

Burma Democratic Futures Working Group - BDFWG  
University of Virginia  
ဒီဇင်ဘာလ ဖြစ်ရပ်များ အကျဉ်းချုပ်သုံးသပ်ချက်  
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## **Introduction**

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The joint war between the three northern twin groups, which began on October 27, has had a major impact on Myanmar's political and military affairs. In the northern part of Shan State, the army camps of the military council's forces were attacked and occupied by the three northern brothers and Namsan, Menton, Nangkham and Namtu townships have also been controlled by TNLA. The military council battalions in those areas also retreated with losses. They have also lost a lot of weapons. Thus, while the TNLA group was occupying the cities, the MNDAA group was in the process of taking over the city of Laokai, which is still to be taken over in the main areas where it is active, and there were reports that a ceasefire was held for 2 weeks with the intervention of the Chinese government. As a result, there was a lull in the war around Lauk Kai for about a week, but later, fighting broke out again. The Chinese government has also started issuing arrest warrants for the influential family in the Kokang region, Pa Sotcham and his family members, as well as officers of the military council. At the time of the construction, family members and some officials of the Kokang region of the military council were also being protected by the military council.

On the other hand, fighting has intensified in the Rakhine State. The Arakan Army (AA) has been conducting operations in the Rakhine State as part of the 1027 operation. Following the operation, military conflicts have continued to occur frequently especially in the townships in the northern Rakhine State. As a result, some large military bases were captured by revolutionary forces. Faced with severe losses and pressure on all fronts, the Military Council has been pressured to negotiate with revolutionary forces. A ceasefire meeting, sponsored by the Chinese government, took place between the Military Council and the Northern Brotherhood Alliance in Kunming, China. However, their negotiations ended without all parties agreeing upon a resolution.

In Myanmar, people experienced fuel shortages due to a lack of supply in gas stations. When getting gasoline in Yangon, hundreds of cars had to wait in line overnight in front of the stations. There have been reports that the underlying reason for fuel shortages is the lack of dollars to import fuel from other countries. However, at the same time, the Military Council has allowed for the free sale of dollars, which had been tightly controlled prior.

## **The Chinese Government Sponsors Talks Between the Northern Brotherhood Alliance and the Military Council**

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45 days after Operation 1027 began, the three Northern Alliances and the Military Council held two meetings in December sponsored by the Chinese government. The first meeting was held between December 7th and 9th. The second time was held from December 22nd to 24th. In the first session, the National Solidarity and Peacemaking Negotiation Committee (NSPNC) led by Lt. Gen. Min Naing attended the meeting. On the side of the Northern Alliance, the Kokang

Army (MNDAA), Ta'ang Army (TNLA), and Arakan Army (AA) attended. The main topic that was discussed was the MNDAA's take over of Laukkaing City. The MNDAA army surrounded the trade routes in order to cut off the military from accessing supplies, however in doing so it also blocked off the supply route for civilians. The MNDAA requests for humanitarian passage in order to deliver supplies to the civilians in Laukkaing City. The Military Council discussed trying to decrease the scope of conflict, resuming border trade, and preventing the war from expanding to other areas in the Northern Shan State. After the talks, there were reports that a two week ceasefire between the MNDAA and the Military Council was reached. The fighting within the vicinity of Laukkaing City has temporarily stopped.

However, just two weeks after the first meeting, gunfire broke out again between the MNDAA and the Military Council in the vicinity of Laukkaing. The Military Council army carried out air bombardment and fired artillery at MNDAA forces.

The escalation of fighting prompted a second discussion between the Northern Brotherhood Alliance and the Military Council that took place between December 22nd and December 24th. The Chinese government has invited delegations from the Military Council and the Northern Brotherhood Alliance to Kunming, China to discuss an immediate ceasefire. On the side of the military, they talked about deescalating the military conflicts and resuming border trade. On the side of the Northern Brotherhood Alliance, they requested military troops to leave Laukkaing City. The meeting did not reach any agreement as both sides were engaged with a tough discussion. They agreed to hold talks again in January 2024.

