

# STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

## OCTOBER 2021 REPORT

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

<b>I.</b>	<b>Coup, Crackdown on Protests and Civilian Resistance.....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>II.</b>	<b>Political Developments.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Rohingya Refugee Crisis.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Corruption.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>C.</b>	<b>International Community / Sanctions.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>III.</b>	<b>Civil and Political Rights.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Freedom of the Press and Censorship.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>IV.</b>	<b>Economic Development.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>C.</b>	<b>Land Seizure.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>V.</b>	<b>Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Ethnic Violence.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Peace Talks.....</b>	<b>9</b>

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

At least 99 people, including a toddler and four senior citizens, were killed by Myanmar regime forces in September.<sup>1</sup> Their deaths push the number of people who have died at the hands of the military regime to 1,146 over the past eight months, according to the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (“AAPP”).<sup>2</sup> In September, the Myanmar military massacred civilians, including children, torched entire villages, fired randomly into homes and shelled residential areas in Kayah and Chin States and Magwe, Sagaing and Mandalay regions.<sup>3</sup> The regime claims those areas were harboring bands of civilian resistance fighters opposing the regime known as the People’s Defense Forces.<sup>4</sup> Among those killed in September were nine children, the youngest of whom was one and half-years-old, detainees who were tortured to death, members and supporters of the National League for Democracy (“NLD”) and three medics, according to the latest report from the AAPP.<sup>5</sup>

The Ministry of Home Affairs and Immigration of the civilian shadow government, the National Unity Government (“NUG”), reported that 1,562 soldiers were killed and 552 wounded – more than double August’s death toll – in attacks by ethnic armed groups and civilian resistance fighters between September 7 and October 6.<sup>6</sup>

On September 30, the Naypyitaw People’s Defense Force (“PDF”) claimed responsibility for an attack on the office of the Directorate of Procurement of the Commander-in-Chief of Defense Services (Army) in Pobbathiri Township.<sup>7</sup> A bomb planted inside a flower pot under the building’s portico exploded.<sup>8</sup> Pictures from the scene show that the portico ceiling and a vehicle nearby were damaged.<sup>9</sup> No one was injured.<sup>10</sup> Also on September 30, a remotely detonated bomb exploded on a shuttle bus from the Immigration Department in Naypyitaw, causing minor damage to the vehicle.<sup>11</sup> On October 6, another explosive detonated at the Myanmar Police Force’s Criminal Investigation Department in Naypyitaw, wounding five policemen.<sup>12</sup> On October 17, a ward-level administrator’s office in Pyinmana Township, Naypyitaw was hit by a bomb blast.<sup>13</sup> No casualties were reported.<sup>14</sup>

Ninety-six military soldiers were killed across 37 clashes between PDF forces and the military regime in a single day in Sagaing, Magwe and Tanintharyi regions on October 3.<sup>15</sup> The clashes included firefights with military troops, bombings of military convoys and raids on security outposts and military-owned businesses.<sup>16</sup> The military suffered its heaviest losses in Pale Township, Sagaing Region, where twin attacks on a military convoy in the township left 61 soldiers dead.<sup>17</sup>

Over 40 military troops were reportedly killed and another 30 injured on October 5 in an ambush by civilian resistance fighters in Gangaw Township, Magwe Region, according to the Yaw Defense Force (“YDF”).<sup>18</sup> A statement by the YDF said that its civilian resistance fighters were able to escape the scene.<sup>19</sup> Another military convoy of around 18 vehicles was also ambushed on October 5 on the Gangaw-Kale Highway.<sup>20</sup> The convoy was travelling from Kale Township in Sagaing Region to Gangaw.<sup>21</sup>

Civilian resistance fighters clashed with around 100 military troops on October 6 in Mingin Township, Sagaing Region, according to the township PDF.<sup>22</sup> The clash followed regime raids on five villages in Mingin on October 5.<sup>23</sup> Heavy rain forced the Mingin-PDF to

wait until October 6 before confronting the military soldiers, said the leader of the Mingin-PDF.<sup>24</sup> One civilian resistance fighter was injured by military shelling.<sup>25</sup> Over 3,000 people were forced to flee their villages following the military raids on October 5.<sup>26</sup>

