled 'NGOs'; and restrictions on travel and the use of muskets. In almost all cases, such demands are uncompensated and backed by an implicit threat of violence or other punishment for non-compliance. Almost all demands articulated in the orders presented in this report involve some element of forced labour in their implementation.

## Table of Contents

I. Introduction and executive summary .....	3
Notes on the text .....	6
Maps	
Map 1: Karen Districts .....	7
Map 2: Burma .....	8
II. List of order documents .....	9
III. SPDC order documents .....	11
IV. DKBA order documents .....	36

## I. Introduction and executive summary

Forced labour continues to be the abuse most commonly reported by villagers living in rural areas of Karen State controlled by Burma's ruling State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) and its locally ally, the Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA). The SPDC has worked to establish a secure hold on the civilian population in Karen State through an expanded military presence. At the same time, the central military command has provided insufficient funding and logistical support for troops operating in the field. As a consequence, local Burma Army units have become reliant on the forced appropriation of labour, money, food and supplies from local villagers. As the military presence in Karen State has continue to expand, the burden on communities having to support local army units has likewise increased.

Given the pervasive and persistent character of exploitative demands enforced on rural communities, such abuse has significantly contributed to poverty, livelihoods vulnerability and food insecurity for large numbers of villagers across rural Karen State. Villagers engaged in forced labour must take time away from their own livelihoods to meet demands. The appropriation of food and supplies reduces villagers' capacities to meet their own household needs. Furthermore, demands are almost always uncompensated.

Despite the harmful consequences of exploitative local governance, both SPDC and DKBA forces have continued to regularly impose extortionate demands on the civilian population of rural Karen State. Often these demands are issued in the form of written order documents. Such documents are written by the officers themselves or otherwise dictated by an officer and written down or typed by a scribe, before being dispatched to particular villages by a messenger (who is typically a local villager forced to serve in this capacity without compensation). Given the important role of order documents as evidence in advocacy around forced labour in Burma, there has been an increasing reluctance by military authorities to set down in writing specific demands. Village heads are instead called to attend "meetings" at which SPDC and DKBA authorities elaborate on what is required. Out of the 75 order documents included in this report, 44 (roughly 59%) contained demands for village heads to attend meetings; for the SPDC the figure was 33 out of 58 orders (57%) and for the DKBA it was 11 out of 17 orders (65%). Nonetheless, explicit demands for labour, money, food and other supplies continue to be issued by both by SPDC and DKBA authorities. Many such orders are included in the present report.

Written orders are often backed by implicit, and occasionally explicit, threats against non-compliance. Village heads have been warned in writing that their "villagers' lives depend on the chairperson doing [his] duty" (Order #33) or that the consequences for non-compliance will be "their own responsibility." Regarding some of the order letters included in this report, village heads explained to KHRG that, had they not complied, the SPDC or DKBA authorities who issued the order would simply have sent soldiers to detain villagers to serve as porters (#2, 3 and 38) or demand livestock in compensation for non-compliance (#7 and 47). One village head said that he feared he would be "threatened" in various ways if he failed to comply (#7), another stated that he had been already threatened with imprisonment (#12), another said that he worried DKBA soldiers would burn down houses in his village if the villagers did not comply with the stated demand (#71), while yet another explained that he was threatened with "severe punishment" (#69). In the face of such implicit and, at times, explicit threats, village heads who receive an order document stipulating particular demands, or who are called to a meeting where they are given a demand in person, must arrange for the residents of their respective villages to comply. Alternatively, where possible, village heads may attempt to respond in a manner that allows them to reduce or otherwise completely avoid the stated requirements.

As evidence of ongoing demands, the present report comprises a collection of 75 translated order documents issued by SPDC and DKBA authorities in Papun, Pa'an and Thaton Districts of Karen State between August 2008 and June 2009. Out of the total 75 documents, 58 were issued by SPDC authorities and 17 were issued by DKBA authorities. As the DKBA operates with the

sanction of the SPDC and as the two groups often participate in joint operations, demands on the civilian population issued by this group should be understood as having been sanctioned by the SPDC.<sup>1</sup> The eradication of DKBA-demanded forced labour is thus part of the SPDC's wider obligation to end this practice in Burma.

Order documents from both groups included here were either handwritten or typed. Both SPDC and DKBA officers issuing the orders often certified the letters with an official stamp. The order documents issued by SPDC authorities contained in this report include demands for attendance at meetings; the provision of money and alcohol (for example, #17 and 38); the production and delivery of thatch shingles and bamboo poles (for example, #17 and 19); forced labour as messengers (for example, #1 and 57) and porters (#39); forced labour on road repair (#56); the provision of village information (for example, #5 and 7); and registration of villagers in State-controlled 'NGOs' (#13).<sup>2</sup> Compliance with these demands requires forced labour in the delivery of the stated items to specified army camps and bases, or simply travelling to these locations to meet with authorities and/or provide information. Further forced labour is also required in the collection of raw materials for, and in the fabrication of, building materials like thatch shingles. Other SPDC orders presented below that may not directly involve forced labour include restrictions on travel and the use of muskets<sup>3</sup> (#21 and 22). The DKBA order documents contained in this report articulate demands for attendance at meetings, the provision of money (#59, 62 and 71), provision of thatch shingles (#61, 66 and 67) and forced labour on the construction of a Buddhist pagoda (#64). For a comprehensive list of the order documents contained in this report see the table included below on page 9.

While the orders included here illustrate the persistent threat of military predation to the livelihoods of villagers in rural Karen State, they also reveal the determined opposition of villagers to such exploitation. In order document #32, for example, the local SPDC officer complains in writing to the head of T--- village that, despite previously ordering him to attend a meeting, the village head never came. The officer then repeats the order for the village head to immediately come for a meeting. However, the village head apparently did not comply with the repeated order either, because the next day the SPDC officer sent yet another letter (#37) in which he complained that "*Even though [you] were repeatedly invited to attend a meeting at Am--- camp only the other villages arrived. Ap--- village did not arrive.*"

Aside from such cases of non-compliance, villagers' testimonies, as quoted extensively in other KHRG reports and appended to supplement some of the orders in this report, indicate that where villagers do comply, such compliance is frequently only partial in character. Regarding order #59, for example, the relevant village head explained to KHRG that he was able to get away with only providing a portion (just over half) of the total amount of money demanded by local DKBA authorities. While such resistance to abuse, in the form of delayed or partial compliance, may

---

<sup>1</sup> Mary Callahan in her paper *Political Authority in Burma's Ethnic Minority States: Devolution, Occupation, and Coexistence* (East-West Center Washington, May 2007, p.39) terms the particular form of mixed political authority in DKBA-controlled areas as 'coexistence' between the SPDC and DKBA. Moreover, the operational hierarchy of the SPDC and DKBA has become formalised since a May 2009 high-level meeting of DKBA officers in which the group's commanders stated that the DKBA would transform itself into a Border Guard Force under at least partial control of the SPDC and containing a fixed quota of SPDC officers within each battalion. Details of this transformation are contained in what are reportedly leaked minutes from the May 2009 meeting which KHRG retains on file. (See also, *Forced recruitment of child soldiers: An interview with two DKBA deserters*, KHRG, August 2009.)

<sup>2</sup> The NGO's referred to in this order are government-controlled 'non-governmental' organisations for which membership has been largely forced. Furthermore, some of these organisations, like the Union Solidarity and Development Association and Swan Ar Shin ("Masters of Force") have also been implicated in government-back violence against civilians. (See *Crackdown: Repression of the 2007 Popular Protests in Burma*, Human Rights Watch, December 2007, p.105-111.)

