

Gudam Para (Gudar Pyin) Village  
“I cry and beg the world for  
justice.”

Rohingya **Genocide** Report  
April 2019



Asian Dignity Initiative supports  
victim-survivors and local activists  
who strive to change their lives  
while upholding dignity  
in conflict-affected areas in Asia.

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(c) CHO JINSUB

Rohingya people walk while carrying their few belongings at the refugee camp in Bangladesh.

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Gwangju Human Rights Peace Foundation



# ON AUGUST 27, 2017,

security forces from the Myanmar military, police, Border Guard Police, and Rakhine civilians attacked the village of Gudam Para, located in Buthidaung, Rakhine State. One day prior, an attack by security forces on nearby Dumma Para village had made many Rohingya flee to hide in Gudam Para.

The 200-300 assailants besieged Gudam Para between 1:00 p.m. and 2:00 p.m. and killed and injured Rohingya villagers. Security forces raped Rohingya women. Security forces and Rakhine civilians burned down 300-450 Rohingya homes at about 2:00-3:00 p.m. Security forces set fires by shooting launchers and Rakhine civilians set fires with gasoline.

In the terror after such mass-scale violence and killing, Gudam Para villagers escaped to Bangladesh, where they now live in temporary tents inside precarious refugee camps.

Yet the systematic destruction of the Rohingya people began far earlier than August 2017. Starting from decades earlier, the government confiscated land from Rohingya villagers and allocated it to Rakhine people or used it for their own purposes.

And during the time period of 2012-2016, Rohingya experienced various forms of religious discrimination and persecution. They were forbidden to freely practice their religion, with those caught in prayer beaten, charged with exorbitant forced fines, and arrested.

Marriage required payment of high fees, in order to obtain permission from authorities. As the permission was issued, authorities directed the Rohingya to have no more than two or three children, under

threat of punishment.

The Rohingya had no freedom of movement but were forced to obtain a series of travel permissions, even to travel to a neighboring village. And despite obtaining such permission by paying large amounts of money, the military and security forces fabricated charges against the Rohingya and arrested them. From 2016, the Rohingya were forbidden to even leave their own homes between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.

The Rohingya faced discrimination in schooling, thereby foreclosing their education. The government barred Rohingya from obtaining public employment. The military and security forces regularly conscripted the Rohingya into forced labor. The Rohingya also faced discrimination in obtaining medical treatment and healthcare.

Although the Rohingya voted before 2015, this too was foreclosed after 2015. Finally, no Rohingya held Myanmar citizenship. Indeed, the military tried to force the Rohingya to accept NVC, a card which registered them as foreigners. In summation, the Rohingya were deprived of basic rights in essentially every aspect of daily life.

With this history of religious discrimination and persecution as the backdrop, we recommend first that the international community provide affirmative support to having the matter referred to the International Criminal Court or to a newly established special or ad-hoc court for investigation and trial. The truth-seeking investigation must proceed without any grants of immunity, for the wrongdoers occupy the highest levels of the

Myanmar military and BGP, and are officials of the Myanmar government, including State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi and other Cabinet Members, as well as ordinary civilian citizens.

We also recommend that the Myanmar government provide remedy and relief to the victims and survivors, founded first on restoration of previously-held rights, as well as financial recompense to those for whom such restoration is insufficient, such as victims who have suffered psychological harm. In such situations, it is critical to respect and decide the specific substance and form of remedy and relief according to the wishes of the victims and the Rohingya community.

Further action includes the introduction of legislation and administrative measures to abolish systems and practices that discriminate against the Rohingya, including those involving hate speech and other forms of prejudiced information. Education is necessary to improve awareness of hatred, bias, and discrimination.

The Myanmar government must cease registering the Rohingya with NVC identification cards and must ensure restoration of their citizenship rights. Finally, the Myanmar government and the international community must actively guarantee and ensure participation of Rohingya people in discussions about possible repatriation.

## V O C A B U L A R Y

**ARSA:** Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army

**BGP:** Border Guard Police; Myanmar's security force that replaced Na Sa Ka

**IDP camps:** Temporary campsites for "internally displaced people." They are considered a "looming humanitarian crisis."

**Kalar:** A derogatory ethnic slur against the Rohingya

**Kani:** Unit of land. One kani is equivalent to 1.32 acres (or 0.405 hectares, or 1,616 pyeong).

**Kyat:** Myanmar's currency deriving from the ancient Burmese unit kyattha, which was equal to 16.3 grams of silver. Today, 1 kyat (Ks) equals 0.00066 USD.

**La-tei-guawang:** Certificate of permission for marriage

**Madrasa:** Islamic educational institution

**Na Sa Ka:** Burma's former border security force that was disbanded by President Thein Sein in 2013. The name was derived from

the initials of the agency's Burmese-language name, and it consisted of officers from the police, military, customs, and immigration.

**NVC:** National Verification Card used to register Rohingya as foreigners. The military pressured the Rohingya to accept NVC.

**Qurban:** Islamic ceremonial custom of sacrificing a livestock animal during Eid al-Adha, with 1/3 donated to the poor and needy.

**Pungzenle:** Permission required from the Immigration office to travel to a different district or township.

**Tawkenza:** Certificate from the village administrator for permission to travel

**Tola:** Traditional unit of mass in ancient India, and again in India in the 1800s, and in South Asia. It is equivalent to about 11.34 grams.

**Yiayi:** "Temporary." Sometimes used as a derogatory term against the Rohingya.

**Yiayi Caffra:** Temporary cards issued in lieu of permanent citizenship documents

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## IN AUGUST 2017, THE MYANMAR

military commandeered a brutal crackdown on the Rohingya, immediately after Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) reportedly attacked approximately 30 police posts and an army base. The military's so-called counter-terrorism maneuvers were in fact horrific acts of mass killing, rape, arson, and looting of property. The military termed the scheme "Clearance Operations" and inflicted mass-scale violence against defenseless civilians who had already suffered systematic destruction under the boot of the government. As a result, 800,000 Rohingya people fled to Bangladesh in search of safety and refuge.

Numerous massacres in Rakhine State have been well documented by NGOs, like Physicians for Human Rights and Doctors Without Borders,<sup>1</sup> and several press outlets, including The Wall Street Journal,<sup>2</sup> Al Jazeera, The New York Times,<sup>3</sup> and CBS.<sup>4</sup> A report by Physicians for Human Rights identified how the massacres in Rakhine State conformed with the Myanmar government's systematic pattern of attacks.<sup>5</sup> CBS published an in-depth article reporting on the attack of Gudam Para and the existence of mass graves.<sup>6</sup>

"The videos show what appear to be bones wrapped in rotting clothing in a soupy muck. In one, the hands of a headless corpse grasp at the earth; most of the skin seems melted away by acid that has stained the earth blue. Nearby are two bloated legs clad in shorts. A few paces away, the bones of a rib cage emerge from the dirt."<sup>7</sup>

Other resources quote individual testimony from survivors of Gudam Para.<sup>8</sup>

The perpetrators have consistently been identified as the Myanmar military, police, and Border Guard Police (BGP), the border guard security force that replaced Na Sa Ka.<sup>9</sup>

The UN has acknowledged multiple human rights violations in Myanmar against the Rohingya through an Independent International Fact-Finding Mission. The reports detail "systematic oppression and persecution of the Rohingya" and list the factors of denial of legal status and identity; denial of the right to freedom of movement; restrictions on access to food, livelihoods, health care, and education; restrictions on humanitarian access; restrictions affecting private life; oppression through arbitrary arrest and detention; and other forms of oppression.

"458. The Rohingya are in a situation of severe, systemic and institutionalised oppression from birth to death. Their extreme vulnerability is a consequence of State policies and practices implemented over decades, steadily marginalising the Rohingya and eroding their enjoyment of human rights. The process of "othering" the Rohingya and their discriminatory treatment started long before the period covered by the Mission.

"459. The cornerstone of this system of oppression is the lack of legal status of the Rohingya. This is compounded by restrictions affecting their movement, subsistence and development, and numerous other human rights violations....

"622. The level of oppression faced by the Rohingya is hard to fathom. Cumulatively all the rules, regulations,

orders and practices laid out in this section have made life for the Rohingya in Rakhine State slowly but steadily unbearable. Rights were eroded and removed, in a process of marginalisation, exclusion and “othering”. Layers of discrimination and ill treatment have been added. This occurred in the context of hateful and divisive rhetoric targeting the Rohingya on the basis of their ethnicity, religion and status. The multiple elements of oppression are based on State-sanctioned policies and practices and occur in the context of State-sanctioned discriminatory rhetoric. The Mission concludes that this severe, systemic and institutionalised oppression, from birth to death, amounts to persecution.

“623. This persecution has put the Rohingya population in a situation of extreme vulnerability, undermining all aspects of their lives and eroding their living conditions and their coping mechanisms. The daily attacks on human dignity have created intolerable conditions, and have weakened individuals, families and communities, pushing them further into destitution and insecurity. It is this oppressive climate, and the fear and desperation resulting from it, that forced thousands of Rohingya to leave Rakhine State by boat in the years since 2012.”<sup>10</sup>

“In its report, the Fact-Finding Mission also called on the UN Security Council to refer Myanmar to the International Criminal Court (ICC), or to an ad hoc tribunal for investigations and prosecutions for the crimes.”<sup>11</sup>

Asian Dignity Initiative carried out in-

## TIMELINE

Thousands of Rohingya have fled Rakhine State since 2012. Here is a brief timeline of major events.

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**2012:** Myanmar initiates policies that restrict religious freedom.

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**2015:** The Rohingya are no longer allowed to vote.

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**2016:** Rohingya are forbidden to leave their homes between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m.

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**AUGUST 26, 2017:** Security forces attack Damma Para.