Around 90 military soldiers were reportedly killed during intense clashes with civilian resistance fighters in Sagaing and Magwe regions and Kayah State on October 9 and 10.<sup>27</sup> A further approximately 50 soldiers were reportedly killed between October 13 and 15 in clashes with civilian resistance fighters in Mandalay, Sagaing, Yangon Regions and Kayah State.<sup>28</sup>

The Myanmar military has deployed at least four battalions of reinforcements – around 3,000 soldiers – to the country’s most restive regions to conduct clearance operations against civilian resistance forces, according to local civilian armed groups and a source close to the military.<sup>29</sup> The influx of troops comes after the equivalent of two infantry battalions of military soldiers being killed in Sagaing, Magwe and Chin State in the last four months alone.<sup>30</sup> Between June and September, 1,512 regime troops died in fighting with civilian resistance forces in those areas, according to the NUG.<sup>31</sup>

At least a dozen bombs detonated in Yangon over the weekend of October 9 and 10 during Min Aung Hlaing’s visit to the city to urge authorities to implement serious security measures.<sup>32</sup> A naval base, police stations, a court and other regime targets were attacked with remote-controlled bombs and other explosives in at least eight townships in Yangon.<sup>33</sup> On October 10, he told cabinet members of the Yangon Regional Government that they should find ways to implement preventive measures against attacks so as “not to cause further similar cases of loss of life.”<sup>34</sup>

Myanmar regime forces arrested around 25 residents of Meiktila in Mandalay Region, following a bomb attack on a military truck on October 25 that killed one policeman and left another four seriously injured.<sup>35</sup> The bomb blast in downtown Meiktila took place after a march by regime supporters.<sup>36</sup> Two men on a motorbike threw a bomb into the military truck.<sup>37</sup> A local civilian resistance force, the Zero Army, claimed responsibility for the attack.<sup>38</sup> Immediately after the incident, military forces opened fire randomly, blocked all roads and arrested five people.<sup>39</sup>

Over 100 local administrators in Sagaing, Magwe and Yangon regions have quit working for the military regime in recent weeks, fearing for their lives and the safety of their families amid clashes between Myanmar’s military and civilian resistance fighters.<sup>40</sup> The resignations follow a spike in attacks, many causing casualties, on military forces by PDF groups across the country since the NUG declared the start of a people’s defensive war against the regime on September 7. Since late March, administration offices in villages, wards and townships have been torched and bombed by civilian resistance groups to prevent the regime from governing the country.<sup>41</sup> Military-appointed ward and village administrators and informants have also been stabbed to death or shot dead at point-blank range for collaborating with the regime.<sup>42</sup>

A group of defectors from the Myanmar military has called for the removal of coup leader Senior General Min Aung Hlaing and his fellow generals from their posts for committing high treason.<sup>43</sup> People’s Soldiers, a group formed by troops who have defected from the military

to support the resistance against the regime, said in a statement that the generals had committed treason and breached military law by trying to force President Win Myint to resign on the morning of the February 1 coup.<sup>44</sup> President Win Myint, who has been detained since the coup, testified in court that two generals tried to force him to resign from his position on the grounds of “ill health.”<sup>45</sup> The President refused to resign, despite being warned that “harm” would come to him if he didn’t step down.<sup>46</sup>

Myanmar’s detained State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi and President Win Myint have pleaded not guilty to breaching COVID-19 rules during the 2020 election campaign.<sup>47</sup> Both were charged under Article 25 of the Natural Disaster Management Law on October 11 for allegedly violating coronavirus restrictions while campaigning for the NLD, according to their legal team.<sup>48</sup> The charge carries up to three years in prison.<sup>49</sup>

Myanmar’s military regime released over 1,300 people jailed for participating in anti-coup protests on October 18, while also freeing more than 4,300 detainees who were facing charges for their anti-regime activism.<sup>50</sup> The amnesty came after coup chief Senior General Min Aung Hlaing was excluded from an annual Association of Southeast Asian Nations (“ASEAN”) leaders’ summit.<sup>51</sup> Min Aung Hlaing was barred from the summit for failing to fulfill promises made to ASEAN of engaging in dialogue with the junta’s opponents and de-escalating the violence in Myanmar.<sup>52</sup> The approximately 5,600 people freed were warned that if they are re-arrested they will have to serve the rest of their original sentences, as well as any new sentence.<sup>53</sup> At least 110 people, including rock singer Ito, NLD members and anti-regime protesters across the country, have been re-arrested by the military regime immediately after being released on October 18.<sup>54</sup>

