

# STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

## SEPTEMBER 2021 REPORT

**Summary.** This report reviews the September 2021 developments relating to human rights in Myanmar.

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## **I. Coup, Crackdown on Protests and Civilian Resistance**

A special ASEAN envoy to Myanmar, Erywan Yusof, has called for a four-month ceasefire by all sides in Myanmar to enable the delivery of humanitarian assistance.<sup>1</sup> Myanmar's military regime has been facing armed resistance from people using air-guns, homemade firearms and bombs across the country, except in Rakhine State. The special envoy said that the Myanmar military accepted the ceasefire.<sup>2</sup> However, the regime denied that it accepted the ceasefire.<sup>3</sup> Myanmar's parallel National Unity Government ("NUG") has said that the ASEAN special envoy to the country should have obtained an agreement from the military regime to cease civilian arrests, as well as an assurance to allow him to meet Aung San Suu Kyi, before calling for a ceasefire to enable the delivery of humanitarian aid.<sup>4</sup> A total of 1,710 junta soldiers were killed and more than 630 wounded during 1,171 shootouts and assassinations involving ethnic armed groups and civilian resistance fighters over the past three months, according to the NUG.<sup>5</sup> Based on media reports and sources, the NUG's Ministry of Defense said that more than 431 civilians had also been slain and 184 wounded by junta forces during the incidents.<sup>6</sup>

On September 7, the NUG declared war on the country's military regime in order "to root out military rule," taking the ongoing armed struggle against the junta to another level, with fighting expected to intensify across the country.<sup>7</sup> In a speech to the country on the morning of September 7, the NUG's acting president, Duwa Lashi La, called on all citizens to "revolt against the rule of military terrorists led by [coup leader] Min Aung Hlaing in every corner of the country" and declared all of Myanmar to be under a state of emergency.<sup>8</sup> The acting president also urged anyone serving under the regime to leave their job as of today and requested that the public refrain from traveling, while asking for their support.<sup>9</sup> The NUG was formed in April, largely comprising elected lawmakers from the ousted National League for Democracy ("NLD") government and their ethnic allies.<sup>10</sup>

People's Defense Forces ("PDF"), consisting of civilians taking up arms against the military regime, announced an escalation in attacks across Myanmar on junta forces in response to the declaration of war by NUG.<sup>11</sup> Several PDFs have urged residents to be alert and help resistance fighters as more fighting is expected.<sup>12</sup> The military regime's spokesman Major General Zaw Min Tun admitted that attacks on junta personnel had increased in Yangon and Mandalay after the NUG's announcement.<sup>13</sup>

On September 9, a junta soldier was reportedly killed and three others wounded after a PDF bomb attack in Monywa Township, Sagaing Region.<sup>14</sup> More than 20 junta troops, including a high-ranking officer, were reportedly killed on September 9 and 10 during ambushes by PDFs across the country, with the most fatalities in Yangon and Magwe regions.<sup>15</sup> Dozens of civilian casualties were also reported in junta crackdowns.<sup>16</sup> Almost 50 junta soldiers and police were reportedly killed during two attacks by civilian resistance fighters on junta outposts in Chin State and Magwe Region on September 11 and 12.<sup>17</sup> Civilian resistance fighters of the Chinland Defense Force seized and burned down a military outpost in Thantlang Township, Chin State on September 11.<sup>18</sup> Separately, a combined force from the Yaw-Defense Force and Chin Defense Force-Mindat raided a police outpost in Gangaw Township, Magwe Region early on September 12.<sup>19</sup> At least a dozen civilians were killed by junta forces in Magwe, Sagaing and Yangon regions over September 11 and 12.<sup>20</sup> On September 15 and 16, at least 21 junta soldiers were reportedly killed after being ambushed by civilian resistance fighters in Chin State and Sagaing

and Magwe regions.<sup>21</sup> In response, the Myanmar military has stepped up its operations in Sagaing region, with the junta reportedly deploying extra forces following escalating clashes in Sagaing between regime troops and civilian resistance fighters.<sup>22</sup> More than 40 Myanmar junta troops were killed and some civilian resistance fighters were injured during intense firefights in Kayah State and Sagaing Region on September 20.<sup>23</sup>