Even with the sponsored meetings by China between the Military Council and the Northern Brotherhood Alliance, there has still been a lot of conflict in the Northern Shan State where the TNLA is active. The TNLA now controls the Namhkam, Muse, Namhsan and Manton Townships, and has completed its takeover of the Palaung Self Administered Zone from Military Control. The TNLA fought fiercely against the military, especially in the takeover of Namtu Township. Additionally, there was fierce fighting that took place in the Rakhine State. The Arakan Army attacked and captured the Military Council's strategic camp located along the Indian border. In the Northern part of the Rakhine State, fighting took place in Buthidaung and Kyauktaw.

### **The Ta'ang National Liberation Army Captures the Townships of Namhkam, Namhsan, Manton and Namtu**

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During the 1027 operation, the TNLA gained control of the five townships. The first city they seized was Namhkam, a city along the Myanmar-China border. Although they were able to take over most of the military camps in Namhkam township with ease, they had to fight for several days before they were able to capture the most prominent military camp near Namhkam town. It was strategically important for the TNLA to take complete control over Namhkam and

surrounding areas. After fighting for more than 30 days, the camp was finally captured on December 19th, and the city of Namhkam full totally under the control of the TNLA.

The TNLA and joint forces also attempted to seize control over Monglon Town in Kyaukme Township. On December 5th, the TNLA took over the military camp in Monglon and became the dominant force in the town. The TNLA continued on to launch an attack on Namhsan, the capital of the Palaung Self Administered Zone on December 11th. At the same time, the TNLA was also advancing into the last remaining military camp in Namhkam, the last town left before the entire township fell under TNLA control. On the fourth day after the fighting began, on December 15th, Namhsan City was captured by the TNLA. The TNLA then turned their attention to taking over Manton. Over the course of a few days, between December 19 and 22, Manton was successfully taken over by TNLA forces. On December 25th, the TNLA initiated their takeover of Namtu Township, also where the Namtu mine is located. On December 28th, after three days of fighting, the TNLA gained control of Namtu Township.

Within two months of Operation 1027 starting, the TNLA was able to attack and destroy several military bases around five major towns and had occupied over 70 posts of the military including the battalions. The fighting continues in Muse and Kut Khaing townships, where the Northern Brotherhood Alliance seeks to take total control of all cities along the China-Myanmar border in the Northern Shan State.

### **War in the Rakhine State Continues to Escalate**

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At the beginning of the 1027 operation, the Arakan Army (AA) remained calm with no visible military activity. However, about 16 days after the operation began, fighting between the AA and the Military Council started in the Rakhine State. Espeically in the northern Rakhine State and the southern Chin State where the AA is most active. Battles intensified specifically in the Palatwa Township, where the AA attacked and captured the two strategic camps called Tronai and Nounbuu of the military council's forces in Platwa, Chin state.

Widespread fighting is taking place in townships such as Buthidaung, Maungtaw, Yathitaung, Kyauktaw, MyaukOo, Minbya, Pauktaw and Myaypon townships. There have been no reports of the AA seizing control over a town in the Rakhine State, but they have already attacked and taken over several army bases in the Rakhine State. The fighting continues to escalate, as the AA continues to launch offensives against the military army.

### **The Chinese Government Pushes for a Ceasefire Between the Military Government and Revolutionary Forces**

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At the beginning of the 1027 operation, the Chinese government did not exercise much pressure on the Northern Brotherhood Alliance to ceasefire, however when the MNDAA took

control over almost the entire Kokang region, it began to take measures to sponsor a ceasefire agreement. So far, there have been two meetings between the Northern Brotherhood Alliance and the Military Council in the month of December to negotiate a ceasefire. In the first meeting, taking place from December 7th to 9th, there were reports that the groups had called for a two-week ceasefire. The parties met for a second time from December 22nd to 24th, however no agreement was reached and apparently there was high tensions between the Military Council and the revolutionary groups. They agreed to meet again in January 2024, to continue conversations around a ceasefire. After the second ceasefire meeting, fighting broke out again in the city of Laukkaing. The MNDAA expressed indications that they will soon be able to take complete control over the city of Laukkaing.

