



**ASU-URs**



**ASU-AS**

## **Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)**

**Joint Report by**

**Arakan Students' Union (Universities-Rangoon) and  
Arakan Students' Union (Arakan State)**

**Report completed date – December 17, 2019**

**Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)**

Preface

**Portion I**

1. History and how it makes a Difference
2. White Color Area or Snow-covered Volcano
3. Why War Happens

**Portion II**

4. What changes after one year of war
5. How war in Arakan is different from other
6. Muslim issue and its relations with Arakan armed struggle
7. Possible means to end the war or to get negative peace

Sources:

## **Preface**

This document is aimed to present the situations of one-year war between Myanmar Armed Forces and Arakan Army in Arakan from the perspective of Arakan Students Union (Universities-Rangoon) and Arakan Students' Union (Arakan State). The knowledge on the ground situations are enhanced by ASU (Arakan State) since most of its members live in Arakan State. At the same time, it is undeniable that Arakanese students are the frontline people who represent and fight for the rights of the people in Arakan in the past and current.

This document tries to present the current armed conflict situations tracing on some historical and theoretical contents and seeks to explain the idea behind the scene rather than describe the facts and figures. The main approach in writing this paper is prescriptive rather than descriptive analysis, and some possible recommendations to achieve negative peace have been formulated.

Readers may use this document to do brain storming or debating as well as sharing with other individuals and organizations to achieve more possible solutions for the future of the people of Arakan.

## **Portion I**

### **1. History and how it makes a Difference**

It can be said that most of Arakanese patriotic and nationalist songs, poems and stories are singing, writing and talking about its past days when the glory of its Mrauk U kingdom had flourished. If someone asks one of Arakanese people 'How are the current and future of your society as a whole in the coming days?' most would reply in negative. But, they would like to say more and more about their past glories in Mrauk-U era continuously, especially when the questioner is a foreigner.

Someone may state that there is a better future for Rakhine state due to big Chinese, India and other foreign investments which can change lives of 3 million people over night. But, the reality is different because the future of Arakanese people is not in their hands, but in others.

Concerning with the above question, the people in Arakan state like to be called as 'Arakanese' rather than 'Rakhine' or 'Rakhaing' in English. This is because they believe that being as 'Arakanese' makes other know how they were independent, sovereign, powerful, prosperous, and peaceful and then dignitary in Mrauk U era and most of historical documentations by foreigners also used the term 'Arakan' instead of 'Rakhine'. Thus, 'Arakan Army' or 'Arakan National Party' instead of 'Rakhine Army' or 'Rakhine National Party' comes out.

This term will also make a better harmony and unity in Rakhine state as leaders of Arakan society recognize 'Arakanese' as a term covering all ethnic minorities including Mro, Thet, Khamei, Dinut, Maramagri, Kaman and even the Muslim people in Rakhine State. This will also avoid other kinds of ethnic tension in Arakan differently, for example, from Shan state where Shan, Pa 'O, Ta' ang, Wa, Kokang does not have a collective name and so, it is more prone to ethnic tension and conflict there. However, in Arakan, we have a very strong and comprehensive collective name which can bring more unity and harmony for the people there. Thus, we should call 'Arakan State' and 'Arakanese' for all the people in Arakan in regardless of ethnicity, religion and language, etc.

### **2. White Color Area or Snow-covered Volcano**

When war firstly broke out in Arakan in 2014 under the previous U Thein Sein government, most political analysts said that Arakan Army (AA) is just fighting in Arakan in order to get the opportunity to participate in the peace process as the government did not recognize and allow them to sign in Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA). The government did so about AA as it is late comer (established in 2009 after the ratification of 2008 constitution and fight only after

democracy was installed in 2010) and situated in Kachin Independence Army (KIA) controlled area and has no separate controlled territory. At that time, AA is not as much powerful as today, estimated number of troops at that time was just 1,500 and today, most says as more than 10,000 in Rakhine state, excluding the amount in KIA controlled area. (State Counselor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has stated the number as 5,000 when presenting in International Court of Justice-ICJ) Such kind of dramatic increase in number show how the people in Arakan are thirsted to the freedom though the government and military say 'Rakhine state is a white color area.'

### **3. Why War Happens**

So, now the question comes why war only starts after ratification of 2008 Constitution and installation of democratically elected government. The answer will be a number of reasons. The reason why there was no war in Rakhine State in the past is not because Arakanese people did not want to revolt but because of other factors. One of them is geopolitics of Arakan as it is neighboring with small and weak Bangladesh, and isolated India that is in common with Myanmar in term of counterinsurgency and the like, comparatively different from the role of Thailand and China in the ethnic armed conflicts along the borderlands with Myanmar.