Myanmar's military regime has charged at least 100 elected leaders, ministers and prominent members of the NLD with high treason, corruption and incitement over the past several months since the February coup.<sup>24</sup> Senior NLD figures who have been arrested and charged since the military's February coup include at least four government ministers, 10 chief ministers, 30 ministers of state and regional cabinets, 44 elected lawmakers and members of party offices nationwide, and seven other senior party members.<sup>25</sup> These arrests are seen as efforts to completely destroy the party, which won a landslide majority in the 2020 general election.<sup>26</sup> There are 93 political parties in Myanmar, but the NLD is the only one that has been targeted by the military regime.<sup>27</sup> Most notably, the junta has brought various charges against ousted State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi and President Win Myint in an effort to keep them behind bars.<sup>28</sup> Aung San Suu Kyi faces a total of 10 cases and a potential prison sentence of 75 years in total.<sup>29</sup> The junta has accused her of accepting cash and gold, as well as of abusing her authority and funds donated to a charity foundation she leads.<sup>30</sup> She also faces charges for the illegal possession of walkie-talkies, breaching COVID-19 restrictions, incitement and one case under the Official Secrets Act.<sup>31</sup> Aung San Suu Kyi has denied rumors that she has held talks with the junta leaders over the past two months.<sup>32</sup> Rumors circulated that coup leader Senior General Min Aung Hlaing met Aung San Suu Kyi before Myanmar's Martyrs' Day on July 19, and that there was a follow-up meeting last month with two members of the State Administrative Council.<sup>33</sup> A local news outlet reported that Chit Naing and Win Shein, the junta-appointed Ministers of Information and Planning and Finance and Industry, met Aung San Suu Kyi on August 6.<sup>34</sup>

According to the Karenni Human Rights Group, an independent civil society organization, civilians in Kayah State were arrested by the Myanmar military between August 27 and September 12 on suspicion of anti-regime activities.<sup>35</sup> Military regime spokesman Major General Zaw Min Tun denied arresting civilians in Kayah State.<sup>36</sup> "We haven't arrested anyone who is not a member of a People's Defense Force. We have only arrested those who were involved in clashes. We don't arrest people if we have no evidence. All those who were detained were caught along with weapons and ammunition. There might have been interrogations [of civilians]. But it is done for security," said the regime spokesman.<sup>37</sup>

Myanmar's regime has also intensified arrests of striking civil servants, including teachers, medics and administrators, who joined the civil disobedience movement.<sup>38</sup> At least two teachers in Myaung Township, Sagaing Region, were detained on September 5.<sup>39</sup> During August alone, at least 21 civil servants, including eight teachers, five medics, five administrators, two public servants and a police officer, were arrested, according to the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners.<sup>40</sup>

Additionally, more than 100 civilians, including children, are being held hostage by Myanmar's military regime, according to the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners.<sup>41</sup>

They are the relatives of wanted anti-regime activists and were arrested in place of the activists when junta troops could not find the activists at their homes.<sup>42</sup> The regime took 177 people hostage between February 1 and September 8.<sup>43</sup> It has released 40 of them, but 137 remain in custody.<sup>44</sup> Of the 177, 15 are children, nine of whom have been released, leaving six in detention.<sup>45</sup>

The military regime cut off internet access in several townships in Sagaing and Mandalay regions.<sup>46</sup> The affected townships are strongholds of anti-regime resistance groups.<sup>47</sup> Mobile and Wi-Fi internet services from Myanmar's three main telecom operators – MPT, Telenor and Oredoo – have been blocked since 12:30 pm on September 14 in Kani, Mingin, Yinmabin, Pale, Shwebo and Budalin townships in Sagaing, and Mogoke and Myingyan townships in Mandalay Region.<sup>48</sup> On September 23, the military regime also cut off internet access across Chin State except for the capital Hakha.<sup>49</sup>