<sup>3</sup> These 'muskets' are a type of home-made front-loaded hunting rifle common amongst villagers in the region. The term 'musket', however, can be misleading as it calls to mind a military character which these weapons do not possess. Given their simple construction, limited range, poor accuracy and use of home-made gun powder, these 'muskets' are typically only used for shooting small game.

---

seem slight at first glance, it is important to recognise that villagers employ such tactics in large numbers across rural Karen State (and presumably across much of rural Burma). While not formally organised, these daily acts of resistance go a long way in undermining the authority, and limiting the usable resources, of local military units. Of course, this does not mean that villagers have been able to eliminate abuse and the considerable harm that it brings to the lives and livelihoods of themselves, their families and communities. Villagers remain in a disadvantaged position relative to military personnel and such relations of power continue to undermine their abilities to address local human rights issues. In this context, external support for local-level efforts to resist abuse could strengthen villagers' capacities to resist abuse and address the intertwined human rights and humanitarian issues they face.

What becomes clear from an examination of the order documents presented below, and those collected and published by KHRG in previous years, is that both SPDC and DKBA units operating in the field are dependent on the uncompensated extraction of labour, money, food and supplies from rural communities across Karen State. The appropriation of these resources is widespread and systematic and plays a large role in undermining livelihoods, exacerbating poverty and worsening the region's humanitarian crisis. Nevertheless, as villagers are themselves fully aware of the harmful consequences of these demands, they have sought, through everyday forms of resistance, to reduce or, where possible, wholly mitigate the demands imposed upon them.

## Notes on the text

This report is comprised of 75 Burmese and S'Gkaw Karen language order documents that SPDC and DKBA officers issued to villagers in Karen State between August 2008 and June 2009. The district names mentioned in the report are indicated on the accompanying maps. While districts are identified with Burmese names, their boundaries follow Karen designations (shown in the Karen State Districts map below) as used by local people and the Karen National Union (KNU) but not the SPDC. Under SPDC designations (as shown in the Burma map below), sections of western Toungoo and Nyaunglebin Districts fall within eastern Pegu (Bago) Division, western Thaton and Doooplaya Districts form part of Mon State, and Tenasserim comprises a division wholly separate from Karen State.

In the text of the orders, 'Sd.' indicates the signature of the issuing officer. The village head to whom the order letter is sent is often referred to as 'the Gentleman' or 'Chairperson'. Village and personal names have been censored using single and double letters beginning from A--- and continuing alphabetically to Z---, then beginning at Aa and continuing to Az--- and so on up to Du--- according to the order in which they first appear in the report. These letters do not represent the first letters of the censored words. They also do not necessarily appear in the text chronologically; multiple orders issued by the same SPDC or DKBA authorities or received by the same village or village head retain the same alphanumeric character. Thus, for instance, Ai--- camp appears in a March 23<sup>rd</sup> 2009 order (#20) on page 19 and then on multiple subsequent occasions ending with a May 18<sup>th</sup> 2009 order (#49) on page 31. Other identifying alphanumeric characters have been censored with dashes "--". In limited cases, original order documents include incomplete dates written with dashes which do not indicate censored information. In translating these documents, KHRG has sought a literal over idiomatic rendition where possible. In some cases, KHRG has added words or phrases where necessary to clarify the original text. These are inserted within square brackets, such as in "[You] are informed." The authors of SPDC and DKBA order documents often enclose numbers, times and sometimes words or phrases within parentheses as, for example, "on (5-1-2009) at (1) o'clock". These parentheses reflect the content of the original document and are not additions by KHRG.

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





## II. List of order documents

#	Source	District	Date issued	Content / order requirement	Page #
1	SPDC	Papun	August 5 <sup>th</sup> 2008	Attend a meeting and provide <i>set tha</i> (messengers)	10
2	SPDC	Papun	August 20 <sup>th</sup> 2008	Attend a meeting and provide <i>set tha</i> (messengers)	10
3	SPDC	Papun	August 21 <sup>st</sup> 2008	Provide villagers as <i>set tha</i> (messengers)	11
4	SPDC	Papun	August 27 <sup>th</sup> 2008	Attend a meeting	11
5	SPDC	Papun	August 28 <sup>th</sup> 2008	Provide village information	12
6	SPDC	Papun	September 8 <sup>th</sup> 2008	Attend a meeting	12
7	SPDC	Papun	September 17 <sup>th</sup> 2008	Attend a meeting and provide village information	12
8	SPDC	Papun	October 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2008	Send villagers to make identification cards	13
9	SPDC	Pa'an	October 26 <sup>th</sup> 2008	Attend a meeting	13
10	SPDC	Pa'an	November 9 <sup>th</sup> 2008	Attend a meeting	14
11	SPDC	Pa'an	January 3 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	14
12	SPDC	Thaton	January 4 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	14
13	SPDC	Pa'an	January 30 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide village lists for registration in "NGOs"	15
14	SPDC	Papun	January 30 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	15
15	SPDC	Papun	Likely early 2009	Information on army rations	16
16	SPDC	Papun	February 8 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide information	16
17	SPDC	Papun	March 13 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide money and thatch shingles	16
18	SPDC	Papun	February 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting and provide money	17
19	SPDC	Papun	February 13 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting, provide money and thatch shingles	17
20	SPDC	Papun	March 10 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	18
21	SPDC	Papun	March 17 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Restrictions on travel and musket use	18
22	SPDC	Papun	March 17 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Restrictions on travel and musket use	19
23	SPDC	Papun	March 19 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide villagers for forced labour	19
24	SPDC	Papun	March 21 <sup>st</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	20
25	SPDC	Papun	March 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	20
26	SPDC	Papun	March 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	21
27	SPDC	Papun	March 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	21
28	SPDC	Thaton	March 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	22
29	SPDC	Papun	March 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	22
30	SPDC	Thaton	March 23 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	23
31	SPDC	Papun	March 25 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	23
32	SPDC	Papun	March 25 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	24
33	SPDC	Papun	March 25 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	24
34	SPDC	Papun	March 26 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	25
35	SPDC	Papun	March 26 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide villagers	25
36	SPDC	Papun	March 26 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide villagers	26
37	SPDC	Papun	March 26 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	26
38	SPDC	Papun	March 28 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide money and alcohol	27
39	SPDC	Papun	March 31 <sup>st</sup> 2009	Provide villagers as porters	27
40	SPDC	Papun	April 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2009	Provide villagers	27
41	SPDC	Papun	April 3 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Provide villagers for forced labour	28
42	SPDC	Papun	April 4 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide villagers for forced labour	28
43	SPDC	Papun	April 20 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	28
44	SPDC	Papun	April 30 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	28
45	SPDC	Papun	April 30 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	28
46	SPDC	Thaton	April 30 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	29
47	SPDC	Papun	May 12 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting (and provide thatch shingles)	29
48	SPDC	Papun	Likely early 2009	Provide information	30
49	SPDC	Papun	May 18 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	30
50	SPDC	Papun	May 21 <sup>st</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	31
51	SPDC	Papun	June 3 <sup>rd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	31
52	SPDC	Papun	June 15 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide bamboo poles	31
53	SPDC	Papun	June 16 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide village household lists	32
54	SPDC	Papun	June 19 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide bamboo poles	33
55	SPDC	Papun	Likely early 2009	Provide bamboo poles	33