After the independence of Burma, Arakanese nationalists had established armed groups like Arakan Independence Army in KIA controlled area in 1969 and Arakan Liberation Army (ALA) in KNU controlled area in 1967. But they both failed on their way back to Arakan due to the attack of Government Armed Forces (GAF) in 1976 in Chin State. But, the latter is one of the two, still participating in the peace process. Next, before the current AA, a previous Arakanese armed group named as 'Arakan Army' had been established in the post 1990s and the leaders of that AA has been assassinated by the collaboration of India and Myanmar governments on their way back to Rakhine state.

The stories mentioned above are to highlight that Arakanese people in the past had attempted to initiate armed revolution in Arakan but failed for different reasons. The current AA is the only one which can install such extensive and intensive armed revolution in modern Arakan history after the independence of Burma.

According to most scholars, poverty is both cause and effect of war and so, someone can reason out that war has been broken out in Rakhine state because of its material poverty although rich in natural resources. But, this concept is only half-true and the resolution of the conflicts and war can only be achieved by bringing political solution in which the self-determination of the people in Arakan has been guaranteed.

## **Portion II**

### **4. What changes after one year of war**

Arakan is one of the poorest areas in Myanmar, being trapped in the conflict since the 2012 communal violence. Someone may state that the region would be poorer because of the current armed conflicts. But most of the people in Arakan would say 'we are already poor before the outbreak of the conflict.' So, they believe that this armed struggle is to liberate and end the poverty rather than increasing it. It seems that the current situations for the people in Arakan are the last straw for them.

Being one of the least developed areas in Least Developed Country (LDC), Myanmar, its HDI (0.578) ranks in 148 globally. And, Rakhine State (0.538) stands at the second lowest after Shan State (0.506). As HDI is the measurement of composition on life expectancy, education and income per capita, someone can easily know the quality of education, healthcare and per capita income in Rakhine State. After the outbreak of war, the short-term effects such as deaths, extra-judiciary killings, injuries, tortures and, forced arrests and labors, mostly committed by the Myanmar Army, could be seen from the security perspective. Next, in term of economy, it is sure that the rice and other kinds of plantation and cultivation, fishery and other kinds of self-able livings are under threat as there is martial law in most conflicted townships. As the internet is still under shout down in four townships, it causes multi-dimensional negative impacts in daily activities of the people in education, socialization, businesses communication and the like. Apart from these tangible factors, it is crucial to note that psychological detention is increasing more and more for those people in these areas as someone could be arrested and killed of accusing as AA or any other reasons.

### **5. How War in Arakan is different from Other**

For someone who knows about Arakan, it will be the question of Muslim people in Rakhine State since the outbreak of communal violence in 2012. Before that, Arakan is relatively far more peaceful area in term of negative peace. But, after 2012, when we daily listened to the news of Voice of America (VOA), Radio Free Asia (RFA), British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) and other alike international medias, Rakhine State news started to influence on them concerning with Myanmar, cooperatively with Kachin State armed conflicts news between the Government Armed Forces (GAF) and KIA.

But, for now, Rakhine State has at least two kinds of most important political news such as armed conflicts between Government Armed Force (GAF) and AA, and the issue of Muslim people. (Even the State Counselor highlighted the issue

of armed conflicts when facing the Muslim issue in International Court of Justice-ICJ and how these two issues are interrelated is the subject of another title) But, we could argue that the nature and characteristics of Arakanese revolution are pretty different from other kinds of armed revolutions in other parts of the country for several reasons. Firstly, it is new to people in Arakan in terms of intensity and extensity of the conflicts. As said above partly, although different Arakan nationalists had established various armed organizations to fight against the central government, all previous revolutions failed. But, in this time, it is the very first armed revolution with great public support.

Public participation in armed revolution with no definite areas of operation goes for the second factor. It can be said that public participation in armed conflict and lack of definite areas of armed operation are interrelated with one another. In the armed conflicts in Kachin and Shan state, the conflicts happened mostly in the mountainous areas and the conflicts mostly go as fighting between two armed groups simply. But, in Arakanese armed revolution, most villages situated in conflict zone and people in these areas also participated in the conflicts. In a way, it is more like people's revolution rather than armed struggle of AA.

