



More of the Same

Forced Labor Continues in Burma (October 2000-September 2001)

**A Report by EarthRights International
October 11, 2001**

www.earthrights.org



EarthRights International (ERI) is a non-government, non-profit organization combining the power of law and the power of people to protect earth rights. Earth rights are those rights that demonstrate the connection between human well-being and a sound environment, and include the right to a healthy environment, the right to speak out and act to protect the environment, and the right to participate in development decisions. ERI is at the forefront of efforts to link the human rights and environmental movements.

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Writing Team

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary	3
Findings.....	3
Recommendations.....	4
Part I: Maps and Featured Information	6
Map of Shan State.....	6
Map of Tenasserim Division	7
Featured Interview on Forced Labor and Order No. 1/99.....	8
Part II: Forced Labor Continues.....	12
Portering for the Military	13
Construction or Repair of Military Camps and Facilities	15
Other Support for Military Camps.....	17
Income Generation.....	19
National or Local Infrastructure Projects	22
Cleaning and/or Beautification of Rural or Urban areas	23
Part II: The Failures of Order No. 1/99	25
Knowledge of Order No. 1/99	25
Knowledge of ILO	25
Arbitrary Implementation of Order No. 1/99	26
Misrepresenting Forced Labor to Monitoring Groups.....	27
Shifts in the Official Language.....	28
Retaliation	28
Attitudes of Villagers Towards the Efficacy of Order No. 1/99	29
Appendix I: Forced Labor Continues.....	31
Portering (Additional Documentation)	31
Construction or Repair of Military Camps/Facilities (Additional Documentation).....	38
Other Support for Camps (Additional Documentation).....	40
Income Generation (Additional Documentation)	41
National or Local Infrastructure Projects (Additional Documentation)	42
Cleaning and/or Beautification or Rural or Urban areas (Additional Documentation).....	43
Appendix II: Problems with Order No. 1/99	45
Knowledge of Order No. 1/99 (Additional Documentation).....	45
Knowledge of ILO (Additional Documentation).....	47
Arbitrary implementation of Order No. 1/99 (Additional Documentation).....	47
Retaliation (Additional Documentation).....	50
Attitude of Villagers Towards the Efficacy of Order No. 1/99 (Additional Documentation).....	53
Appendix III: Townships Where Forced Labor Occurred (Late 2000-Present).....	54

Executive Summary

Burma's State Peace and Development Council's Order No. 1/99 (March 1999), along with the Supplementary Order to Order No. 1/99 (October 2000)¹, outlawed forced labor throughout the country. Despite these orders, forced labor continues. The villagers of Shan State and Tenasserim Division tell of their experiences in the accounts that follow.² Life under military rule still means a life where the rule of law is absent. Without legal recourse and increased international pressure for change, these people have no choice but to flee.

Findings

Between mid-2000 and the present, EarthRights International's ongoing investigation into the practice of forced labor in Burma has specifically found:

- Forced labor and portering continues in all the areas where ERI has conducted interviews, namely Tenasserim Division and Shan State. ERI has found the following kinds of forced labor:
 - (a) Portering for the military;
 - (b) Construction or repair of military camps/facilities;
 - (c) Other support for camps (such as guides, messengers, cooks, cleaners, etc.);
 - (d) Income generation by individuals or groups (including work on army-owned agricultural projects);
 - (e) National or local infrastructure project (including roads, bridges, etc.);
 - (f) Cleaning/beautification of rural or urban areas; and
 - (g) Forced labor and porter fees related to the above.
- Few villagers are familiar with Order No. 1/99. The order makes forced labor illegal throughout the country. More villagers are aware of announcements that the practice of forced labor is to have ended, but many villagers still have never heard of such proclamations—formally or informally.
- Order No. 1/99 has been arbitrarily implemented. Slight variations in forced labor and fee extraction practices exist from military commander to commander and region to region.
- Order No. 1/99 has not stopped forced labor or changed the practice fundamentally. If anything, the authorities' activities in the aftermath of Order No. 1/99 may have made the practice more insidious and difficult to eradicate in the future. For example, ERI has found:
 - (a) Efforts by the military authorities to "document" the existence of no forced labor by pressuring villagers to give false testimony in a variety of forms that the practice has ended despite its continuance;
 - (b) Threats by military commanders and soldiers of retribution, including the threat of being killed, if villagers tell others that forced labor is continuing;
 - (c) Changes in vocabulary surrounding forced labor in some areas, such as the use of the "helper" (a-ku-ah-nyi) instead of "forced labor" (loy-ah-pay);

¹ Hereinafter, the report will refer to both the original Order No. 1/99 and the Supplementary Order as "Order No. 1/99."

² See Part I: Maps and Appendix III for list of interviews and townships where forced labor has been reported.

- (d) Payments now accompany a few cases of forced labor, but villagers are still not able to refuse to work—thus the practice is compulsory rather than voluntary; and
- (e) Announcements regarding no more forced labor have created confusion and fear among the population. This has resulted in an atmosphere that is not conducive to encouraging villagers to make complaints about ongoing forced labor. To date, ERI has yet to speak with a villager who knows how to make a complaint, much less attempted to make a complaint about ongoing forced labor.

Recommendations

In sum, the system of forced labor that has brought condemnation from the international community remains intact. The people of Burma deserve better. ERI thus makes the following recommendations:

To the State Peace and Development Council:

- The military regime should adhere to the ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), which Burma ratified in 1955. Burma's Towns Act and the Village Act of 1907 should be brought into conformity with the Convention.
- Education materials about Order No. 1/99, which outlawed forced labor in Burma, should be more widely disseminated throughout the country, and this information should be regularly aired on the radio and via television in Burma to educate the population. In these educational efforts, explanations about how to make complaints should be included.
 - (a) The decree as well as educational materials should be translated into local ethnic nationality languages and similarly widespread dissemination of the information should be undertaken;
 - (b) Special attention should be made to educate the military and local authorities about the law, including how it will be implemented and enforced.
- Order No. 1/99 should be strictly enforced in line with the recommendations of the ILO's Commission of Inquiry:
 - (a) Violators, including military personnel and local authorities, should be prosecuted under section 374 of the Penal Code and other relevant statutes.
 - (b) These prosecutions should be public and carried out by civilian courts.
- In light of the threats made against anyone who speaks out about forced labor, steps should be taken to ensure the safety of those who seek to enforce Order No. 1/99 or make complaints about ongoing cases of forced labor:
 - (a) Those who make threats of retaliation or actually retaliate against those speaking out against forced labor should be criminally prosecuted.
 - (b) Police and appropriate authorities should not wait for complaints of forced labor to be brought to them, but should be proactively enforcing Order No. 1/99. In fact, they are required by law to do so according to the Supplementary Order to Order No. 1/99 (October 2000).
 - (c) New mechanisms should be created to better ensure the safety of those making complaints about forced labor. For example, anonymous tips should be permitted to assist police and appropriate authorities in learning about incidents of forced labor. Similarly, any villager

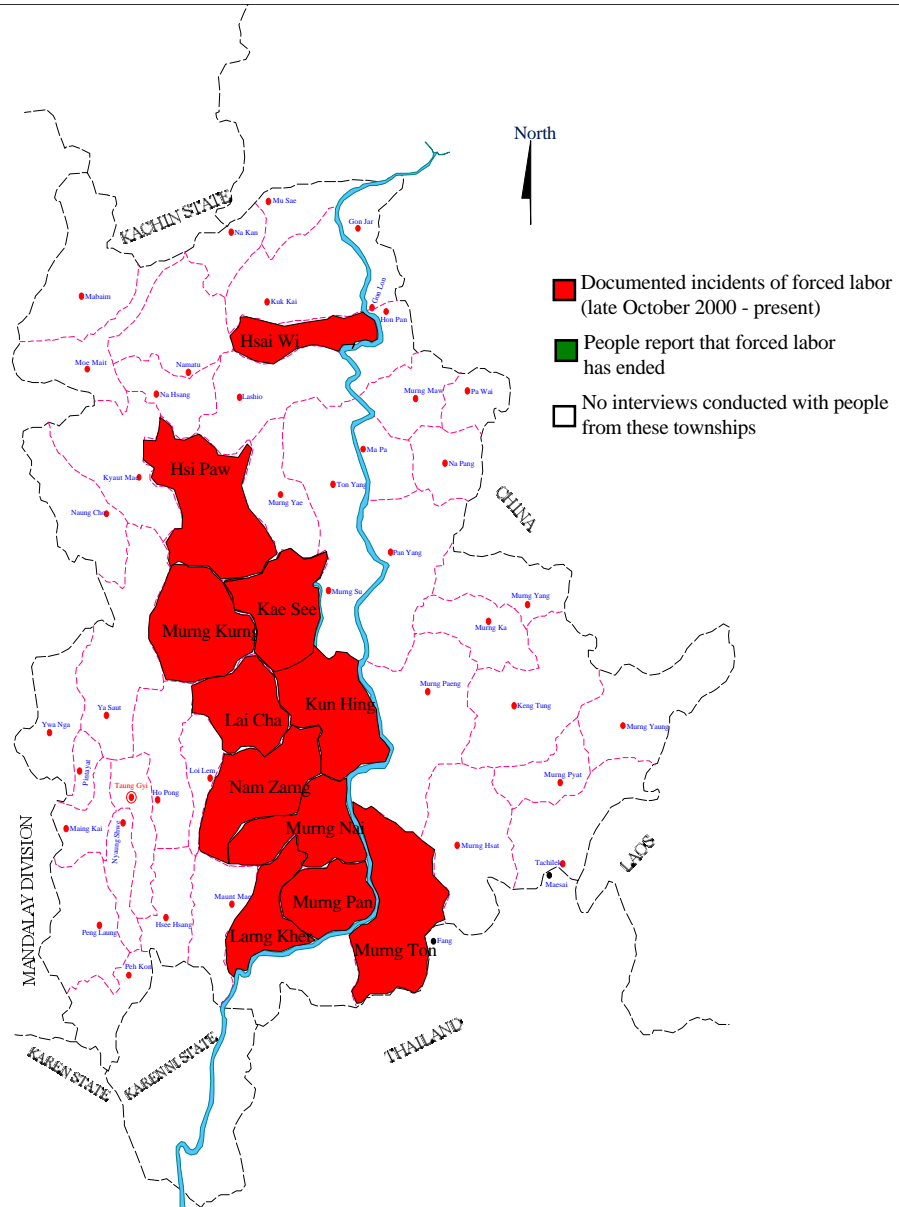
who does make a formal complaint should be able to do so anonymously because of the severe repercussions they may face for making such a complaint.

To the international community

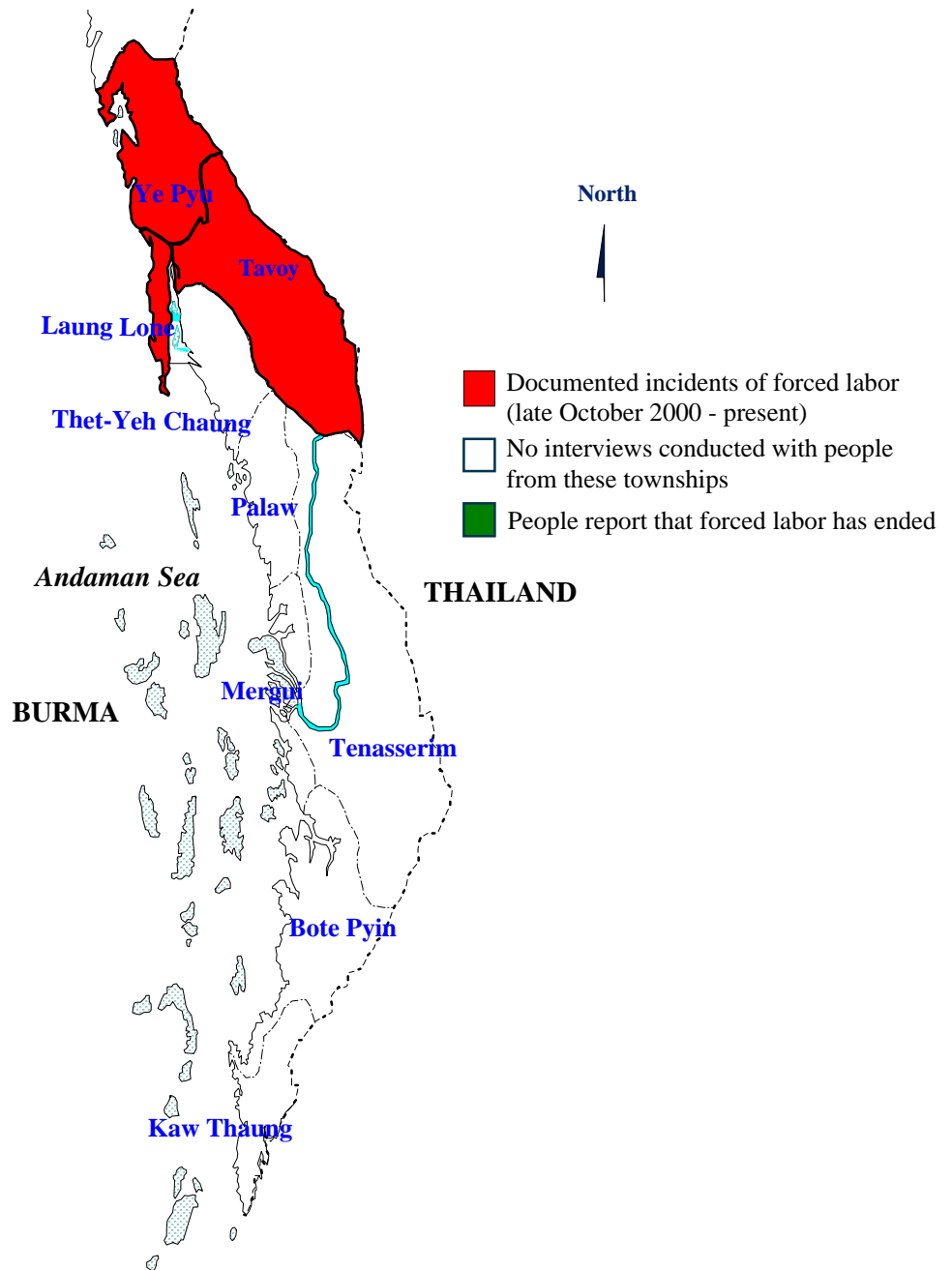
In the absence of significant political reform, an end to forced labor is unlikely. Actions most likely to induce a change include:

- Increasing pressure on the State Peace and Development Council by tightening existing sanctions and other international actions condemning the military regime.
- Strengthening the ILO's existing resolutions on Burma to require the ILO's constituents (governments, employees, and labor) to take concrete actions to eliminate trade and assistance with the regime that is contributing to the practice of forced labor.
- Maintaining contact with the regime, such as that of the U.N. Special Envoy Razali Ismail, to encourage tripartite dialogue.
- Creating a roadmap for democratization in Burma with specific criteria, timetable and milestones for measuring progress. This roadmap will include a range of mechanisms for increasing penalties if there is not significant movement towards the goals set out in the roadmap. Similarly, the roadmap should set up precise rewards if certain goals are attained within the given timetable.
- Giving protection under existing principles of refugee jurisprudence to those who face credible threats of retaliation or actual retaliation for speaking out against forced labor or for making complaints about the violation of Order No. 1/99.