56	SPDC	Thaton	Likely early 2009	Forced labour for road repair	34
57	SPDC	Thaton	Likely early 2009	Provide information with a <i>set tha</i> (messenger)	34
58	SPDC	Thaton	Likely early 2009	Provide bamboo poles	34
59	DKBA	Thaton	October 9 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide money	35
60	DKBA	Papun	November 21 <sup>st</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	35
61	DKBA	Thaton	December 21 <sup>st</sup> 2008	Provide thatch shingles	36
62	DKBA	Thaton	Likely early 2009	Provide money	36
63	DKBA	Papun	January 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	37
64	DKBA	Papun	January 10 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting (and forced labour)	37
65	DKBA	Thaton	January 12 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	38
66	DKBA	Papun	January 30 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide thatch shingles	38
67	DKBA	Thaton	February 1 <sup>st</sup> 2009	Provide thatch shingles	39
68	DKBA	Thaton	February 8 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	39
69	DKBA	Thaton	March 11 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	39
70	DKBA	Thaton	March 11 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting (and provide thatch shingles)	40
71	DKBA	Papun	March 15 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Provide money	40
72	DKBA	Papun	April 27 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	41
73	DKBA	Papun	April 28 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	41
74	DKBA	Thaton	May 8 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	42
75	DKBA	Papun	May 14 <sup>th</sup> 2009	Attend a meeting	43

### III. SPDC order documents

#### Order #1 (Papun District)

To

5.8.08

Chairperson  
A---

Subject: The issue of needing to have a meeting

Regarding the above subject, the B--- camp commander needs to meet with the Gentleman on 6.8.08 (Wednesday) at 11:00 o'clock. [You] are informed to arrive at B---.

Sd.  
Chairperson  
VPDC, B---

#### Order #2 (Papun District)

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Frontline Infantry Battalion #--- Column #2 Letter: ____ Date: ____</p>
--

Frontline # (---) Infantry Battalion  
Column (2) | C--- camp  
Letter # | --- / --- / ---  
Date: 2008, August (20)

To

Chairperson  
D--- village

Subject: Invitation to come to C--- camp

As the chairperson of D--- [village], send [me] (7) *set tha* [messengers] from your village to arrive tomorrow at (7) o'clock at C--- camp without fail. You are informed.

Sd.  
Column Commander (representative)

The village chairperson who received this letter told KHRG: "As the SPDC village head, I was given a duty on August 21<sup>st</sup> 2008 by commander E--- of SPDC Army Light Infantry Battalion #--- who sent this order letter to me. When I read the order letter, it said that I had to send seven *set tha* [messengers] to C--- camp by 7 o'clock in the evening for him. I gathered my villagers and I told them that now the Burmese soldiers had ordered us to send seven *set tha*. Some people had to do their work. So there was only one villager called Saw F--- and he was 50 years old. He went to carry things [rather than serve as a messenger] for the SPDC on September 3<sup>rd</sup> 2008. He died in the fighting that occurred while he was carrying things for the SPDC. If I had not sent any *set tha*, they [SPDC] would have come to catch all the people in the village by themselves. I feel as though, if I had of asked all seven people to go as he had ordered, they would have all died."

**Order #3 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Frontline #--- Infantry Battalion Column #2 Letter: ____ Date: ____</p>
--

Frontline # (---) | Infantry Battalion  
Column (2) | C--- camp  
Letter # | --- / --- / ---  
Date: 2008, August 21

To  
Chairperson  
Village Peace and Development Council  
G--- village

Subject: Invitation to come to C--- camp

Regarding the above subject, the chairperson himself is to come and bring (5) *set tha* [messengers] from G--- village and arrive at 5 o'clock today at C--- camp without fail. [You] are informed.

*Sd.*  
21.8.2008  
Column Commander (representative)

The village chairperson who received this letter told KHRG: *"As the SPDC village head, I was given a duty on August 20<sup>th</sup> 2008 by commander E--- of [SPDC] LIB #--- who sent this letter. The order said to provide him with 5 porters [villagers to carry supplies] and he ordered me to send these people to his place at C--- camp at 5 o'clock in the morning. I did as he said. If I didn't do as he said, he would have come to catch all of the men in the village. I had to fulfil my duty with worry. Then on September 4<sup>th</sup> 2008, fighting occurred and one of my villagers was injured in his shoulder. He was 49 years old. His name is Saw H---. After that all of the villagers were released. Since returning from the fighting, the porters which they [SPDC] released have been sick and have not yet recovered."*

---

**Order #4 (Papun District)**

Date: 27/8/08

To  
Gentleman  
A--- village

Subject: The issue of coming to meet with the new camp commander  
Regarding the above subject, in order for the new commander who has arrived at B-- camp to meet with the Gentleman, [you] can come and arrive on 28.8.08 (Thursday). [You] are informed.

*Sd.*  
[words not clear]

---

**Order #5 (Papun District)**

To

28.8.08

Ma I---  
A---

I, J---, am writing [to you]. [How many] A--- village households are there? [How many] men? [How many] women? [Who is] the chairperson? Send these numbers on 29.8.08 with the children when they come to school. The Operation Command requests it.

That's all  
Sd.  
J---

**Order #6 (Papun District)**

Date: 8.9.08

To

Chairperson  
A---

Subject: The issue of coming to meet with the new camp commander

Regarding to the above subject, come to meet with the new camp commander who will arrive at B--- camp on 9.9.08 (Tuesday) at (11) o'clock. This is to inform you.

Sd.  
Chairperson  
B---

**Order #7 (Papun District)**

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

To

Chairperson  
G--- village

Date: 17.9.2008

Subject: Announcement to come to attend a meeting

Regarding the above subject, concerning the village household registration, the list of (male / female) above 18 years [and] (male / female) under 18 years, student population (individual class registration list for male / female), the male / female teacher name list, the monk list, the names of the degrees of the senior monk[s], [and] the flat field / hill field list, there will be a meeting on (20.9.08) at (11:00) o'clock at C--- camp and village chairpersons themselves must bring along the lists without fail (without fail). [You] are informed to attend.

Sd.  
Camp commander  
(representative)  
C--- camp

The village chairperson who received this letter told KHRG: *"This SPDC order letter arrived for me on September 17<sup>th</sup> 2008. I read the order letter and I saw the things that I had to do for him [the SPDC commander], such as making a list of hill fields and flat fields, registering the villagers, students and teachers and including monks and their degrees. Following the order, I gathered the villagers, monks, students and teachers and then I completed all the registration. After that, I sent it to Deputy Battalion Commander K--- of SPDC Army LIB #--- who is based at C--- camp. I don't know what the SPDC will do with the lists that they asked for from me. I had to complete his order. If I did not follow his order, he would have told me to provide him with chickens or pigs and threatened me in various ways. So I sent them [the lists] to him promptly when I was finished."*

---

**Order #8 (Papun District)**

Date: 2.10.08

To

Chairperson,  
A--- village

Subject: The issue of informing [you] to come to make identification card[s]  
Regarding from the above subject, [representatives] from the Head Immigration Department in Papun Town will come to B--- village tract on 4.10.08 to make identification card[s] without any charge, [At which time] village heads must send [those] people who do not have identification cards along with [their] household registration. This is to inform you.

Sd.  
[words not clear]

---

**Order #9 (Pa'an District)**

Date: 26 / 10 / 2008

To /

Chairperson  
(L--- / M--- )

When [you] receive this letter promptly go to meet at N--- Camp.