The third factor comes out about the diverse perceptions of the future of armed revolution. It means that the current armed conflicts in Arakan can be changed into far different directions as the government and Myanmar Army want or AA wants. The government and military think that AA can be eradicated totally by armed mean and does not need to be allowed to have a footstep in Arakan rather must go back to KIA controlled area in which it was established. On the other hand, it is life or death issue for AA to have an existence in Arakan as it hopes to energize the revolution with the support of the people in Arakan.

Geopolitical location of Arakan State causes the fourth difference between armed revolution in Arakan and other. As it is known that China and Thailand factor apparently contribute on more war or peace formula along the border conflicts between GAF and ethnic armed groups. But, in Rakhine State, it is not secure to say that Bangladesh and India can vary seemingly on the armed conflicts in Arakan like China and Thailand can do in other. Of course, China can facilitate the situation of armed conflicts in Arakan to some extent as it is an influencer on both government, military and AA. Thus, geopolitical variation of the armed conflicts in Arakan will also make AA to be more dependent on its people rather than neighboring countries. On the other hand, this fourth element again links with the second one that the sustainability of armed revolution in Arakan is only possible with the strong support of the people than any other factors.

On this point, while AA is increasing getting more and more support from its people, the government and military is imposing more and more violations and terror on civilians as a part of eradication process to AA. This component is the fifth characteristic that makes armed conflict to be a diametrical from other as there have been more than 100 civilian deaths, 500 people under warrant, suit and

arrest, and more than 987,00 IDPs in one year of the conflict. Besides, internet shut-down and travel restriction also make great burden on the general population. Could someone guarantee that the GAF operation on AA will not be the same as the one on Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) in which possible genocide, ethnic cleansing and crime against humanity was committed by the GAF?

The civil-military stand on Arakan armed conflicts produces another constituent as the sixth one. We know that in a press conference by Military Information Team, the spokesperson, Brigadier Win Zaw Tun, said that the state counselor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has ordered to do total eradication on AA in Rakhine State. This makes the nature of armed conflicts in Rakhine State to be contrast from other. In accordance with the 2008 constitution, although the military has the autonomy in kind of military operation about ethnic armed conflicts legally, it is illegitimate in the eyes of most people, including majority Burmese. This is why, in most conflicts in Kachin and Shan State, the military is hesitated to commit grave and plain violations to some extent. However, in Rakhine State war, it is legitimate for most of Burmese people and others who support Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and National League for Democracy (NLD) because the state counselor herself has ordered to do complete eradication on AA. As a consequence, the nature of conflict has been changed gradually from army to army conflicts into identity-based people to people one. Not really good potential for the future.

The final and most important deviation will be the divergence on political solution for the future political system that Arakan will be ruled. It can be said that the nature of Arakan revolution is revisionist and AA commander in chief, Major General Twan Mrat Naing, calling for 'confederation' reminds this gene. Most often, it is very hard to achieve ceasefire or military agreement without convergent political solution. Remember that the current peace process in Myanmar is the result of having agreement between government, military and ethnic armed groups, to establish 'Federal Democratic Union' though they have different designs. Thus, to end the current armed conflicts in term of positive and durable peace, the convergent political solution is a must. Currently, it is in lack.

## **6. The Muslim issue and its relations with Arakan armed struggle**

The dynamic of Arakan armed struggle is compound and staged by the previous mass population expulsion numbering 0.7 million people from Rakhine State to Bangladesh border. Thus, the question of Muslim in Arakan is also one of the variable factors for AA, the government and the military, being different in perceptions on the issue. Most importantly, the perceptual sensing of most Arakanese people on the issue has changed in some degree comparatively between 2012 and 2019. Moreover, in the history of Arakan, there is a Myth that



after the fall of Laymyro Kingdom because of the invasion by Burmese Kingdom, the last king of Laymyro, Min Saw Mon, had established the Kingdom of Mrauk U in 1430 ACE with the help of Muslim Sultan from Bengal. Though most historians refuse to claim on that story as there is no primary source, the general people still believe in it.

Now, again, most Arakanese people believe that they need some kinds of external support to be more effective revolution tactically. On that question, who will be a better one for them, the Muslim people in Arakan or Bangladesh or both? It is still a mixed factor.

Apart from this question, the Muslim issue still imposes interrogation on all main political actors in Arakan. Firstly, some think that the rise of AA and Rakhine nationalism is a challenge not just for the government and military but for the Muslim people itself. But, on the other hand, it is arguable that only powerful AA is able to bring Arakanese people to a point in which Rakhine and Muslim people can have an agreement rather than doing negotiation with fragmented political and social forces within Rakhine community. AA itself wants to handle the issue consciously as there is still another extreme because the government and the military effort to accuse of having link between AA and ARSA as the former want to brand AA as a terrorist group both in domestic and international sphere with the purpose of reducing the public support. However, the most prominent message that AA releases on this issue is that 'We all are Arakanese', covering those Muslim people as a part of Arakan territory and society.