## **II. Political Developments**

### **A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis**

Amid the ongoing Rohingya refugee crisis, old and new Muslim armed groups are active at the border with Bangladesh again, including the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (“ARSA”), the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (“RSO”) and the armed group led by Abdullah Kane that operates like a criminal gang.<sup>50</sup> The RSO was established in the early 1980s and has frequently attacked security outposts in Maungdaw Township on the Myanmar-Bangladesh border.<sup>51</sup> In the 1990s, Myanmar's military carried out a large-scale counter offensive against the RSO, and the armed group sank into obscurity.<sup>52</sup> However, since the coup, the RSO has started to revive.<sup>53</sup> The RSO's resurgence has led to friction with the ARSA, which came into the spotlight following its attacks on border guard outposts in Maungdaw in 2016 and 2017.<sup>54</sup> The ARSA said it was fighting for the rights of persecuted Rohingya people, but its insurgent acts and killings of Hindus have brought its motives into question.<sup>55</sup> Muslim villagers in Rakhine State told *The Irrawaddy* that people who supported the ARSA have been attacked by the RSO, while the ARSA has detained and beaten those it suspects of having ties to the RSO.<sup>56</sup>

### **B. Corruption**

In a September 1 report, *The Irrawaddy* found that since the February 1 coup at least 100 senior NLD figures have been arrested and charged with high treason, corruption and incitement.<sup>57</sup>

### **C. International Community / Sanctions**

Prior to the United Nations General Assembly on September 14, 358 local and international organizations urged the UN to keep the current Myanmar ambassador in place rather than replacing him with someone loyal to the military regime.<sup>58</sup> The UN credential committee deferred the conclusion, encouraging the current Myanmar ambassador to remain.<sup>59</sup>

The crisis in Myanmar was discussed by world leaders during the UN General Assembly meeting in New York City, although representatives from the military regime and the NUG were

not permitted to address the General Assembly.<sup>60</sup> In a recent UN report, the UN Secretary General called for an urgent international response to the political crisis in Myanmar, saying, “It is urgent to mount a unified international and regional response to help to put Myanmar back on the path to democratic reform.”<sup>61</sup>

A group of former UN human rights experts urged the UN Security Council to declare the Myanmar military regime a terrorist organization for the atrocities committed against civilians.<sup>62</sup> In an effort to document the atrocities committed by the regime, the NUG has compiled evidence of massacres and war crimes to submit to the UN Human Rights Council.<sup>63</sup>

Myanmar’s ambassador to the UN and two other NUG ministers met with a senior member of the U.S. Department of State and discussed the need for a speedy return to democracy and the respect for human rights, among other related topics.<sup>64</sup> The U.S. also reaffirmed its support for all those working for a peaceful return to democracy in Myanmar.<sup>65</sup>

A U.S. judge ordered Facebook to release posts that were removed for inciting government-backed violence against the Rohingya people in Myanmar.<sup>66</sup> The Gambia welcomed the ruling as a boost for its case against Myanmar at the International Court of Justice.<sup>67</sup>

The United Kingdom imposed sanctions against Myanmar tycoon, Tay Za, and his businesses for providing financial support and arms to the military regime.<sup>68</sup>

The chairman of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee is set to introduce a bill to levy new sanctions on Myanmar oil and gas industries and push the State Department to determine whether Myanmar’s crimes against the Rohingya constitute genocide.<sup>69</sup>