An engineering student, Ko Lin Paing Soe, who led anti-regime protests in Naypyitaw and Mandalay died in military custody.<sup>55</sup> A friend of the student said Ko Lin Paing Soe was tortured because of his Buddhist Gurkha ethnicity and died in custody.<sup>56</sup>

Myanmar democracy activist Ko Kyaw Min Yu, better known as Ko Jimmy, one of the leaders of the 88 Generation Students Group, has been hospitalized in critical condition with a severe head injury after his arrest by the military regime in an overnight raid on October 23 in Yangon, according to his wife.<sup>57</sup> Ko Jimmy was added to the regime’s wanted list at the same time as his comrade Min Ko Naing, another leader of the 88 Generation Students Group, for their anti-regime activism, which began just days after the February coup.<sup>58</sup>

## **II. Political Developments**

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

On September 29, Mohib Ullah, a well-known advocate for the Rohingya and former chairman of the Arakan Rohingya Society for Peace and Human Rights, was killed by two unknown assailants in his office at a Rohingya refugee camp in Bangladesh.<sup>59</sup> Ullah had spent years working with the Rohingya community to document the Rohingya deaths caused by Myanmar’s military in the hopes of a future genocide trial.<sup>60</sup> While the attackers’ motives are currently unknown, Ullah’s brother, Habib Ullah, accused the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, a Muslim armed group active around the border with Bangladesh, of carrying out the attack.<sup>61</sup>

In response to the killing of Ullah, the Bangladeshi police have begun to crack down on criminal activity in the Rohingya refugee camps around Cox's Bazar.<sup>62</sup> Nearly 40 Rohingya refugees have been arrested, primarily for involvement with illegal weapons and drugs.<sup>63</sup> Law enforcement has generally been scant or nonexistent in the refugee camps, and criminal gangs and armed groups have long been active there.<sup>64</sup> The Bangladeshi government is hoping to curb this trend by increasing the number of law enforcement officers present in the camps and establishing a hotline for Rohingya refugees to report criminal activity to Bangladeshi authorities.<sup>65</sup>

On October 9, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees ("UNHCR") announced that an agreement had been reached with the government of Bangladesh that would allow the agency access to the remote island of Bhasan Char.<sup>66</sup> Bangladesh began moving Rohingya refugees to the previously uninhabited island in December 2020 despite the island's remoteness and vulnerability to extreme weather events.<sup>67</sup>

## **B. Corruption**

Detained State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi has denied bribery allegations by the military regime.<sup>68</sup> Aung San Suu Kyi's denial came after Phyo Min Thein, a detained Yangon Chief Minister, testified in court that Aung San Suu Kyi accepted USD\$600,000 and 11.4kg of gold as a bribe.<sup>69</sup>

Nyi Pu, a deposed Chief Minister of Rakhine State, and two other Rakhine ministers have appeared in court to face corruption charges.<sup>70</sup> Nyi Pu, Kyaw Aye Thein and Aung Kyaw Zan are alleged to have violated anti-corruption laws in connection with a permit granted to a clothing factory.<sup>71</sup> Nyi Pu and another state minister Min Aung were previously convicted of sedition charges and sentenced to two years in prison and will face the new corruption charges while imprisoned.<sup>72</sup>

The military regime filed new corruption charges against the Magway Chief Minister, Dr. Aung Moe Nyo, the Magway Minister for Social Welfare, Dr. Khin Maung Aye, and the Magway Minister for Transportation and Construction, Tin New Oo.<sup>73</sup> The charges relate to a contract granted for the construction of a Magway college.<sup>74</sup> Dr. Aung Moe Nyo had been previously charged with corruption in connection with land granted to a gas company and has also been convicted of incitement.<sup>75</sup>

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

Amid reports of thousands of troops massing in northern Myanmar, the United Nations ("UN") said that it fears an even greater human rights catastrophe in Myanmar, with the UN Special Rapporteur warning that "[w]e should all be prepared, as the people in this part of Myanmar are prepared, for even more mass atrocity crimes."<sup>76</sup> In addition, the UN also indicated that the junta had likely engaged in crimes against humanity and war crimes.<sup>77</sup>