Observers need to know that peace and harmony between Rakhine and Muslim community in Arakan can only be brought by the solution settled by them, not by outsiders. So, the question goes as 'Can we exclude the role of AA in bringing the solution on the Muslim issue as the former is the influential and legitimate power in that area?'

## **7. Possible means to end the war or to get negative peace**

A saying goes as 'The conflict is easier to start than to end'. However, it is believed that if something could be born, then, it could also be killed. The most critical one is to recognize the existence of the problem and to find out the solution. It is also conceived that the current issue is political one, thus, political solution is the only mean to solve it. However, the immediate factor which causes the ongoing armed clash is about 'the question of recognizing on the existence of AA in Arakan'. The government denies the existence of AA in Arakan as it is a white color area before AA arrives. But, AA claims it is their primary and natural purpose to exist in Arakan. Thus, even to have a sustainable ceasefire is a difficult task under this situation.

It is believed that recognizing on the existence of AA is important step in ending the armed clash and it will not cost so much for the government and the military as there is already another armed group called ALA (in Rakhine State) which signs the NCA. Comparatively, ALA is less powerful and has less support from the people whereas AA does the opposite. Thus, why the government cannot recognize AA as it does for ALA. It is a simple question.

A concern from the government and military side will be the issue of secession if AA were legally existed in Arakan. But, it is totally non-sense because in Myanmar every state has more than one armed group which calls for their self-determination. In this way, AA will be one of them even if it is located in Rakhine State.

Another tactical issue on the question of ceasefire is about the demand from the government and military as they offer bilateral ceasefire and NCA signing as a package. As AA is a member of Northern Alliance (TNLA, MNDAA, KIA and AA) militarily and a member of FPNCC (TNLA, MNDAA, KIA, AA, SSPP, UWSA and NDAA) politically, it is believed that NCA process will be difficult for AA as it cannot decide its own over this issue, and other members of FPNCC such as UWSA and NDAA are not active actors in the NCA process. That is why, is that possible for AA to sign on NCA without the inclusion of other members like UWSA and NDAA? For these two groups, they like to go in alternative mean and so, it is hardly possible to sign NCA for AA. Thus, the government and military should take separate thinking on bilateral ceasefire and NCA signing process.

The final and less possible mean should be to have a short ceasefire during election period. But, the people are under threat and crisis so that they cannot care about election and are in lack of belief on it. It also depends on the willingness of two sides whether they want the election to take place or not. If one side does not want, it will be difficult to do election or to have ceasefire even in the voting day.

The above recommendations are to present possible means to end war or to achieve negative peace. But, on the ground, it is very unmanageable to be so as the situations are turning into win-lose solution rather than win-win one.

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

The followings are the list of civilians being killed or died due to the one-year continuous war in Arakan.

No.	Date	Name and age	Address	Case	Killer
1.	25.12.2019	U Khin Than Maung (57)	Kra In Taung village, Kyauk Taw	An ALD CEC was assassinated while he was watching TV alone at home.	Unidentified
2.	14.1.2019	Oung Wong Twan (14)	Re Kaung Chaung, Rathaedaung	A child hit an artillery shell with a brick near his village and it exploded and killed him.	
3.	16.1.2019	Saed Ahlam (15)	PhoneNyoLaik village, Buthidaung	Shot by Myanmar Army because Saed Ahlam and his friend ran away when they are stopped by Myanmar Army. His friend got injured and Saed died of bleeding.	The Myanmar Army
4.	22.1.2019	U Maung Aye Thein (56)	Pan Mraung village, Mong Bra	An unidentified man assassinated U Maung Aye Thein when he went to close his yard door.	Unidentified
5.	28.1.2019	Mg Nai Soe (7)	Thamee Hla village, Rathaedaung	Hit by a bullet that came from the fight between Arakan Army and Myanmar Army. Myanmar Army gave the family Myanmar Kyat 2 lakhs but the family did not take it.	The Myanmar Army
6.	13.2.2019	U Kyaw Maung (57)	Kyouk Khote village, Mong Bra	Three masked men entered the house of U Kyaw Maung, a village administrator, and assassinated him.	Unidentified
7.	17.2.2019	1. U Hla Twan Maung 2. U Maung	Thanbaw Hla village, Maungdaw	Three Chakma villagers were found dead with	