Sd.  
26 / 10 / 08

---

---

**Order #10 (Pa'an District)**

To  
Chairperson (M--- / L--- / O---)

Subject: invitation for a meeting

Regional news: Regarding the investigation, [we] need to hold a meeting[.] And arrive on 10.11.2008 at (0900) o'clock[.] [You are] informed to meet with L--- active army column.

*Sd.*  
9.11.08  
Company Commander (P---)  
Active Column

---

**Order #11 (Thaton District)**

Q--- camp  
Letter: ---/---/---/---  
Date: 2009 January 3<sup>rd</sup>

To  
Chairperson  
R--- village

Subject: Invitation to be able to come to attend a meeting

At Q--- camp on (5-1-2009) at (1) o'clock, a meeting will be held to which either the village chairperson (or) the secretary is invited to come to attend (without fail). [You] are informed to come so as to arrive (1) hour before the meeting starts.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander

---

**Order #12 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Light Infantry Battalion #--- Company #3 Letter: ____ Date: ____</p>
---

To  
Chairperson  
S--- village

Date: 4.1.2009  
Place: T--- camp

Subject: Invitation to come to attend a meeting

[I] invite you in friendship. At our camp at T--- camp on 2009 January (8<sup>th</sup>) at (0900) o'clock we will hold a meeting concerning the local area, so [you] are informed to come to attend the meeting without fail.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander  
T--- camp

*The villager who received this order letter told KHRG that he had to take time away from his own livelihood work in order to attend the meeting identified in this letter. At the meeting, the SPDC camp commander reportedly said to the village head, "Now I have come to stay here. If you see KNU soldiers and know that they will come to shoot me, tell me immediately. If the KNU comes to shoot me, you will be punished by being detained in jail for a month."*

---

**Order #13 (Pa'an District)**

To

Date: 30.1.2009

U--- (chairperson)  
V--- village tract

I am writing with friendship... The sub-township leader has given an order... Please complete the list for [Karen] State for [him].

[Myanmar] Women's Affairs [Federation], [Myanmar] Maternal and Child [Welfare Association], USDA [Union Solidarity Development Association], Red Cross, [Auxiliary] Fire Brigade and Swan Arr Shin [Masters of Force] (NGO) associations are to be established... I have already sent (you) a letter [about this issue] (2) times. Bring along money to photocopy the list.

[I] have heard that a fair will be held at W---. If the chairperson is not free, send the secretary promptly when [you] receive the letter.

With friendly respect  
Sd.  
X--- / writing  
Sub-township general governing agency  
Y--- Town

---

**Order #14 (Papun District)**

Village Peace and Development Council  
Z--- village  
Letter: VPDC ---  
Date: 200[9], 30-1

To

Aa--- Chairperson

---

Subject: To introduce the new Operation Commander to Z--- village tract

Regarding to the above subject, in order to meet and discuss with Gentleman U/Daw Aa--- Chairperson, come to Z--- School on 3.1.2009 at (10) o'clock in the morning without fail (without fail). You are informed.

Sd.  
Chairperson  
Z--- Village Peace and Development Council

---

**Order #15 (Papun District)**

To/

Captain Ab---  
Ac--- camp

[The army unit at] Ac--- camp will rotate. Basic rations (29,200 x 1) and canned rations (1,920 x 1) including 5 sacks of rice will be sent with the chairperson and his wife along with an exchange receipt. If the captain and the soldiers need something, [they] can order it. The senior authorities have arranged everything that needs to arrive at the captain's camp.

Sd.  
With respect  
--- / Ad---  
Ae--- camp

*Although this letter was not dated, it was amongst a batch of order documents from Papun District dated early 2009 that were collected by a KHRG field researcher and is thus likely of similar provenance.*

**Order #16 (Papun District)**

To

Af--- Chairperson

Come and arrive at Ae--- camp [on] the day of (8/2/2009) to give information.

Sd.  
Ae--- camp

**Order #17 (Papun District)**

Village Peace and Development Council  
Ag--- village  
Letter | Y.Y.K Oo (1)  
Date | 2009 February 13

To

Ah--- chairperson

Subject: [come] to send the dormitory fees

Regarding the above subject, gentleman U/ ~~Daw~~ Ah--- chairperson, [we] need to meet and discuss, therefore [you] are informed to come to the Ag--- Chairperson on 15/2/09 at (9) [in] the morning without fail (without fail).

Note: Bring along 500 thatch shingles  
Bring along the dormitory fees at the same time

Sd.  
Chairperson  
Ag--- Village Peace and Development Council

*On February 13<sup>th</sup> 2009, the village head of Ah--- received this letter ordering him to meet with SPDC authorities working in the local Village Peace and Development Council (VPDC) and provide*

*them with thatch shingles and 'dormitory fees'. When the village head met with the VPDC chairperson, the chairperson ordered the village head to provide 150,000 kyat (approx. US \$136) for the cost of constructing a school dormitory and 10,000 kyat (approx. US \$9) to cover a food bill earlier incurred by the local SPDC authorities.*

---

**Order #18 (Papun District)**

Village Peace and Development Council  
Ag--- village  
Letter |  
Date | 2009 2<sup>nd</sup> month day (2)

To

Ah--- chairperson

---

Subject: The issue of thatch [for] the Ag--- dormitory and the Operation Command  
Regarding the above subject, Gentleman U/Daw \_\_\_\_\_ [we] need to meet and discuss, therefore come to Ag--- School [on] the date of 5 - 2 - 09 [at] (10) [in] the morning without fail (without fail). [You] are informed.

Sd.  
Chairperson  
Ag--- Village Peace and Development  
Council

*When the village chairperson who received this order document on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 2009, attending the meeting as ordered, he was told that the residents of his village would have provide 150,000 kyat (approx. US \$136) by the end of February 2009 to cover the cost of constructing a new school dormitory.*

---

**Order #19 (Papun District)**

Village Peace and Development Council  
Z--- village  
Letter number: VPDC ---  
Date: 2009, February 13<sup>th</sup>

To

Chairperson Aa---

---

Subject: Bring 2,000 thatch shingles and the wood fees for the school building

Regarding the above subject, Gentleman U/Daw Chairperson Aa---, in order to meet and discuss with the Z--- Chairperson, come to Z--- on 15.2.09 at 9 o'clock in the morning without fail (without fail). You are informed.

Notice: Bring along thatch shingles when [you] come.  
Bring along wood fees for the school construction when [you] come.

Sd.  
Chairperson  
Z--- Village Peace and Development Council

---

**Order #20 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline  
Light Infantry Battalion #---  
Column #1  
Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_

Date: 10-3-2009

To

Chairperson  
Ah--- village

Re: Invitation to attend a meeting

Village chairpersons are informed to come and attend a meeting at Ai--- camp on (12-3-2009) at (9) o'clock.

*Sd.*

Representative of Column Commander

---

**Order #21 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline  
Light Infantry Battalion #---  
Column #1  
Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_

Date: 17.3.09

To

Chairperson  
Aj--- Village

Subject: Order against leaving villages at night and restriction against the use of musket[s]

Regarding the above subject, [villagers] from the chairperson's village and neighbouring villages are not to travel to and from villages after (0900) o'clock at night. When travelling to and fro within the village, electric flashlights are not to be used; only torches and lanterns are to be used. Muskets are not to be used. [You] are informed that in the case of non-compliance, it is the village chairperson's responsibility.