Map of Shan State



Map of Tenasserim Division



Featured Interview on Forced Labor and Order No. 1/99

About five months ago, the SPDC government formed three committees, and one of them came to Shan State during the hot season. The head of the committee was a “Bo Mu Gyi” (Colonel), but I don’t remember his name. The Colonel was from Rangoon. All together, there were four or five people from Rangoon, and there were others accompanying the committee from the area. In all, there were ten to twelve people from the authorities. The Colonel said that the SPDC had formed three committees, and one went to Karen State, one to Shan State, and one to Tenasserim Division. The committee talked to the people, and the committee said the international community accused the regime of abusing human rights and forcing people to work for the regime. And so they asked the civilians to explain to the international community that this was not true.

The Colonel called a meeting. The Township Administrator made the announcement, sending a letter to each village headman. The letter was in Burmese and said at least nine or ten people from a village tract had to come. Some villages sent only one or two people. If no one from a village was there at the time of the meeting, someone was sent to get someone from the village. No village dared to refuse to go to the meeting. I personally attended the meeting. All together, there were two or three dozen people there.

The Colonel said the ILO was taking action against the regime because some organizations and anti-government groups outside Burma and revolutionary groups were informing the ILO about the use of forced labor and forced relocations. Therefore, they formed three committees to investigate the situation and prove that this was not true. The committees wanted to involve civilians in showing that there was no forced labor.

The Colonel said that SPDC was going to investigate the situation and send a report to a conference in Geneva and also to ASEAN. He also said that it was not helpful to Burma to have this international pressure from the ILO and that it was not only hurting the government, but also the people of Burma. He said the ILO could sanction Burma, and it could stop assistance to Burma. He said this could hurt the country and the people, and therefore, the people have to prove to the ILO that there is no forced labor, so the country is not hurt.

The Colonel also said that before the passage of 1/99, there might have been requests from the people to do labor because the government needed people’s help to improve the country. He said that after the passage of 1/99, the government was going to investigate whether there was forced labor. He said that if there was forced labor after 1/99, you could say there was forced labor. He said that if there was not forced labor after 1/99, you could say there was no forced labor.

After the Colonel spoke, the committee said it would do an investigation about each village, by interviewing villagers. In order for Burma to avoid being impacted by the ILO's action, the people should help with the investigation to show there is no forced labor. The Colonel was clearly appealing to the people that for the good of the country, we should say there is no forced labor.

The Colonel said that the report was going to show that they investigated individual areas. The committee was going to videotape and tape-record the interviews with people. Then, the Colonel called people one by one people from each area, interviewing them and videotaping them.

The meeting lasted half a day. The Colonel spoke for 10 minutes, and then the videotaping and interviewing began. The Colonel sat at a table like a chairman of the investigation, watching the videotaping in front of him. Three to four other members of the committee would rotate interviewing a person at a time. There was a recorder, typing the proceedings. There was also someone taking notes. There was someone else videotaping. The meeting was very rushed, and after they got the information that they wanted, they left. They arrived the evening before the meeting, and they left the afternoon of the meeting around 1PM to go to another township.

The questions that they asked were leading, pushing the villagers to give the answers that they wanted. Most of the people who were interviewed were normal villagers. For example, they asked questions like this:

Q: The ILO reports says that LIB Q asked for villagers from Y Township to do forced labor. Is LIB Q in Y Township?

A: No.

Q: Did LIB Q ask for forced labor in Y Township?

A: No.

Q: Does village A exist in Y Township?

A: No.

Technically, this was a correct because LIB Q and village A are not in Y Township, but a nearby Z Township. Thus, it was not possible for LIB Q to ask for forced labor in Y Township. One person tried to say that village A was in nearby Z Township, but the committee was not interested in this information or response. They only wanted to hear that village A was not in Y Township. Thus, the committee focused only on the weak points and mistakes in the report to refute the ILO's findings. The committee got a lot of villagers to give answers such as these. Another set of questions that I remember are:

Q: Did you get a letter about 1/99?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you get any orders to ask villagers for forced labor after 1/99?

A: No.

Q: There was only a little forced labor before 1/99, right?

A: No, there wasn't a little. There was a lot of forced labor.

The answer that the person was supposed to give to the second question, which was a leading question, was clear. The person was supposed to answer no. The last response, however, produced laughter from everyone, including the committee members, because it was not the response that the interviewer wanted. The interviewer only wanted to hear that "there was only a little forced labor." I think the committee laughed because they did not care much about the situation before 1/99 but only about the situation after 1/99.

There was also a translator. The interviewers asked the questions in Burmese. The translator often made mistakes when translating answers from the villagers back into Burmese. The translator did not appear to be that serious about the job. The answers were also written down in Burmese, and what was written down focused on what the committee wanted. After the interview was finished, the interviewer had to sign a written statement in Burmese about what he had said. Before signing, the statement was read back to them in Burmese, but most people did not understand. The people also were not very interested and wanted to get home, so they signed quickly. The committee did not say whether you could change anything in the statement before signing it.

There were no women at the meeting. The people there were between about 30 and 60 years old.

I did not believe the committee meeting was seeking the truth. I thought the meeting was for show and was not helpful to the people. I believe the meeting was trying to hide the guilt of the military and the government. I believe that the committee and investigation did not produce the truth, and the report to the ILO is a lie. This is because the interviews were in front of the Colonel, the translation was bad, the recorders also made mistakes, and the questions were leading questions.

The committee gave these instructions on how to report forced labor in the future. They said that if there was forced labor after the committee left, anyone could inform any concerned authorities. They did not clearly explain what "authorities" meant, whether it was government, police or military or all three. Complaints should include this information: Which rank gave the order? Who? When? Where? What were the people forced to do? They did not say whether you could make a complaint anonymously. They did not say whether the complaint had to be in person or in writing. They did not say whether you had to suffer directly or just had to hear about the forced labor. I think that you would have to start with the village, then township, and continue step by step all the way to Rangoon. I think

that any letter would disappear along the way and that no one would dare make a complaint.

In March 2001, I first heard about 1/99. There was an order to distribute the law to local people. The law and the letter were only published in Burmese, so most of the local people were not interested. I didn't see anything else about a law that there should be no more forced labor. I never saw or heard anything about this law in the Shan language. This was shortly before the meeting of the committee about 1/99. Until March 2001, the local township did not distribute the letter because they wanted to keep people working.

Where I lived, there was no forced labor after I heard about 1/99, at least as far as asking for labor from the people, meaning manual labor. The forced labor gradually slowed down after March 2001. The military still forced people to give trailer engines [transport vehicles] on a rotational basis. People also had to give car and trucks on a rotational basis. If the military wanted to travel outside the area, they would call on the vehicle that would be available that day. The vehicle number for the day would be put on a board, so everyone would know. It was before the time to work in the fields when I left, so I don't know if people were forced to work this year.

[Biographical information] This is information that I won't provide because I'm afraid it will put me in danger: voice, my name, my marital status, my age, my education, and my occupation. ERI Interview #S119 (on file with authors).

Part II: Forced Labor Continues

Traditionally, soldiers have sent letters or given oral orders for forced labor to village heads throughout the country. The practice continues. Indeed, village leaders are used as much as ever to organize labor for the military. Villager after villager repeats the same story:

The soldiers ordered the village head to arrange the labor and he did. Sometimes the soldiers went directly to the village head. Sometimes there was a letter that was sent to him. It was arranged by the village head, he would come and tell us we had to go do it. ERI Interview #S102 (on file with authors).

The process for organizing forced labor is the military gives the order to the headman. The headman has to provide villagers for forced labor whenever they need them. In my township, there are two military battalions called Battalion One and Battalion Two. The villagers in my town have to work for them every day [in 2001]. ERI Interview #S100 (on file with authors).

The headman ordered me to do it. [I know his name.] If we refused, we had to pay money—a fine, so I never refused to go. The soldiers, I don't know the number of the battalion, ordered the headman, and then he ordered us to go clean the road, carry materials, clean the pagoda. . . . People with machinery or trucks had to bring them, so they can be used depending on the work. Every household had to go. They called this a-ku-ah-nyi [help]. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

Violence surrounding forced labor is unfortunately a matter of course in Burma. Village heads can often suffer if they do not supply enough laborers for the military:

When the Burmese soldiers came to our village, they ordered the village head to arrange villagers to work for them. If the villagers didn't go, they would beat and kick the village head. We could not refuse to go. ERI Interview #S101 (on file with authors).

Forced labor and/or the threat of forced labor frequently disrupts daily life:

[My son-in-law] could not refuse. If I refuse, other villagers would blame me because they had to do it, too. . . . He didn't want to do it. He had to stop his work for three days, and this was a duty he had to do for our family. He did not get paid. In fact, he wasted his time. At the time, we were working on our own work. We were making a shelf to hang garlic. We just finished pulling the garlic from the field, a lot of garlic heaped up in our house. We had to tie it together and hang it. If we did not do it, the garlic would stink. My son-in-law could not refuse to go because the military gave the order to the villagers already. If the military did not get all of the plow engines it ordered, and they got one less engine, and this engine was [supposed to be] from our village, the military would come to

our village and ask the headman why he did not send help. They would give some punishment if headman said, "I told him already, but he did not go." My son-in-law would have gotten in trouble. ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors)

Portering for the Military

Perhaps the most dangerous form of forced labor is portering for the Burmese military (or other military/paramilitary groups), where villagers are asked to carry extremely heavy loads for the soldiers as they patrol and move from one place to another.

The last time when our villagers had to go porter was the beginning of May 2001. [The interview was conducted in May 2001.] They [the military] stayed in our village [in Tavoy Township] for a night, and there were about 40 soldiers. In the morning before they went back, they told the village headmen that they needed seven people to carry things for them. And they said it would only take two days, but it took about a week for these people to come back. Among them was one village leader [whose name I know and five others whose name I know] along with one other villager. These people had to carry the military supplies and bullets. These people did not get any money for that. When they ordered our village to get them, the soldiers said you have to provide it or otherwise we will catch them ourselves. It took about a week for these seven people to come back because they told us that they had to go upstream of Tavoy river. I myself had to go porter one time, and it was in 2000, and I had to go with them for three days. We had to go near the village, and I had to go with LIB 104. [There were] around 40 soldiers and about ten porters. I remember [the name of] one person that had to go . . . I had to carry ammunition and supplies. It weighed more than ten viss [about fifteen kilograms]. I did not get any money for it, and I had to go because we went by rotation, and this time it was my turn. ERI Interview #GF010 (on file with authors).

I myself had to go twice, and we had to carry food for the soldiers. They called us to porter, and they did not pay us anything. The last time that I had to go as a porter was the beginning of April 2001. I had to go to the outpost [upstream in Tavoy Township], and it took about a half day to go, and we had to bring food for the soldiers. [A villager] and I, we had to bring food for the soldiers, but we did not go with the soldiers. They ordered our village headmen to get food and bring it to them. It was for battalion 374, which is based [in Tavoy Township]. . . . Usually about once a month the soldiers come into our village to patrol. When they came, I saw some porters with them, and mostly they were Burmese and the prisoners. We know it because sometimes we talk to them if they stop by our house. . . . In the last month at the beginning of May [2001], battalion 374 came into our village, and we saw some of the villagers . . . portering for them. [Interview was conducted in late May 2001.] ERI Interview #GF012 (on file with authors).

At times, *no one is exempt* from portering—not even village headmen, who normally are spared from having to do forced labor. Porters often do not have enough food and to compound matters are yelled at and kicked, as the villager recounts below:

[Even the village headman in Tavoy Township had to porter one time.] It was in [late] June 2001, and we had to go with LIB 104. This order was from the battalion official himself. It took about seven days, and we had to go around [upstream]. These soldiers were led by [an official whose name I know.] This time [the porters] included seven other villagers [whose name I know.] Only our village had to go with them. We had to carry food supplies and ammunition. Each person had to carry about 25 kilos of weight, and some had to carry mortar shells. We didn't get enough food, and the soldiers only gave us food twice a day; for the last three days, we only ate rice and banana trees. Because we didn't have enough food and we could not carry on, the soldiers behind us shouted at us as well as sometimes hitting or kicking us. ERI Interview #GF103 (on file with authors).

Reports of portering continue up to the present:

In our village, until now [interview was conducted in late August 2001] people had to go porter. The last time was in the first week of August 2001; LIB 406 ordered two people from our village to go porter for them. These two people [I know by name.] It was by rotation, and the village had to provide porter fees for these people. Each household had to pay 450 kyat for this time. It was happening mostly every month and sometimes up to three times. ERI Interview #GF107 (on file with authors).

Some villagers never return from their portering, *disappearing* never to be seen again:

The last time that [the people from our village] had to go porter was in mid June 2001, and they had to go with LIB 409. The soldiers came by themselves and caught the porters. This time ten people had to go, and [I can remember nine by name.] They [the soldiers] did not say anything about paying for the portering. They had to go to . . . upstream [in Ye Pyu Township] and after two days, [two people I know by name], they escaped, and after fifteen days, [two other people I know by name] were released by the soldiers and they got back to the village. . . . LIB 409 patrols [in a certain area.] The other six porters did not come back. Later, we heard that the other six people were killed by the soldiers because the soldiers said they were providing taxes to the KNU opposition group. ERI Interview #GF109 (on file with authors).

In June 2001, my sister's husband had to carry food supplies for the soldiers wherever they went. It took nine days. There were three people from his village who had to go. They did not get paid for this work. During this year he had to work for the soldiers three times. They had to carry bamboo to make a fence and then build it inside the military camp. It is the old military camp located at . . .

village, on the east side of the village [in Murng Kurng Township]. ERI Interview #S102 (on file with authors).