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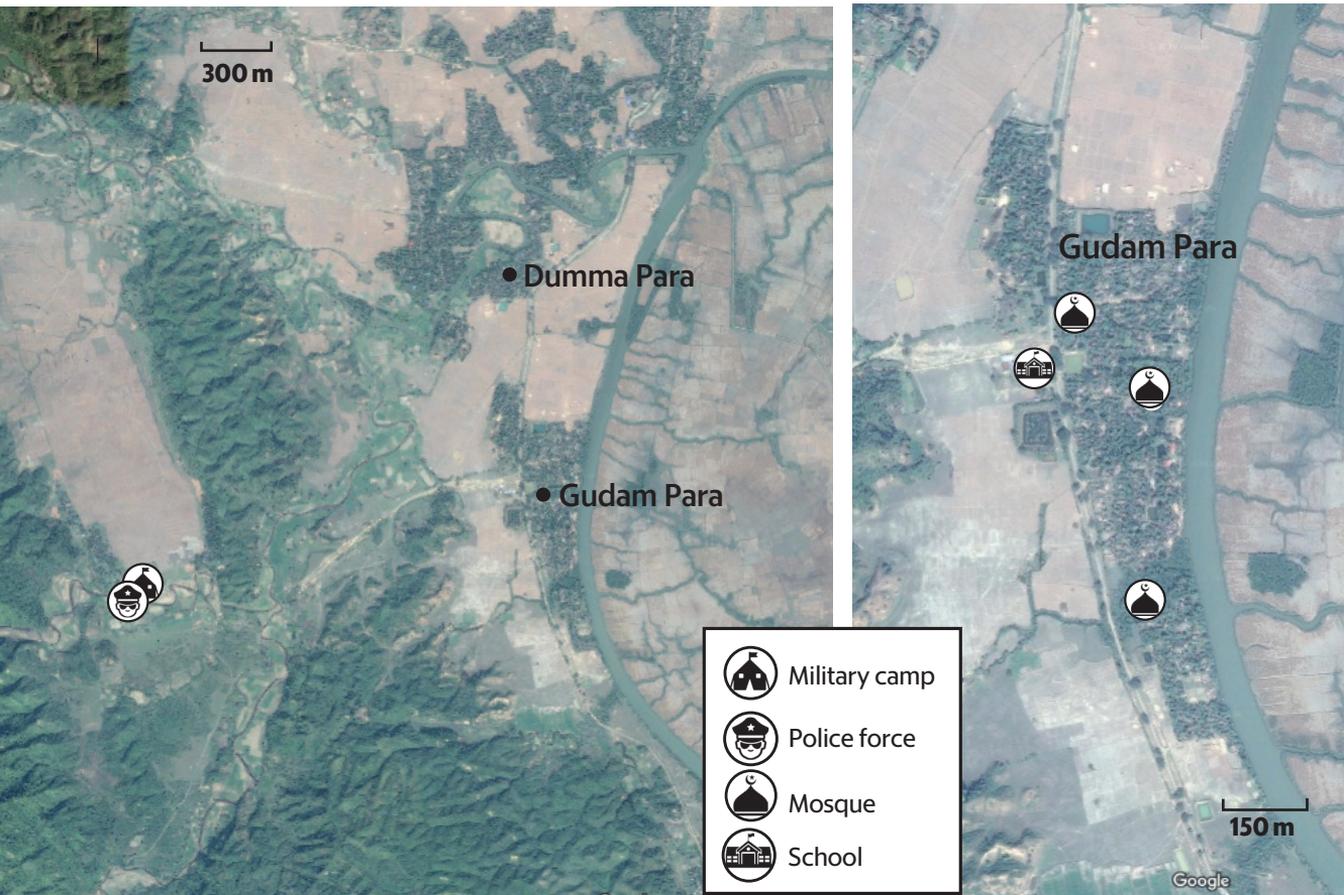
**AUGUST 27, 2017:** Security forces attack Gudam Para. Villagers escape to Bangladesh.

depth interviews with selected victim-survivors in refugee camps in Bangladesh. The purpose of this report is to advance truth-seeking in order to support and aid the Rohingya victims of mass-scale violence, as well as to promote and actualize transitional justice. In addition, a criminal trial to hold perpetrators responsible for their horrific actions will ultimately require the submission of relevant evidence to the authorities. Because such prosecutorial processes take time and often occur in stages, Asian Dignity Initiative also undertook this project with a view toward gathering and preserving such evidence, including direct sworn statements in the form of tape recordings, affidavits prepared based on that oral testimony, and related electronic and documentary evidence, such as personal identification documents, photographs of wounds, and locations mapped via satellite.

## II. SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION OF THE ROHINGYA PEOPLE



Places of interest in Gudam Para village, including the camps of security forces.



## 1. OPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

Security forces, including the military,<sup>12</sup> Hlun Thein,<sup>13</sup> and BGP,<sup>14</sup> greatly restricted the Rohingya people's freedom of religion. Oppression of religious practice and freedom entailed blocking the practice of Jumma (Friday mass),<sup>15</sup> giving religious sermons,<sup>16</sup> practicing Qurban,<sup>17</sup> and performing festival prayers.<sup>18</sup> It was forbidden for more than five Rohingya people to gather at once,<sup>19</sup> so they could not pray together in fellowship.<sup>20</sup> Survivors also testified that the government

*"We had to put a watch guard outside the mosque to pray. We used the mosque in secret for the sake of Allah."*

or town administrator set the order and the village administrator communicated and enforced in their village.<sup>21</sup>

The Rohingya were not permitted to use their mosque,<sup>22</sup> since 2012.<sup>23</sup> The military had locked the mosque,<sup>24</sup> and the Rohingya were forbidden to build a new mosque.<sup>25</sup> The Rohingya were forced to say their prayers inside their homes,<sup>26</sup> or in secret,<sup>27</sup> with watch guards posted outside.<sup>28</sup> The Rohingya were barred from making calls to prayer,<sup>29</sup> with a microphone.<sup>30</sup> Due to these restrictions, the Rohingya were often unable to say their five daily prayers at the designated times,<sup>31</sup> in accordance with their religious faith.

Security forces blocked the Rohingya from fasting during Ramadan.<sup>32</sup> They also had to hold religious events in secret,<sup>33</sup> after paying forced bribes to the village administrator, police, or military.<sup>34</sup> One survivor paid 10,000 kyat to sacrifice an animal for Qurban.<sup>35</sup> Another survivor reported having to pay a forced bribe for permission to repair the mosque.<sup>36</sup> Others testified to paying the forced bribes in beef.<sup>37</sup>

*"Most people said prayers in their homes. But even in our own homes, we said prayers in fear of the security forces. To sacrifice an animal for Eid al-Adha, we had to get permission by giving bribes and beef. We practiced other religious events in secret."*<sup>38</sup>

When caught in prayer time, security forces beat up the villagers,<sup>39</sup> fined them,<sup>40</sup> and arrested them.<sup>41</sup> The forced fine amounts varied, depending on the person's income status,<sup>42</sup> between 50,000-100,000 kyat,<sup>43</sup> and up to 1 million kyat or more.<sup>44</sup>

*"Security forces took 1 million kyat from me in a forced fine when they found me in prayer time. Other villagers were also extorted for money. Security forces seized 300,000 kyat from Faruk (28); 1.3 million kyat from Salim (32); 300,000 kyat from Sayed Amin (35); 1 million kyat from Jafor Ahmed (50); 400,000 kyat from Saiful Kader (42); and 200,000 kyat from Ahmed Karim (45)."*<sup>45</sup>

*"We could not pray at the mosque for fear of the military. The village administrator announced, 'You are not allowed to use the mosque for prayer."*

You will be arrested if you go to the mosque.’ We had to put a watch guard outside the mosque to pray. We used the mosque in secret for the sake of Allah.

“The security forces were police, military, Na Sa Ka, etc. Every department stopped us. There was no department that did not torture us Rohingya.

“And people who do not know how to pray without an imam, they could not practice religion by praying at home. There is a big difference between praying at home and praying in the mosque.”<sup>46</sup>

“Starting from 2012, they arrested people from the mosque during prayer time. Security forces accused us, ‘You are terrorists and you are working for ARSA.’”<sup>47</sup>

“We said prayers in a broken mosque. We passed such a time when we could not say Jumma (Friday) prayers anywhere. We were not able to have religious sermons or perform animal sacrifice. To perform animal sacrifice, the military extorted 10,000 kyat from me.”<sup>48</sup>

“As an example, Jumma (Friday) prayers must be held at about 12:30 p.m. But we had to pray before or after the determined time. Otherwise we could not pray at all.”<sup>49</sup>

The government closed the madrasa (religious educational institution),<sup>50</sup> in 2012,<sup>51</sup> so they could not use or have a madrasa for their children’s Arabic

education.<sup>52</sup> One survivor reported that Rakhine people burned down the madrasa.<sup>53</sup>

“The madrasa (religious school) was closed from 2012. One Islamic religious teacher opened a madrasa after the restriction was imposed. He started to teach religious practices to the children for two months. But security forces arrested the teacher when they got information about that. They sent him to jail.”<sup>54</sup>

“Our madrasa was closed. There was no religious teacher in our village, so we hired teachers from other villages. But the religious teacher could not come to our village to teach the children, as he was from another village and he needed to get Tawkenza (travel permission) by paying a bribe every day.”<sup>55</sup>

## **2. REPRESSION OF MARRIAGE AND CONTROL OF POPULATION (CHILD-BEARING)**

One hallmark display of the systematic destruction of the Rohingya people were the concerted efforts to control population growth, by constraining marriage and childbirth in a variety of ways. The Rohingya needed the government’s permission to get married and were not allowed to have more than two or three children.

For a Rohingya couple to marry, the bride and groom first had to obtain La-tei-guwang, a certificate of permission for

marriage.<sup>56</sup> This process was needlessly burdensome. Some were required to first obtain the application form from the village administrator.<sup>57</sup> A number of survivors testified that they had to visit BGP/Na Sa Ka in Yangchaung,<sup>58</sup> and then BGP/Na Sa Ka in Buthidaung.<sup>59</sup> Survivors also reported that they needed to obtain travel permission from the village administrator in order to visit the BGP/Na Sa Ka camp.<sup>60</sup>

At the BGP/Na Sa Ka camp, the couple were required to take a pair photograph.<sup>61</sup> Two survivors testified that the bride was forced to remove her headscarf for this photograph.<sup>62</sup> Two other survivors reported that the bride needed to unveil before entering the BGP/Na Sa Ka camp,<sup>63</sup> and another testified that the women were assaulted during this process.<sup>64</sup> Issuance of the marriage permission took two to six months,<sup>65</sup> or even a year.<sup>66</sup> Security forces required signatures on the certificate, either from the couple,<sup>67</sup> or from a parent.<sup>68</sup>

Survivors' testimony indicates that the fee for the certificate of permission varied greatly, depending on the Rohingya couple's income status and wealth.<sup>69</sup> The highest forced fee totaled 200,000-600,000 kyat,<sup>70</sup> the medium 100,000-175,000 kyat,<sup>71</sup> and the lowest 15,000-100,000 kyat.<sup>72</sup> Payment of the forced bribes was also unnecessarily complicated, with differing amounts going to the village administrator (5,000-50,000 kyat),<sup>73</sup> township administrator (60,000-130,000 kyat),<sup>74</sup> and BGP/Na Sa Ka (20,000-60,000 kyat).<sup>75</sup>

“Those who lacked the money to pay the bribe could not get married. Many women are getting old without being married. Mahmuda (60) and Banu Hossain (50) are two sisters who

did not marry due to poverty as they did not have the money to get marriage permission.”<sup>76</sup>

Those who married without obtaining La-tei-guwang were fined,<sup>77</sup> in amounts ranging from 150,000 kyat to 2.5 million kyat.<sup>78</sup>

“To get the marriage permission, we had to pay bribes. There was no limit on the bribes. We had to pay bribes until we got the permission paper after submitting the application. We had to give forced bribes to every security force department.”<sup>79</sup>

“It took two years to complete the processing. I paid 200,000 kyat and got the permission after two years of marriage and the birth of a child. I kept in contact with the Mayeka office for two years. I did not have money to eat a meal in Buthidaung. I drank salty water from the river because I had no money while I was in Buthidaung to complete the processing of the marriage permission.”<sup>80</sup>