*Sd.*

Representative of Column Commander  
Ai--- Camp

---

**Order #22 (Papun District)**

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

Date: 17.3.2009

To  
Chairperson  
Af--- village

Subject: Order against leaving villages at night and restriction against the use of musket[s]  
Regarding the above subject, [in] the Chairperson's [your] village and neighbouring villages after 9 o'clock at night, [villagers] may not travel back and forth between villages. If [anyone] travels within the village, do not use a flashlight – just use a torch or lamps. [And] musket[s] may not be used. [You] are informed that if [the villagers] cannot follow [this order], it is the chairperson's [your] own responsibility.

*Sd.*  
Column Commander  
(representative)  
Ag--- Camp

---

**Order #23 (Papun District)**

To

Date: 19-3-2009

Chairperson  
Ak--- village

Subject: Request for loh ah pay [forced labour]

To do the loh ah pay [forced labour] for the loh ah pay [forced labour] needs of the camp of Light Infantry Battalion #--- at Al--- camp. [You] are informed to [have] one person per house from the villages in Al--- village tract come and arrive at Ae--- camp without fail on (21-3-2009) at (18:00) o'clock.

Arrive on 21.3.2009 at (6) o'clock in the evening.

*Sd*  
Camp commander  
Al--- village  
date

**Order #24 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline  
Light Infantry Battalion #---  
Column #1, Headquarters  
Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_

21/3/2009

To

Chairperson  
Aj--- village

Subject: Meeting invitation

You are informed to come to Ai--- camp on (23.3.2009) in the morning at (9) o'clock to take part in a meeting with the Gentlemen [village chairpersons].

*Sd.*  
Representative of Camp commander

---

**Order #25 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline  
Light Infantry Battalion #---  
Column #1, Headquarters  
Letter...  
Date...

23/3/2009

To

Chairperson  
Aj--- village

Subject: To attend the meeting

Upon receipt of [this] letter, come to Ai--- camp.

*Sd.*  
Representative of Camp commander

---

**Order #26 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline  
Light Infantry Battalion #---  
Column #1  
Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_

Date: 23.3.2009

To

Chairperson  
Ah--- village

Subject: To come to attend a meeting

When [you] receive the present letter come to Ah--- camp.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander  
(representative)  
Ah--- camp

---

**Order #27 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline  
Light Infantry Battalion #---  
Column #1  
Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_

23.3.2009

To

Chairperson  
Af--- village

Subject: To come to attend a meeting

When [you] receive the present letter come to Am--- camp

*Sd.*  
Camp commander (representative)  
Am--- camp

---

**Order #28 (Thaton District)**

Q--- camp  
Letter: ---/---/---/---  
Date: 2009 March 23<sup>rd</sup>

To

Chairperson  
R--- village

Subject: Invitation to be able to come to attend a meeting

At Q--- camp on (25-3-2009) at (2) o'clock a meeting will be held to which either the village chairperson (or) the secretary is invited to come to attend (without fail). [You] are informed to come so as to arrive (1) hour before the meeting starts.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander

---

**Order #29 (Papun District)**

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

To

Chairperson  
An--- village

23-3-2009

Subject: To come to attend a meeting

As soon as [you] receive the present letter, [you are] to come to Ai--- camp.

*Sd*  
Camp commander  
(representative)  
Ai--- camp

---

**Order #30 (Thaton District)**

Q--- camp  
Latter: ---/---/---/---  
Date: March 23<sup>rd</sup> 2009

To

Chairperson  
Ao--- village

Subject: Invitation to come to attend a meeting

At Q--- camp on (25-3-2009) at (2) o'clock a meeting will be held to which either the village head (or) the secretary is invited to be able to come (without fail). [You] are informed to come so as to arrive (1) hour before the meeting starts.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander

*When the village head who received this order letter arrived at the meeting, the camp commander said that he simply wanted the village head to come to visit. The commander asked the village head whether or not the KNU had come to the village. The commander also asked whether or not his (Burma Army) soldiers had entered the village head's village and, if so, whether they had made any problems for the villagers.*

---

**Order #31 (Papun District)**

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

Date: 25.3.2009

Chairperson  
Af--- village

When [you] receive the present letter, come promptly to Am--- camp to attend a meeting. Even though previous times [you] were not able to come, [you] are forgiven. However, if this time [you] do not arrive, the villagers' life [lives] depends on the chairperson carrying out [his] responsibility. This is the last time you are warned.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander  
(representative)  
Am--- camp

---

---

**Order #32 (Papun District)**

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

Date: 25/3/2009

Chairperson  
Ap--- village

When [you] receive the present letter, come promptly to attend a meeting at Am--- camp. Even though previous times [you] were not able to come, [you] are forgiven. However, if this time [you] do not arrive, the villagers' life [lives] depends on the chairperson carrying out [his] responsibility. This is the last time you are warned.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander  
(representative)  
Am--- camp

---

**Order #33 (Papun District)**

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

Date: 25/3/2009

Chairperson  
An--- village

As soon as [you] receive the present letter, [you are] to come promptly to attend a meeting at Ai--- camp. Although [you] are forgiven for not coming to attend the meeting on the previous occasion, [If you] do not come and arrive this time, the villagers' lives depend on the chairperson doing [his] duty and function. This is the last time [you] are warned.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander  
(representative)  
Ai--- camp

**Order #34 (Papun District)**

**Stamp:**  
Frontline  
Light Infantry Battalion #---  
Column #1  
Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_

Date: 26/3/09

Chairperson Daw Aq---  
Ar--- village

Even though [you] have been repeatedly called to come and attend a meeting at Ai--- camp, it has been only the other villages and chairpersons who have come and arrived. Only Ar--- village did not come and arrive. As soon as [you] receive the present letter, [you are] to come and deliver news to Ai--- camp. [If by] (26.3.09) in the evening at (4:00) o'clock exactly [you] have not arrived, [then] it is the chairperson's responsibility.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander  
(representative]  
Ai--- camp

---

**Order #35 (Papun District)**

Date: 26/3/2009

**Stamp:**  
Frontline  
Light Infantry Battalion #---  
Column #1  
Letter: \_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_

To  
Chairperson  
An--- village  
Subject: The issue [about having] to bring the villagers

The chairperson is to bring with [him] the full specified number of (20) villagers on the date of (27.3.09) at (6) o'clock in the evening to Ai--- camp without fail.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander (representative)  
Ai--- camp

---

**Order #36 (Papun District)**

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

Date: 26.3.2009

To  
Chairperson  
Af--- village

Subject: The issue to release the villagers

From the Chairperson's [your] village, there are (30) people assigned. Bring the assigned number of people with the Chairperson [you] on (27.3.09) / on the (2<sup>nd</sup>) day of the new moon of the month of Tan Khoo at (6) o'clock to arrive at Am--- camp without fail.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander  
(representative)  
Am--- camp

---

**Order #37 (Papun District)**

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

Date: 26.3.09

Chairperson Daw As---  
Ap--- village

Even though [you] were repeatedly invited to attend a meeting at Am--- camp only the other villages arrived. Ap--- village did not arrive. When [you] receive the present letter, come to Am--- camp. If [you] do not arrive by (4:00) o'clock in the afternoon of (27.3.09), it is the Chairperson's [your] own responsibility.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander  
(representative)  
Am--- camp

**Order #38 (Papun District)**

To

28.3.2009

Village heads  
At--- and Au--- villages

In friendship [I] ask for your help. Give 3,000 kyat to the *set tha* [messenger] who has now arrived. [I am] asking [your] help to get as much alcohol as possible with this money.