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

		Twan Sein 3. U Maung Twan Sein		piercing and cutting wound.	
8.	22.2.2019	Ma Ri Ri Soe (18)	Mong Fu village, Rathaedaung	Shot dead by the Myanmar Army.	The Myanmar Army
9.	25.2.2019	1. Ko Aye Thein, 2. Ko Mong Zaw, 3. Ko Twan Hla Sein	Ran Oung Prin village, Mrauk- U	Three burnt bodies found. Assumed to be killed burnt by Myanmar Army after interrogation.	The Myanmar Army
10.	28.2.2019	1. U Maung U Twan 2. Daw Ma San Wong	Poe Shwe Prin village, Ponnagyun	U Maung U Twan and his wife Daw Ma San Wong, a pregnant woman, found an artillery shell in their field and hit it with a knife on the way to their home. The shell exploded, the couple and their unborn baby died.	
11.	5.3.2019	U Ba Saw (47)	Tharak Tapin Rwa Houg village, Mrauk- U	Found dead with piercing wounds at his home.	Unidentified
12.	7.3.2019	U Twan Sein Oo (68)	Ouk Tha Kan village, Mrauk- U	Killed by the land mine on their way to home from forest.	Unidentified
13.	11.3.2019	Kra Twan Oung(68)	Sar Paung Alel village, Mrauk- U	Three Mro villagers, including Kra Twan Oung, were portered by the Myanmar Army and on this way, they got killed and wounded by the land mines.	
14.	14.3.2019	Hla Maung Wong (23)	Pan Mraung village, Mong Bra	Villagers transporting the malaria patient to the Mrauk-U General Hospital were blocked by the Myanmar Army and the villagers got arrested and as	The Myanmar Army

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

				a result the patient died.	
15.	22.3.2019	1. U Maung Aye Twan (51) 2. Daw Than Nyunt (45) 3. Maung Oung Than Htay (16) 4. Maung Mrat Swe Thein (21) 5. U Maung Ba Nyunt's Mother (79)	Se Taung village, Buthidaung	Due to artillery shells by Myanmar Army, four family members covering in the bomb shelter and an 80 years old lady sleeping at home died.	The Myanmar Army
16.	25.3.2019	Maung Chay (33)	Ah Myak Taung village, Rathaedaung	Maung Chay, a powered schooner driver, took his two customers to their village Resoechaung. On coming back from Resoechaung, the Myanmar Army soldiers asked him to stop, but due to the knocking and other voices of his schooner, he could not hear. Then soldiers warned him by shooting two times to the air, but with great fear, he ran off. So, they shot him dead.	The Myanmar Army
17.	29.3.2019	1. Ma Sabel (25) 2. U Phoe Khin (60)	Ouk Tha Kan village, Mrauk-U	The soldiers form 55 <sup>th</sup> division of Myanmar army shot to the village, accusing they were attacked from the village. Two dead and four injured.	The Myanmar Army
18.	1.4.2019	1. Ko Zaw Mong (32) 2. Ko Maung Thu (15)	Phak Won Chaung village, Tha Lu Chaung group, Kyauk	Got killed around 3 pm by the artillery shells to their village.	

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

			Taw		
19.	4.4.2019	1. Ismail (36) 2. Yarsin (12) 3. Dil Murmud (22) 4. Murmud Raw Pheik (19) 5. Saed Nuel (38) 6. Musha Ali (35)	1 and 2 from Tha Rak Prin village, 3 to 5 from Dar Pru Chaung village, 6 from Kin Taung village, Buthidaung	A helicopter of Myanmar Army bombed Muslim villagers working near the Sai Din water fall.	The Myanmar Army
20.	8.4.2019	Unknown body	-	Unknown body tied to a stone was found in Rarmaung River.	Unidentified
21.	22.4.2019	Unborn baby	Sin The Prin (Muslim) village, Buthidaung	The pregnant woman was hit by an artillery shell during the scarification to the Allah. A fighting broke out between Sin The Prin and U Yin Tha village. The baby inside her died.	
22.	22.4.2019	Ma Aye Wong Naing (22)	Tan Myak Chaung village, Pauktaw	She had been missing since the evening of 21 <sup>st</sup> April and then found her dead body the next day.	
23.	25.4.2019	1. Ko Aung Myo Twan (25) 2. U Thein Twan Sein (35) 3. U Maung Than Nu (41)	Lakka village, Mrauk-U	Three from twenty-seven villagers arrested by Myanmar Army died during interrogation.	The Myanmar Army
24.	28.4.2019	1. Maung Oung Myo Nai (aka) Bo Thura (14) 2. Maung Myo Wong (12)	Karu Chaung village, Rathaedaung	A group of three children hit an artillery shell found on the bank of the river, and it exploded. 2 died and 1 seriously injured.	
25.	29.4.2019	U Maung	Boddaw village,	Killed by the land	