“People who married without permission were fined, up to 500,000 kyat. And a few days after paying the forced fine, the police came again and demanded to be paid a bribe again. People who got married without permission had to pay the forced bribes again and again.”<sup>81</sup>

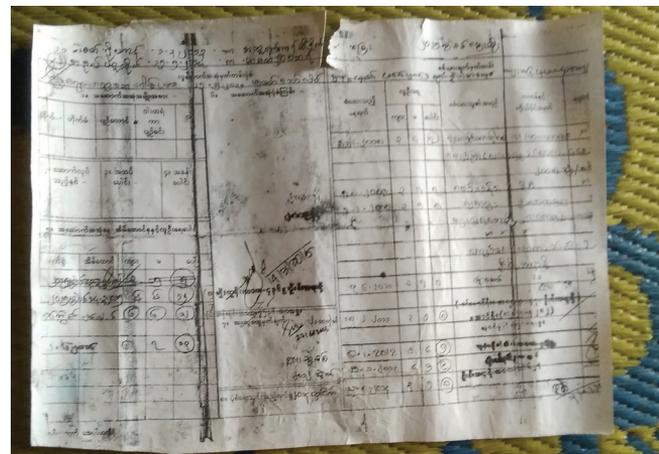
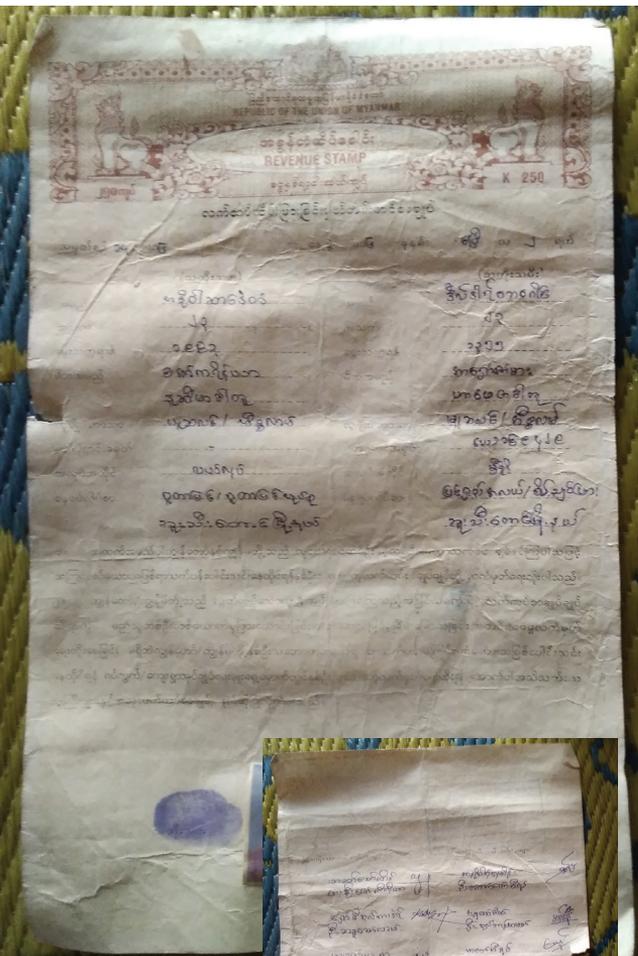
At times, the Rohingya were arrested and extorted for forced bribes even when they obtained marriage permission.

“BGP came to the village to arrest

people once every month. They once arrested my sister, Lubeda (26) and her husband. At that time, she was undressed and preparing for bed at night. My sister and her husband applied for marriage permission but after one and a half hour, their marriage permission came out as counterfeit. BGP said it was counterfeit. We got them released by paying a forced bribe. I sold my gold earring to pay for that.”<sup>82</sup>

Married couples were directed to have no more than two children,<sup>83</sup> or three children.<sup>84</sup> The restriction was stated on the marriage permission.<sup>85</sup>

Rohingya people were also told of the prohibition during annual “shooting checks” where the authorities monitored Rohingya family life and other meetings.<sup>86</sup> Often additional children were not registered or were put on a blacklist.<sup>87</sup>



Left: The Rohingya were forced to obtain special permission to marry, paying forced fees of up to 600,000 kyat.

Above: The Rohingya were forced to register their family members on a household list.

Punishment for violating these population control restrictions were beatings,<sup>88</sup> and forced fines.<sup>89</sup> The highest fines were 1.5 million kyat,<sup>90</sup> with others fined between 50,000-800,000 kyat.<sup>91</sup>

“Those who married without the permission were fined. They had to pay fines until they became poor. And people who did not have the money had to flee to Bangladesh. And then they were arrested and jailed.

“Those who had more than three children had to pay forced bribes to register the children in the household list. Every year they had to pay money. Security forces seized fines, saying, ‘Your child is growing up and you must pay money to enter his age on the list.’

“I was fined. When I went to register my four sons on the list, the village administrator abused me, saying, ‘Where did you get these kids? These kids are not yours.’ I replied that they are my sons and that I have done a mistake.

“After that, they told me to pay a bribe, saying, ‘You must pay 10,000 kyat for each.’ Then I paid the 40,000 kyat bribe and got them listed on the registration.”<sup>92</sup>

The intent of these obstacles and restraints was clearly to fetter population growth of the Rohingya people and ultimately drive them out of Myanmar.

“Those who violated the restrictions were fined money. If a baby was born, the parents had to pay 20,000 kyat to the village administrator. And if a calf was born, we had to pay 10,000 kyat.”<sup>93</sup>

*“I did not have money to eat a meal in Buthidaung. I drank salty water from the river because I had no money.”*

### 3. RESTRICTION OF MOVEMENT

The Rohingya people’s freedom of movement was severely restricted.<sup>94</sup> Security forces required them to obtain permission to travel even short distances,<sup>95</sup> including to go to their fields,<sup>96</sup> and to stay in a tent on a farm outside the village.<sup>97</sup> One survivor testified that to get permission to stay on a farm or fishing boat, they had to pay 5,000 kyat.<sup>98</sup>

Firstly, to even visit a neighboring village, they had to obtain Tawkenza, a certificate of permission to travel.<sup>99</sup> This cost 500-1000 kyat for most,<sup>100</sup> but others were forced to pay 2,000-3,000 kyat.<sup>101</sup> The travel permission was typically valid for three to seven days,<sup>102</sup> and they also had to inform the host village administrator of their visit and pay him an additional 500-1000 kyat.<sup>103</sup>

“We needed Tawkenza to travel anywhere. If you came to visit my house and wanted to stay one day, then I had to get permission from our village administrator to keep you in my house for that one day.

“We had to pay forced bribes to the administrator of both villages. If I want to travel from Gudam Para to Dumba Para, then I must inform both village administrators and pay bribes to them. Otherwise, they will not allow me to spend the night outside my village. Security forces used to beat, arrest, and fine people who they found without Tawkenza.”<sup>104</sup>

“The village administrator had to give the bribe money to the security forces. We had to do everything according to what the security forces and government officials said. Every day, security forces came to the village to check if anyone from another village was there or not. If they found someone from another village, they arrested the violator and also blamed the village administrator for not informing them that someone had visited. So the village administrator also had to do everything according to what the security forces wanted.”<sup>105</sup>

“We were not able to travel anywhere. The government imposed martial law on Muslims. They imposed restrictions on our movements everywhere.”<sup>106</sup>

Failure to return home within the validity of the Tawkenza resulted in fines,<sup>107</sup> of 2,000-15,000 kyat,<sup>108</sup> 50,000-60,000 kyat,<sup>109</sup> or even 100,000-300,000 kyat.<sup>110</sup>

Secondly, to visit a township, the Rohingya had to obtain Tawkenza, then submit that Tawkenza to the Immigration office.<sup>111</sup> Form No. 4 was then issued,<sup>112</sup> from the Immigration office.<sup>113</sup> This process entailed forced bribes of 3,000-10,000

kyat,<sup>114</sup> or even 20,000-60,000 kyat,<sup>115</sup> with the permission valid for 5-15 days.<sup>116</sup> When actually traveling, the Rohingya also were extorted for forced bribes at the checkpoints along the way,<sup>117</sup> ranging from 500-1000 kyat.<sup>118</sup>

Thirdly, to travel to the district, the Rohingya were required to obtain Form No. 4,<sup>119</sup> from the Immigration office.<sup>120</sup> They then had to obtain Pungzenle (permission from Immigration office).<sup>121</sup> This process cost 4,000-5,000 kyat,<sup>122</sup> or even 7,000-10,000 kyat.<sup>123</sup>

“We were not allowed to stay in Buthidaung township for more than one day. We could not stay the night in Buthidaung town. We had to return from there within a day. Before 2012, we could travel to Maungdaw township after getting Pungzenle. To fulfill the process with Immigration, we had to pay 7,000 kyat. Once I was assaulted on my way to Maungdaw township when I was traveling with Pungzenle. They made me naked at the checkpoint, while saying they were checking me. They also extorted 700 kyat from me.”<sup>124</sup>

Traveling to Sittwe was completely forbidden for the Rohingya,<sup>125</sup> although they were able to go there prior to 2012.<sup>126</sup> After 2012, absolutely no documents granted them permission to travel to the capital.<sup>127</sup>

“I traveled to Sittwe in my childhood. I needed nothing to travel then because we Rohingya were accepted as citizens.”<sup>128</sup>

Security forces cracked down on those who violated these travel restrictions, with

arrest,<sup>129</sup> and jail,<sup>130</sup> for up to 5-6 years,<sup>131</sup> or beatings and jail.<sup>132</sup> The most common punishments were beatings and fines, from Hlun Thein,<sup>133</sup> or from the military and police.<sup>134</sup>

Having travel permission was no guarantee of safety.<sup>135</sup> Security forces also fabricated charges on the Rohingya,<sup>136</sup> and punished the Rohingya who hosted guests from other villages.<sup>137</sup>

“There was restriction on our movement in our own village. We were not allowed to go outside our houses after 6:00 p.m. Security forces used to catch people before 6:00 p.m. and then they kept the people for 30 minutes until 6:00 p.m. Then they accused people, saying, ‘Look at the watch and say what time is it now? Now it’s 6:00 p.m. and you are still out of the house. Now you will have to pay a fine.’ They fined, beat, and jailed the people they caught like this.”<sup>138</sup>

“We were not able to move freely in our own village. Sometimes, they beat us even though we had permission. They demanded to know, ‘Who allowed you? Who gave you permission?’ They fined us, saying, ‘Your permission is expired,’ even though the permission was unexpired.

“My brother and other villagers were found without Tawkenza in their corn field. They were working there in the field. It was a maximum of 300 feet from their house. It was in their own village. But still security forces punished them.”<sup>139</sup>

“Suppose if I visited your house, and I left your house after I visited.