Although the Chinese government is putting pressure on the Northern Brotherhood Alliance to negotiate with the Military Council to stabilize the border region between Myanmar and China, the Northern Brotherhood Alliance forces have continued to fight. Pressured by the Chinese government, they have attended negotiations with the Military Council, but in the absence of a ceasefire, they continue their operations to take over contested cities.

### **Fuel Shortages Across Myanmar Affect Especially Yangon, Mandalay, and Nay Pyi Taw**

During the first week of December, there was a fuel shortage across Myanmar, especially in Yangon, Mandalay and Nay Pyi Taw. There were long lines of cars waiting to buy fuel at gas stations all over Yangon. The oil shortage happened because the Military Council could no longer pay dollars to oil importing companies. Because of the sanctions imposed on the Military Council by the United States, and their declining economy, they no longer have dollars to spend on importing petroleum. This shortage of dollars has been looming over the horizon for a while now, but in the month of December they finally ran out of oil reserves.

### **The Military Council Relaxes their Control over Dollar Trading**

After the coup d'état, the Central Bank of the Military Council put strict limitations on the rights of its citizens to trade U.S. dollars. However, the Central Bank announced on December 5th that the dollar could be traded freely, rather than to a fixed price. On December 6th, the Central Bank added a rule, that 50% of the dollar received by exporters has to be exchanged with the central bank's set price of 2,100 kyats. During the period of fuel shortages, the ability to trade dollars was relaxed again.

## **Military Conflicts**

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The areas where fighting has been the most intense are as follows: Northern Shan State, Taungpa in the Sagaing Region, the Rakhine State, Kachin (Karenni) State, Kayah State, Karen State, and Bago Region. In the battles occurring in these places, the Military Council's troops sustained many losses. Several military bases and some towns, including battalion headquarters, were captured by revolutionary forces.