In friendship,  
Sd.  
Camp commander  
T--- camp

*The village head received this order letter from a villager serving as a messenger at the local SPDC army camp. The village head had to provide 3,000 kyat (approx. US \$2.72) with which he bought 6 bottles of alcohol that he gave to the messenger to take to the SPDC army camp. The villager serving as a messenger informed the village head that if the village head did not provide the alcohol, then when the SPDC officer came to the village, if he saw anyone distilling alcohol, he would conscript everyone in the village to serve as porters. When then village head heard this, he was worried for those in his village and complied with the order.*

---

**Order #39 (Papun District)**

31/3/2009

To

Chairperson  
Ar--- village

Upon receipt of [this] letter, have (10) people come to transport rations.

Camp commander  
Ai---

**Order #40 (Papun District)**

To

Chairperson (Ar--- village)

[You] have been informed that the chairperson himself is to ensure that the succeeding villagers arrive [on] the day of (2.4.09) [at] (11) o'clock.

Sd.  
Camp commander  
Av--- village

---

**Order #41 (Papun District)**

3/4/2009

To

Chairperson  
Ar--- village

The *loh ah pay* [forced labour] groups are to be brought by the village chairperson himself each day at (0700) in the morning. [You] have been informed.

Camp commander  
Ai---

---

**Order #42 (Papun District)**

Date: 4/4/2009

To

Chairperson  
Ar--- village

The *loh ah pay* [forced labour] groups are to be brought by the village chairperson himself upon receipt of [this] letter. If [the chairperson] cannot come, have Aw--- [name of a village] do it.

Camp commander

---

**Order #43 (Papun District)**

20/4/2009

To

Chairperson  
Ax---

Tomorrow [on] the day of (21/4/09) at (09:00), attend the meeting. Do not absent.

Camp commander  
Ai--- camp

---

**Order #44 (Papun District)**

30/4/2009

To

Chairperson  
Ay--- village

Tomorrow [on] the day of (1/5/2009) at (0900) time, attend the meeting. Do not be absent.

Ai--- Camp commander

---

**Order #45 (Papun District)**

30/4/2009

To

Chairperson  
An--- village

Tomorrow [on] the day of (1/5/2009) at (0900) time, attend the meeting. Do not be absent.

Ai--- Camp commander

**Order #46 (Thaton District)**

Q--- camp  
Letter: ---/---/---/---  
Date: 2009 April 30<sup>th</sup>

To

Chairperson  
Ao--- village

Subject: Invitation to be able to come to attend a meeting

At Q--- camp on (7-5-2009) at (8) o'clock a meeting will be held to which either the village chairperson (or) the secretary is invited to come to attend (without fail). [You] are informed to come so as to arrive (1) hour before the meeting starts.

*Sd.*  
Camp commander

---

**Order #47 (Papun District)**

<b>Stamp:</b> <i>Not clear</i>
-----------------------------------

For the Az--- village chairperson

On 2009 May 12<sup>th</sup>, at (1) o'clock, the Tactical Operation Command commander himself will hold a meeting, [so you] are to come to arrive at Ba--- camp without fail.

*Sd.*  
Ba--- camp

*When the village head who received this letter went to meet with the SPDC commander, the SPDC commander ordered him to provide 100 thatch shingles and to deliver it to the SPDC camp. The village head returned to his village after the meeting and told his villagers to prepare the thatch shingles and deliver them to the SPDC camp. The SPDC provided no compensation for these thatch shingles. The village head told KHRG that if his village had not provided the shingles as demanded, the SPDC would have demanded money, pigs and chickens.*

---

---

**Order #48 (Papun District)**

To

Chairperson  
Bb--- village

Subject: The issue to come [and] deliver news to T--- camp

Bb--- village, village head, in order to discuss the local area situation, [you] are informed [that] as soon as [you] receive the present letter, the village head himself is to come to Bc--- camp to deliver news.

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

Sd.  
Camp commander  
T--- camp

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

---

**Order #49 (Papun District)**

<p><b>Stamp:</b> <i>not clear</i></p>
---

Township Peace and Development Council  
Papun Town  
Letter: ---/---/---/---  
Date: 2009 / May / 18

To

Village head  
Ai---

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

In Papun Township, a meeting will be conducted concerning agriculture, education, health and such development issues with village leaders together with the relevant departments according to the schedule below. You are invited to attend (without fail).

Date: 30-5-2009 (Saturday)  
In the year 1371 [2009] on day (7) of the waning moon  
Time: 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon  
Location: Papun High School

Sd.  
Chairperson

---

**Order #50 (Papun District)**

May 21.5.09

To

Ah--- Chairperson

Subject: The issue of meeting with the Ag--- Operation Commander  
Regarding the above subject, the Ag--- Operation Commander needs to meet with the Gentleman, so on the date of Saturday (23.5.09) at 9 o'clock. [You] are informed to come to meet with the Ag--- Operation Commander without fail.

Sd.  
Village Peace and Development Council  
Ag--- village tract  
Papun Township

*When the village head went as ordered to the meeting, the Operation Commander said that the villagers had to finish building the local school before the start of the school year. The students then had to find two new teachers. For each teacher, a salary of 80,000 kyat (US \$72.73) per month had to be paid; thus 160,000 kyat (US \$145.45) per month total for two teachers. This payment was a problem for the villagers as they did not have sufficient funds. The villagers were also required to send a message to the SPDC camp when anything out of the ordinary happened in the village. The distance from the village to the SPDC camp is two hours on foot.*

---

**Order #51 (Papun District)**

3/6/2009

To

Chairperson  
Bd---

Tomorrow [on] the day of (4/6/2009) at (0900) time, attend the meeting.

Camp commander

---

**Order #52 (Papun District)**

15.6.09.

To

Be--- Chairperson

I respectfully write a letter [to you] with no special matter. I need (500) bamboo poles. On the day of 19.6.09 the chairperson himself is to come and deliver [the poles] to Bf--- village.

That is all.

Company (5) Commander  
Sd.

---



14	U By---			"			
15			Daw Bz---	"			
16			Daw Ca---	"			
17			Daw Cb---	"			
18			Daw Cc---	"			
19	U Cd---			"			
20	U Ce---			"			
21	U Cf---			Bg--- village			
22	U Cg---			"			
23	U Ch---			Ci--- village			
24	U Cj---			"			
25	U Ck---			"			
26	U Cl---			Bg--- village			
27	U Cm---			"			
28	U Cn---			"			
29	U Co---			"			
30	U Cp---			"			
31			Daw Cq---	"			
32			Daw Cr---	"			
33	U Cs---			"			
34	U Ct---			"			

**Order #54 (Papun District)**

To

Cu--- village head

[I] write a letter to you. When you receiving the letter, you are to arrange and prepare 500 bamboo poles and deliver them yourself to me at Cv--- on 19.6.09. Do it promptly.

from

Company (5) Commander

**Order #55 (Papun District)**

To

Be--- Chairperson

I respectfully write a letter [to you]. When the letter arrives, deliver (500) bamboo poles tomorrow. The chairperson himself is to come and deliver [the poles]. There is an issue to discuss.

That is all.

Sender

Company (5) Commander

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

**Order #56 (Thaton District)**

To  
Cw--- Chairperson

[Regarding] the vehicle road between Cw--- and Cx---, [You] are informed to carefully repair the road so that vehicles are able to come and go.