In that case, security forces arrested you, saying, ‘The person who visited you was a terrorist.’ They arrested the person who was visited. I was extorted for money when my brother-in-law visited my house. Security forces caught me afterwards and seized a fine from me.”<sup>140</sup>

“Suppose that I am a guest in your house from another village. Security forces will arrest me on false charges. Then they will inform my family and will demand a lot of money to free me from them.”<sup>141</sup>

These movement restrictions became even tighter in recent years. The Rohingya could not leave their homes between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.,<sup>142</sup> or else they were beaten.<sup>143</sup> The oppressive travel restrictions meant that the Rohingya could not fish,<sup>144</sup> or farm,<sup>145</sup> for food or for their livelihoods. They could not even go to the forest to collect firewood.<sup>146</sup>

## 4. DENIAL OF EDUCATION

The Rohingya were discriminated against in education. As they attended the government school,<sup>147</sup> Rohingya students were segregated from Rakhine students.<sup>148</sup> Teachers taught the Rakhine students well,<sup>149</sup> but neglected and did not teach the Rohingya students.<sup>150</sup> Teachers failed Rohingya students,<sup>151</sup> and refused to promote them even after they passed examinations.<sup>152</sup> Teachers physically beat Rohingya students but not Rakhine students,<sup>153</sup> and pinched and tortured Rohingya students.<sup>154</sup> Teachers

came to school late,<sup>155</sup> or left early.<sup>156</sup>

“In Myanmar, there was discrimination from the Rakhine teachers. The Rakhine teachers did not properly teach Rohingya children. Rohingya students were not provided with books, exercise books, pens, and other materials, but the Rakhine children were provided with those materials. And Rohingya could not continuously attend school. They had to stop after two months or four months. It was a government school. We Rohingya could not study or learn properly because it was a government school.”<sup>157</sup>

## 5. DENIAL OF EMPLOYMENT

The Rohingya were deprived of the opportunity to be employed even when their educational level was high, especially with public and government jobs.<sup>158</sup> They faced discrimination in employment opportunity.<sup>159</sup>

“Rohingya were unable to get government jobs. The reason was for being Muslim.”<sup>160</sup>

“Rohingya people weren’t able to get a government job. Even graduated Rohingya couldn’t get a job, because we are Rohingya. We were able to get jobs before 1982. Before 1982, our Rohingya people were involved in government jobs. After that, Rohingya were driven away from government jobs.”<sup>161</sup>

“We couldn’t get government jobs.

Even a Rohingya person who graduated from school had to work in a field like a daily laborer.”<sup>162</sup>

“Rohingya were not able to get government jobs. The government did not give us opportunities because they did not want Rohingya to be employed. They used to call us ‘Bengali.’ But we have known from our forefathers that Burma is our country.”<sup>163</sup>

With public and official employment foreclosed, the Rohingya struggled to earn their livelihoods in other ways. Yet they also were subject to harsh taxes and had to pay forced bribes to keep their businesses running, in large amounts with 15,000 kyat per month,<sup>164</sup> 50% of their crops,<sup>165</sup> and 20,000 kyat per cow sold.<sup>166</sup>

“I had two fishing boats and two fishing nets. I needed a license to catch fish from the river, and for that I had to pay a forced bribe. There was a department called Ngaale Bujhi. They used to call us into their office, saying they will give us the license. But when we got there, they seized fines from us.

“We had to pay 40,000 kyat to get a license to catch fish. We paid the forced bribe to get a license for one year. But they took the license away after a few days, saying the license had expired.

“The police took the license away when they found us in the river or harbor.”<sup>167</sup>

“To collect firewood from the forest, we had to give firewood to Na Sa Ka in forced bribes. We also had to get permission for one month and 10 days

from BGP, paying 20,000-30,000 kyat. Many times, they snatched away the firewood we collected, even though we had permission to collect it.”<sup>168</sup>

The Rohingya were also persecuted and blocked as they tried to maintain a subsistence level of existence. Security forces and civilians looted necessary food items from the Rohingya, such as fowl birds,<sup>169</sup> cows,<sup>170</sup> goats,<sup>171</sup> fruit,<sup>172</sup> and crops.<sup>173</sup> They were looted for groceries on the way home from the market.<sup>174</sup>

Security forces and civilians looted them for groceries from their shop,<sup>175</sup> or for vegetables on the way to selling at the market.<sup>176</sup>

“My shop was nearby the road. I had to pay forced bribes to security forces and village administrator. I had to give them chickens to make them happy. I had to pay fines again and again. They used to come to me and say, ‘You aren’t allowed to build the shop with thatch but you used thatch. You aren’t allowed to use planks in your shop but you used planks.’ They seized gasoline from my shop for their motorbikes. They never paid for what

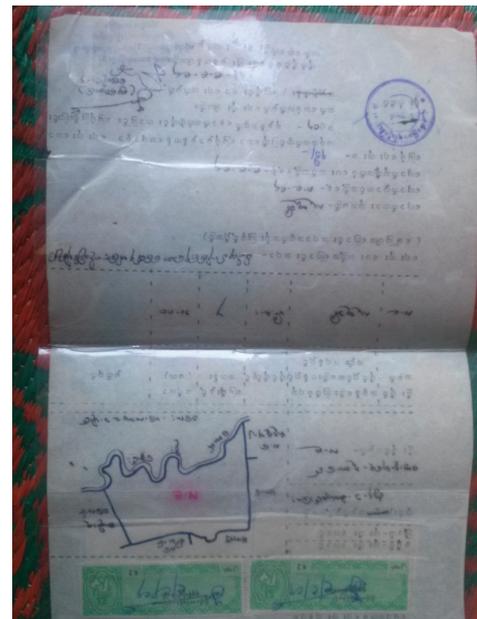
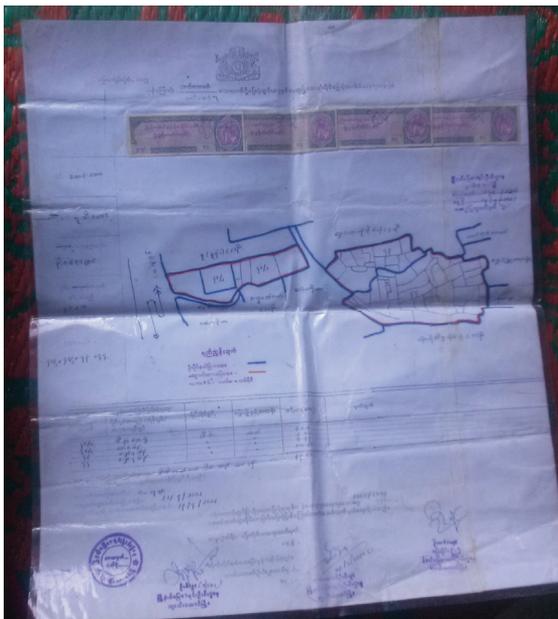
they took from my shop.”<sup>177</sup>

In addition, the Rohingya had their land confiscated.<sup>178</sup> The government stole land from Rohingya villagers,<sup>179</sup> and allocated it to Kui settlers,<sup>180</sup> Mro settlers,<sup>181</sup> and Rakhine settlers.<sup>182</sup> The Rohingya’s land was also appropriated to build a Rakhine school,<sup>183</sup> a Rakhine tree garden,<sup>184</sup> and a temple.<sup>185</sup>

One kani of land is equivalent to 1.32 acres. The government plundered approximately 16 kani of land from two different villagers,<sup>186</sup> 12 kani from another villager,<sup>187</sup> and 10 kani from a fourth villager.<sup>188</sup> One Rohingya survivor had to pay rent to use what had been his own land.<sup>189</sup>

“The Myanmar government took away my land and gave it to Rakhine people. I rented agriculture land from them. I had to pay 50% of my crops as rent to them. I did not have an ox to cultivate the land, so I had to pay rent for an ox. I had to buy fertilizer and chemicals to prevent insects. At maximum, I kept 15% of my crops. We had to pay this. Otherwise, they blocked us from bringing crops from the farm.”<sup>190</sup>

**The Rohingya previously owned their own land.**



Even if the land theft was in “lesser” amounts, these “smaller” thefts are no trifle. With denial of access to education and denial of access to employment, farming lands that they owned was the main viable way to work and feed their families. Without land ownership, the Rohingya were forced to pay rent for farmland, thereby reducing their income even further.

## 6. COMPULSORY FORCED LABOR

Male Rohingya villagers were conscripted into forced labor,<sup>191</sup> by the military,<sup>192</sup> and BGP/Na Sa Ka.<sup>193</sup> The Rohingya were made to carry bags and loads;<sup>194</sup> clean the camp;<sup>195</sup> dig and cut soil;<sup>196</sup> cut the grass;<sup>197</sup> build fences;<sup>198</sup> build the camp;<sup>199</sup> build roads;<sup>200</sup> and build houses.<sup>201</sup> There is not a single recorded case of the Rohingya being paid for this forced labor.<sup>202</sup> In fact, Rohingya forced laborers were not even given food to eat,<sup>203</sup> even though they were taken far away,<sup>204</sup> and for up to 10-20 days,<sup>205</sup> or a month at a time.<sup>206</sup>

Rohingya were conscripted into forced labor regularly,<sup>207</sup> once or twice per month.<sup>208</sup> If someone refused to provide forced labor, then the military came to their house,<sup>209</sup> and arrested,<sup>210</sup> beat,<sup>211</sup> and extorted them for money.<sup>212</sup> The forced fines ranged from 5,000 kyat,<sup>213</sup> to 20,000-40,000 kyat.<sup>214</sup>

“I had to carry their baggage or loads continuously for a week when the military was transferring to another camp. We always had to go for forced labor to clean their camp, dig soil, build fence, and so on. If we did not

go as ordered, they came to our homes and arrested, beat, and extorted us for money.”<sup>215</sup>

“I was forced into giving forced labor many times. I had to go to the military camp. They made us climb up on the roof. We had to work on the roof. The military pushed us with bamboo under the roof if there was any mistake in the work.

“The military pushed my nephew into a hot curry pot when he went to the kitchen to have lunch. They kept us in the military camp for 6-7 days and made us build their camps, carry cement, and cut grass.”<sup>216</sup>

*“They used to give us dead cows for meat and dead chickens. They used to force us to drink liquor.”*

“Security forces beat me while I was providing forced labor. I am injured and still have pain in my chest and backbone. Security forces took me to the forest and gave me a heavy load to carry. They beat me when I felt weak and was not able to carry the heavy load.”<sup>217</sup>

“In forced labor, I was caught and made to do it when I was walking on the road. There also was a schedule for provide forced labor. I had to provide forced labor up to 7 times in one month.

“We had to carry their heavy loads and we had to do construction work

without payment. We had to clean grass and we had to wash their cooking dishes. We had to pick up the leaves one by one. When there was not any work to do, on those days, the military made us pick up dry leaves from under trees. They forbade me from sweeping with a broom.”<sup>218</sup>

Moreover, the unpaid forced labor compounded the hardship the Rohingya experienced, by taking them far from their homes and starving them, as well as by obstructing the Rohingya from working at their own livelihoods.

At times, when security forces did not have actual work for the Rohingya to do, keeping them from farming or working seemed to be the true purpose of the forced labor.

“One time, they forced me to provide forced labor for three months at a time.