### **III. Civil and Political Rights**

#### **A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association**

Wirathu, an ultranationalist monk who had been in custody since November 2020 on a sedition charge, walked free on September 6 after the case against him was dropped, according to a military regime spokesman.<sup>70</sup> In May 2019, the then Yangon regional government of the since-ousted NLD filed a sedition case against Wirathu for attempting to incite disaffection against State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD government.<sup>71</sup> The monk was on the run for over a year before turning himself in to police in November last year.<sup>72</sup> The monk’s release comes after a video spread on social media last month in which he complained about his continued detention and accused the State Administration Council, the governing body of the military regime, of trying to destroy his sanity.<sup>73</sup>

Anti-regime protestor Yan Paing, a Pyinmana resident, died on October 1. Paing was arrested for protesting the military regime. After his arrest, he was allegedly tortured for eight days before being taken to Nay Pyi Taw Prison. He was admitted to the hospital on September 26 but died due to the severity of the injuries and delay in treatment.<sup>74</sup> Over the last seven months, more than 1,000 people have been killed and several thousand others have been detained for opposing the regime.<sup>75</sup>

## **B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship**

The former editor-in-chief of Mizzima News, Ko Myo Thant, was arrested by junta forces on September 15, and Channel Mandalay news agency journalist, Ko Win Naing Oo, was arrested on August 31 with his wife.<sup>76</sup> Ma Thuzar, a freelance reporter and former member of the Press Council was also arrested on September 1.<sup>77</sup> These arrests raise the number of journalists being held by the military regime to 53, according to Reporters Without Borders.<sup>78</sup> Also according to Reporters Without Borders, since the February 1 coup Myanmar has become the world's second-largest jailer of journalists, after China.<sup>79</sup>

## **IV. Economic Development**

### **A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment**

German wholesale food distribution company Metro is ending its operations in Myanmar due to the volatile business environment.<sup>80</sup> The company currently employs 131 people in Myanmar.

VPower, a Hong Kong-listed power generation company, has announced that it is pulling out of two projects in Myanmar.<sup>81</sup> The company, which has a stake in nine power plants across Myanmar, said it will not be renewing contracts for power stations in Kyaukphyu Township, Rakhine State, and Myingyan Township in Mandalay Region. Each project produces 200 megawatts and the contracts expired in March and June. The company said the decision came after it faced challenges amid the post-coup turmoil since February.

Lebanese investment firm M1 Group pledged to spend \$330 million over the next three years to expand the Myanmar telecom business it is buying from Norway's Telenor ASA.<sup>82</sup> The Telenor Myanmar business sale was signed in July for \$105 million. Pending regulatory approval, it will give M1 Group control of one of four main telecom operators in Myanmar, with 19 million customers in a country with 55 million people. According to its Asia head, Telenor is selling its Myanmar operations to avoid European Union sanctions after "continued pressure" from Myanmar's military regime to use intercept surveillance technology.<sup>83</sup> Telenor also faces uncertainty over the future of its 51% stake in Myanmar mobile payments group Wave Money after the collapse of a deal to sell a portion of its holding to China's Ant Group, an affiliate of Alibaba Group Holding. The deal, valued at \$76.5 million, would have reduced Telenor's stake in Wave to 34.2%.<sup>84</sup>

In August 2021, state media reported that the military regime plans to adopt the Myanmar Economic Recovery Plan ("MERP").<sup>85</sup> Much of the MERP is based on a plan that the NLD administration was preparing prior to the February 1 coup, called the Myanmar Economic Resilience and Reform Plan ("MERRP").<sup>86</sup> However, according to *Frontier Myanmar*, the most significant reforms from the MERRP have been removed and the draft plan instead focuses on streamlining business regulations, digitizing government services and reducing taxes.<sup>87</sup> It also seeks to revive the tourism industry and stabilize the banking sector, as well as support agriculture, livestock and fisheries.<sup>88</sup> Unlike the MERRP and other economic plans introduced by the NLD government, it does not include any spending details or figures.<sup>89</sup> The MERP also does not mention the political and economic turmoil that has engulfed Myanmar as a result of the

February 1 coup, including a slow-burning banking crisis and the flight of many foreign businesses. The plan instead pins Myanmar's economic struggles entirely on the impact of COVID-19.<sup>90</sup>