The military also continues to collect forced labor and portering *fees*. It is standard practice to pay such fees to avoid work or hire another villager to go to work whenever possible. Poorer villagers are thus particularly vulnerable to doing forced labor because they cannot buy their way out. These villagers recounts the practice:

[In Laung Lone Township], since the beginning of 2001 until now [interview was conducted in late June 2001], we had to pay porter fees already three times, and it was about 500 to 1000 kyat a time. The last time I had to pay 800 kyat, and the section leader collected it. Some people cannot pay for the porter fees, so they had to go [porter] themselves. Some people instead of going to porter, they had to go repair the road, and they had to go for about three days. I know some people that could not pay the porter fees, so they had to go repair the road. [I know three of them by name.] ERI Interview #GF020 (on file with authors).

Since [around May 2001] LIB 402's soldiers have been based in our village [in Tavoy Township], every month one to two times a month, they have asked for porters, and if we don't want to go, we have to pay the porter fee. I myself did not go, so I just hired people to go for me, and each time I had to hire a person for 2500 kyat. The last time that I had to pay for the porter fee was [early] June 2001 [interview was conducted in late June 2001], and I had to pay 500 kyat and it was for five days of portering. These porters had to go to [another] village, and they had to go with battalion 104's patrolling group. This time our village had to provide five porters. . . . The order was from the officer that came to the village with a truck and about 60 soldiers. Some porters had to carry about 20 kilos of rice and supplies for the soldiers. ERI Interview #GF021 (on file with authors).

Villagers are also forced to pay fees to support the creation of *village militia*.

In my village, the SPDC formed a government people's militia (Pyi Thu Sit) to take security for the village. In [my village in Ye Pyu Township], there are four government people's militia and in [a nearby] village there are twenty government people's militia. Each household from [my] village had to pay 500 kyat for government people's militia and each household in [the other] village had to pay 300 kyat for the government people's militia. Each government people's militia got 5000 kyat for their salaries. ERI Interview #GF024 (on file with authors).

Construction or Repair of Military Camps and Facilities

Perhaps the most common form of forced labor still continuing in Burma today is work to build and repair military outposts. Villagers are enlisted not only to do the initial clearing of land for military outposts, but also forced to build the military barracks and then maintain them over time.

Villagers' lands are also routinely requisitioned for the facilities, and villagers regularly provide the materials, such as bamboo and wood, for the construction of the installations.

LIB 402 moved into our village [in Tavoy Township] and set up an outpost. It was around May 2001. Before LIB 402 had their outpost in Ye Wine. Every day the soldiers are patrolling around the village and other villages. . . . Each time they patrol with about twenty soldiers for one or two days. As soon as the soldiers moved into the village, our village had to do labor for the soldiers such as build the outpost, repair the road and cut the bamboo and wood for the soldiers. I also had to go for that, and what I had to do is I had to cut bamboo for the fence. The soldiers ordered the villages in that area to do it by rotation. During the construction, the soldiers guarded the people, and sometimes they shouted at the people. We had to bring our own food and tools to build the military outpost. . . . The last time that I had to cut the bamboo for the soldiers was in middle of June 2001. It was an order from LIB 402. They asked each village section to get 250 pieces of bamboo for them. . . . I had to cut fifteen pieces of bamboo, and . . . after that the soldier came and took it by truck. Sometimes they said that the bamboo was for the plantation, and some was for the Tavoy military battalion outpost. ERI Interview #GF021 (on file with authors).

[In Tavoy Township], this order was from the LIB 376 official [around April 2001]. . . . [W]e had to go and build the outpost for them. It was right after the soldiers got into the village. They ordered our village headmen to get people for them. This time it was not only our village but also included three other villages. . . . It was one person from each household, so in our village it was about 40 people who had to go and, including the other three villages, about 200 people had to go. It took two days for us to build the huts and fence for the soldiers' outpost. The section leader . . . came and told me to go build the outpost. We were not told that we would get payment for that. ERI Interview #GF105 (on file with authors).

It is the presence of the military and their need to have something done that drives the amount of forced labor in a particular area:

After the year 2000, the situation in our village [in Ye Pyu Township] was much better than before. But after the soldiers moved into our village, we began to suffer the oppression by the soldiers again. It was in the rainy season in this year, 2001, during the time when we are doing farming. It was a combination of LIB 402 and 407, and they called it the artillery battalion. Our villagers did not have to do labor for the soldiers, but other villagers had to come and build the outpost for the soldiers. Our villagers did not have to go because the soldiers had taken our land, which was about 500 acres of land, to make their military area. They said our villagers already lost the land, so they would not ask us to build their place. . . . No one got compensation for [their land]. . . . [I know the names of people who lost their land.] ERI Interview #GF112 (on file with authors).

Building and repairing fences for the military outposts is a routine practice. This villager speaks about the practice in the pipeline region:

After I went back to [my village in Ye Pyu Township] . . . I had to start to go do labor for the battalion that is based in [my village]. I had to go and rebuild the fence, and it was for one day. It was about six people who had to go this time, and I had to go because it was my turn. I do not know how many days that our villagers had to go rebuild the military outpost fence, but it took more than three days. It was in the summer before the water festival [mid-April 2001]. The last time that I have to do labor for the soldiers was when I had to bring the bamboo with my buffalo to the military camp for one day. The order was from LIB 273, and he ordered our village headmen to ask our villagers. This bamboo was to repair the soldiers' huts and outpost. Five buffalo owners had to go to pick up the bamboo and another five villagers from [my village] had to cut bamboo for us to pick up. It was about 300 pieces of bamboo, and we had to take it to the front of the outpost and the other villagers who did not go cut the bamboo or carry the bamboo had to go this time to make it into pieces to build a hut wall. It . . . was in the end of July 2001. ERI Interview #GF110 (on file with authors).

The following villager recounts how the fear of reporting forced labor to officials is entrenched, and how villagers suffer even more than headmen, who do not have to work as much and are thus less likely to report incidences of forced labor. The villager also elaborates on how the forced labor is prevalent in cease-fire areas—indeed everywhere that the villager is familiar with:

I think that some of them [the officials] returned to check to see if there was still any forced labor. But none of the headmen dared to go talk to the group and tell them that there was forced labor. They [the headmen] are scared, but they also don't have to go do work like we do. So maybe they don't want to say anything. Instead, they just ignore the problem, don't take it seriously, and don't do anything. This is why people just want to run away. They don't want to stay there anymore. Everyone has to do forced labor, so if one person wants to be a hero and complain, what will happen? I have never seen or heard of a place where there is no more forced labor. Before I returned to [town] about four or five months ago [in early 2001], I lived in the cease-fire area in northern Shan State. Even though there were SSA North troops there and they never forced us to do labor, the SPDC soldiers did. We had to carry bamboo, build fences, and roofs for the SPDC battalion camps, all the buildings inside the camps. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

As has been the case for decades in Burma, the presence of more military brings hardship for the surrounding civilian populations. As these interviews show, when a military unit moves into the area, villagers not only lose their land, but are forced to build the outpost for soldiers.

Other Support for Military Camps

After the military camps and facilities are constructed or repaired, local people are frequently forced to provide a range of services and fees, including serving as guides, messengers, cooks, and cleaners. Villagers are, for example, frequently recruited to *serve* in village militias.

[In late August 2001,] SPDC soldiers also recruited people, men between 22 and 40 years old, to be in the local militia. These people are like a “fence” and will be used to help protect the soldiers. People who were in the military before have to guard the perimeter of the village, while the SPDC soldiers will stay inside the village. So, if the SSA attacks the village, the Shan villagers will have to fight them and protect the SPDC soldiers. This is another reason why people want to run away. They are recruiting one person from each household to be in the militia. This is why I came to Thailand, because of the recruitment. Two of us left together, but my friend went to [a town in Shan State]. . . . Since it is a town, I don’t think there is the same kind of recruitment, like in my village. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

The forced payment of “salaries” to soldiers and other fees is also a widespread practice.

Each household had to pay 500 kyat each month for [*Pyi Thu Sit*], the military unit the SPDC set up in the village. This money is for the military people’s salary. ERI Interview #GF008 (on file with authors).

Another common form of forced labor that is continuing in the Tenasserim region is what villagers call “*stand-by*” *portering* or labor. The military units request that at least one person be on call every day for various jobs, such as sending messages to other units or government offices or collecting firewood or water for the military. The villager who is on “stand-by” often must go to the military outpost, and remain there all day at the beck and call of the soldiers for that given day.

Now, [through December 2000] the labor that we have to do free for the soldiers is cut firewood, carry the water and be stand-by porters—one person every day. I myself did not go to work, but my husband had to go very often. If we do not go, we have to pay at least 150 kyat a day. We do not have money, so every time we just have to go by ourselves to work. ERI Interview GF001 (on file with authors).

[In Tavoy Township,] stand-by porter means we have to go and stay in the outpost from 7am to 4pm in the evening, and we have to do what the soldiers want such as getting firewood, cleaning the outpost area, carrying water, and some other things that they want. I myself already had to go three times. . . . The last time that I had to go was in [early] July 2001, and what I had to do was dig the ground for the toilet. We didn’t get any payment for that, and we had to do it by rotation. ERI Interview #GF105 (on file with authors).

Until August 2001 [in Ye Pyu Township], before I came here, everyday one person by rotation has to go for stand-by portering, and they have to go and stay in

village headmen's house and wait for the soldiers. If there is anything that the soldiers ask for, this person has to do it. I myself I did not go, but my brother had to go for me, and he is about 20 years old. ERI Interview #GF110 (on file with authors).

Income Generation

Another very common form of forced labor is arrangements that require individuals or groups to work for military plantations to grow crops and/or raise animals, either for the army's consumption or for sale in nearby markets.

What we had to do for battalion 104 is we had to plant banana trees, and it was [in Laung Lone Township]. It was about three miles away from our village. It happened in March [2001], and one person from each household had to bring one banana tree with them, too. For my house, at that time I was not there, so my son went for our household. ERI Interview #GF020 (on file with authors).

We had to work like this last year [Interview was conducted in very late August 2001]. I worked in the corn fields and sunflower fields. The first time, I did weeding for eight days. The second time, I had to help with the harvest, and this took twelve days. The military's paddy fields are [in Kun Hing Township]. I did not get paid for this work. Neither did the other . . . people who were with me. The Burmese ordered me to go. It was the headman of the quarter. . . . We would usually work from 8am and stop at 5pm. Sometimes the soldiers would give some food to the workers, but not always. The day we got fed, it was because they had some extra food. The villagers would pack the rice and curry and, if the soldiers could not finish eating their packets, we would sometimes get the leftovers. I think, all together, we got food three out of the eight days. During the second time, when we had to harvest the corn and sunflowers, we never got any food from the soldiers. . . . [W]e had to bring food from our own homes. Some of the workers didn't have anything to eat but rice and salt. The same headman came and told us this second time that we had to go do *loy-ah-pay* [common term for forced labor]. To get to the work site, we had to walk for over one hour. In order to start the work at 8am, we had to leave our homes at about 6am. We also had to write down our names in a register when we got to the work site. There is a type of soldier who is called "Sei Moo," and he is like a janitor because he is responsible for cleaning things. He had the list where we had to sign our names. There were also four soldiers with guns standing around whose job it was to guard us. These four soldiers were guarding people because they didn't want people to slack off. They were there to make sure we worked very hard and didn't relax. We had time for lunch, but we got no rest breaks during the day. During lunch, we were allowed to eat, and then we had to go back to work as soon as we finished eating. You had to pay attention the entire time. If the soldiers saw you drifting off, they would beat you with a machete that is encased in a bamboo sheath. They hit you right on the head! We had to work in rows, with four to five

people per row. That way, the soldiers could see very easily if someone was not focusing on their work. Here, look at my toe. I hit many rocks and stones; I hit them hard while clearing the ground and they scarred my foot. If I was working on my own farm, I could work as I wanted and take a rest if I needed one. But when we work for the military, we have to work harder than we would if it was our own fields. The military does not have to pay us, and because of that, they force us to work even harder. The farm is really big. I don't know how to explain how big it is. The second time, when there were [around 30] of us working all day for twelve days, we could not finish. We could not finish the harvest. When we picked the ears of corn, we had to pick the big, ripe ones that were ready to eat. For each day, we would harvest enough to fill three six-wheeled trucks. Then the trucks carried the corn to [Nam Zarng Township], but during this whole time we never received even one ear of corn to take home for our children to eat. The very first day, the headman told us that we did not have to bring any food to work. But when we arrived, we found out there was no food there waiting for us. So someone asked the soldiers if we could have some corn, and they finally agreed. Each person got three to four ears of corn for lunch. That was our food for the entire day, and that was the only time we got any corn. ERI Interview #S111 (on file with authors).

In April and May 2001, I had to do loy-ah-pay. I have to plant paddy for the military even though my father is a village headman [in Murng Kurng Township]. It took two days each time. Sometimes, fifteen people went together and sometimes about twenty people. ERI Interview #S118 (on file with authors).

[In Murng Pan,] my son-in-law had to work on the military farm as well as make a fence. After the villagers finished making a fence for them, [they] had to cut overgrown plants and grow peanut and sesame; it continued until the end of farming season in the seven or eighth month [around June or July 2001]. My son-in-law had to plow the paddy field . . . around seven miles from town. This village group does not have a lot of people because they had to move during the military forced relocation program in 1997. Some of the villagers moved to live in town, and some villagers moved to Thailand. When the villagers moved, the military took over the people's paddy fields and lived in people's houses. I'm not sure if when the owner [the villager who owns the land and house] comes back whether the military will be give it back or not. After my son-in-law finished plowing the paddy field, my daughter has to plant paddy sprouts in the military's paddy field in the same way that my son-in-law had to plow. She had to go one day, the military told the headman that "you have to provide ten women to plant tomorrow." The headman had to follow their order because he was afraid that "the military would slap him." I'm not sure that would happen if he refused. ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors).