“They took us through the forest from our village to other villages which are far from our village. They did not give us any food during the forced labor. Sometime we ate what remained after they had eaten. Sometimes we asked for food from the Rohingya village. We cannot eat the food of a Rakhine village. That was why we wanted food from the Rohingya village. But if there was no Rohingya village nearby, then there were many times that we did not eat for many days.”<sup>219</sup>

“We had to do different kinds of work. If they did not have work for us to do, then they forced us to clean their compound or pick up leaves from the ground.”<sup>220</sup>

“They did not give us food. And we also do not eat their food because they eat curries which are not halal for us. They used to give us dead cows for meat and dead chickens. They used to force us to drink liquor.”<sup>221</sup>

## 7. DENIAL OF HEALTHCARE

The Rohingya experienced discrimination in receiving medical services. At the government hospital in Buthidaung,<sup>222</sup> which required Tawkenza to reach,<sup>223</sup> the public health center refused to treat Rohingya unless they made additional payment in forced bribes.<sup>224</sup> The additional amounts demanded ranged from 5,000-10,000 kyat,<sup>225</sup> although others were charged 20,000-50,000 kyat,<sup>226</sup> or even 200,000-300,000 kyat.<sup>227</sup>

“We were not allowed to see a doctor without money. They discriminated against us. Rakhine people can go but Rohingya cannot go. The doctors took the forced bribes through the gatekeeper.”<sup>228</sup>

Survivors testified to being rejected by the clinic,<sup>229</sup> or being barred from entry.<sup>230</sup> And if they did manage to get inside, they received the wrong treatment,<sup>231</sup> as well as abuse at the clinic.<sup>232</sup>

“One time in 2013, my brother had a broken leg and was taken to the government clinic, with the permission of the village administrator. We had to pay 300,000 kyat to the doctor. But after we paid 300,000 kyat, he did not

get better treatment. In the end, he died.”<sup>233</sup>

“They rejected my daughter, aged 3 years, when I took her to the government clinic in Buthidaung. She had burn wounds from when the military burned down my house.”<sup>234</sup>

“We were not able to get treatment from the government clinic, even if we stood in line for the whole day. Rakhine people got treatment but we did not. I

*“I was rejected four times when I suffered from malaria.”*

was rejected four times when I suffered from malaria.

“I went on foot to see the doctor. I also took food to eat on the way to the hospital. They saw the next Rakhine patient who was behind me in line but they did not see me. I had to get Tawkenza after paying 1,000 kyat to go to the doctor in Buthidaung. After I spent 1,000 kyat for the Tawkenza, I still did not get treatment because the doctor did not see me.”<sup>235</sup>

“I took my daughter to see the doctor at the government clinic. My daughter had burn wounds and suffered for many days. I took her many times to Buthidaung but we were rejected. They said, ‘We don’t have drugs for burn patients.’ They rejected us because we are Muslim and the doctors and nurses are Buddhist.”<sup>236</sup>

“My sister-in-law died because they refused to treat her. She was pregnant. We took her to the government clinic when she started having abdominal pain and it was too complicated for her to deliver at home. The clinic authority demanded money to deliver the baby in the clinic, but we did not have enough money. They kept her in the yard of the clinic for one day and one night without treatment. She passed away there without delivering the baby.”<sup>237</sup>

Yet, with all these issues, the alternative, a Muslim village doctor, was not permitted to freely practice medicine and had to do so in secret.<sup>238</sup>

“There were Rohingya people who sold medicines in secret. They could not give treatment openly because security forces would arrest them. That was why they sold the medicine secretly.”<sup>239</sup>

## 8. SUPPRESSION OF VOTING RIGHTS

The Rohingya were only allowed to vote before 2015.<sup>240</sup>

## 9. REVOCATION OF CITIZENSHIP

The overwhelming majority of survivors testified that they did not hold citizenship of Myanmar.<sup>241</sup> Rohingya previously did hold Myanmar citizenship, during their parents’ and grandparents’ generations.<sup>242</sup> The Rohingya were initially given “temporary”

white cards called Yiayi Caffra,<sup>243</sup> but the government took these back later.<sup>244</sup> Then they were given “receipt cards.”<sup>245</sup> The Rohingya’s identification documents typically incorrectly stated their nationality to be Bengali.<sup>246</sup>

“We were not accepted as citizens of Myanmar. They used to even call us Yiayi, which means ‘temporary.’ In my Yiayi Caffra, my ethnicity was stated to be Bengali and my status was said to be temporary.”<sup>247</sup>

at agriculture;<sup>255</sup> faced discrimination in employment;<sup>256</sup> were blocked from freely operating businesses;<sup>257</sup> and needed marriage permission.<sup>258</sup> More severely, the Rohingya were persecuted,<sup>259</sup> and kicked and beaten on the street and outdoors.<sup>260</sup>

“I was accepted as a citizen before 1982. After 1982, the government canceled our citizenship.”<sup>261</sup>

“They did not accept us as citizens of Myanmar and because of that we were persecuted. They used to call us ‘Bengali.’ Our parents and grandparents had national ID cards (BTG) of Myanmar. They had also a red-colored ID card. Later, the Myanmar government took these cards away from people. But my parent did not give them up.”<sup>262</sup>

“My parents and grandparents were accepted as citizens of Myanmar. They had BTG cards. In BTG card, our parents and grandparents had nationality of Myanmar and they had freedom. Later, our nationality and old documents were taken away. ‘Bengali Muslim’ was stated on the cards that we had.”<sup>263</sup>

“We were not allowed to practice our religion or move anywhere. We were like in an open prison. We were not able to guard our farms at night. We were not allowed to build houses or run businesses.”<sup>264</sup>

“We were treated unfairly. There is no word to express how we were tortured. They abused us, saying, ‘You do not belong to this country and this



**After confiscating the temporary cards, the Myanmar government then distributed “receipt cards” as identification documents for the Rohingya.**

Due to their lack of citizenship status, the Rohingya were treated unfairly,<sup>248</sup> including being called “kalar,”<sup>249</sup> which is an ethnic slur. Many survivors said because they were not citizens, they had movement restrictions,<sup>250</sup> and travel restrictions even in visiting neighboring villages;<sup>251</sup> were prohibited to practice their religion;<sup>252</sup> were blocked from educating their children;<sup>253</sup> could not build houses;<sup>254</sup> could not work

land does not belong to you.’ They used to beat us, saying, ‘Who are you? You are from Bangladesh or you are working for ARSA,’ things like that.”<sup>265</sup>

“They used to call us ‘kalar’ and ‘Bengali.’ We were tortured more than we could tolerate. My house was near the road that the military and security forces used. We were not able to go out because we were near the road and security forces watched us. They beat our children when they found our children.”<sup>266</sup>

“We were tortured and abused so much. Our Rohingya people were fined into poverty. We were not allowed to have freedom of movement. We could not even do our business freely without restriction and without bribes. Even if we had the wealth to do something good, we still could not. We were just alive, but there was no freedom, no opportunities, and no right to live as a human.”<sup>267</sup>

The Rohingya refused to register with NVC,<sup>268</sup> because it was for foreigners and not a citizenship card.<sup>269</sup>

“I did not register with NVC. Providing NVC was just a dramatic call to begin genocide of Rohingya.”<sup>270</sup>

“We do not need NVC because we are originally from Myanmar. NVC means foreigner.”<sup>271</sup>

“I did not register with NVC because our forefathers were citizens of Myanmar. Why should we register with NVC, when it was not a citizenship card.”<sup>272</sup>

## RESTRICTED CONDITIONS OF LIFE

A list of policies calculated to cause destruction of the Rohingya people:

- Revoking Myanmar citizenship and voting rights
- Banning calls to prayer, prayer at the mosque, and religious sermons/ceremonies
- Requiring permission from authorities of the village, Immigration office, and military police to travel even short distances
- Denying access to healthcare, education, and employment
- Arresting and jailing villagers for minor offenses and trumped-up charges
- Forcing exorbitant fines and bribes
- Punishing parents with more than two or three children
- Requiring men to provide forced labor
- Confiscating land and reallocating it to Rakhine people or keeping it for government use
- Forbidding movement outside their homes after 6:00 p.m. and before 6:00 a.m.

## 1. SITUATION PRIOR TO THE MASSACRE.

After the October incident in 2016, villagers were confined and not even allowed to leave their houses between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.<sup>273</sup> Gatherings of five people in one place were prohibited.<sup>274</sup> Security forces fabricated charges against Rohingya in order to collect forced bribes.

“Security forces arrested people, swaying, ‘Hey, you went to Bangladesh, but you didn’t inform us.’ They said that even if the person did not go to Bangladesh. Or they made people pay fines, saying, ‘You are involved with ARSA and you have to pay a fine.’

“Or they accused people, saying, ‘You found lizards to sell.’ They accused me of selling one kind of lizard. They arrested me, beat me, and fined me 14 million kyat. So many people were beaten without reason.

“My maternal uncle, Shohor Mulluk, and I were arrested and we were kept in Chou Sa Doung police camp for three days. They beat my uncle to death in the police camp. Luckily I returned alive. I was also beaten. They released me after I paid a forced bribe and they released my uncle’s dead body after paying 200,000 kyat.”<sup>275</sup>

“Security forces and Rakhine civilians used to take away our crops from our corn field. We could not protest, because if they prohibited them, then they beat us. Or they seized fines of up to 500,000 kyat from us. We did not protest and we tolerated the torture. We thought, ‘It is better to not raise our

voice against them. Otherwise they will extort us for money.”<sup>276</sup>

In the two to three months prior to the massacre,<sup>277</sup> security forces arrested educated and holy men from the village.<sup>278</sup> The men were detained for 17-18 months,<sup>279</sup> with some survivors reporting that they were released only after they accepted NVC.<sup>280</sup>

“They arrested seven men for no reason. Most of them were educated. Only two men were not educated out of all the men. They were all caught from their workshop and taken to Yang Chaung police camp. Security forces beat them, saying, ‘Accept that you attacked Thanachouk police camp.’ Later, they sent the Rohingya men to prison.”<sup>281</sup>

“About 2.5 months before the attack on our village, security forces arrested seven men from our village. The people were honest and in good relations with everyone. They were holy men and they used to lead our religious practices. They were beaten, with even their nails pulled out from their fingers. They were finally released three months after we arrived in Bangladesh. Their brothers and relatives live abroad and got the men released by paying 30 million kyat for each.”<sup>282</sup>

## 2. PRELIMINARY ATTACK ON DUMMA PARA.

On Friday, August 26, 2017, security forces attacked the village of Dumma Para

late at night. The military rode motorcycles,<sup>283</sup> and parked at a spot between Dumma Para and Gudam Para,<sup>284</sup> on a bridge.<sup>285</sup> There were 10-12 motorcycles,<sup>286</sup> and the security forces totaled 30-50 attackers.<sup>287</sup> They fired indiscriminately,<sup>288</sup> to the north and south,<sup>289</sup> at Dumma Para and Gudam Para.<sup>290</sup>

“From the Rohingya village in Yaung Chaung, Rohingya people phoned us. They told us, ‘Some soldiers are coming to attack your village.’ Our villagers discussed the matter together and we were all scared. We decided and said, ‘Some Rohingya people were killed in other villages, so we should stay careful. Don’t let your children fall asleep. Be aware.’ We were all awake and we were in a panic. We did not eat anything. I had two children, who stayed inside the house. My husband and I were outside, thinking about what might happen.