Sd.  
Camp commander  
Cx--- camp

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

---

**Order #57 (Thaton District)**

To  
Cw--- Chairperson (Eastern)

[Regarding] the construction of bridges in Cw---, you are informed to send information [about] the situation with a *set tha* [messenger].

Camp commander  
Cx--- camp

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

---

**Order #58 (Thaton District)**

To  
Eastern Cw--- Chairperson

We [at] Cx--- camp need bamboo poles, so [we] request that [you] help by sending a total of 200 bamboo poles.

Sd.  
Camp commander  
Cx--- camp

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

---

#### IV. DKBA order documents

##### Order #59 (Thaton District)

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

Y/ 10/00

To

Cy---

Come to give the money, [at a rate of] 2,500 per calendar on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the waning moon to Cz--- chairperson.

Captain

Sd.  
10/00  
Regional military  
commander

*The village head received this letter on October 9<sup>th</sup> 2008 ordering him to give money to local DKBA authorities for the cost of DKBA calendars. The required amount was 2,500 kyat (approx. US \$2.27) per calendar for 30 calendars, thus a total of 75,000 kyat (approx. US \$68). The following day, on October 10<sup>th</sup> 2009, the village chairperson took only 40,000 kyat (approx. US \$36) to pay the DKBA authorities. DKBA authorities in many parts of Karen State order village heads to sell calendars (as well as CDs and pictures) as a means of raising funds for personal and group profit.*

---

##### Order #60 (Pa'an District)

<p><b>Stamp:</b> Karen Buddhist Army Dee Kay Bee Ay Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army</p>
--

Date: 21.11.08

Subject: Yearly meeting invitation

Regarding the above subject, all village tract leaders from Da--- Township and Q--- Township must come without fail to attend the yearly meeting. [I] am respectfully inviting you.

Event date: 24 11 08

Event time: 9 o'clock in the morning

Event location: R---'s house

Sd.  
21.11.08  
Major Saw S---  
Communication Officer  
T--- area  
Brigade #999 Headquarters  
Dee Kay Bee Ay

**Order #61 (Thaton District)**

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

Date: 21.12.2008

To  
Chairperson  
R--- village

Subject: From the village chairperson, for Brigade #333, Battalion #--- battalion families to roof their houses

You are informed that the chairperson himself is to send without fail (2000) thatch shingles on the date of (1.2.2009) at the latest to Db--- [army] camp of Battalion #---.

*Sd.*  
Battalion Captain  
#--- Battalion  
Dee Kay Bee Ay

*Local villagers have been ordered once annually to provide thatch shingles in this way to the DKBA. On February 15<sup>th</sup> 2009, the village head sent the specified thatch shingles by bullock cart to the DKBA camp at Db---*

---

**Order #62 (Thaton District)**

Reminder

The Benefactor Myaing Kyi Ngoo Sayadaw with respect...

Aiming for peace and development in the Papun region, [we] are doing pagoda construction, road construction and such meritorious works. Male donors and female donors far and near are reminded to be involved in giving donations to help.

The one doing the reminding  
U Dc--- (De--- monk)  
Myaing Kyi Ngoo Special Region  
Administration Committee

*Myaing Kyi Ngoo Sayadaw, also known as U Thuzuna, is a Karen Buddhist monk who serves as the patron/nominal head of the DKBA. Myaing Kyi Ngoo is the name of the site in Pa'an District where U Thuzuna and the DKBA headquarters are based. This letter was undated. However, it was amongst a group of order letters all dated early 2009 that were collected by KHRG researchers and is thus likely of similar provenance. While Myaing Kyi Ngoo is located in Pa'an District and the letter refers to development work in Papun District, the document itself was collected in Thaton District.*

---

**Order #63 (Papun District)**

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

Date: 2.1.2009

Dj---/

To/ Df--- village head, writing with respect to let you know that when you receive my letter on 7.1.2[00]9, come to meet me at the house of the village head of Dg---.

Company Sergeant Dh---

*The village head who received this letter complied with the order and went to meet the relevant DKBA officer on the specified day. At the meeting the DKBA officer demanded that the village head arrange for his villagers to provide 300 thatch shingles to the DKBA with no compensation.*

---

**Order #64 (Papun District)**

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army  
Dee Kay Bee Aye

Date: 10-1-2009

To/

Village head  
(Df---) village

Subject: Invitation to attend a meeting

On January (15-1-2009) our DKBA will meet and discuss with village heads, [the meeting] will be conducted at the (Dg---) new pagoda – in Dh---. Therefore, [you] are informed to come and arrive without fail.

1. Meeting location -- Dg--- – where the new pagoda is located.
2. Date -- (January (15<sup>th</sup>))
3. Time – morning (9:00) o'clock

Note – Village heads from distant locations are to come and arrive and stay the night on (14-1-200[9]).

Sd.  
Battalion commander  
Headquarter Security  
(Major Di---)

*This order document requests a meeting with the village head regarding the conscription of forced labour for the construction of a new Buddhist pagoda under the direction of the DKBA. All of the villagers from this village went to take part in the labour for three days before they were released and allowed to return home.*

---

---

**Order #65 (Thaton District)**

Military case

Date: 12.1.2009

Village head  
(R---) village

12.1.09 To let you to know when you receive the letter that on 15.1.2009 we will hold a start-of-the-year meeting for the village heads. On the English date of 14.1.2009 in the evening, [you] are to come to sleep at Di--- at the site of the new pagoda at the bottom of Dg--- hill. When [you] receive the letter, follow it and come promptly.

Battalion Commander  
(Pu Dj---)  
Dg--- new pagoda site

**Order #66 (Papun District)****Stamp:**

Karen Buddhist Army  
D.K.B.A

Date: 30.1.2009

To

Gentleman  
Df--- village

Subject: Writing to let you know you with a few words, when you receive the order letter [asking] for help, you are to comply on the English date of 5.2.2009. Send as much of it [thatch shingles] as is possible.

- From -

--/ Dh---  
Company #2  
D.K.B.A.  
Dg--- village

*The village head received this order letter on January 30<sup>th</sup> 2009. The village head explained to KHRG that the DKBA authorities had ordered him to send thatch shingles but he did not immediately comply. Later on February 5<sup>th</sup> 2009, the village head sent the thatch shingles to the camp. The village head told KHRG that had he not sent the thatch to the DKBA, the DKBA would have demanded 300,000 kyat [approx. US \$272.73] instead.*

**Order #67 (Thaton District)**

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

1.2.2009

To

Subject: From the village chairperson, we, Brigade #333, Battalion #---, battalion families need (2000) thatch shingles to roof [our] houses by the date of (1.2.2009) at the latest. [You] are informed that the chairperson himself is to send [the thatch] without fail to Battalion #--- [at] Db--- camp.

Sd.  
Battalion Captain  
#--- Battalion  
Dee Kay Bee Ay

---

**Order #68 (Thaton District)**

To

8.2.09

R--- chairperson

Subject

Inform the villagers in R--- [that] one person from each household (male) [is] to come and arrive at the foot of Dk---.

[You] are requested.

Dk--- hill camp  
DKBA  
Sd.  
8.2.09

---

**Order #69 (Thaton District)**

Date: 11.3.2009

To

R--- village  
Chairperson

Regarding the issue [about which I] write to inform [you], as there is something to discuss [on] 12.3.2009 [in] the morning [at] 9:00 o'clock at Dj--- village, [You] are informed to come and meet without fail.