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

		Kyaw Wong (57)	Ponnagyun	mines while going to his farm.	
26.	2.5.2019	1. Than Khe Oung 2. Zaw Latt 3. Kha Mwee Chay 4. Maung Wong 5. Maung Than Oo 6. Shwe Twan Wong 7. Oung Lynn Kyaw 8. Zaw Lynn	Kyauk Tan village, Rathaedaung	At 2am, 2 <sup>nd</sup> May, Kyauk Tan villagers, between 15 to 50, were shot in the village school during interrogation by the Myanmar Army due to a sound of a mentally abnormal villager. 6 died on spot, 8 injured. 2 of 3 seriously injured died later.	The Myanmar Army
27.	4.5.2019	U Than Mrint (38)	Hta Ma Rit Quarter, Mrauk-U	He was killed by land mine while he went to gather firewood.	
28.	15.5.2019	U Oo Kyaw Thein	Lakka village, Mrauk-U	In April, due to the escalation of violence in Mrauk-U and Lakka village, the whole villagers fled and U Oo Kyaw Thein was one of the victims among the displacement and sheltered in Baungdwet village. Unfortunately, he was shot while he was sleeping by the Myanmar Army.	The Myanmar Army
29.	22.5.2019	1. U Shawbe (35) 2. Ze Rahman (8)	Alel Kyun village, Kyauk Taw	An artillery shell hit the house, a father and his son died, one got injured, could not identify where the artillery shell came from.	Unidentified
30.	27.5.2019	U Kyaw Hlaing (43)	Mong Tha Taung village, Kyauk Taw	U Kyaw Hlaing missed while going to the bamboo fields on 21 <sup>st</sup> May, and was found that he was arrested by the Myanmar Army	The Myanmar Army

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

				at Shwe Pray port on 24 <sup>th</sup> May. On 26 <sup>th</sup> May, it was informed to the family that the Myanmar Army had transferred him, without breathing, to the police, and then his body was found dead with wounds at Kyauk Taw General Hospital.	
31.	3.6.2019	1. U Maung Pru Twan 2. U Maung Maung Than 3. Maung Aye Nu 4. Daw Hla Prae Sein 5. U Hla Maung 6. Ma Pe Si aka Ma San San Wong (13)	Sapar Htar village, Mong Bra	An artillery shell from the fighting between Arakan Army and Myanmar Army, one furlong away from the village, hit the village monastery where the victims were staying.	
32.	4.6.2019	U Wong Naing (42)	Nyaung Pin Hla village, Mrauk-U	On the way to the farm, U Wong Naing found an artillery shell and he hit it with his knife and it exploded.	
33.	6.6.2019	U Sein Twan (40)	Gananmel village, Ponnagyun	An artillery shell hit and exploded between the houses of U Sein Twan and U Inga Oung. U Sein Twan died on spot and U Inga Oung, Daw Setu, and his daughter got injured.	
34.	25.6.2019	Nay Myo Twan (23)	Pauk Taw Prin village, Kyauk Taw	Nay Myo Twan, a carpenter from Vesali village, was arrested together with other villagers	The Myanmar Army



Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

				by the Myanmar Army on 20 <sup>th</sup> June. Died during the interrogation of the Myanmar Army.	
35.	1.7.2019	Zaw Wong Hlaing (28)	Shwe Twan Pru village, Mrauk-U	Zaw Wong Hlaing was arrested by Myanmar Army for suspicion on relation with Arakan Army and interrogated for four days, and then transferred to the police. According to tortures in interrogation process, he died in Sittwe General Hospital.	Interrogation of Myanmar Army
36.	5.7.2019	1. U Maung Ba Kyan 2. Pai Soe aka Pai Thet Kyaw	Pauk Tuu Taung village, Myebon	U Mg Ba Kyan and his son in law Pai Soe were assassinated by three people during lunch time.	Unidentified
37.	24.7.2019	Mg Bo Than Twan (22)	Taung Mrint village, Mrauk-U	The young man was critically injured in his head while he was on the way to his farming business to nature the paddy along with his sister and brother in law by boat. Myanmar Army opened a furious volley of gunfire from Tein Nyo village fields.	
38.	2.8.2019	Chit Thu Oung (26)	A Mrint Kyun village, Sittwe	On the border between Sittwe and Ponnagyun Tsp, the Myanmar Army asked to stop the two cyclists for suspicion. Zaw Mrint Lwin stopped but Chit Thu Oung ran off, and the	The Myanmar Army