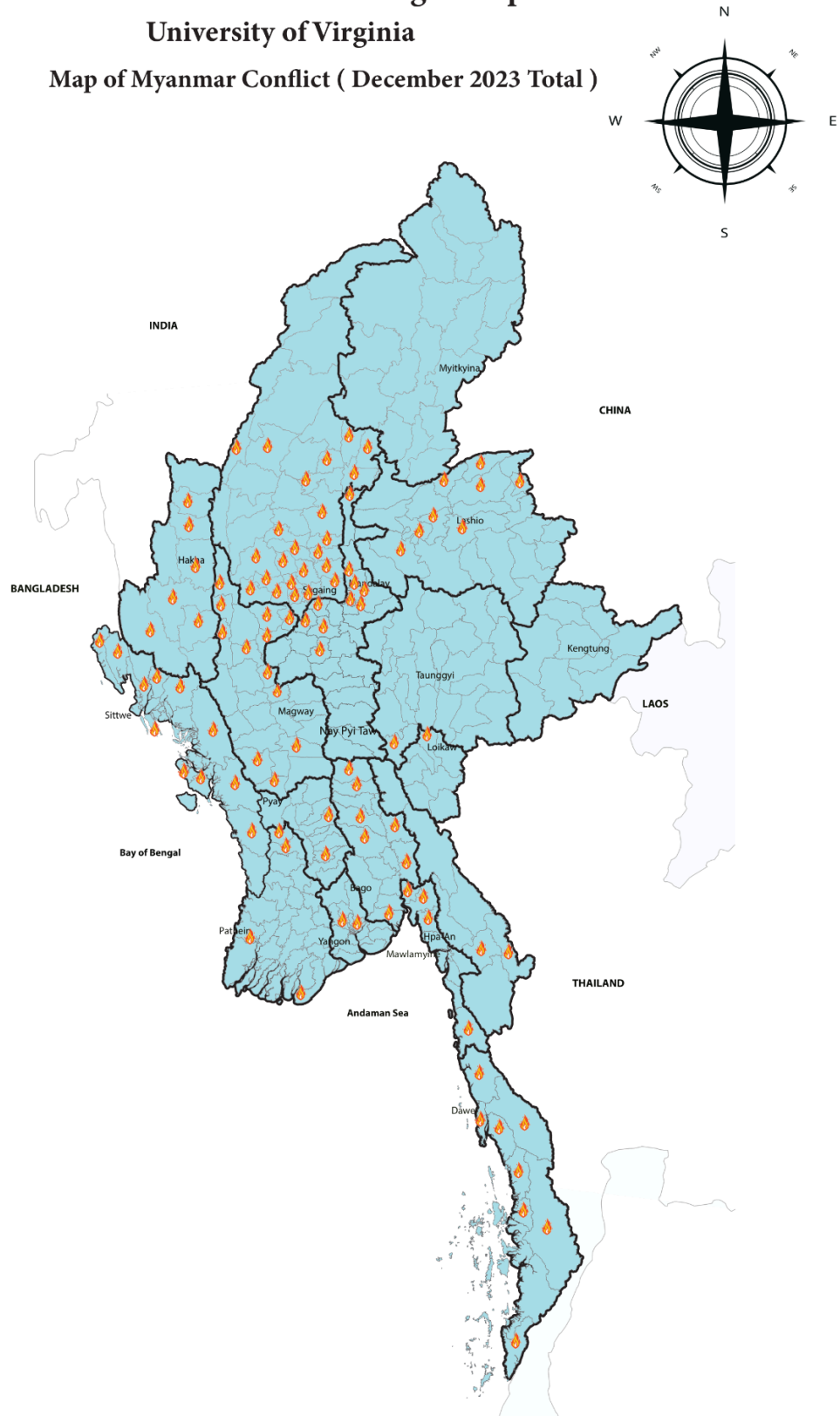
**Table 1: Data on Military Conflicts**

<b>Table 1: Data of Myanmar Conflicts in December 2023</b>			
<b>States</b>	<b>Clashes between SAC and PDF/EAOs</b>	<b>SAC's soldiers killed</b>	<b>PDF killed</b>
<b>BAGO</b>	21	210	1
<b>CHIN</b>	9	19	2
<b>KACHIN</b>	8	4	
<b>KAYAH (Karenni)</b>	5	40	1
<b>KAYIN</b>	18	27	1
<b>MAGWAY</b>	33	108	1
<b>MANDALAY</b>	15	51	1
<b>MON</b>	9	49	
<b>SAGAING</b>	44	180	8
<b>SHAN (North)</b>	30	60	
<b>SHAN (South)</b>	7		
<b>TANINTHARYI</b>	13	58	2
<b>YANGON</b>	1		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>821</b>	<b>17</b>

**Figure 1: Map of Military Conflicts**

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**Map of Myanmar Conflict ( December 2023 Total )**



## **Human Rights Violations**

During the month of December, the Military Council troops have continued to commit human rights violations. They continue to attack towns and villages inhabited by civilians with heavy artillery, arresting and killing many. In Nyaungpinte village in Chaung U Township, Sagaing Region, around 120 homes were burned down and an innocent civilian murdered. Additionally in the city of Kolin, Sagaing Region, where there was no conflict between military and revolutionary troops, three local residents, two of which were children, were killed when military troops fired artillery at them. In the village of Bagan in Dipayin Township, Sagaing Region, one house was completely burned down and other houses were set on fire, including houses from nearby villages. In Van Kai village in Matupi Township, Southern Chin State, four civilians were killed and another injured due to aerial bombardment by military planes.

**Table 2: Data on Human Rights Violations**

<b>Table 2: Data of Human Rights Violations by SAC in December 2023</b>					
<b>States</b>	<b>Children Killed</b>	<b>Civilians Killed</b>	<b>Civilians Arrested</b>	<b>Villages Set on Fire</b>	<b>Houses Burned Down</b>
AYEYARWADY			26		
BAGO	1	14	21		
CHIN		4	15		6
KACHIN	1	3			
KAYAH (Karenni)		1			
KAYIN		3			40
MAGWAY	1	7	30	1	125
MANDALAY	2	9	89	6	87
MON	1	1	1		
RAKHINE	9	16	121	3	171
SAGAING	8	39	105	15	373
SHAN (North)	3	29			42
TANINTHARYI		1	44		8
YANGON		2	2		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>454</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>852</b>



**Acronyms**

AA - Arakan Army

MNDAA - Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army

NSPNC - National Solidarity and Peacemaking Negotiation Commmittee

TNLA - Ta'ang National Liberation Army

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