## **B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects**

More than 80 telecom towers owned in a joint venture between the Myanmar military and Vietnam's Defence Ministry have been destroyed by civilian resistance forces across the country.<sup>91</sup> Targeting of these Mytel telecom masts accelerated after the NUG declared a nationwide people's defensive war against the military regime.<sup>92</sup> In his call for war, the NUG's acting president Duwa Lashi La encouraged citizens to "target the military junta and its assets in their respective areas."<sup>93</sup> Myanmar civilians have been boycotting Mytel services since the February 1 coup in protest at the military takeover.<sup>94</sup> Mytel offices and telecom towers were first targeted in early April in response to the regime's brutal crackdowns on peaceful anti-coup protesters.<sup>95</sup>

An agreement to conduct preliminary field investigation work for the Kyaukphyu Special Economic Zone ("SEZ") Deep Sea Port Project was signed on September 15 between CITIC Consortium Myanmar Port Investment Limited and a consortium composed by CITIC Construction and CCCC FHDI, a subsidiary of China Communication Construction Company, signaling another step forward for the project, which forms part of China's Belt and Road Initiative plans in Myanmar.<sup>96</sup> The Kyaukphyu SEZ is a backbone project under the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor, which also includes plans to construct an industrial zone with facilities for textile and garment manufacturing, construction materials processing, food processing, pharmaceuticals, electronics, marine supplies and services and research.<sup>97</sup> The entire project is planned to cover 4,300 acres (1,740 hectares).<sup>98</sup>

## **C. Land Seizure**

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

## **V. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence**

### **A. Ethnic Violence**

In late August and early September, clashes broke out between the Myanmar military and the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army ("MNDAA"), an ethnic rebel group.<sup>99</sup> According to the MNDAA, fifteen soldiers were killed on August 28 and eight more in renewed clashes on September 1, while one MNDAA fighter had been killed.<sup>100</sup>

The People's Defense Forces (the "PDF") ambushed the junta across Myanmar in September.<sup>101</sup> On the morning of September 9, the Karen National Union seized two military camps in Karen State.<sup>102</sup> More than 22 civilians, including PDF members, were killed and others wounded by junta forces in Magwe Region and Chin and Kayah States on September 9.<sup>103</sup> On the same day, four civilians, including a nine-month-old baby, were injured in a random junta shooting after being attacked by the Chinland Defense Force at the Chin State mountaintop town

of Thantlang.<sup>104</sup> In response to PDF attacks in Demoso Township, Kayah State, military regime troops used explosives and shot at random in the town's residential areas.<sup>105</sup>

A woman was killed and four others injured by junta explosives in Bawlakhe Township, Kayah State, on September 9 when junta troops used explosives on farmers near Nan Hpe village, according to the Karenni Nationalities Defense Force.<sup>106</sup>

In the three months prior to mid-September, about 180 shootouts between junta forces and ethnic armed groups across the country were reported, during which 509 junta soldiers were killed and another 214 were injured, while 14 civilian resistance fighters were killed and 17 wounded, said the Ministry of Defense.<sup>107</sup>