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

				Myanmar Army shot him dead. Ponnagyn Tsp is under Curfew but Sittwe is not.	
39.	5.8.2019	U Maung Wong Naing (34)	Thada Seik village, Kyauk Taw	After doing some governmental works in Sin O Muslim village, the two members of village administration were missing. The next two days, one of the two, U Maung Wong Naing was found dead with piercing wounds.	Unidentified.
40.	5.8.2019	U Than Maung (55)	Sin O Chein village, Kyauk Taw	The dead body of U Than Maung, temporary administrator of Sin O Chein village, was found on the bank of Kispandadi river, near Sabel Hla village.	Unidentified
41.	24.8.2019	1. Maung Oung Zan Fro (6) 2. Ma Nyo Nyo Wong (16) 3. Maung Mong Htet Gree (9)	Pan Mraung village, Mong Bra	An artillery shell shot from the Parataung in the middle of the village where the Myanmar Army base situated hit two houses. Three children died and 4 people injured.	The Myanmar Army
42.	28.8.2019	1. Thu Zar Hlaing (13) 2. Daw Tin Tin Htay (35)	Hteik Wa Prin village, Mrauk-U	An artillery shell shot from Kyauk Taw based Myanmar Army 375 battalion hit on the back of the house. Two people died.	The Myanmar Army
43.	11.9.2019	1. U Khaing (39) 2. Maung Lone (40) 3. U Nyi Nyi	Ann and Myebon	Both three were killed by unidentified assassins, with piercing wounds.	Unidentified

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

		Htwe			
44.	14.9.2019	Ma Pru Pru Chay (3)	Lak Khote village, Mong Bra	Died of malaria in the IDP camp.	The War and the System.
45.	15.9.2019	U Nein Twan	Kan Thone Sint village, Kyauk Taw	An artillery shell hit U Nein Twan's house, and he got injured. On transporting to Sittwe, he died.	
46.	16.9.2019	U Maung Nge (48)	Ah Myek Taung village, Rathaedaung	U Maung Nge, a boat driver, had been called by the Myanmar Army to transport and he was trapped and killed in the fighting between the Arakan Army and the Myanmar Army.	
47.	16.9.2019	Abdul Kurim (45)	Ta Peik Taung village, Buthidaung	After an explosion on a bridge between Ta Peik Taung and Kin Chaung villages, the Myanmar Army troops shot to the houses in the Ta Peik Taung village.	The Myanmar Army
48.	21.9.2019	U Kyaw Wong (50)	A Ngu Maw village, Rathaedaung	After an explosion near the Asia World port where the Myanmar Army troops were transferring, a number of shootings escalated and U Kyaw Wong, a farmer, died of shooting.	The Myanmar Army
49.	22.9.2019	U Thein Twan (60)	No. 6, Quarter, Buthidaung	He was assassinated by the two youths while coming from medicine shop.	Unidentified
50.	2.10.2019	U Soe Nai aka Lu Chay (40)	A Pauk Wa village, Kyauk Taw	Shot dead by the Myanmar Army patrolling near the river, while going	The Myanmar Army

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

				to Kyauk Taw for work.	
51.	8.10.2019	Daw San Wong Pru (70)	Kyauk Tan village, Rathaedaung	Died of the fears during the fight between Arakan Army and the Myanmar Army in the village.	The Myanmar Army
52.	8.10.2019	Murmud Sedit	San Goe Htaung village, Buthidaung	An artillery shell hit and exploded near a civilian fishing, he died on spot. It was not still confirmed who shot it but No. 551 battalion of the Myanmar Army was continuously shooting.	Unidentified
53.	9.10.2019	Maung Oung Naing (17)	Kyauk Tan village, Rathaedaung	Killed by an artillery shell during the fight between Arakan Army and the Myanmar Army in the village.	
54.	15.10.2019	U Kalar Maung aka U Khin Maung Kyi (53)	Sit Oung village, Kyauk Taw	Shot by the Myanmar Army after being arrested by the Myanmar Army.	The Myanmar Army
55.	17.10.2019	U Twan Aye Mra aka U Pauk Chay (43)	A Pauk Wa village, Kyauk Taw	U Twan Aye was portered by the Myanmar Army and shot dead when a mine exploded in Prein Chaung village.	The Myanmar Army
56.	19.10.2019	Ma Oo Than Khin (13)	Vesali village, Mrauk-U	Due to heavy fighting between Arakan Army and Myanmar Army, Ma Oo Than Khin's family ran away from their village by boat, the boat sank on the way. Ma Oo Than Khin(13) and Mg	