On October 31, the United States condemned the junta for “abhorrent attacks” in Chin State, with reports stating that junta security forces committed human rights violations, shelled the town of Thantlang and destroyed more than 100 homes as well as Christian churches.<sup>78</sup>

The junta labeled the UN’s latest rights report as an “incitement to violence” and accused the UN of interfering in its internal affairs.<sup>79</sup> After the European Union voted to recognize the NUG, the junta also slammed the UN, foreign diplomats and legislators and international organizations for supporting the NUG.<sup>80</sup>

The junta military regime was excluded from the ASEAN summit as a result of the junta failing to implement agreed upon steps to resolve the political crisis.<sup>81</sup> The junta similarly was not invited to the G7-ASEAN summit, which was hosted by the UK.<sup>82</sup> At the G7-ASEAN summit, U.S. President Biden denounced the military coup and the violence in Myanmar, calling upon the junta to immediately end the violence, release those who are unjustly detained and restore Myanmar’s path to democracy.<sup>83</sup>

ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights, a group made up of elected lawmakers from ASEAN countries, called on ASEAN to engage with the NUG and to take concrete action in an effort to resolve the crisis in Myanmar during the summit from October 26 and October 28.<sup>84</sup>

On October 25, Noeleen Heyzer, a Singaporean who previously served as the UN Under-Secretary-General, was appointed as the new UN Special Envoy for Myanmar.<sup>85</sup> The outgoing UN special envoy on Myanmar warned that the chance to return to democracy in Myanmar is disappearing and described the current state in Myanmar as an “internal armed conflict.”<sup>86</sup>

The U.S. and Singapore held discussions on how the two countries could partner effectively to cut off Myanmar’s financial lifelines and put greater pressure on the junta.<sup>87</sup> Singapore is one of the preferred destinations for the junta’s rulers and their affiliates, seeking medical treatment, vacations or Singaporean bank accounts.<sup>88</sup>

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

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

On October 7, ousted Rakhine State Chief Minister Nyi Pu was sentenced to two years in prison with labor for sedition.<sup>89</sup> Nyi Pu was charged with sedition under the Penal Code soon after the February 1 coup, along with other senior NLD leaders.<sup>90</sup>

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

On October 15, the military regime imposed a gag order on the head lawyer representing detained State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi in her trial, preventing the lawyer from speaking to the media, foreign diplomats and international organizations about Aung San Suu Kyi’s testimony.<sup>91</sup> Because this testimony includes Aung San Suu Kyi’s accounting of President Win Myint’s conversations with the military during the coup, legal experts speculate that the regime imposed the gag order to prevent the press from reporting on these likely unsavory conversations.<sup>92</sup> Over the next several days, four other members of Aung San Suu Kyi’s legal team were barred from speaking to the public about her testimonies.<sup>93</sup> As a result, when Aung

San Suu Kyi testified on October 26 about the former president's communications with the junta, no one on her side of the case was allowed to speak to the press.<sup>94</sup>

The military regime alleges that statements to the press about Aung San Suu Kyi's testimony could cause "harassment or hurting ... or disturbance to the public," which, in their view, justifies the censorship of all of Aung San Suu Kyi's lawyers under Rule 144 of Myanmar's Code of Criminal Procedure.<sup>95</sup> However, legal advisor Khin Maung Myint argues that the gag order is a misapplication of Rule 144 and calls it, "totally unacceptable under the principles of the judicial system" and "a very disgraceful and ugly act."<sup>96</sup>

After being "violently arrested" then "interrogated, tortured and also forced to labor in prison," around a dozen journalists were released from detention by the regime.<sup>97</sup> The releases were part of the general amnesty offered to around 5,600 protesters on October 18, shortly after ASEAN disinvited the military government from attending the October summit.<sup>98</sup> The initial arrests of the journalists occurred when they livestreamed and reported on junta officers committing violence against protesters.<sup>99</sup> At least seven Myanmar media outlets have had their licenses revoked since the military took power on February 1 and more than 100 journalists have been arrested. About half of the arrested journalists are still being detained and facing trial.<sup>100</sup>