## **B. Peace Talks**

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

- <sup>1</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 6, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/asean-envoy-to-myanmar-says-military-agrees-to-four-month-ceasefire-to-deliver-aid.html>.
- <sup>2</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>3</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 7, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-denies-accepting-asean-ceasefire-proposal.html>.
- <sup>4</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 6, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/nug-questions-aseans-ceasefire-agreement-with-myanmar-junta.html>.
- <sup>5</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 14, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-1700-myanmar-junta-soldiers-killed-in-past-three-months-civilian-govt-says.html>.
- <sup>6</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>7</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 7, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmars-shadow-govt-declares-war-on-military-regime.html>.
- <sup>8</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>9</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>10</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>11</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 8, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-resistance-responds-to-nugs-declaration-of-war-on-junta.html>.
- <sup>12</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>13</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 9, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/junta-troops-killed-across-myanmar-as-resistance-steps-up-operations.html>.
- <sup>14</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>15</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 10, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/junta-troops-killed-in-civilian-attacks-across-myanmar.html>.
- <sup>16</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>17</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/nearly-50-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-two-raids-by-civilian-fighters-in-chin-magwe.html>.
- <sup>18</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>19</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>20</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-kills-at-least-12-civilians-over-weekend.html>.
- <sup>21</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 16, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-20-myanmar-military-soldiers-killed-in-clashes.html>.
- <sup>22</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 20, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/regimes-military-reinforcements-arrive-in-upper-myanmar-as-clashes-escalate.html>.
- <sup>23</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 21, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/scores-of-myanmar-regime-troops-killed-in-clashes-with-civilian-ethnic-groups.html>.
- <sup>24</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 1, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/100-senior-nld-leaders-arrested-and-charged-since-myanmar-juntas-coup.html>.
- <sup>25</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>26</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>27</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>28</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>29</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>30</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>31</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>32</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/daw-aung-san-suu-kyi-denies-rumors-of-talks-with-myanmar-regime.html>.
- <sup>33</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>34</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>35</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 14, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/civilians-arrested-as-myanmar-military-cracks-down-in-kayah-state.html>.
- <sup>36</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>37</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>38</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 6, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-steps-up-arrests-of-striking-civil-servants.html>.
- <sup>39</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>40</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>41</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 10, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-regime-holding-over-100-relatives-of-activists-as-hostages.html>.
- <sup>42</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>43</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>44</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>45</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>46</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 15, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-cuts-internet-access-in-anti-regime-resistance-strongholds.html>.
- <sup>47</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>48</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>49</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 24, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/fears-of-more-atrocities-as-myanmar-junta-blocks-internet-in-parts-of-chin-magwe.html>.

- <sup>50</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 20, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/rohingya-armed-groups-active-again-in-western-myanmar.html>.
- <sup>51</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>52</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>53</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>54</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>55</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>56</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>57</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 1, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/100-senior-nld-leaders-arrested-and-charged-since-myanmar-juntas-coup.html>.
- <sup>58</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/ahead-of-un-meeting-local-and-intl-groups-call-to-keep-myanmars-ambassador-in-place-update.html>.
- <sup>59</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 14, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmars-un-ambassador-to-stay-on-un-sources.html>.
- <sup>60</sup> Mizzima, September 27, 2021: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-denied-platform-last-day-unga>.
- <sup>61</sup> Mizzima, September 30, 2021: <https://mizzima.com/article/urgent-international-response-needed-myanmar-after-coup-un>.
- <sup>62</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 28, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/intl-rights-experts-urge-un-to-declare-myanmar-junta-terrorist-organization.html>.
- <sup>63</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmars-shadow-government-prepares-evidence-of-junta-war-crimes.html>.
- <sup>64</sup> Mizzima, September 25, 2021: <https://mizzima.com/article/us-state-department-official-meets-myanmar-un-envoy-and-nug-cabinet-members>.
- <sup>65</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>66</sup> Mizzima, September 25, 2021: <https://mizzima.com/article/facebook-ordered-release-anti-rohingya-posts-genocide-case>.
- <sup>67</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>68</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 3, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/uk-slaps-sanctions-on-notorious-crony-of-myanmar-junta.html>.
- <sup>69</sup> Foreign Policy, September 10, 2021: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/09/10/u-s-congress-weighs-sanctions-on-myanmars-oil-and-gas/>.
- <sup>70</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 7, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-drops-sedition-case-against-firebrand-ultranationalist-monk.html>.
- <sup>71</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>72</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>73</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>74</sup> Mizzima, October 2, 2021: <https://mizzima.com/article/nay-pyi-taw-protestor-dies-after-brutal-myanmar-junta-torture>
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