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

				Kyaw Nai Htay(3) were missing and the dead body of Ma Oo Than Khin was found fifty yards from the place where the boat sank.	
57.	20.10.2019	Ma Shwe Khaing Kyi (20)	Inn Gyan village, Myebon	Killed by land mine while going to the forest with her husband.	
58.	22.10.2019	Ko Kyaw San Nai (34)	No. 5, Quarter, Taung Chay village, Buthidaung	Missed since October 20 <sup>th</sup> and found his dead body on October 22 <sup>nd</sup> in a garbage 3 miles away from the town.	
59.	30.10.2019	Ko Kyaw Nai	Rwa Haung Taw village, Mrauk-U	1 was killed and 1 got injured by landmine.	
60.	10.11.2019	Ma Oo Khin Than (32)	Wak Ru village, Myebon	A group of soldiers from Myanmar Army in Yoe Chaung village asked a couple to stop their boat, the couple did not stop and the group shot to the boat, Ma Oo Khin Than, a pregnant woman, was shot dead.	The Myanmar Army
61.	21.11.2019	Chan Thein Maung (48)	Ah Myek Taung village, Rathaedaung	Chan Thein Maung, a village rice-mall owner was killed and another seriously injured due to the artillery shells fired by the Myanmar Army as they faced Arakan Army members at Re Soe Chaung village.	The Myanmar Army
62.	28.11.2019	U Thein Twan Gyaw (35)	Kyauk Taung village, Mrauk-U	Killed by the bullets that come from Wa Taung Kwin Mountain	The Myanmar Army

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

				where Myanmar Army was situated.	
63.	30.11.2019	Mg Kyaw Thet Oo (12)	A Ngu Maw Kone Dan village, Rathaedaung	The two children went tending the cows and, on the way, they found some artillery shells that were not exploded. They hit them and got exploded. 1 died and 1 injured.	
64.	2.12.2019	1. Ma Nu Nu Wong (23) 2. A five months old girl 3. A boy	Chun Pran Taw village, Alel Ze Quarter, Mrauk-U	An artillery shell from the Myanmar Army hit to the street in Chun Pran Taw village. 3 died on spot, 4 injured.	The Myanmar Army
65.	6.12.2019	Kyaw Mong Mrat (9)	Pike The Quarker, Kyauk Taw	An explosion occurred and soldiers of Myanmar Army shot dead a primary student coming from school.	The Myanmar Army
66.	10.12.2019	2 died, 6 injured.	Peletwa	A boat was shot by an unidentified group.	Unidentified
67.	12.12.2019	1. U Nyan Thein (42) 2. Daw Pru Ma Chay (39)	Sate Tara village, Mong Bra	The village administrator was tortured and shot dead by the soldiers of Myanmar Army. A woman in his house was also killed by Myanmar Army.	The Myanmar Army
68.	14.12.2019	Kyaw Aye Maung aka Maung Mel Chay (32)	Kyauk Maw village	The Kyauk Maw village administrator, Kyaw Aye Maung, was arrested by the Myanmar Army at the house of Sate Tara village administrator, who was shot dead. The dead body of Kyaw Aye Maung was found on the west	The Myanmar Army

Analysis on one-year continuous war in Arakan (Rakhine State)  
By Arakan Students' Union – Universities-Rangoon and Arakan State

				of Min Fu Mount with his throat and right hand being cut off.	
69.	17.12.2019	Maung Mrint Oo (41)	Kyaung Taung village, Mrauk-U	Maung Mrint Oo, a farmer from Kyaung Taung village, Mrauk-U, was killed by land mine when he climbed up a mountain after working in his paddy field.	
70.	17.12.2019	U Than Zaw aka U Htoo (52)	Ka Zuu Kine village, Ann	U Than Zaw was killed by six unknown men with swords when he was with his daughter in his restaurant.	Unidentified

Sources:

1. Development Media Group
2. Narinjara
3. The Irrawady
4. Rakhine Ethnic Congress
5. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's argument in ICJ