Even children as young as thirteen are forced to work on such farms:

Before the soldiers came in and were based there, LIB 407's commander came to our village and ordered our villagers to clean the land to plant the . . . plantation. It was also in the beginning of rainy season [2001]. It was a mile away from [a certain village in Ye Pyu Township]. LIB 407 owns that land. It was about eight acres. We had to clean out the area. The village headmen called the section leaders to come and told us that we had to go and clean the land for the soldiers. When the section leader told me about it I said, "the village headmen told us once that there would be no loy-ah-pay in the village and now why do we have to go?" The section leader replied to me that, "the soldiers told the village headmen to ask the villagers to help them one day to do it." So I just had to go, but we didn't finish in one day. It took three days. [The section leader didn't say we would get any money for that.] We had to go by rotation until it was finished. For me, I only went one day, but my daughter had to go two days after I went. When I had to go, it was about 32 people. [My daughter] is only thirteen years old. [We could not refuse to go. It was the village headmen who told us to go, so we had to, and I was afraid that if I didn't go, the soldiers would come for me. . . .] We had to come back and eat at our home. We also had to bring our own tools to clean the land. ERI Interview #GF112 (on file with authors).

Villagers also had to build fences for the military farms:

[In Ye Pyu Township,] after arriving in the area for about a month in the beginning of the rainy season [2001], LIB 406 ordered our village to build a huge place for them to raise cattle for the soldiers. The order was from the commander, and the village headmen carried out the order. I had to go three times to build a place for the cattle, and each time took one day. We had to go by rotation and ten people had to go each time. I had to go every six days, and it all took about twenty days to build the place for the cattle. On my turn, I had to go with [three villagers whose name I know] and some other people. Now they have about 200 cattle in that place, and all the cattle were taken from the villagers who were trying to come to the border and sell their cattle. The soldiers took cattle from those villagers on the way, . . . and they did not pay compensation for that. ERI Interview #GF107 (on file with authors).

In April and May 2001, the headman's assistant came to tell us, "you have to cut bamboo to make a fence for the military farm. I made a mark at the place [where] your family [has to work] already." Also he said, "If you are not doing the best job and if an animal can go into the farm where you built the fence, you will have to pay for the damage. . . ." ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors).

A variation on this scheme is to force villagers to sell rice at below market prices, thus indirectly benefiting from their labor in growing the rice:

[In Murng Kurng in August 2001], I came to Thailand because the Burmese soldiers oppress us the whole time. They forced us to work for them and forced

us to sell rice to them and then gave us a lower price. We could not refuse to sell. If we refused, they might occupy our farm, so we must sell to them every year. My family sold the rice to them starting two years ago. I don't know how much we sold to the Burmese soldiers because my parent did it. ERI Interview #S116 (on file with authors).

National or Local Infrastructure Projects

Another practice that is often seen surrounding forced labor is coercing people to work on infrastructure, including roads, railways, dams, etc. Villagers, for example, are commonly forced to clear roadsides:

[In 2001,] every Saturday one person from each household had to go and clean the roadside along the village. Our village had to do the area between [in Tavoy Township]. We had to go with our own food and clean up 50 feet away from each side of the road, and we had to do it every Saturday. Some people said they just did it for their [the military's] security because they were afraid that the KNU would attack them while they were travelling. ERI Interview #GF105 (on file with authors).

Other villagers had to repair roads as well:

After the villagers provided porters for LIB 282 [in 2001], they had to clear both sides of the car road [in Ye Pyu Township]. We had to clear 250 feet away on each side. Each village had to take responsibility for three miles. This order came from LIB 282 to the village head and then the village head told the villagers to work. Nobody got the payment. ERI Interview #GF024 (on file with authors).

In February 2001, I had to clean the roads for three days [in Kun Hing Township on the way to Nam Zarng Township]. But this time, the SPDC soldiers gave us 25 kyat. That was for the entire three days, not per day. I don't know why they gave us money this time, but we had to work really hard. The road is at the foot of the mountain, so there are a lot of landslides. They also gave us three milk tins full of Burmese rice to each person. That was our "pay." The second time I had to work for the military was in early March [2001]. I had to hoe the ground before planting the corn, but I did not receive anything this time. I worked for seven and a half days that time. The headman also described this work as *loy-ah-pay*, and he said that if anyone refused to go they would be fined 500 kyat per day. ERI Interview #S111 (on file with authors).

We also had to repair the road, which joined Han Myin Gyi to Tavoy, and the order was from the village headmen, and sometimes we also had to go repair the bridge. One person from each household had to go. There were also some children working . . . because their parents did not have time to go. It is happening

almost every week in our village right now [interview was conducted in late June 2001]. ERI Interview #GF021 (on file with authors).

Other villagers had to build new roads or extend existing roads to new areas:

I had to work on the road [in Kun Hing Township], cleaning the area around it. This road will lead to the new battalion camp. I had to do this for one day in March or April [2001]. I do not remember the exact month. The soldiers ordered us to fix and extend the road because the big trucks also had to bring construction materials that were going to be used to repair the village pagoda, which is down the road. There were about twenty to 30 of us. Some villagers also had to work at the pagoda, build bamboo scaffolds, and whitewash the stupa. Others had to carry water and wash the pagoda before this was done. Then they painted it. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

Cleaning and/or Beautification of Rural or Urban areas

Another common practice is to require people to clean and beautify their local environments. This villager describes a temple construction project:

He had go to make bricks for the pagoda. . . . I talked to him last month [June 2001]; he said, “I had to work to 6pm; the military did not allow me go back to home.” This pagoda is one of the military projects. [T]hey built it in the same place [as another temple in Murng Pan Township]. [T]hey destroyed the [original] temple, and built the new pagoda for the benefit of the military. The military has a special battalion to build pagodas called the “Datana Atoo Je Mand Gain (Special Region Project).” They have the power to order forced labor, too. ERI Interview #S100 (on file with authors).

We had plant trees along the Kyat Tort to Ye Pyu road. It happened two months after the authorities came and said there would be no forced labor in our village. We had to go by rotation. The authorities from Ye Pyu Township wrote a letter to the village headmen, and the village headmen told us. We had to plant many trees on both sides of the road. Each tree was about ten yards tall. It was about two miles. . . . For me it took one day. ERI Interview #GF111 (on file with authors).

The village headman said that we will not have to go for forced labor and portering anymore, but that the villagers would work cleaning the road in the village. . . . He said it was to make the township clean and beautiful. ERI Interview #GF111 (on file with authors).

Additionally, local military commanders are increasingly asking for other fees in the name of village and town development:

We do not need to provide a porter, but we have to give money to the SPDC every month...In one month we had to give the SPDC 400-500 kyat. They asked for money 2-3 times per month. Sometimes you had to pay 100 kyat, sometimes 200 kyat. The money they asked for was to pay for ceremonies, e.g. opening the road, New Year's, beauty contests, and boxing parties. ERI Interview #GF005 (on file with authors).

In sum, the villagers in Burma still face a variety of forms of forced labor as they have for years and years. The following section examines Order No. 1/99 and a variety of issues surrounding the order.

Part II: The Failures of Order No. 1/99

Knowledge of Order No. 1/99

Efforts to disseminate the contents of Order No. 1/99 to inhabitants of Burma's eastern border states have been uneven. Many informants report having no knowledge of this Order. Others have received information, in one form or another, but are either confused by its significance or frustrated at its lack of impact on the continuing use of forced labor:

Even though they have a sign in our village [Ye Pyu Township] that there will be no forced labor or portering in our village, we still have to do forced labor. The sign first appeared around May 2001. During the first week in August, a group of Army officials came to our village and organized a meeting and said that if people order you to do anything such as forced labor or portering without giving you any money, don't do it... But we cannot refuse to help them. They told us that if people ask you about it, don't tell them that we are forcing you to do it, but that we are just asking you to help do it. ERI Interview #GF107 (on file with authors).

At the beginning of the rainy season [2001], the village headman gave us one piece of paper that said there was no more forced labor in the village and that times will be peaceful. But even though I saw the signed paper, forced labor continued to go on. They only changed their strategy and they are saying that [the labor] is for social things and that we need your help. ERI Interview #GF110 (on file with authors).

I never heard about the 1/99 Law and I don't know what the Law says. Before the military gave us the order to clear the road, I heard [name] say that a military journalist from [place] came to my town in order to talk to the people and take pictures. He said that the town officer wanted me to go to the office and when I went, I met the journalist. The journalist asked me if there was any forced labor here and I said no. He then took a picture of me next to a signpost that said, "There is no more forced labor in [place]." ERI Interview #S113 (on file with authors).

Knowledge of ILO

Similarly, almost none of the people interviewed were familiar with the ILO or its efforts to help end forced labor in Burma:

I don't know anything about the ILO or Order No. 1/99. But as I said, I think the high-ranking officials told the lower-ranking soldiers not to force the villagers to do work for them, but the soldiers here just ignore them. I don't think the high-ranking officials know this is still happening. . . . I have never seen any signs or things announcing 1/99. But the first time the people heard that there would be no more "free labor" they were very happy. They thought they would be free from

working for the military, even though the number of soldiers had increased for the new battalion camp. But the reality is not like that. They [the military] say there is no more forced labor, but it is still happening. The headman won't take responsibility for it. So, many people move. Some people come to Thailand, but many move into town. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

I never heard about Order No. 1/99. I heard someone talk in my group [car driver group] that someone listened to the BBC and the news said that the ILO accused Burma of using forced labor and would take some action. We also discussed how the ILO would take action against Burma, how big this ILO is, since the USA cannot do anything to Burma. I did not know anything about the ILO. This is the first time I heard this word, and I cannot give a definition. ERI Interview #S114 (on file with authors).

Arbitrary Implementation of Order No. 1/99

One of the clearest developments has been the arbitrary implementation of Order No. 1/99. This problem is directly associated with the rotation of military officials, where the newly arriving commander frequently re-institutes the practice of forced labor:

I heard [that there was no forced labor] from our headman, [name], who heard this from Major [name] (IB 55). . . . He said that Major [name] stayed [in the village] and while he was there, he said that there would be no more forced labor. People would be free. After that, there was another soldier whose rank was higher who came to [town] and said that everyone had to work for the military. He arrived in August, during rainy season, with some soldiers and demanded to know who said there was no more forced labor. . . . These soldiers were very cruel and didn't let us look at their faces. I don't know what their battalion number is, but if someone does not go for forced labor, they will take that person's money. Now, the situation is worse than before, which is why I left Shan State. [Interview was conducted in late August 2001.] ERI Interview #S111 (on file with authors).

I have no idea if this [forced labor] is against the law. The high-ranking officials used beautiful words to make us think they are doing good things, but things haven't really changed. The soldiers still give orders. Things are not changing like they said they would, so in my opinion there is still forced labor because the [high-ranking] officials never come and really follow-up to see what is happening. Also, maybe the local soldiers received a different order after the meetings telling them it was O.K. either way, you cannot refuse to work. They give you an order and if you refuse, you will be punished, beaten and detained. [Conditions] in the village are much worse, but things are much different in town. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

During the first week of August, [name] asked me to go a meeting for all of the village headmen in the [name] area, which included about ten villages. On the

paper ordering the meeting, there were instructions that we should bring the household registration form for each village. . . . At the meeting, the battalion official said that we would have to report on any movements by opposition groups whenever we learn of them. Second, there will be no more forced labor or portering because we [the battalion] already had enough prisoners to do what they need. But, he said, if he needs people to serve as guides and show us where the enemy is, we will have to do that. But a few days later, this officer was replaced with another one, and he asked for people to repair and build new huts for their soldiers. Forced labor continues even though the other officer says it will stop. When a new group comes, they continue to ask us for forced labor. ERI Interview #GF104 (on file with authors).

In the beginning of this year [2001], around May, the authorities from Rangoon come to our village [name] because they received a report that the people from the thirteen villages, which are receiving social development assistance from the foreign companies [in Ye Pyu in the pipeline region], have to go porter or do forced labor. But when they came and asked the headman, he said that we do not have to porter or do forced labor, that now everything is fine. I know this because the village headman asked me and another person to go with him when the authorities came to our village. We know the village headman is lying, but we do not know why. ERI Interview #GF022 (on file with authors).

Misrepresenting Forced Labor to Monitoring Groups

There have also been several credible reports that suggest that some officials are deliberately encouraging people to misrepresent the forced labor situation. Interview #S119, featured at the beginning of this report, is the clearest example of this. However, such meetings have occurred elsewhere, both in Tenasserim Region and other parts of Shan State:

In early 2001, I do not remember the exact date, the supreme commander with his soldiers from Rangoon came to the village [in Ye Pyu Township] and met with the village head. About seven or eight trucks came that time. The supreme commander told the village head that villagers do not have to provide porters for the military. We already knew this from our village head. After the supreme commander went back, a captain from [name] township came to the village and told the village that if anybody came and asked whether there is any portering or forced labor still in the village, you have to say no. If anybody says that villagers still have to provide porters and forced labor, that person will have be punished. ERI Interview #GF024 (on file with authors).

Three months ago [around May 15, 2001], my friend told me that a group of high-ranking officers would come to visit the people in my town and ask questions about forced labor like, “Did forced labor happen in my town?” Everyone was told to answer, “No, there is no forced labor in my town.” I asked him, “Why did you not say yes?” “I was concerned about security,” he said, “I was afraid that I

would have a problem with the military after the officers went back.” ERI Interview #S100 (on file with authors).

Shifts in the Official Language

Closely related to the question of misrepresentation, are efforts to change language use regarding forced labor. Many interviewees report receiving specific instructions on how to refer to different types of labor and/or services:

At the end of April [2001], I heard the announcement that the General [name] will come to give a speech at the temple, and that a villager from every house must go and listen. . . . [M]y son-in-law went because he wanted to go, and when he came back, he said that the military gave a speech in Burmese and that a lot of villagers did not understand it, so no one asked questions. After the meeting, the headman told them that there is no more forced labor (“loy-ah-pay”), but we may have to help (“a-ku-ah-nyi”). Everyone knows that you cannot call it forced labor. I don’t know what will happen if someone calls it forced labor, but everyone knows that you cannot call it that. ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors).

I have not heard of 1/99, but I heard from a civil servant that there would be no more forced labor . . . [but] there is still forced labor, they are just calling it “help.” I do not know what the name change means, but if they call it “free labor” it means that the soldiers force people to work and if they call it “help” it means that the people are willing to help them. The name change happened more than one year ago. . . . Forced labor is still going on, they just changed the name. ERI Interview #S105 (on file with authors).

Others note that a difference in terminology does not constitute a difference in substance:

As for me, [whether they call it] forced labor (loy-ah-pay) or help (a-ku-a-nyi), I feel they all are the same. We cannot refuse to do it. Sometime they called it forced labor, sometimes they called it help. It was all the same for me. ERI Interview #GF111 (on file with authors).

When the soldiers want people to work, they use the word “help” and the word “free labor”. For a long time, they have used both words. They are the same because when the village head tells us the soldiers want us to work for them, he uses both words together. ERI Interview #S102 (on file with authors).