“Then the military arrived riding motorcycles. My house was closer to the pathway and that was why we did not have a way to flee. The only escape we had was the river. When the military arrived, we gathered our children and fled from the house to the east, where the river was.

“When we passed three or four houses, we looked back and saw the military shooting guns at people and toward the village. The gunfire was like raindrops and it was so loud. They were shooting everywhere around the village.

“I fled to the shore and hid inside a broken shanty. We were up to 25 families with us in that shanty. We crossed back when circumstances seemed quieter. We crossed the river swimming with difficulty. Some infants

who were not able to swim drowned in the river.”<sup>291</sup>

The gunfire continued for four to five hours,<sup>292</sup> from about 11:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m.<sup>293</sup> Rohingya villagers fled in the rain to Gudam Para.<sup>294</sup>



**With the security forces’ preliminary attack on Dumma Para, Rohingya villagers fled south to Gudam Para.**

### 3. SIEGE OF THE VILLAGE OF GUDAM PARA.



**Security forces prepared by deploying to and stationing in locations around Gudam Para village and executed their “Clearance Operations” on August 27, 2017.**

On Saturday, August 27, 2017, security forces sieged and surrounded Gudam Para village in three groups.<sup>295</sup> At approximately 1:00-2:00 p.m.,<sup>296</sup> one group of military approached by crawling,<sup>297</sup> then attacked,<sup>298</sup> from the south,<sup>299</sup> and surrounded the village.<sup>300</sup> This group chased down villagers,<sup>301</sup> and sprayed indiscriminate gunfire,<sup>302</sup> killing Rohingya people.<sup>303</sup>

From the west,<sup>304</sup> there came a second military group.<sup>305</sup> This group suddenly exploded a bomb,<sup>306</sup> at the paddy field between Dumma Para and Gudam Para,<sup>307</sup> and then began burning houses.<sup>308</sup>

There were 200-300 security forces.<sup>309</sup> Between 1:00 and 2:00 p.m.,<sup>310</sup> they aimed their guns at the forest,<sup>311</sup> where Rohingya villagers hid.

“An estimated over 300 people were gathered at the north part of the village. Security forces killed almost all the 300 people and raped 6-7 women and killed them. There was a road in Barija Fara. People gathered on the road. The military threw a bomb into the mass gathering and killed the people.”<sup>312</sup>



**As security forces besieged and attacked the village, a number of Rohingya people hid inside an Oum tree garden.**

Security forces went searching from house to house,<sup>313</sup> broke down the doors of houses,<sup>314</sup> and arrested those they found inside.<sup>315</sup> Their continuous gunfire lasted for three to four hours,<sup>316</sup> from approximately 2:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.<sup>317</sup>

“After entering the village, security forces killed four people. Kabir Ahmad, his wife, Nagu, and one other person.

“Other people fled from the village and scattered at the paddy field at the north side of the village. Most people went to Dumma Para. Some military forces entered from the south of the village of Gudam Para and some fired launchers at the west side of the village. Then the Rohingya people in the north of the village ran toward Gudam Para. The military fired into the crowd of Rohingya people. They fired at the people who ran to put out the fires. They fired indiscriminately everywhere.”<sup>318</sup>

## **4. KILLING AND INJURY TO ROHINGYA VILLAGERS EN MASSE.**

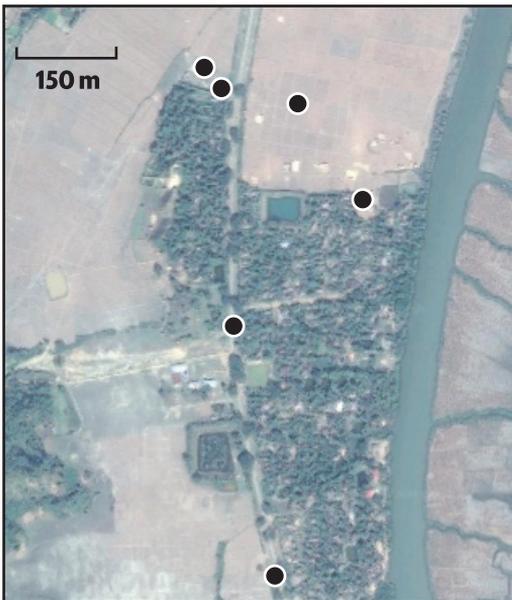
The reckless and indiscriminate gunfire killed many Rohingya villagers,<sup>319</sup> with approximately 300 victims.<sup>320</sup> The killings occurred between 2:00 and 5:00 p.m.,<sup>321</sup> at the north end of Gudam Para village.<sup>322</sup> The military fired at Rohingya who were running away,<sup>323</sup> at about 3:00 p.m.<sup>324</sup>

“First, security forces killed the people by gunshot. Then they slaughtered those who got injuries in the forest.”<sup>325</sup>

“Security forces killed my nephew that day. My nephew was in front of my shop. When he saw the security forces, he ran away from the west side. But they caught him as he fled and they hacked him into three pieces with choppers. At that time, I was watching from my home.”<sup>326</sup>

“I saw killing with my own eyes. Two boys were hiding inside a thorn forest. Security forces pulled them out and kicked the boys to death with their boots. After kicking the boys to death, security forces threw the boys into a big hole. The next day, I went back to the village and saw their dead bodies and also other dead bodies in that hole.”<sup>327</sup>

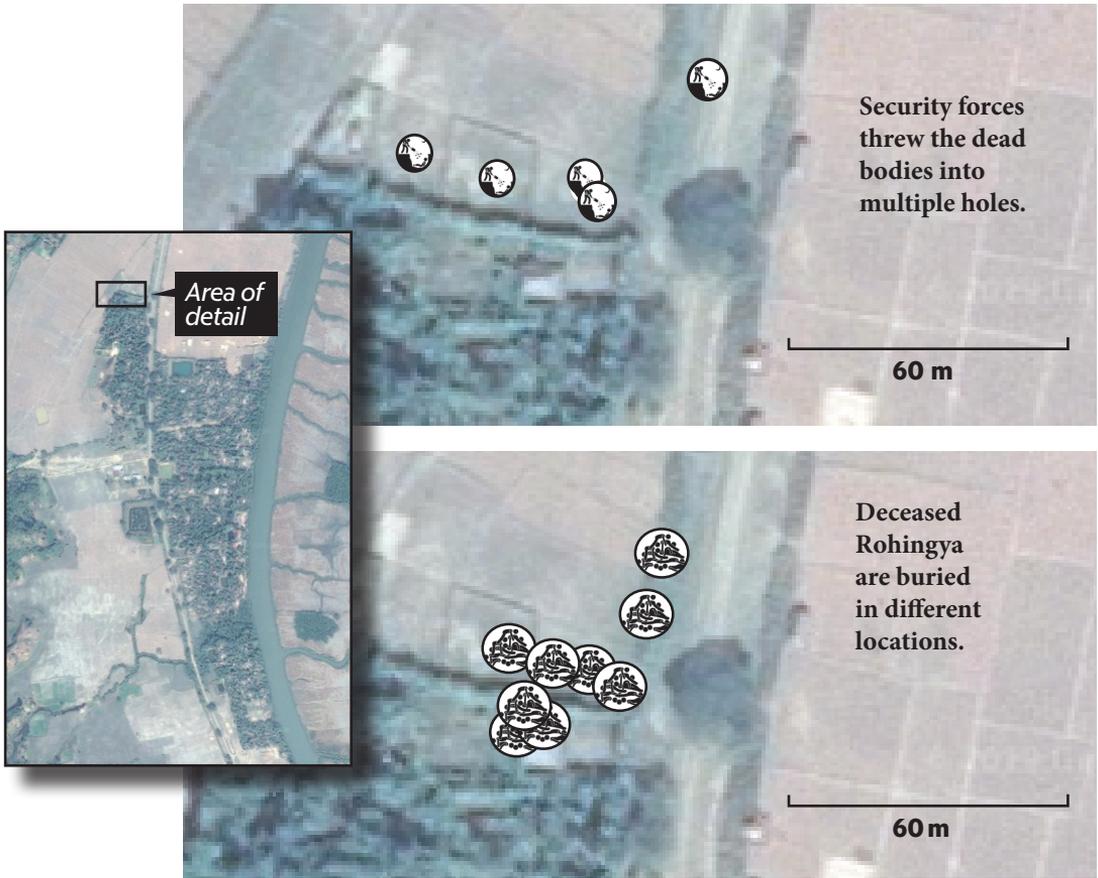
Security forces killed most Rohingya by gunshot,<sup>328</sup> but they also slaughtered villagers.<sup>329</sup> The military dragged the bodies to holes,<sup>330</sup> and buried the bodies in multiple holes.<sup>331</sup> Survivors testified to four holes,<sup>332</sup> six holes,<sup>333</sup> and ten holes.<sup>334</sup> The military also used latrine holes to bury Rohingya bodies.<sup>335</sup> One survivor stated that 200 bodies were buried in the holes.<sup>336</sup> Rohingya survivors discovered the holes and corpses over the next few days.<sup>337</sup>



**Locations of Rohingya killed, often as witnessed by close family members like spouses, parents, and children.**



**During the following days, those who had fled returned to Gudam Para and discovered the dead bodies of their relatives, neighbors, and fellow villagers. This still from a video shows one such corpse of a killed Rohingya person.**



The military also burned bodies,<sup>338</sup> and poured acid on the faces,<sup>339</sup> in order to prevent identification by their relatives. One survivor was able to identify the deceased only by their clothing.<sup>340</sup>

“Security forces beat me and five other Rohingya. They beat us to injury and we could not move well. We escaped from the military while they were drinking liquor and doing drugs.”<sup>349</sup>

“The next day, we went back to the village to look for our cattle. That was when we found the bodies buried in the northern part of the village. The bodies were buried at Rafique’s homestead. An estimated 100 bodies were buried there. Security forces spread acid on the faces.”<sup>341</sup>

Security forces also injured many Rohingya villagers.<sup>342</sup> They did this between 2:00 p.m. and 4:00 p.m.<sup>343</sup> at a paddy field,<sup>344</sup> with guns,<sup>345</sup> AK47s,<sup>346</sup> and machine guns.<sup>347</sup> Over 50 Rohingya were injured.<sup>348</sup>



The reckless spray of gunfire also injured many Rohingya villagers as they fled for their lives.

One survivor's young daughter suffered severe burn wounds. Other survivors suffered bullet injuries.