Dee Kay Bee Ay  
Temporary – Dj---

*When the village chairperson attended the meeting, a DKBA commander said that he had heard that KNLA soldiers had gone to R--- village. The commander asked the village chairperson why he had not come to report about the arrival of the KNLA soldiers. The village head responded that he had indeed seen 10 KNLA soldiers enter the village, but then continued "Why should I have had to tell you about that? We're all Karen." The DKBA commander replied that if KNLA soldiers entered the village again and the village head did not inform the DKBA, then the village head would be given a severe punishment.*

---

**Order #70 (Thaton District)**

Date: 11.3.2009

To

Ao--- village  
Chairperson

The issue [about] which [I] write to [let you] know [is that] there is something to be discussed on 12.3.2009 in the morning at 9:00 o'clock at Dj--- village [for which you] are informed to come and arrive without fail.

Dee Kay Bee Ay  
Temporary Dj---

*On March 11<sup>th</sup> 2009, DKBA headquarters security battalion based at the bottom of Dk--- Mountain sent this letter to the chairperson of Ao--- village. When the village chairperson went as ordered to meet with the DKBA officer, he was informed that if he saw any KNLA soldiers travelling around the village, he was to report the activity to the local DKBA authorities. The DKBA also ordered 100 thatch singles at that time for their military camp as well as 5 viss (8.16 kg. / 18 lb.) of fish paste. No compensation was provided for these items.*

**Order #71 (Papun District)**

15.3.2009

To With respect

Letting you know regarding the case below, on the evening of [March] the 15<sup>th</sup>, you are to send the porter fees that were ordered by the DKBA and [then] I have to send [the combined amount of money to DKBA authorities] on the 17<sup>th</sup> of the month [of March]. As for our side, we have already completed it [have already collected money from others], so you should complete it [send the money] as soon as possible. You must collect 12,000 kyat [approx. US \$10.90] in cash because they [DKBA authorities] ordered us to pay 110,000 kyat [approx. US \$100] for the month. When you receive my letter, you yourself are to come and give it [the money] and I will explain it so that you understand it clearly. They [DKBA] ordered people [ambiguous; possibly as army recruits or forced labour] from us, but we will not give [the people demanded] to them. We will just give money.

That is all.  
DI---

*Annually, the local DKBA authorities have ordered each village in the area where this letter was sent to provide one villager to serve as a porter. However, in 2009 the local DKBA commander demanded 12,000 kyat (approx. US \$10.90). There were 7 households in the village and the village head collected the money as ordered. The village head told KHRG that he was worried that if he did not comply, the DKBA would burn down houses in the village. The DKBA did not write this order document itself. The document was written by head of Dm--- village to explain what the DKBA had ordered.*

**Order #72 (Papun District)**

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

Date: 27.4.09

To  
Village head  
Dn--- village

Writing to let you know that on the (30<sup>th</sup>) of the English month, come to meet with Puh Do--- at Dp--- farm, [We] need [to meet with you], so when [you] receive [the letter], comply promptly.

This case is from  
Company Sergeant Major  
Sd.  
27.4.09  
Dp--- farm

*When the village head went to meet with the DKBA officer on April 30<sup>th</sup> 2009, the officer informed him that the DKBA would build a new pagoda at Dp--- and that the village head was to tell the KNLA not to shoot at the DKBA personnel at the pagoda construction site. If the KNLA did fire on the DKBA at the site, the officer told the village head that the village head would have to stay at the site for the duration of the construction.*

---

**Order #73 (Papun District)**

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

Date: 28.4.09

To  
Village head  
Dq--- village

Writing to let you know that on the (30<sup>th</sup>) of the English month, come to meet with Puh Do--- at Dp--- farm where people are building a pagoda. [We] need to talk, so when [you] receive [the letter], comply promptly.

This case is from  
Company Sergeant Major  
Sd.  
28.4.09

*When the village head went to meet with the DKBA officer on April 30<sup>th</sup> 2009, the officer informed him that the DKBA would build a new pagoda at Dp--- and that the village head was to tell the KNLA not to shoot at the DKBA personnel at the pagoda construction site. If the KNLA did fire on the DKBA at the site, the officer told the village head that the village head would have to stay at the site for the duration of the construction.*

---

**Order #74 (Thaton District)**

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

Progressive Buddhist Karen National Army  
Organising Committee – Dr--- District - Brigade #333  
Dee Kay Bee Ay

Letter # | Dee Kay Bee Ay / --- / Kha-05 / 001  
Date | 2009 - May 8<sup>th</sup>

To/

Chairperson  
\_\_\_\_\_ Village  
Bee Lin Township

Subject: Meeting invitation  
Reference: Order from the brigadier  
Regarding the above subject –

Village chairpersons / secretaries of Dee Kay Bee Ay – Dr--- district - Brigade #333 – Bilin Township, on (2009) May 18<sup>th</sup>, year 1371 on 10<sup>th</sup> day of the waning moon of the month of Kason come to attend a meeting at Dr--- District - Brigade #333 headquarters office without fail. [You] are informed.

Distribution: - Brigadier – Brigade #333 – Dee Kay Bee Ay  
- Chairperson – Organising Committee – Dr--- District – Dee Kay Bee Ay

Copy: 1. Brigade #333 headquarters office – Dee Kay Bee Ay  
2. Township chairperson – Bilin Township – Dee Kay Bee Ay  
3. Office copy

Sd  
Secretary [Major]  
Organising Committee – Dr--- District  
Brigade #333 – Dee Kay Bee Ay  
--- / --- – Saw Ds---

*The village head who received this order went on May 17<sup>th</sup> 2009 to attend a meeting held on May 18<sup>th</sup>. In the meeting, an officer from DKBA Brigade #333 said that every village had to provide people to serve as DKBA soldiers. If there were 20 households in a village, one person would have to serve as a DKBA soldier. If the village head was not able to find anyone to serve as soldiers, then DKBA would come themselves and detain villagers for this purpose. The village heads were ordered to inform the DKBA by the end of June 2009 whether or not they would be able to provide new recruits. For more details about this particular meeting, see Story #3 in Ongoing accounts of village-level resistance, KHRG, July 2009.*

**Order #75 (Papun District)**

Date: 14.5.09

To

Dt--- village chairperson

[I] write a letter to inform [you]. Dt--- village chairperson, immediately upon receiving the letter [you] are to come quickly to Du--- camp.

Du--- Camp commander  
Sd.

*When the village chairperson who received this letter went to meet with the DKBA camp commander on May 14<sup>th</sup> 2009, the local DKBA camp commander asked the village chairperson why the villagers were digging trenches below their houses. The village head explained that because the DKBA had informed the villagers that a DKBA army camp was to be built in the village, the villagers were concerned that the KNLA would attack the DKBA position and the local villagers would thus risk being shot. The trenches were being dug as bunkers in case of a KNLA attack. The village head said that his fellow villagers did not want a DKBA camp within their village and so the DKBA should build its camp at a location far from the village. The DKBA camp commander agreed to meet with the local DKBA battalion commander who was organising the camp construction. Subsequently, on June 28<sup>th</sup> 2009, the village head was called to a meeting with both the camp commander and the battalion commander who acknowledged the village head's concerns and agreed that the camp would not be built within the village confines. [For more details of this incident, see Story #2 in Ongoing Accounts of village-level resistance, KHRG, July 2009.]*

---