Retaliation

One key problem with Order No. 1/99 is the absence of a clear mechanism for filing complaints. But without an independent judiciary and safety guarantees, it is unlikely that people would take such a step, even if such a mechanism existed, due to widespread threats and acts of violence:

No one has ever dared to argue with the headman about this problem, especially the poor people. But even the rich people don't argue because they are so scared. The headman is Shan, but he speaks Burmese. I heard that he once asked the second officer, the one who is higher than Major [name], about forced labor. The headman explained that we wouldn't have anything to eat if the soldiers always asked us to work for them. The officer said, "It is O.K. You don't have to work for us anymore, but you cannot stay here. You will have to go live somewhere else." So I am confused. If we are still in town, we have to do a lot of work for them. But if we hide in the jungle outside of town, where we won't have to do work for the military, they will shoot us. ERI Interview #S111 (on file with authors).

Yes, I think they [the soldiers] are breaking the law. When the people don't want to work for them, they [the soldiers] punish them. If the people don't want to work for them, the soldiers will, for example, occupy their land. Like the soldiers said, the land and everything else belongs to the government. So, if they [the villagers] don't want to work for them, they have to move somewhere else . . . and if we refuse, the soldiers would kill us. ERI Interview #S102 (on file with authors).

When the headman's assistant came, he showed me a list of the villagers and said that I had to go to clean the road and that if I could not go, I would have to pay 1,500 kyat for him to hire someone else to go. Then I had to sign the list [indicating] if I agreed to go. . . . I don't think the villagers want to go, and I don't want to pay the 1,500 kyat either. But this is a very serious time and no one could refuse. The military really want to punish the villagers. . . . If I don't sign my name, I can't imagine what would happen to my life. ERI Interview #S113 (on file with authors).

Attitudes of Villagers Towards the Efficacy of Order No. 1/99

As a result of such practices (above), Order No. 1/99 has actually produced both more confusion and more pessimism about the possibility of ending forced labor:

I don't think forced labor will end, though the situation now is just better. For example, I did not have to go porter, but my friend still has to go to work for the military and the people will not tell the truth about the situation. What I mean is that the people cannot honestly answer whether the military or the government officers use forced labor because if they tell, they may get into trouble. I did not understand whether forced labor was legal or illegal, because for my entire life. . . . I have had to do a lot of forced labor. No one explained to me that forced labor is illegal. ERI Interview #S100 (on file with authors).

I am confused. But I think that, now, if we refuse to do the work, we will not be punished. Maybe that is just a strategy of the high-ranking officials to make us think they are trying to help us. They say one thing and do another. One group

says good things, while another does bad things. The same thing is happening in the other villages around here. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

I did not see any signs or letters [i.e. documents] in town saying there would be no more forced labor, but when the villagers heard from the head man that this was true, they felt happy. They sort of believed it, half-and-half. I mean they wanted to believe it, but did not fully believe his announcement [because] there still is forced labor. . . . I think there is forced labor everywhere. I don't think it [1/99] is useful. Even though they have a law saying there is no more forced labor, the soldiers still force people to work. ERI Interview #S102 (on file with authors).

Appendix I: Forced Labor Continues

Portering (Additional Documentation)

Since the beginning of 2001, we have had to pay porter fees three times already, 500-1,000 kyat at a time. The last time, I had to pay 800 kyat and the section leader collected it. Some people cannot pay the porter fee, so they have to go themselves. Some people, instead of portering, can go repair the road for about three days. I know some people that could not pay the porter fee, so they had to do this. ERI Interview #GF020 (on file with authors).

I did not want to porter . . . [but] I have no choice. I cannot pay the porter fee. ERI Interview #GF017 (on file with authors).

The military asked for a porter fee of 500 kyat per family. They ask for the money every month. . . . If you could not give the money, the villagers had to go porter. The military made many difficulties for the village head, and the village head said that if nobody pays the money, he would make us join the military. ERI Interview #GF004 (on file with authors).

The soldiers asked for 15 porters and if anybody could not go, they would have to pay 2,500 kyat. [Name] village had to provide 10 porters and if this village could not provide them, they had to pay 2,000 kyat for each porter. ERI Interview #GF025 (on file with authors).

Since the LIB 402 soldiers are based in our village, they ask for porters once or twice every month. If we don't want to go, we have to pay the porter fee. I did not go, so I had to hire people to go for me. Each time, I have to pay 2,500 kyat. The last time that I had to pay porter fees was on the 8th of June (2001). I had to pay 500 kyat per day, for five days of portering. ERI Interview #GF021 (on file with authors).

In our village, we don't have to go porter, but we have to pay a porter fee. Each time it is about 700 kyat for each household. . . . [U]sually the section leader came and told us what to do. I did not have to go, but I had to give money to hire someone else. ERI Interview #GF100 (on file with authors).

People in the village had to go porter by rotation. One section in the village [in Tavoy Township] had to give seven porters, but they gave a chance for the people to choose who went. People who wanted to go they paid, but all the money was collected from the villagers. The last time that the soldiers asked for porters in our village was February of this year, 2001. In our village, we have seven sections, and our section had to provide seven porters. Our village headmen [I know by name]. To choose the porters, our section leader came and collected money and asked people to pick a ballot, and if people got the ballot, they had to go. But

some people did not go; they just hired people instead of them to go. But everybody had to pay money, and it was 2500 kyat for each household. I remember [two people by name] that had to go this time because they could not pay money, so they had to go. Each porter got 40,000 kyat for this time, and this money was from villagers. It was about 40 porters that had to go this time, and some had to carry rice, which was about one basket (30 kg), of weight. [The porters] told me about their experience; they said first they had to go to Tavoy and later they had to go to Tenasserim. On the way to Tenasserim, some porters were left behind because they could not continue to work, and among of them, some were wounded and sick. Some porters were prisoners. It took about one month, and they had to come back, but not to their village, instead to a camp which was guarded by the soldiers with a fence around the building. The soldiers continued to keep them for the next trip, but some people tried to escape and some people came back to the village and shared their experience with us. They came back one by one because they tried to escape at different times. They were not allowed to go out and about 500 porters were in that camp. Some of them escaped when the guards were drunk. All seven people from our section came back, but some got wounded and sick because they didn't get enough food. ERI Interview #GF016 (on file with authors).

I had to porter by carrying food for the military in April 2001. I got hired for 27,000 kyat for one trip. I preferred to be a porter because I needed the money for my family. This time they asked for four porters from four townships. They were from Tavoy township, Laung Lone township, That Yet Chaung township and Ye Pyu township. I myself had to go for Ye Pyu Township. We had to go with IB 25. We had to go with about fifteen soldiers and carry food for the soldiers. We had to go to [near the Thai border]. First, we had to go to [a town] by the soldier's truck, and after we got to [the town], we started to carry food supplies, and it was more than fifteen kilos. It took about fifteen days this time, but the soldiers did not beat us, but sometimes they shouted at us. I got sick and my stomach was getting bigger because I had to carry too much and did not get enough food. Also, we had to sleep on the ground, which was very cold. I did not want to go porter, but . . . I had no choice and I could not pay for the porter fee. But later, I found out myself that I got sick and my stomach got bigger, [and] I chose not to go anymore. ERI Interview #GF017 (on file with authors).

In December 2000, I had to go porter with LIB 409, and it was about 300 soldiers and about 100 porters. The porters were from many different villages and as for [my] village [in Ye Pyu Township] I was the only person who had to go porter. I had to go this time because I did not pay the porter fee four times already. Each time I [was supposed to] pay 500 kyat, but I was not at home when the village head came and asked for the porter fee. At that time I came to the border for my work and only my wife and my children were left, so they could not pay for that. The last time when I was at home, the section leader came and collected money for the porter fee and I did not have money to pay them, so I asked them to wait for a

few days. But later when the section leader went back around 7:00pm at night the village headmen asked one of the village security to come and ask me to go with him. When I went with the village security, they sent me to Tavoy police station, and they put me under guard for three days. When I was put under guard, there were also some people already there. We had to buy our own food and pay for all the accommodations such as going to the toilet or shower. I had to pay 100 kyat for one meal of rice, 50 kyat for one shower, and each time when we went to the toilet, I had to pay 50 kyat. There were about 100 people under guard, which could not pay for the porter fee, so the police arrested them. After three days the soldiers' truck took us, about 100 porters, to Myitta and then we had to go to Htee Hta [near the Thai border]. It took about five days to get to Htee Hta, and we had to carry supplies for the soldiers. I had to carry about 24 kilos of rice, and it took about a month. We had to go with the soldiers and four porters were guarded by three soldiers. On the way some porters were beaten by the soldiers, and I know it because I heard soldiers shouting and screaming at porters. We had to send food supplies to one of the outposts near the border, and I saw about 30 soldiers stay there. ERI Interview #GF019 (on file with authors).

In the year 2001, I had to go porter twice. [Interview was conducted in late April 2001.] I had to carry rations for the military because of my business difficulties. I was paid 30,000 kyat to carry supplies for the military, but the money did not come from the military. All the money came from the villagers. The military asked . . . the village head to collect the money as porter fees in the village. One household had to pay 3000 kyat in porter fees each time. ERI Interview #GF006 (on file with authors).

I did not go to porter in 2001, but I had to go in 2000. My uncle had to go porter in March 2001, and he had to go for one week. They [the military] called these porters to show the way for the soldiers. Three to four people in the village [in Tavoy Township] had to go with them each time when they needed them. They also had to go on a rotational basis. . . . [T]hey had to go for one week. They did not get paid because they called these porters loy-ah-pay porters. Loy-ah-pay porters had to show the way and also carry supplies. . . . The military that asked for loy-ah-pay porters were LIB 374, IB 25 and LIB 104 and LIB 280. The military asked for porters from the village head, and the village head told the villagers to go by rotation. The military camp is close to the village, and the above . . . battalions change very often. A hundred soldiers came to the village; they already had prisoners as porters with them. We knew they were prisoners because they wear different uniforms. The prisoners wear blue pants and white shirts. ERI Interview #GF007 (on file with authors).

I left the village [in Ye Pyu Township]. . . in May [2001] because I could not face going to porter and pay porter fees in the village. I came here to find a job because I did not have time to work in my village. In 2001, I had to go porter about ten times. Most of the portering we did was for LIB 282 and LIB 273.

They are patrolling for pipeline security, and we had to carry their food and supplies whenever they needed us. The village arranges this kind of portering by rotation. In January 2001, I had to go porter for LIB 273 for three days. I had to carry my own food and carry their food. We had to go for three days, and that time fifteen porters were with them. We had to walk at night, and we could not use the flashlight. Many people could not carry their loads, so we had to help each other. We had to follow them from our village to Pokpingwin, Chaungpyama village, Danit village, Khinmoe village, Yapu and Payathonezu village. We had to follow them in the jungle. When the soldiers patrolled in the area for pipeline security, there were sometimes about twenty soldiers and sometimes up to 50 soldiers. I also was hit by the soldier when I portered for them. They said I did not walk fast. Before I left I saw a villager . . . die when he was portering [near] to our village. In August 2000, I also had to porter, and we had to carry food and ammunition for the soldiers. We had to carry our own food and the loads were about 30 viss in weight. ERI Interview #GF008 (on file with authors).

I was a porter for LIB 104 [in Ye Pyu Township]. I knew Lieutenant [name] but did not know the battalion commander's name. I had to be porter in April [2001]. I do not remember the [exact] date. I had to go for six days. There were about 70 soldiers patrolling in the area after one of their soldiers was killed on the car road. There are two companies from LIB 104—Company 2 and Company 3. The soldiers collected eighteen porters from three villages [from three villages I know]. As the soldiers divided into two groups, we porters also separated into two groups. The group that I had to follow was Company 3, eight porters among them, and we had to carry food and cooking supplies for the soldiers. We also had to bring our food when we carried their food while they were patrolling. . . . Before I had to go porter, the soldiers came . . . and arrested about twenty villagers to carry for them. . . . They left in the morning and came back in the evening. They had to carry foods for the soldiers when they were patrolling. . . . The next day they asked for ten porters, but they were given five porters, and I was among the five. The time when the village called me to go porter, I was going to see a movie in the village. At first I planned to run away, but my mother told me not to. She did not want the village head to get in trouble. . . . I had to go because that time my father was not home. . . . The first day we walked half the day . . . and slept in the jungle. The second and third day, we traveled the whole day and slept in the jungle, too. The fourth day we patrolled until 3pm and we arrived at [a] Mon village [in the Mon ceasefire area]. The next day we walked from the Mon village to [another] village (there were about ten households). On the sixth day we were released to go back home in the evening. On that morning one of the porters ran away because the soldiers said that they had to go more days. He escaped in the morning, and we were allowed to come back in the evening. ERI Interview #GF009 (on file with authors).

In 2000, we had to go to do labor and go porter and sometimes it was about 100 people, from many villages. In our village [in Tavoy Township], if the soldiers

ordered porters, most of the time it was ten to twenty people. Each time, it was for ten to fifteen days. The soldiers ordered our village headmen, and the village headmen carried out the order. I personally did not go to porter because I hired people to go for me. I had to pay them about 10,000 kyat each time. The last time that I had to hire people was in November 2000. In the beginning of May of 2001, about seven people in our village had to go porter with battalion 104. I know [at least five of them by name.] It was for five days. . . , but they did not get any payment for that. ERI Interview #GF011 (on file with authors).

In mid June [2001] I had to go porter with LIB 376's patrolling group. It was after the attack by the KNU, and it was around mid-June. Ten people had to go, including two Tavoyans. Myself, [six others I know by name] and three other people went. Right after the attack, we had to go to the meeting, including some women, and it was ordered by the official [whose name I know.] The attack happened very near to our village, so the soldiers said that we had to take responsibility for this, and after the meeting they let all the women go back, and they asked all the men who were left to carry things for them, and the official said if we were attacked by the KNU again, "you all will die." We did not have a chance to go back to get clothes or food; we just had to follow them directly. I had to carry about 20 viss of weight, and we had to go with about 40 soldiers. They patrolled not far from the village, and we had to go with them for five days. We had to walk everyday, and we could only take a rest if they stopped. During the five-day trip, I had to come back to the village twice to get rice. [Two people on the trip] were about 21 years old. The soldiers did not guard us, but we could not run away because it was very close to our village. Each time we had to get one bag of rice from the village headmen. In the five days we did not go too far from the village, but we circled around the village four times. After five days, they let us go back. ERI Interview #GF105 (on file with authors).