With the exception of the seven educated and religious men who were arrested in the months prior,<sup>350</sup> security forces did not arrest Rohingya villagers on this day, because they killed whoever they found.<sup>351</sup>

## 5. RAPE.

Security forces committed rape of Rohingya women.<sup>352</sup> One woman was raped to death.<sup>353</sup> Kabir Ahmad and Mada Khatun were a wealthy older married couple.<sup>354</sup> The couple's daughter witnessed her mother's rape, as well as the killing of both parents.<sup>355</sup> At about 2:00 p.m., security forces arrested the parents from the Oum tree garden,<sup>356</sup> and took them to School Ganth.<sup>357</sup> They looted 20-22 million kyat from the couple,<sup>358</sup> as well as about five tolas of gold.<sup>359</sup> Security forces killed Kabir Ahmad by gunshot.<sup>360</sup> Five soldiers raped Mada Khatun for one hour.<sup>361</sup> Then security forces slaughtered Mada Khatun,<sup>362</sup> and buried both bodies in a hole.<sup>363</sup>

Identified as rapists were village administrator Maung Ka Chin, Oa Sa, village administrator Aye Shawla,<sup>364</sup> and Maung Tha Shwe.<sup>365</sup>

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**Rape was another weapon of violence used by security forces.**



## 6. ARSON AND LOOTING.

Along with shooting countless Rohingya to death, security forces burned down all the Rohingya's homes.<sup>366</sup> They burned down 300-450 houses.<sup>367</sup> The arson began at 2:00-3:00 p.m.,<sup>368</sup> with the military setting fires with launchers,<sup>369</sup> and Rakhine civilians setting fires with gasoline.<sup>370</sup>

“Rakhine civilians from the neighboring village burned our houses with gasoline. They brought bottles of gasoline to burn our homes.”<sup>371</sup>

“We crossed the river by swimming.

When we got to shore, we saw that civilians were looting the houses that were not yet burned. The military was shooting at the people and the civilians were burning houses with gasoline. The civilians were from our two neighboring villages. They wore civilian clothes. A few of them wore Kurta (dress of imam) to make it look like Muslims were burning houses.”<sup>372</sup>

The Rohingya also suffered from the looting of their property,<sup>373</sup> by the military,<sup>374</sup> and Rakhine people.<sup>375</sup> Items looted included cattle,<sup>376</sup> household items,<sup>377</sup> motorbikes,<sup>378</sup> fowl birds,<sup>379</sup> rice,<sup>380</sup> money,<sup>381</sup> vehicles,<sup>382</sup> goats,<sup>383</sup> potatoes,<sup>384</sup> and gold.<sup>385</sup>

## C. PERPETRATORS

Testimony identified the following people as perpetrators of violence: village administrator Maung Ka Chin;<sup>386</sup> village administrator Aye Shawla;<sup>387</sup> village administrator Aung Thi Ha,<sup>388</sup> Maung Pro;<sup>389</sup> Oa Sa;<sup>390</sup> Maung Su Wang,<sup>391</sup> and U Cha Hla.<sup>392</sup>

Survivors stated that a village administrator pointed out Rohingya houses to security forces.<sup>393</sup> Survivors also reported that the village administrator, wearing military dress,<sup>394</sup> came after the attack,<sup>395</sup> and looted property.<sup>396</sup>

The security forces numbered 200-300,<sup>397</sup> and were comprised of military, police, and BGP. The uniform colors depended on the department: the military wore green,<sup>398</sup> the police wore mixed-color with white or gray,<sup>399</sup> and BGP wore mixed-color.<sup>400</sup> Survivors saw red symbols,<sup>401</sup> and symbols on the shoulders,<sup>402</sup> of star,<sup>403</sup> moon,<sup>404</sup> flower,<sup>405</sup> cross,<sup>406</sup> lion,<sup>407</sup> gun,<sup>408</sup>

sun,<sup>409</sup> and lines.<sup>410</sup> The security forces wore red scarves or kerchiefs.<sup>411</sup> They carried launchers,<sup>412</sup> bombs,<sup>413</sup> long and short guns,<sup>414</sup> and handguns,<sup>415</sup> as well as heavy weapons like machine guns,<sup>416</sup> stand guns,<sup>417</sup> and AK47s.<sup>418</sup>

Multiple survivors testified that security forces had come from the south,<sup>419</sup> approximately two to four weeks,<sup>420</sup> before the attack,<sup>421</sup> on Dumma Para. They stationed at the BGP camp in Sa Daing,<sup>422</sup> and the BGP camp in Youngchaung,<sup>423</sup> as well as at the school.<sup>424</sup>

Many survivors also witnessed Rakhine people participating in the carnage,<sup>425</sup> including Lal Maiggah,<sup>426</sup> Aye Kyaw Hla,<sup>427</sup> and Kyaw Maung Hla.<sup>428</sup> The civilians numbered 30-50 people,<sup>429</sup> wore longyi pants and shirts,<sup>430</sup> and carried as weapons swords and long knives,<sup>431</sup> and guns,<sup>432</sup> given to them by security forces.<sup>433</sup> Survivors also saw civilians in uniforms.<sup>434</sup>

## D. ESCAPE TO BANGLADESH

Most Rohingya unwillingly fled to Bangladesh, driven purely by fear for their lives. Many escaped quite some time later, including 12-15 days,<sup>435</sup> 20 days,<sup>436</sup> one month,<sup>437</sup> 40-45 days,<sup>438</sup> 52-53 days,<sup>439</sup> and over two months later.<sup>440</sup> A number of survivors testified that went to Bangladesh only because they could not return to their home village.<sup>441</sup>

“We never wanted to cross the border. We tried to stay in our village

even though they burned down our houses and killed our Rohingya people. We submitted an application to the office in Buthidaung 1.5 months after the attack. In the application, our demand was to stay in our village. We were suffering so much there without food, clothes, medication, and other things. First we took shelter in Haim Prang, then in Thanza Prang. The government responded to our application by saying, ‘No one is allowed to stay in Gudam

Para and Dumma Para.’ They also prohibited us from staying in another village. Then we had no more options there. At last, we crossed the border in order to survive.”<sup>442</sup>

“I did not want to flee from Myanmar. I was there for one month and four days after our houses burned. First we stayed in Fuimali, then Fukhom Choung, and then Sindi Frang. We were Fuimali, but we were unable to stay there. The Fuimali villagers told us, ‘We aren’t able to keep you in our house. The village administrator prohibited us from keeping you in our house.’

“Then we were driven away from Fuimali and went to Fukhom Choung. We stayed for a few days in our relatives’ houses. After a few days, the Fukhom Choung villagers’ reactions were the same as the Fuimali villagers. Then we fled to Sindi Frang and saw that we were unable to stay there too. Then we fled to Bangladesh.”<sup>443</sup>

“After the military burned our village, we stayed for one month in Fuimali village. From there, we went to Khaing Fara village. From there again, we went to Sindi Frang village. We remained there because we hoped that we could go back to our village. But we were not allowed to return to our village. So then we decided to cross the river to Bangladesh.

“We waited for one month to get our burned homeland back. But we were not allowed to settle there.”<sup>444</sup>

“It was 20 days after the horror that we decided to cross to Bangladesh. We stayed in Wari Chaung village for

*“We never wanted to cross the border. We tried to stay in our village even though they burned down our houses and killed our Rohingya people.”*

20 days, hoping and expecting that we could return to our village.”<sup>445</sup>

As they walked to Bangladesh, the military surrounded the Rohingya,<sup>446</sup> separated the men and women,<sup>447</sup> took photographs of the Rohingya people,<sup>448</sup> and seized forced fines of 1,000-5,000 kyat.<sup>449</sup> Security forces also attempted to have the Rohingya live trapped inside an IDP, but the Rohingya refused.<sup>450</sup> The refugees also witnessed horrors along the way.

“On the way, I smelled the bad odor of dead bodies and saw burned bones of dead bodies.”<sup>451</sup>

“I saw dead bodies rotting in Maungdaw township.”<sup>452</sup>

To actually cross the border into Bangladesh, destitute Rohingya villagers had to pay money to the boat guide, in amounts varying from 20,000-50,000 kyat per person,<sup>453</sup> 65,000 kyat per person,<sup>454</sup> and even 100,000-150,000 kyat per person.<sup>455</sup>

“I waited for four days at the border. I did not have the money to pay the boat guide. So I waited for a free boat. After four days, I found a boat sent by the Bangladeshi government.”<sup>456</sup>

## ON AUGUST 2017, THE MYANMAR

military, police, BGP, and mobilized Rakhine villagers besieged and breached Gudam Para village and committed a massacre of Rohingya civilians. Security forces raped Rohingya women, looted property from the Rohingya, and burned down their homes. Villagers fled in a desperate effort to save their lives. The total extent of suffering of these survivors is horrifying. During the massacre, no information whatsoever reported any activity of ARSA or other similar insurgent groups.

However, the destruction of life of the Rohingya people began much earlier. The government stole land from Rohingya and reallocated it to Rakhine, Kui, and Mro people or used it for their own purposes. From 2012, the Rohingya villagers in Gudam Para village were deprived of their basic rights in almost every aspect of daily life, in an effort to systematically destroy them. First, all religious activities were banned. This included prayers at the mosque, making calls to prayer, giving religious sermons, and giving festival prayers. If caught in any kind of religious practice, security forces beat and forced fines from the Rohingya and even arrested them.

Second, to even marry, villagers had to acquire a certificate of permission from the military after paying an exorbitant forced bribe. When the military issued a certificate of permission to marry, they warned Rohingya not to have more than two or three children. If Rohingya had more than two or three children, the village administrator forced fines from them.

Third, the boundary of movement for Rohingya was systematically controlled and restrained. In order to visit other places, the Rohingya were required to get a series of

permissions from the level of village, district, township, and to the capital (Sittwe) – which essentially meant that they needed the military’s permission. In addition, to travel beyond neighboring villages, they were required to complete Form No. 4 and pay an exorbitant amount of money in forced bribes to obtain travel permission and also pay forced bribes at checkpoints. From 2016, they were forbidden from even leaving their homes between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. Fourth, the Rohingya were discriminated against in educational opportunity and employment. The Rohingya were not allowed to be public workers.

Fifth, the military regularly conscripted Gudam Para villagers into forced labor. The Rohingya were never paid any wages for their work. If they did not comply and provide forced labor, security forces beat them, arrested them, and forced fines from them. Sixth, Rohingya were denied medical treatment and healthcare. Seventh, from 2015, the Rohingya were deprived of voting rights.

Lastly, no Rohingya was granted citizenship. The military in fact tried to force the Rohingya to register with NVC, which meant that they would be treated as foreigners.