On November 3, Danny Fenster, a *Frontier Myanmar* editor who has spent 164 days in custody after being arrested at Yangon International Airport, was denied bail and a new charge was added to his case.<sup>101</sup>

#### **IV. Economic Development**

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

British American Tobacco, a London-based multinational company that manufactured and sold London and Lucky Strike cigarettes in Myanmar, has ceased operations in the country, becoming the latest international company to leave since the February coup.<sup>102</sup>

Two Chinese-backed liquefied natural gas power plants in Yangon revealed that they halted operations in July as they have become financially unsustainable, signaling that Myanmar's commercial capital could be in for more frequent blackouts.<sup>103</sup> According to sources from the military-controlled Ministry of Electricity and Energy, the decision was primarily a result of an increase in LNG prices in the international market, the depreciation of the kyat against the U.S. dollar, a decline in electricity demand and the regime's inability to pay electricity suppliers.

Myanmar's military regime confirmed that it asked executives from the Norwegian telecommunications company Telenor not to leave Myanmar pending the authorities' approval of the company's deal to sell its operations in the country.<sup>104</sup>

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

The Myanmar regime plans to create a public recreation area alongside the walls of Mandalay Palace in Myanmar's former royal capital.<sup>105</sup> The project reportedly includes

playgrounds, a car park and landscaping with non-indigenous plants, all to be built alongside the palace's walls and moat.<sup>106</sup> Work on the park began earlier October, despite the fact that the palace is Mandalay's landmark building.<sup>107</sup> Local conservationists have objected to the new construction in Mandalay's cultural zone, saying that the project will obstruct views of the palace walls and moat, as well as have a negative impact on the structure itself.<sup>108</sup>

On October 27, India's Adani Ports and Special Economic Zone Limited said it would withdraw its investment in the military-owned Ahlone Port by June next year.<sup>109</sup> The original plan was to build a container terminal in Myanmar's commercial capital, Yangon. Adani was granted permission by the Myanmar Investment Commission in April 2019 to develop, operate and maintain Ahlone International Port Terminal 2 on 54 acres (21.85 hectares) of land, with a 630-meter (2,067-foot) jetty owned by the Myanmar Economic Corporation, which is one of the two military-controlled conglomerates sanctioned by the U.S. following the February 1 military coup.<sup>110</sup>

### **C. Land Seizure**

Following a recent order of the military regime, more than 1,000 houses of alleged squatters were "forcibly removed" from land along the Yangon-Pathein highway in Hlaingtharyar Township on October 28.<sup>111</sup> Various forms of heavy trucks, including "bulldozers, riot control vehicles, prisoner transport vehicles, military trucks, police cars and municipal trucks" were used in the removal.<sup>112</sup>

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

### **A. Ethnic Violence**

Thousands of civilians have fled their homes in Kayah State following clashes between Karenni resistance groups and military regime troops at the village of Konethar near the state capital, Loikaw.<sup>113</sup> Fighting broke out on September 29 after Karenni resistance groups attempted to stop a military convoy from Shan State near Konethar on the Shan-Kayah border.<sup>114</sup> The military convoy reportedly consisted of at least 300 troops.<sup>115</sup> A villager said military troops fired artillery on the village on September 29 and she saw at least 10 houses hit by shells before she fled her home.<sup>116</sup> Military tensions are running high along the Shan-Kayah border and the regime has deployed hundreds of extra soldiers into Kayah State.<sup>117</sup>

Fighting on October 4 between the Restoration Council of Shan State and Shan State Progress Party in Mongkai Township in southern Shan State resulted in more than 5,000 people fleeing their homes. Four family members were hit by an artillery shell in Mongkai Township on October 5.<sup>118</sup>

On October 24, the combined Moebye People's Defense Forces and Karenni Nationalities Defense Force ambushed five military vehicles carrying around 50 regime soldiers at the entrance of Moebye in Pekon Township, Shan State.<sup>119</sup> The Moebye PDF said at least 10 regime soldiers were killed in the ambush.<sup>120</sup>



According to local sources, Myanmar army units in Chin State destroyed two churches and nearly 30 homes in three villages while travelling along the Falam-Hakha road in mid-October, setting fire to the communities and leaving them empty of residents.<sup>121</sup> The villages of Rialti, Thlanrawn and Taal have reportedly seen their entire populations forced from their homes by the military's assaults. In total, more than 1,000 people have been displaced throughout these areas.<sup>122</sup>