When I lived [in Tavoy Township] for a few months, I had to go porter one time, and it was for fourteen days that time, and it was in rainy season of 2000. The village headmen [whose name I know] told me to go because we had to go by rotation and it was my turn. There were about twenty porters from some other villages and four people from [my] village. I had to carry five RPGs which is about 40 kilos. We did not get enough food, and moreover we were shouted at the soldiers because we could not work as fast as they wanted. We had to go to [in Tavoy Township]; when we got there the food supplies were gone, so the troops came back to [another] village in Tavoy Township. After that we were allowed to go back because another porter group, which included another four villagers from [my] village, had to go with them. ERI Interview #GF110 (on file with authors).

The soldiers arrested my husband last year in August [2000]. At the time, my husband and my neighbor's husband were both arrested to be porters. I saw twelve soldiers, and they came and bound my husband's arms with some rope.

They accused him of being a Shan soldier because we stay in jungle. They kicked the cooking pots. My child was kicked and fell down [near] the house. They [the soldiers] were speaking swear words. I picked up my child and together with a neighbor woman, we ran off and hid. I don't speak Burmese, but the other woman spoke a little, and she could understand what they were talking about. The soldiers said that anyone who is hiding is a SSA soldier and that all of them will eventually be killed. That night, we slept in the open jungle and not in our shelter there. We did not dare return to our place. The next morning, suffering hunger, we went to [another] village [in Kun Hing Township] again. My child and I stayed at my relative's house for almost one month. Before my husband was arrested, he carried rice for the SSA South. The SSA South soldier gave a shirt to him. The SPDC soldiers arrested him because he was wearing that shirt. After seventeen days, the other villager [who was arrested] came back. He said that my husband's feet were chained, and both of them [the people] were tied with the loads on their shoulders during the four or five days they had to work as porters. Then a truck took him to another place. The soldiers were beating up my husband the last minute he saw him. More than twenty days later, there was a rumor a man's dead body was found, which might be my husband's. ERI Interview #S111 (on file with authors).

During the last year [in 2000], I saw the Burmese soldiers force the villagers Larng Kher Township to work for them as porters, clean the military camp, cut bamboo, etc. Most of them were men. The Burmese soldiers forced the villagers to work for them many times, so the villagers didn't have time to work for themselves. ERI Interview #S101 (on file with authors).

In 2001, our village [in Ye Pyu Township] had to give emergency porters for LIB 420, which is the battalion that patrols in my village. The military units that used to come to our village are LIB 407, 408, 409 and 282. In May 2001, LIB 282 came to the village and arrested villagers while they were watching a video around 7pm and forced them to carry their load as porters. [I know by name] the villagers who had to go porter. The porters had to carry food and ammunition for LIB 282 while they patrolled in the area close to our village. ERI Interview #GF024 (on file with authors).

In our village [in Murng Kurng Township], no one wants to be a porter. Whenever the Burmese soldiers order us to carry things, we hire the ox-cart instead of people. So they don't force us to be a porter. Our ox-cart has to go by rotation, and five or six ox-carts go at once. When we go, sometimes we have to wait at the military base for five or six days. Sometimes we have to go at nighttime and sometime in the morning at 4:00am. The military that orders us to porter is not from one of the bases [the town in Murng Kurng Township]. They are from the other military units, and they are around [that town in Murng Kurng Township], so we are forced by many different battalions. ERI Interview #S116 (on file with authors).

In January 2001, the military asked for porter fees, 500 kyat for one household. They will ask for the money for porter fees every month. My friend told me that the Burmese soldiers said that they would ask villagers to feed them—rice, money, and any food they need. ERI Interview #GF004 (on file with authors).

Now, the military is asking 3000 to 4000 kyat from each household. [The interview was conducted in late April 2001.] The military asks for money 1500 kyat all the way up to 150,000 kyat depending on whether the person is poor or rich. Some people own elephants . . . trucks, plantations, like cashews or beetle nut, and animals. People who cannot pay, they borrow from friends and pay back later. Some people sell their animals and pay their debt later. Now villagers have to pay both the Karen resistance and the SPDC. Villagers pay Karen resistance once a year and pay the SPDC very often. From the beginning of the year up to now, we had to pay the Burmese military up to 30 times. Some villagers who cannot pay the money left the village and moved to the border. ERI Interview #GF007 (on file with authors).

In our village, people cannot get rich easily. Only five or six families are rich. People who are farmers, they have to give half of their fruit to the SPDC. Because villagers cannot own most of what they have, their lives are in jeopardy. ERI Interview #GF007 (on file with authors).

In our village usually we don't have to go porter, but we have to pay porter fees, and each time it is about 700 kyat for each household. It is collected by the village headmen. Every month not only our village [in Laung Lone Township] has to pay porter fees, but also [at least five other villages I know by name] have to pay the same as us. Every time, if we cannot pay the porter fees, the village head has to inform the police station . . . and after that the police come and they ask us to pay even if we cannot. So every time we have to pay it to them. The last time before I came here was in April 2001; we had to pay the porter fee, but we didn't have to go. ERI Interview #GF100 (on file with authors).

In 2000, I saw a sign in the village stating that they [the military] could not call for porters. But when the soldiers asked the village head to supply them with porters, so they could go on patrol in the jungle, he had to arrange that for them. I do not know why the village head did not argue with the soldiers about providing porters for them after they had announced that they would not ask for porters from the village. ERI Interview #GF008 (on file with authors).

[I did not have to porter], but I have to pay money one to three times a month. It was about 2000 kyat for a month. People could not refuse. If they refuse the village headmen will call the police to come and arrest people. The last time is in July [2001]. We already had to pay for the porter fee twice already. It was in the last week of July 2001. [The money was collected by] our section leader, and he

said it was for the porter fee. It was 500 kyat for this time. Usually in our village if they collect 500 kyat, it is for two porters. [The most I paid] was 2500 kyat, and if it is 2500 kyat, it was about ten porters. That happened in 2000. [If you do not pay,] the village headmen will tell the policemen to come and arrest you, so people try to pay it every time. ERI Interview #GF111 (on file with authors).

I never got paid for work by the Burmese military; it is the same for all the people from my village [in Nam Zarng Township] who have had to work. Only the people hire each other to work for them. When I got the order for forced labor, I could not go because I was too busy with my work. [In 2001,] I needed to pay 300 to 800 kyat to hire someone go to work for me. . . . I have never seen the villagers have a chance to refuse, and the villagers never got paid. ERI Interview #S115 (on file with authors).

I don't want to go. If I go for loy-ah-pay [forced labor], I have to stop my work. I can get 550 kyat from working one day. If I go to loy-ah-pay, I lose my income, and I also have to prepare food to bring with me. If I want to porter, it is very risky, and it is very dangerous. So I have never gone. Eight years ago my uncle went to porter, but he got sick on the way and the military thought that he was faking it, so they beat him and tortured him. He could not bear the sickness and torture, and finally he died. When I am on duty to porter, I always pay money for someone to go for me. It costs a lot of money—at least 1500 kyat per time—but over the last three years until the end of April 2001, the headman has collected the money from the villagers who have to go porter and he hires someone to go. It is better than when paying by myself, but it costs a lot of money too—300 to 1,000 kyat per time. ERI Interview #S100 (on file with authors).

In our village [in Ye Pyu Township in 2001], I did not have to go porter, but I had to pay porter fees, and each time it was about 200 to 500 kyat a month. We had to obey the order, and it was from our village headman, but the village headman was ordered by the soldiers too. If we did not obey the order, the soldiers would beat us, or otherwise we had to do any labor for the village development without payment. I do not know the LIB number of the soldiers, who usually came to our village because they just came like once a month or sometimes every two months. ERI Interview #GF014 (on file with authors).

Construction or Repair of Military Camps/Facilities (Additional Documentation)

The situation in [my] village in 1999 and 2000 as far as what we did for the soldiers was we had to cut bamboo and build and repair the barracks, and also we had to repair the road. We had to work for them everyday until it was finished. In 1999, the soldiers based in that area were IB 273. They were really bad for us, and now [in 2000] in my village IB 282 is based there. . . . Now, mostly what we have to do for the soldiers is cut bamboo and build a fence around the outpost because they are making the two fences around the outpost. The order came from

the soldiers to the village headman, and the village headman ordered the village. Now in [my] village, the IB 282 is based there, and it has about six or seven soldiers and a commander is staying there. Every month, we have to go and work for the soldiers more than ten days and sometimes it was almost the whole month. Last year, in August, we had to cut bamboo and build the fence and repair the road almost the whole month. We had to go on a rotational basis. Each section in the village has to go turn by turn. Every day, we have to clean the outpost, cut the firewood, carry the water, and cut the bamboo. One person from each household has to go in turn. In my house, I did not go because I am old, and my son went for us. We cannot send him to school anymore because we do not have time to earn money for him. Moreover, he just has to go to work every time when it is our house's turn. ERI Interview #GF002 (on file with authors).

In rainy season of 2000, I also had to go build the military outpost [in Tavoy Township]. We had . . . to rebuild the fence and cut the bamboo. It was about 80 people in our village that had to go for that. Some children went because their parents could not go. ERI Interview #GF011 (on file with authors).

When I lived [in Tavoy Township] . . . I had to build the outpost and cut the bamboo for [an] outpost in February 2001. It was for LIB 104, which was based in [a village] and what I had to do is I had to cut the wood to build the fence and clean up the bushes near the outpost. It took about a week, and we had to go every day, and we had to carry our own food and tools. They ordered our village headmen to collect the whole village and one person from each household had to go. . . . Some children had to go for their parents if they could and the youngest age was about 16 years old. ERI Interview #GF012 (on file with authors).

Between January and June 2001, there was some other forced labor like building the outpost for the soldiers and cleaning the military outpost. We had to [work for] LIB 374 battalion [in Tavoy Township]. This order was by the letter from a battalion officer to the village headmen. In the order, they wrote that our village had to go build the outpost until it was finished, and we had to bring our own food and supplies. . . . [F]irst we had to clean the outpost area, and one person from each household had to go, and it included thirteen-year-old children to 50-year-old people. If a household did not go, the soldiers came to the house, and they arrested the people that they saw in the house, such as women or children, and they took them to [the] military base. Some people had to stay there for seven days and during that time, the soldiers did not treat them well, not giving them enough food. The soldiers could ask you to do anything they want. After seven days, they released those people and if you did not want to go, you had to pay 10,000 kyat. I myself had to go twice. ERI Interview #GF103 (on file with authors).

Last year [2000], I worked for the military so many times. I had to build the military camp almost everyday. This year [2001], I worked for the military about

two times, but I do not remember the dates that I went to work. I had to clean the bushes in the military camp and make the fence surrounding the military camp. The military camp is based at the east of the village . . . about two miles outside of the village. The first time, I had to make the fence, and the second time, I had to clean the bushes. It took three days to finish the fence surrounding the military camp. We also had to bring the bamboo by ourselves and cut it at the military camp. I worked for two days, and there were ten people at one time. Women also had to work for the military. We did not get any food, and sometimes we almost died because of extreme hunger. The Burmese soldiers forced us to send bamboo, and we had to send two pieces of bamboo from each household. But I do not remember the battalion number that I had to work for. Our headman . . . was the headman since I was young. The Burmese soldiers ordered him, and he arranged us to go work. If we did not go, we had to pay a fine to the Burmese soldiers. The last time, I went to clean the bushes and it took two days. Whenever we went to work for the military, we did not get any money from them. We had to work from 9:00am to 4:30pm. We had to work very fast to finish in one day. I do not want to go work for the military, but I cannot refuse. If I refuse, I will get fined and need to pay money. One person from each household has to go work for the military, except the headman. ERI Interview #S116 (on file with authors).

[In Murng Nai Township] I had to clean the Murng Nai-Larng Kher road. . . . The soldiers gave a deadline to clean it. Within one month, there were five work sessions. . . . [I] had to bring food. [I did not] get paid. The headman [arranged], and he got the order from the soldiers. It was LIB 518 battalion. The headman from the town gave orders to the headmen of the sections. They told us the day that we had to go or we had to give money if we could not go. You could not refuse to go. Anyone who refused, they had to pay money. ERI Interview #S105 (on file with authors).

[In Murng Pan Township in April/May 2001] I did not go to do the fence myself because I am an old woman, but my family was ordered go to do it. My son-in-law had to go. He cut the bamboo on our farm and then carried it to the place to do a fence. Just cutting the bamboo and moving it to the place took all day. The next day, he had to cut the bamboo into pieces, and he could not finish, he had to come again. He spent time over three days doing the military fence. . . . He had to do a fence about three meters long and had to do two fences. I mean one fence is outside and one inside. ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors).

Other Support for Camps (Additional Documentation)

So when we get ordered to work for the military, I have to go or hire someone to go. When we hire people, we have to pay 500 kyat a day. ERI Interview #S116 (on file with authors).

I did not go for “free labor.” I hired someone to go for me. I had to hire [someone] for three days and it costs 350 kyat per day. ERI Interview #S117 (on file with authors).

I do not want to work for them [Burmese soldiers], but I cannot refuse to go. If we do not go, we sometimes have to give one pig. Other times, we have to give 1,000 kyat per day. ERI Interview #S102 (on file with authors).

Although I got the order to do free labor, I couldn’t go because I am too busy with my work. I needed to pay 300-800 kyat to hire someone else to go work for me. If I cannot, I may get fined and have to work five days. That is the Burmese military’s rules. The villagers of [five villages] got fined by the Burmese military. The villagers never have a chance to refuse and they never get paid. ERI Interview #S115 (on file with authors).

Also the military paid 250 kyat per person per day, the same as the price the villagers pay to hire someone to plant. But, it is different because if my daughter refuses to go, she might get fined 300 kyat. A woman . . . came and told my daughter that she has to go plant rice for the military. Our village got an order for ten people to go, and if she doesn’t she will get fined 300 kyat. ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors).

Income Generation (Additional Documentation)

In the village, every household has to pay 500 kyat each month towards the salary of the *Pyi Thu Sit*. ERI Interview #GF009 (on file with authors).

Yes, I heard that there was no more forced labor. The soldiers came and gave a letter to the headman and told him he had to come to a meeting in town. When the headman came back, he told us that there was no more forced labor. We also heard from the soldiers that there was no more forced labor, but when the new battalion came, we had to give them money. ERI Interview #S102 (on file with authors).

Every month we still have to pay money from the village, even if it is not a fee for forced labor or a porter fee. We have to pay for sports day that celebrates the township. [It’s a] general fee. It was almost the same amount that we had to give to the soldiers before. ERI Interview #GF023 (on file with authors).