Rohingya were called the derogatory term, “kalar,” which is an ethnic slur. When asked why Myanmar security forces perpetrated such terrible acts, Rohingya survivors spoke clearly:

“They did it to us only because we are Muslims.”<sup>457</sup>

“All of that was racial discrimination committed on us.”<sup>458</sup>

“They did such things to us because we are Rohingya. And our religion is Islam. They do not want Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine state. They ordered us to obey their religion. We did not follow their religion, and that was why they did the terrible things. They told us to bow in front of the Myanmar national flag. But under our religion, there is a rule that we only bow to Allah, the Creator.”<sup>459</sup>

“They did these awful things because our religion is different from theirs. Our forefathers were accepted as Rohingya citizens and they had BTG cards. The Myanmar government took away our identity of Rohingya and all of our old documents. They have been planning to do ethnic cleansing of Rohingya from Myanmar. Once my father advised me, ‘My son! Be careful of the Myanmar government. The government will be cruel and they will treat you and your next generation unfairly and they will take away your identity of Rohingya ethnicity.’ When the Myanmar government tried to force us to register with NVC, we were afraid that they would do ethnic cleansing of Rohingya from Myanmar.”<sup>460</sup>

“In Myanmar, they called us ‘Bengali’ all the time. They committed horrors, saying, ‘You are Bengali and you cannot stay in Myanmar. Go to Bangladesh.’”<sup>461</sup>

“Since we were not recognized as citizens, they did that to us to drive us out from the country. I want justice. We were born there and have been there since our forefathers.”<sup>462</sup>

The Rohingya may have found physical safety from persecution in the refugee camps in Bangladesh, but such shaky and uncertain quarters can hardly be considered homes, especially since the Rohingya have lived in Burma for generations, if not centuries. The Rohingya are aware of how they have suffered discrimination and persecution. Yet they desire to return to their homeland, provided that they can do so following Justice, with full citizenship rights, as well as all of the privileges and benefits those rights confer.

“I would like to say to the international community that we will not return to Myanmar until we get nationality of Myanmar. The Myanmar government must give nationality and freedom to those they keep in IDP camps in Sittwe. They must accept us and the IDP camp people as citizens of Myanmar.

“Thanks a lot to Bangladesh for giving us shelter. We did not come here to Bangladesh to stay forever. We want to return to Myanmar after getting our rights and nationality. I request of the international community to give us our nationality of Myanmar and freedom. I want justice from ICC for the killing of innocent Rohingya people.”<sup>463</sup>

“I cry and beg the world for justice. I want justice against the perpetrators. They destroyed us, raped our mothers and sisters, threw babies into burning fires, and killed thousands of innocent Rohingya people.”<sup>464</sup>

“The UN Security Council forces must be involved with us in the repatriation process. We want justice

for the people who were killed in different villages including our villagers. There must be action from the ICC to prosecute the Myanmar government, mainly for General Myint Aung Lin and Aung San Suu Kyi. Then we will go to our country. Otherwise, we will not return.”<sup>465</sup>

Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, as well as the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, set forth the following definition of “genocide:”

“... any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”<sup>466</sup>

In this report, Asian Dignity Initiative sought to explain how the Rohingya suffered from systematic destruction between 2012-2016, as well as to demonstrate that the massacres and arson committed on August 25-28, 2017 in the village of Gudam Para followed the pattern of genocide and/or ethnic cleansing. Therefore, our view is that the international community needs to actively intervene and take steps to address the situation.

During the course of conducting interviews, the survivors consistently

declared their desire for justice, and now it is our turn to respond. For these reasons, we recommend the following.

Firstly, the government and military of Myanmar must permit a thorough, effective, and unbiased investigation within the country. For this, the international community must provide political, financial, and technological support. However, considering that the Myanmar government and the military have denied the existence of the Rohingya, have outright denied the genocide, and have failed to cooperate with the international community’s efforts to ascertain the truth, the international community, including the United Nations, should refer the case to the International Criminal Court or set up a special or ad-hoc court to investigate the case. To capture the many types and instances of genocide and ethnic cleansing, the truth-seeking inquiry must include the massacre in Gudam Para, atrocities in the many other Myanmar villages where the Myanmar military and security forces attacked, and the systematic destruction that occurred starting in 2012 across the fabric of Myanmar society and government.

Secondly, the truth-seeking investigation must proceed without grant of immunity to wrongdoers. The focus of the investigation, the wrongdoers, occupy the highest levels of the Myanmar military and BGP, yet also include ordinary people from other ethnic minorities in Myanmar. In addition, officials of the Myanmar government, including State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi and other Cabinet Members, must also be investigated for their roles in the atrocities. None of the actors should receive immunity or be exempt from scrutiny.

Thirdly, the Myanmar government must provide remedy and relief to the victims and

survivors. The principle of restoration of previously-held rights is the basic foundation, with financial recompense to those for whom such restoration is insufficient, such as victims who have suffered psychological harm. In such situations, it is critical to respect and decide the specific substance and form of remedy and relief according to the wishes of the victims and the Rohingya community.

Fourthly, the Myanmar government should introduce legislation and administrative measures to abolish systems and practices that discriminate against Rohingya. Social leaders and citizens who

speak, advance, or promote hate speech and other forms of prejudiced information must be punished. Education should be provided to improve awareness in ordinary citizens of their deep-rooted hatred, bias, and discrimination.

Fifthly, the Myanmar government must cease registering the Rohingya with NVC identification cards and must ensure restoration of their citizenship rights.

Sixthly, the Myanmar government and the international community must actively guarantee and ensure participation of Rohingya people in the discussions about possible repatriation.

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9. Note that, in their sworn statements, many Rohingya survivors use the terms BGP and Na Sa Ka interchangeably.
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12. Case Number GP10 – Gudam Para (hereinafter “GP10,” with the same rule applying in numbering Gudam Para cases), GP14, GP15, GP27-31, GP33-40.
13. GP02.
14. GP13, GP33-36, GP38, GP40.
15. GP04, GP18, GP21.
16. GP03-05, GP07, GP19, GP35.
17. GP04, GP05, GP07, GP09.
18. GP03.
19. GP03, GP05.
20. GP23.
21. GP03, GP12.
22. GP01, GP03-08, GP10-12, GP14-16, GP22, GP23, GP25-28, GP31, GP33, GP36-38, GP40.
23. GP03-08, GP10-12, GP14-16, GP19, GP21, GP22, GP25-32, GP33, GP34, GP36-38, GP40.
24. GP15, GP20, GP26, GP36-38.
25. GP04, GP05.
26. GP03, GP05-10, GP14-16, GP21, GP25-32, GP33-38, GP40.
27. GP01-03, GP05, GP06, GP09-13, GP16, GP18, GP20, GP21, GP40.
28. GP01, GP11, GP13, GP18, GP19, GP21, GP22, GP39.
29. GP20, GP23, GP33, GP35.
30. GP05.
31. GP21, GP22, GP40.
32. GP03.
33. GP02, GP06, GP18, GP22, GP39, GP40.
34. GP01, GP17.
35. GP04.
36. GP21.

37. GP39, GP40.
38. GP39.
39. GP09, GP19, GP39.
40. GP10, GP12, GP13, GP19, GP39.
41. GP11, GP39.
42. GP09.
43. GP12.
44. GP10, GP16.
45. GP10.
46. GP21.
47. GP18.
48. GP04.
49. GP22.
50. GP01, GP07, GP12, GP17-19, GP21-23, GP35, GP40.
51. GP21, GP23.
52. GP05, GP09-11, GP15, GP20, GP27-30, GP32-34, GP36.
53. GP06.
54. GP22.
55. GP39. See "Restriction of Movement" section, *infra*.
56. GP17, GP25, GP27, GP34, GP36, GP38, GP40.
57. GP14-16, GP37.
58. GP11, GP13-16, GP33, GP34.
59. GP13.
60. GP12, GP13. See "Restriction of Movement" section, *infra*.
61. GP03, GP07-09, GP15, GP16, GP19, GP21, GP23, GP30, GP34, GP38.
62. GP07, GP15. Note that a woman wearing a headscarf is part of Islamic religious practice.
63. GP15, GP21.
64. GP21.
65. GP09, GP19.
66. GP33, GP40.
67. GP03, GP13.
68. GP03.
69. GP17.
70. GP07, GP16, GP19, GP21, GP23, GP25, GP26, GP28-31, GP33, GP34, GP36-38, GP40.
71. GP17.
72. GP03, GP08, GP11, GP13-15, GP18.
73. GP04, GP09, GP11, GP16, GP37.
74. GP04, GP05, GP11.
75. GP09, GP11, GP16.
76. GP39.
77. GP17-19, GP22, GP23, GP40.
78. GP10, GP22.
79. GP21.
80. GP23.
81. GP17.
82. GP39.
83. GP09, GP11, GP12, GP14, GP15.
84. GP03-05, GP07, GP16-19, GP21, GP23, GP25, GP26, GP28-32, GP33, GP34, GP36-40.
85. GP30-32, GP34, GP39.
86. GP01, GP05.
87. GP03, GP18, GP39.
88. GP14, GP15.
89. GP01, GP07, GP09, GP12, GP14-16, GP19, GP21, GP23, GP31, GP32, GP38, GP39.
90. GP31.
91. GP09, GP12, GP187, GP32.
92. GP19.
93. GP07.
94. GP02-06, GP08, GP11, GP15, GP17, GP28-31, GP33, GP36, GP39.
95. GP02, GP31.
96. GP19, GP20.
97. GP03.
98. GP03.
99. GP03, GP06, GP09, GP11, GP15-19, GP21-23, GP33, GP35, GP39.
100. GP01-19, GP21-23, GP26, GP37, GP39.
101. GP05, GP28, GP31.
102. GP09, GP11-13, GP15.
103. GP09, GP13, GP18, GP23, GP35.
104. GP21.
105. GP39.
106. GP26.
107. GP09, GP10-12, GP14, GP33.
108. GP09, GP11.
109. GP12, GP15.
110. GP10, GP14, GP33.
111. GP09, GP11-16, GP35.
112. GP12, GP14, GP33, GP35, GP37.
113. GP04, GP09-11, GP15, GP33, GP35, GP37.
114. GP04, GP09, GP13, GP14-16, GP20, GP28, GP31, GP33, GP36-38.
115. GP10-12, GP35.
116. GP10, GP13, GP14.
117. GP05, GP11, GP22, GP27, GP38.
118. GP11, GP27, GP29.
119. GP01-03, GP05, GP06.
120. GP01-03, GP06.
121. GP02, GP03.
122. GP05, GP06, GP08.
123. GP17, GP22, GP23.
124. GP40.
125. GP01, GP03, GP06, GP07, GP13, GP14, GP28, GP29, GP31, GP33-35, GP37, GP38.
126. GP02, GP04, GP30.
127. GP0916, GP29, GP31.
128. GP21.
129. GP13, GP22.
130. GP03, GP09, GP35.
131. GP01, GP03, GP26, GP34.
132. GP02.
133. GP07.
134. GP05, GP21, GP34.
135. GP20.
136. GP23.
137. GP18.
138. GP23.
139. GP20.
140. GP18.
141. GP22.
142. GP16, GP19, GP21-23, GP39.
143. GP21.
144. GP20, GP21.
145. GP39.
146. GP20, GP21, GP28.
147. GP01, GP03, GP05, GP07, GP11, GP13, GP15-18, GP20, GP33, GP3-37, GP39.
148. GP10, GP15, GP16, GP19, GP28, GP32, GP36.
149. GP09, GP10, GP13, GP15, GP16, GP32, GP33, GP35, GP37.
150. GP01, GP03, GP05, GP09, GP10, GP13, GP15, GP16, GP19, GP22, GP27, GP32, GP33, GP35, GP37, GP39.
151. GP20, GP22, GP23.
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396. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Art. II; Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Art. 6.

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