The Chin National Front and the Chin National Defense Force ("CNDF") have intercepted and attacked a military convoy traveling from Kalay in Sagaing Region to Falam on multiple occasions in October.<sup>123</sup> A CNDF spokesperson claimed that their forces managed to destroy half of the vehicles in the convoy between Falam and Hakha and that at least four regime soldiers were killed in the ambushes.<sup>124</sup>

An October 15 report by the Chin Human Rights Organization states that throughout August and September around 100 buildings have been destroyed by the military in Sagaing and Magway regions and 100 more were destroyed in Chin State, including seven churches and a monastery.<sup>125</sup>

Amid an escalation of both armed resistance to military rule and reprisals from military forces, Myanmar army troops shelled the largely deserted western Chin State town of Thantlang on October 29, causing fires that destroyed more than 160 of the town's 2,000 homes.<sup>126</sup> The attack came after a military soldier was shot dead by the Chinland Defense Force ("CDF") after members of the local resistance group said they saw him looting a shop.<sup>127</sup> In retaliation for the killing, the regime's armed forces occupying the area shot at least 10 rounds of artillery into the town, which started fires upon exploding.<sup>128</sup> Within an hour, several troops had arrived at the location at which the soldier was killed and also began torching houses.<sup>129</sup>

## **B. Peace Talks**

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

- <sup>1</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 1, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/almost-100-civilians-killed-by-myanmar-junta-forces-in-september.html>.
- <sup>2</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>3</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>4</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>6</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 8, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-suffers-bloodiest-month-with-1562-soldiers-killed-nug.html>.
- <sup>7</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 1, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/peoples-defense-force-claims-blast-at-military-office-in-myanmars-capital.html>.
- <sup>8</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>9</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>10</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>11</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 6, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/five-police-hurt-as-another-explosion-strikes-regime-target-in-myanmars-capital.html>.
- <sup>12</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>13</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 18, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-capital-hit-by-another-bomb-blast-at-local-administration-office.html>.
- <sup>14</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>15</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 4, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/some-100-junta-troops-killed-in-a-day-in-clashes-across-myanmar.html>.
- <sup>16</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>17</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>18</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 6, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-40-myanmar-junta-soldiers-killed-in-ambush.html>.
- <sup>19</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>20</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>21</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>22</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 7, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-clash-with-civilian-resistance-fighters.html>.
- <sup>23</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>24</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>25</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>26</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>27</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 11, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/some-90-myanmar-junta-soldiers-killed-during-intense-weekend-fighting.html>.
- <sup>28</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 15, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/50-myanmar-regime-soldiers-reported-killed-in-clashes.html>.
- <sup>29</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 8, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/junta-deploys-thousands-of-reinforcements-to-upper-myanmar-for-clearance-operations.html>.
- <sup>30</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>31</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>32</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 11, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/yanon-rocked-by-multiple-blasts-as-myanmar-junta-chief-visits-to-bolster-security-efforts.html>.
- <sup>33</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>34</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>35</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 27, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/civilians-arrested-by-myanmar-regime-after-bomb-attack.html>.
- <sup>36</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>37</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>38</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>39</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>40</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 8, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/local-myanmar-officials-quit-in-droves-following-threats-from-anti-junta-groups.html>.
- <sup>41</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>42</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>43</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 14, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-military-defectors-accuse-coup-leader-of-high-treason.html>.
- <sup>44</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>45</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>46</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>47</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 11, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmars-ousted-civilian-leader-suu-kyi-and-president-deny-covid-19-charges.html>.
- <sup>48</sup> Mizzima, October 12, 2021: <https://mizzima.com/article/aung-san-suu-kyi-win-myint-plead-not-guilty-violating-covid-19-restrictions>.
- <sup>49</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>50</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 18, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-releases-over-5600-anti-coup-protesters.html>.
- <sup>51</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>52</sup> Mizzima, October 19, 2021: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-free-over-5000-protesters-after-asean-snub>.
- <sup>53</sup> *Id.*

- <sup>54</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 21, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-amnesty-ends-in-tears-as-regime-rearrests-political-prisoners.html>.
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- <sup>56</sup> *Id.*
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