Last year [2000], the Burmese soldiers forced the villagers to work for them many times, so the villagers didn’t have time to work for themselves. If it were my turn, I would have to hire someone at 300-500 kyat for one day because I have a baby. If I hire my relative, I pay less. Last year, I had to hire someone more than ten times, sometimes for three days and sometimes two days. But I don’t know what they had to do. Even though I don’t have a husband, I have to pay the same

amount like the others. It was very hard to get money. I worked very hard in other people's fields to feed my baby and to pay for hired people. I didn't go by myself to work for the Burmese soldiers because I was afraid of them. ERI Interview #S101 (on file with authors).

National or Local Infrastructure Projects (Additional Documentation)

In 2000 up to now [interview was conducted in April 2001], villagers had to pay 250 to 500 kyat for building the bridge in Ye Pyu Township. People used to call it Ye Pyu bridge. The military asked many villages to build the bridge. The bridge was built in 1999. We had to build it every year because the bridge is made of wood and during the rainy season it was destroyed by water. They asked for money for the bridge once a year. If the money was not enough, they asked for more. ERI Interview #GF004 (on file with authors).

[In late 2000,] we had to go and build the bridge in Kanbauk called Yay Nan bridge, and one person from each household had to go. . . . [I]t took about five days to finish it. ERI Interview #GF002 (on file with authors).

In our village, we have to do loy-ah-pay. Loy-ah-pay in our village is work to build the school, clinic. That is for the development of the village, so we say that is loy-ah-pay. ERI Interview #GF007 (on file with authors).

Our village had to work on the car road from Kyat Tote to Ye Pyu Township. It was in summer 2000. It was before the water festival [mid-April]. I had to get pieces of rock to lay on the road. It was the order from the military. The village headmen called a meeting and told us in the meeting. When we got to the meeting the village headmen said each person had to work on the place where their name stick was. He setup a place for each person and put his or her name on the area where the people from a given house had to work. The area was four yards wide. They did not give us money. We had to go by ourselves, and if we could not go, we had to hire a person to go for us. It was only one day of work because I hired two other people to work with me. If I worked alone, it would have taken me about three days. We had to dig pieces of rock and bring them to the roadside and lay it on the road. ERI Interview #GF112 (on file with authors)

Between January and June 2001, the Burmese military forced the villagers from Hai Lai village, Ho Nong village, Nong Na village, Khiang Kam village, Ton Hun village, and Kun Hing Township to build the road between Kho Lam village to Khiang Tong village. The villagers had to cut the trees, break the rocks, dig the ground in the highlands, and carry the branches to put down at the muddy places and lowlands. The Burmese did not give food; the villagers had to bring water and food with them. Also the villagers had to bring working tools with them, too. The Burmese military always forced the villagers to bring tools. . . . [T]here was no way the military would give working tools to the villagers just go to work for them. For example if they [the military] ordered us to clear a bush beside the road,

the villagers had to bring a tool to cut it. If they ordered us to dig the ground, [the villagers] had to bring a hoe. If the order was to cut the trees, [the villagers] had to bring a tomahawk and a saw. I had to build the road, too, between January and June 2001. I was ordered to work about sixteen times. One month has 30 days; I got ordered to work two times, and sometimes during one month, I got ordered three times, and sometimes I stayed at home twenty days, and I got ordered to work. Each time there would be ten people working . . . in different places. While I got ordered to go work, I did not have to sleep at the worksite because it was not so far from my village. . . . They [the Burmese military] forced the villagers to build the road to Khiang Tong village because in this area they have teak trees. They forced the villagers to build the road as soon as they could, [so they could get] the teak trees. ERI Interview #S115 (on file with authors).

Cleaning and/or Beautification of Rural or Urban areas (Additional Documentation)

Forced labor is going on in [Murng Ton Township]. At the end of May 2001, the villagers in my township got ordered to clear the road on the way between Murng Ton and BP1. They had to cut the trees and overgrown plants, 100 yards of the jungle or the slope on both sides of the road. All of the villagers from the families' houses had to go, even the villagers who worked for the government officers. For example, [someone I know who] works with the Department of Forestry still had to go. The location of where we cleared the road is between Murng Ton and Mea Gen village. The villagers in Murng Ton had to start at the Van Mai Gate to Vo Loi. That is far, around fifteen miles. The villagers who had to go in the township area are the different quarters in town, Nong Pa Yen village, Van Mai Village, and Par Kai village. Every day, more than 100 villagers had to go because I saw the pick-up [truck] drive the villagers to clear the place—about ten cars for one day. Also the cars were the people's cars, if someone had a car, they did not have to work, but they had to drive a car for transportation. I'm not sure if the military gave gas or not. The car owner could not refuse; each of them had to take a turn the same as the [other] villagers. The villagers had to go from 8am to 4pm. There were children, women, and old people. For example, [I know one] 60-year-old woman who still had to go because she was poor and could not hire someone go to work. I talked to her and asked her, "what do you have to do, will it be too tiring or not?" She said, "old people have to cut small plants or cut overgrown plants, not heavy jobs; men who are strong cut big trees and move them to other place." Also she said, ". . . I have to get up very early to cook for breakfast and prepare for lunch, they [the military] never give food." I got ordered to go, too, but I did not go by myself. While the headman's assistant came to tell me, he showed the list of the villagers and said, "you have to go to clean the road. Are you able to go? If you are not able to go, you have to pay 1,500 kyat and we will hire someone to go for you." I had to sign on the list that I agreed to go. For me, we [my husband and I] were too busy with our business and could not by ourselves, so we paid 1,500 kyat. I don't think the villagers want to go, and I didn't want to pay 1,500 kyat either. This is a very serious time; no one could

refuse it. The military really want to punish to the villagers. I'm not sure if the military used the word loy-ah-pay or a-ku-ah-nyi. I heard the headman's assistant say to me, "you have to go to clear the road." He made me sign my name. If I did not go, I can't imagine what would happen to my life. Every day a hundred people had to clear the road; all of them didn't want to go, and they knew that if they refused what would happen. ERI Interview #GF113 (on file with authors).

There were about 50 households in [my] village [in Ye Pyu Township]. The village also had to do free labor for cleaning the car road, 50 feet on both sides of the road. After one of the soldiers was killed, they ordered the villagers to clean another 100 feet on both sides. So, if you add the first time and the second time, there were 150 feet on each side of the road that the villagers had to clear. Before I came to the border [in April 2001], they still had to clear the car road because they did not know who killed the soldiers. LIB 104 said that they must have been the Mon resistance group. ERI Interview #GF009 (on file with authors).

In March 2001, while we were [in Nam Zarng], we had to do loy-ah-pay to clean beside the Nam Zerng-Loilem main road. But I did not go for loy-ah-pay, and I hired someone to go for me. I had to hire someone for three days, and it cost 350 kyat a day. ERI Interview #S117 (on file with authors).

Twice a month, we had to go clean and cut down bushes along the road side in our village. On both sides we had to clean about 10 feet each. It was about four miles long, and the order was from the village headmen. ERI Interview #GF107 (on file with authors).

Appendix II: Problems with Order No. 1/99

Knowledge of Order No. 1/99 (Additional Documentation)

At the beginning of the rainy season, when we started to work our farms, the authorities came and said that we would not have to perform forced labor or portering anymore. The village headman went to a meeting for all the section leaders at the [name of village] town hall, and then he came back and told us. He did not talk about why there was no more forced labor, but he said that for the village, we would still have to do some work like cleaning the road. There were about 150 people at this meeting. ERI Interview #GF111 (on file with authors).

The [area] authorities called a meeting in town last summer, after the water festival. After that, our village headman called a meeting and said that there would be no more forced labor or portering in our village, but it is still happening as before. The forced labor has not stopped yet. ERI Interview #GF112 (on file with authors).

I have never heard of 1/99. I only remember when the military came to give speech in our villager, like I mentioned before, that there “will be no more forced labor.” ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors).

I never heard about it. When I came to Thailand [end of 1999], forced labor was still going on in my township. ERI Interview #SS1 (on file with authors).

I never heard about it. When I came to Thailand [March 2000], my family still had to do forced labor. ERI Interview #SS2 (on file with authors).

I never heard about it. I came to Thailand [April 2000] because I did not have time to do my own work. I had to do forced labor. ERI Interview #SS3 (on file with authors).

I never heard about it. When I came to Thailand [April 2000], forced labor was still going on in my township. My older brother had to work at the battalion camp. ERI Interview #SS4 (on file with authors).

I never heard about it, but the forced labor situation in my township is getting better. I heard from people in my quarter that the government officers are not using forced labor. I didn't hear this from the headman, I just overheard other villagers talking to each other, and I heard it after April 2001. ERI Interview #SS5 (on file with authors).

I know a government officer in town. . . . I saw a paper at my friend's work table and I asked her what it was [May 2001]. She said, “this is the 1/99 law about forced labor.” After that we talked about other topics. . . . I was just reminded about it when you asked. . . . I did not see a public [meeting] of villagers at the

headman's house. I never heard the villagers talk about 1/99. Also, at the school's announcement board, I did not see it. ERI Interview #SS6 (on file with authors).

I never heard about 1/99. When I am at home, I have to go do forced labor. ERI Interview #SS7 (on file with authors).

I never heard about 1/99. When I lived in my village, forced labor was still going on. ERI Interview #SS8 (on file with authors).

I never heard about it. My village is very far away from the town and we have to do forced labor every day. ERI Interview #SS9 (on file with authors).

Forced labor is still going on in my town and I have never heard about 1/99. ERI Interview #SS10 (on file with authors).

I never heard about it. I came to Thailand [April 2001], because I did not have time to continue to do my own work. The Burmese military always forced us to go porter. ERI Interview #SS11 (on file with authors).

I never heard about 1/99. The forced labor situation in my village is very bad. ERI Interview #SS12 (on file with authors).

I never heard about 1/99. I saw a lot of Shan people go to work on the military farm, and the farms the military took over from them. A lot of people want to come to Thailand because they don't want to do forced labor. ERI Interview #SS13 (on file with authors).

I never heard about 1/99. I don't know what it means. I saw people go to work for the military, including my relatives, but I never went myself. ERI Interview #SS15 (on file with authors).

I never heard about 1/99. . . . I am sure forced labor is going in my village. The military at the bridge still use forced labor. ERI Interview #SS16 (on file with authors).

I heard the people in town say that there is no more forced labor. I don't know who told them. . . . When they [the soldiers] want porters, we still have to go and I have never heard of 1/99. ERI Interview #SS17 (on file with authors).

I never heard about 1/99. My village did not have a battalion camp, so we never did forced labor. But sometimes when the military patrols around my village, they must take things they want, and sometimes we have to go porter for them. ERI Interview #SS18 (on file with authors).

I never heard about 1/99. I know that the situation of forced labor in my town is better. I felt like this, that it is really better than the past, but it just [started to get] better one month ago [May 2001]. I don't know why the forced labor situation really changed. The military and the government officers are very serious about it. When they want to use the village car, they have to pay for it. . . . [But] even though the military pays money for work, no one can reject it. [Everyone] must go to work for them. ERI Interview #SS19 (on file with authors).

I never heard about it. I came to Thailand [April 2001], because the Burmese military oppress the Shan people. I did not have a job and my family always has to go do forced labor. ERI Interview #SS20 (on file with authors).

I never heard about it. I came Thailand because . . . the military went around and forced the villagers to guide them to find a group of people [unsure whether SSA or not]. ERI Interview #SS21 (on file with authors).

I have never heard that there is no more forced labor. ERI Interview #S104 (on file with authors).

I think the idea of no more forced labor came from the Government. People say the idea is from the Government, [but] forced labor is still going on and the soldiers give orders to the headman. ERI Interview #S105 (on file with authors).

Knowledge of ILO (Additional Documentation)

I never heard about ILO or 1/99 law for forced labor, but there is less forced labor than before. ERI Interview #GF100 (on file with authors).

One thing I heard was that the military and the government officers were not brave enough to use forced labor because they were scared after some foreign countries punished [Burma]. I heard some villagers talking to each other because some people listened to the radio... I have no idea how the foreign countries could punish [Burma] and I have no idea about the ILO. ERI Interview #SS6 (on file with authors).

I don't know about the ILO, and I do not know how other countries will take action against Burma. I have never heard anyone talk about it. ERI Interview #SS19 (on file with authors).

Arbitrary Implementation of Order No. 1/99 (Additional Documentation)

I am not sure if the high-ranking soldiers, the officers, know the other soldiers force us to do work for them. There were a lot of them and they came by helicopter in the summer [April-May]. They said the Government would not allow them to ask the villagers to do this work since they are supposed to do this by themselves. But after these high-ranking officials left, the ones who were still

there asked us to work for the military. That's why I think the high-ranking officials from Rangoon may not know. I was not at this meeting, but I heard people talking about this in the village and from my relatives who live in the village. They know about this meeting and the soldiers from the village tract were there, of course. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

The soldiers still use forced labor because they think that the village is far from town and the villagers do not tell their leader in town. . . . I just know that the situation has gotten better because the new General came to my town. ERI Interview #SS19 (on file with authors).

Last year, in [name] township, the authorities came to our village and called a meeting. They said they will not ask for forced labor any more, which included portering. But the next day, after they went back, Battalion No. 104, with about 80 soldiers, came to our village and they ordered our village headmen to get three porters for them and they took them to IB 25 battalion. At that time, two other people and I had to go to a place where they collect the porters. There were about 200 people there. On the way, the soldiers shouted at us and some people were also beaten. When we got to a place near the border, we had to build an outpost for them. We had to dig up the ground, build a fence, and prepare a toilet for the soldiers. It was near the front lines. I don't know exactly where, but it was near the Thai-Burmese border in the 4th brigade area. I had to stay there for about one month. We were not allowed to go anywhere. We had to stay at the outpost, and they did not want to let us go back, so one day my two friends and I escaped when we were sent to fetch water for the soldiers. ERI Interview #GF017 (on file with authors).

The group from Rangoon said that from now on, if the soldiers want to grow something in their fields, they must get a machine and grow it themselves. Also, they cannot force the farmers to sell them rice at low prices. They have to pay the market price. But after that, the farmers still have to work on the soldiers' fields. We also had to cut down trees and carry the logs in our ox-carts the whole day every day. My brother-in-law had to do this. Other times the soldiers just take our ox-carts for themselves. We didn't get any money for this. They asked the villages to work for free. We also had to repair the road, even though it was their heavy trucks that damaged it in the first place when they drive into the village. If we refuse, we get fined. But no one dares to complain to the soldiers about free labor. It is the headman's responsibility to talk about this with the soldiers, but he has never done this. I have never heard of anyone doing this. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

[Civilians] cannot refuse the soldiers. The civilians cannot disagree with what the Government says. If you are a civilian, you have to go do free labor three times. But if you are a civil servant, you only have to go once. And the people from the

villages have to work more than the people in town. ERI Interview #S105 (on file with authors).

Even though the group from Rangoon only came to my village, they invited all the headmen in the area to come to [town]. The meeting in [town] only involved the people from Rangoon. I think they were administrators because they work on agriculture and business stuff, and the local military officials. The meeting was in Burmese. They used an interpreter to tell the headman, and then we were informed about it later. This is always what happens. Many people want to move away because the soldiers are always asking people to work for them. People feel that they don't have enough time for themselves. But no one dares to complain to the soldiers about forced labor. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

Forced labor is still going on and no one can refuse to go except civil servants. ERI Interview #S107 (on file with authors).

I know that free labor means that I have to help the soldiers [at the military camp]. They know that it is forced labor and I think that this is ordered by the military head because they told us they had orders from their commander. . . . [T]here was a meeting for all the village heads, and then we had a meeting and our village head told us what they discussed in the meeting and that there was no more forced labor...When the headman came back, he told us there would be no more forced labor. We also heard from the soldiers that there was no more forced labor, but when the new battalion came, we had to give them money. ERI Interview #S102 (on file with authors).

I do not know about it [1/99], but my son . . . he said that the forced labor situation has gotten better because the new General has come to live there. They, the military, don't use forced labor. If they want to use [people] they have to pay for it. . . . I'm not sure how long the situation will be like that. And then he said one thing. The military doesn't want people to use motorbikes. They [the people] have to walk. If they want to use their motorbikes, they have to pay. ERI Interview #SS22 (on file with authors).

When the section leader told me about it, I said, "the village headman told us once that there will be no more forced labor in the village and now why do we have to go?" The section replied that, "the soldiers told the village headman to ask the villagers to help them one day," so I have to go, but we didn't finish the work in one day. It took three days and we did not get any money. They [the soldiers] said that we would have to keep rotating until the work is finished. ERI Interview #GF112 (on file with authors).

I am not sure of the difference between [his] rule and the [former] Commander-in-chief's rule. Someone in my town said that the former commander lets the forced labor situation go on in my township, so he had to move. Since the new

Commander-in-chief came, the forced labor situation has gotten better if the Government's officers think that if they use people for things, they have to pay for it. ERI Interview #S100 (on file with authors).

Retaliation (Additional Documentation)

If I refuse to [do] it, the headman will go tell the Burmese military to come and arrest me or my son-in-law . . . sometimes the villagers refuse to work for the military because they are too tired and do not have time for their own work. If the headman's assistant comes to give orders to them, they argue back. . . . [I]f they can't reach a compromise, they have a big argument with the assistant, and [he] yells back, "You should go back and tell the Burmese military yourself!" but the villagers fear the military and they don't want to go...the Burmese military is very bad. They do not use good words. They always slap us on the face and ask questions. ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors).

No one wants to be the headman because the last one, before [name] was arrested and disappeared. His name was [name], and no one ever heard anything about him again. That was two months ago, so people are very afraid. His wife and family still live in the village. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

I don't think forced labor will end. . . . We cannot go against their [military] orders. When they give an order to headman, the headman can't argue with them. Whatever they order, the headman has to prepare it for them. After that headman has to tell the villagers go to forced labor for them. Why? The headman has to prepare everything they want because headman fears them. For example, one time the Burmese military order twenty people from our village to do forced labor, but the headman only provided fifteen people because there were not enough villagers to go. The military said that the headman didn't want to help them, that the headman supports the SSA [Shan State Army], and then they hit him with a bamboo stick. ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors).

[He] is a town elder. He is very honest, but not in the right ways since he just agrees. . . . If the officers called on me, I would not tell the true story because I am concerned about my security. I might get into trouble if I give information. ERI Interview #S113 (on file with authors).

My father is the village headman and he always has to follow the Burmese soldiers, so he does not have time to work for our family. The Burmese soldiers ask him about the Shan resistance army. When he couldn't give them information about the Shan resistance army, the Burmese soldiers beat him. ERI Interview #S118 (on file with authors).

Even the headman had to do forced labor. He has to do one day for every seven the villagers do. Something like that. So we don't know what to do. That's we

people run away, though many people cannot leave the area for different reasons. The headman is also planning on running away. Right now he is waiting for money from his son who is in Thailand right now. . . . According to his son, his father, the headman, wants to leave because the situation now is very difficult. If you do something wrong, people are afraid they will be killed. There was one headman, from [village], near [village], who spoke with the SSA. He had asked them [the SPDC soldiers] not to encourage forced labor. But later on, he was killed. People think the SPDC soldiers killed him for talking with the SSA. This happened this year, but I don't remember which month. We also worry that if we go to talk about forced labor with the military, we will be forced to move somewhere else again. In my opinion, what the military is doing now is illegal. ERI Interview #S111 (on file with authors).

I know two women who had to work as porters for the soldiers in July of 2000. Their names are [name1, name2]. . . . They told me that they had work as porters and when they passed by their old village named [village], the soldiers shot five cows that belonged to the villagers because the villagers weren't able to take them to the relocation site. They also said that the soldiers forced them to tell them the name and location of the village, which they wrote down in a book. The soldiers patrolled the area to see if there were SSA soldiers or other villagers hiding in the jungle. On the way, when the SPDC soldiers saw a villager who was trying to round up the cows which had been left behind, they shot and killed him. He was wearing green cloths and probably looked like a SSA soldier. He had been staying at the relocation center in [town], and was selling off his belongings one by one to buy food. He was about to run out of things and returned to get the cows that had been left behind in order to sell them so he could buy food. That's why, they said, they are afraid to return to their farms. They are afraid the SSA soldiers will say that they deliberately guided the SPDC soldiers around to look for them and killed a Shan villager as a result. ERI Interview #S111 (on file with authors).

The Burmese military said that internally displaced people are not our people. If we see them, we will shoot them! ERI Interview #S115 (on file with authors).

I saw a village headman who was tortured by the Burmese soldiers because the military assumed he supported the Shan resistance army. They arrested [and held] him for three days. They tied him to a pillar, then kicked and beat him many times. When we heard about this, everyone fled from that village. ERI Interview #S117 (on file with authors).

I did not see the group of people who came to my village to explain about the 1/99 Law. . . . I just heard that some of my friends got this news from the radio and we made a joke to each other because it is so hard to for us to get news about what is going on in the world, especially things related to Burma. However, if we make a joke, we have to be careful of the police and Burmese soldiers. If they hear us

joking about the Government, we might get into trouble. ERI Interview #S114 (on file with authors).

We have to pay about 2000 kyat per month. People cannot refuse to pay. If they refuse, the headman will call the police to come and arrest people. ERI Interview #GF111 (on file with authors).

The military said that because of the [oil] company, you are secure. People are afraid again that when the companies go back, their lives will get worse. ERI Interview #GF005 (on file with authors).

When the Burmese soldiers came to our village, they ordered the village head to arrange for the villagers to go work for them. If the villagers did not go, they would beat and kick the village head. We could not refuse to go. ERI Interview #S101 (on file with authors).

[The headman] told us that we had to go or had to give money if we could not go. I did see some people refuse to go, but they had money. Some civil servants did not get punished for refusing to go because they are friends with the soldiers and the rich are not punished. ERI Interview #S105 (on file with authors).

I can't refuse the military. They hate the villagers very much because they think the villagers give support, rice and information to the SSA, and they will kill me if I refuse. ERI Interview #S114 (on file with authors).

When the soldiers came they didn't ask us, they just took the oranges for themselves. If we don't give it to them, they might beat us. I do not know the number of the battalion, but I heard they came from [town]. They replaced the [name] battalion. Even though they are from a different battalion, they treat us just the same. They arrested some of the villagers who work on the farm. Most of the villagers do not understand Burmese. So, when the villagers couldn't speak to them, they beat and tortured them. Even my father, who can speak Burmese, was tortured by the Burmese soldiers. ERI Interview #S118 (on file with authors).

There was also a group of people who had some weapons, and they arranged a cease-fire with SPDC about one or two years ago. They were from [village] and most of the people there traded cattle to make a living. One of the leaders from the group still has weapons and a lot of influence, even after the cease-fire. He ordered his men to capture seven Burmans, including the headman—[name]—of [village], who were involved in logging in the area. He ordered this because he and the owner are business competitors. He also ordered his men to burn down some of the owner's buildings where they cut the logs. I don't know what happened to them but the owner of the logging operation was a woman, and she reported this to the SPDC. Then the SPDC arrested some of the members of the group as well as some villagers. I think they arrested about five or six people. No

one knows where [they are] now or what happened. . . . No one knows if they are dead. If we go and ask the military where they are, they will not tell us the truth. ERI Interview #S110 (on file with authors).

Attitude of Villagers Towards the Efficacy of Order No. 1/99 (Additional Documentation)

I do not understand if it is legal or illegal for the military to collect villagers to work for them. We always go to work for them. If they give an order, we need to go. Someone said that the people in town do not have to go and that some villages do not have to go if the headman is able to tell the military, but I think that we will still have to go because our headman just follows the orders and does not argue back. ERI Interview #S108 (on file with authors).

I don't think that forced labor will end because this is the way the military government treats the villagers. During my life, I have had to do a lot of forced labor and I was paid for forced portering. My village is next to the border, so if there is fighting between the SSA and the Burmese military, the military does not care about the law or rules that stop them from collecting people do forced labor and portering. When this happens, the military usually gives us the reason that the forced labor is a part of military tactics. Before the fighting on the Thai-Burmese border [April-May 2001], we heard the military say on the BBC that they do not use forced labor, but after that they used us for forced labor and portering. ERI Interview #S114 (on file with authors).

At that time [end of June, 2001], I heard that the military may not use forced labor, but they still ask the villagers to go work for them. I forgot to observe what word they used, "free labor" or "help." I didn't want to go with them, but I had to go and I wanted to ask them why [I had to do this] since I heard that there is no more forced labor. However, I could not ask it. ERI Interview #S114 (on file with authors).

I think the soldiers know that they cannot [force the people to work], but they want to force the people to work for them. . . . I do not know [if the soldiers have permission], but the soldiers are powerful and they control everything. ERI Interview #S105 (on file with authors).

The process for organizing forced labor is, [first] the military gives the order to the headman. The headman has to provide the villagers to go perform forced labor whenever they need it. . . . The villagers in my town have to work for them every day. Now the Commander-in-chief comes and they want to increase the number of battalions, so the villagers may have do more work for them in the future. The military just wants to make themselves look good like there is no more forced labor. . . . [F]or these reasons, I don't think forced labor will stop. ERI Interview #S100 (on file with authors).

Appendix III: Townships Where Forced Labor Occurred (Late 2000-Present)

NOTE: All GF interviews are from Tenasserim Division. All S interviews are from Shan State. All SS interviews were conducted primarily as part of a survey to help evaluate knowledge of Order No. 1/99 in Shan State.

	Interview	Township Where Forced Labor Occurred
1.	GF001	Ye Pyu
2.	GF002	Ye Pyu
3.	GF003	Ye Pyu
4.	GF004	Ye Pyu
5.	GF005	Ye Pyu
6.	GF006	Tavoy
7.	GF007	Tavoy
8.	GF008	Ye Pyu
9.	GF009	Ye Pyu
10.	GF010	Tavoy
11.	GF011	Tavoy
12.	GF012	Tavoy
13.	GF013	Laung Lone
14.	GF014	Ye Pyu
15.	GF015	Tavoy
16.	GF016	Tavoy
17.	GF017	Ye Pyu
18.	GF018	Ye Pyu
19.	GF019	Ye Pyu
20.	GF020	Laung Lone
21.	GF021	Tavoy
22.	GF022	Ye Pyu
23.	GF023	Ye Pyu
24.	GF024	Ye Pyu
25.	GF025	Ye Pyu
26.	GF100	Laung Lone
27.	GF103	Tavoy
28.	GF104	Tavoy
29.	GF105	Tavoy
30.	GF106	Ye Pyu
31.	GF107	Ye Pyu
32.	GF108	Ye Pyu
33.	GF109	Ye Pyu
34.	GF110	Ye Pyu; Tavoy
35.	GF111	Ye Pyu
36.	GF112	Ye Pyu
37.	S11	Loilem
38.	S25	Nam Zarng
39.	S28	Murung Pan
40.	S32	Kae See; Murung Kurng
41.	S33	Murung Ton
42.	S36	Nam Zarng
43.	S37	Murung Kurng

44.	S38	Murng Nai
45.	S39	Murng Nai
46.	S41	Larng Kher
47.	S42	Hsa Paw
48.	S43	Hsai Wi
49.	S44	Murng Ton
50.	S45	Larng Kher
51.	S46	Larng Kher
52.	S48	Murng Nai
53.	S51	Lai Cha
54.	S52	Nam Zarng
55.	S57	Murng Nai
56.	S60	Murng Kher
57.	S61	Murng Ton
58.	S62	Larng Kher
59.	S63	Kun Hing
60.	S100	Murng Pan
61.	S101	Larng Kher
62.	S102	Murng Kurng
63.	S103	Nam Zarng; Murng Ton
64.	S104	Kun Hing
65.	S105	Murng Nai
66.	S106	Murng Ton
67.	S107	Murng Kurng
68.	S108	Murng Pan
69.	S110	Kun Hing
70.	S111	Kun Hing
71.	S113	Murng Ton
72.	S114	Murng Ton
73.	S115	Nam Zarng; Kun Hing
74.	S116	Murng Kurng
75.	S117	Nam Zarng
76.	S118	Murng Kurng
77.	S119	Shan State
78.	SS1	n/a
79.	SS2	n/a
80.	SS3	n/a
81.	SS4	n/a
82.	SS5	n/a
83.	SS6	n/a
84.	SS7	n/a
85.	SS8	n/a
86.	SS9	n/a
87.	SS10	n/a
88.	SS11	n/a
89.	SS12	n/a
90.	SS13	n/a
91.	SS14	n/a
92.	SS15	n/a
93.	SS16	n/a
94.	SS17	n/a

95.	SS18	n/a
96.	SS19	n/a
97.	SS20	n/a
98.	SS21	n/a
99.	SS22	n/a