

**STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR**

**NOVEMBER 2022 REPORT**

**Summary.** This report reviews the November 2022 developments relating to human rights in Myanmar.

- I. Coup, Crackdown on Protests and Civilian Resistance.....2**
- II. Political Developments.....3**
  - A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis.....3**
  - B. Corruption.....3**
  - C. International Community / Sanctions.....3**
- III. Civil and Political Rights.....4**
  - A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association.....4**
  - B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship.....5**
- IV. Economic Development.....6**
  - A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment.....6**
  - B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects.....6**
  - C. Land Seizure.....6**
- V. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence.....6**
  - A. Ethnic Violence.....6**
  - B. Peace Talks.....8**

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

On November 1, at least five regime soldiers were reportedly killed in Tilin Township, in an attack by local resistance forces on a military detachment in response to a regime raid.<sup>1</sup> Another two junta officers were killed in Salin Township in a bomb attack by local resistance forces.<sup>2</sup> Three junta police officers were reportedly killed in Maharungmyay Township after People's Defense Force ("PDF") fighters threw a bomb into a prison transport vehicle.<sup>3</sup> During an intense clash in Kawkareik, one resistance fighter was killed.<sup>4</sup> Another five regime soldiers were reportedly killed in Shwebo Township when six PDF groups launched an attack on junta forces.<sup>5</sup> Further, five regime forces were reportedly killed in Mingin Township when resistance forces conducted a raid in a military camp.<sup>6</sup> Another two junta soldiers were reportedly killed in a drone strike in Mynmiu Township.<sup>7</sup> Five resistance fighters were executed by junta soldiers near the border of Myaing and Pauk Townships.<sup>8</sup> One junta police sentry was reportedly killed by a drone strike carried out by a local PDF group in Natogyi Township.<sup>9</sup>

From November 3 to November 7, around 67 troops were killed by PDF groups in Mandalay, Magwe, Sagaing, Bago and Tanintharyi regions.<sup>10</sup> On November 4 alone, around 20 junta soldiers were reportedly killed in attacks by local PDF fighters. Also on November 4, a hospital was forced to close due to an attack by military forces in Hpa-an Township.<sup>11</sup> Fifteen regime soldiers died in Aydaw Township in a drone bombing by PDF groups.<sup>12</sup> Further, three junta soldiers were reportedly killed by PDF-triggered landmine explosions in Kale Township.<sup>13</sup> On November 7, junta forces reportedly shelled a village in Weltlet Township, killing one civilian.<sup>14</sup> Over the following two days, almost 30 military soldiers and a member of the resistance groups were killed in clashes that took place in Sagaing, Bago and Tanintharyi Regions and Chin, Rakhine and Kayin States.<sup>15</sup>

About 130 soldiers and pro-regime militia members were reportedly killed by PDFs and ethnic armed organizations from November 11-13 in Yangon, Bago, Magwe and Sagaing regions and Kayah and Mon States.<sup>16</sup> Almost 70 military soldiers were killed by "friendly fire" from two military helicopters on November 13 near Shwe Lan Village, Sagaing Region.<sup>17</sup> From November 15-16, at least 45 soldiers were killed in clashes with PDFs across the country and at least 15 civilians were killed as a result of bomb attacks by the military.<sup>18</sup>

From November 19-21, around 65 troops were killed in clashes between the military, ethnic armed organizations and PDFs in Mon State and Tanintharyi, Sagaing and Magwe Regions.<sup>19</sup> Over the following two days, at least 33 more military troops, pro-regime militia members and a ward administrator were killed in attacks in Magwe, Sagaing and Mandalay regions and in Chin State.<sup>20</sup> During the next three days, at least 21 military forces were reportedly killed in incidents in Kayin and Mon States and Mandalay, Sagaing and Tanintharyi regions.<sup>21</sup> From November 25-27, at least 76 military troops were killed in clashes in Magwe, Mandalay, Sagaing, Bago and Tanintharyi regions, as well as in Kayah State.<sup>22</sup> From November 28-30, at least 21 military troops, including a battalion commander,<sup>23</sup> were killed in Sagaing, Magwe, Bago and Tanintharyi regions<sup>24</sup> and in Shan State.<sup>25</sup>

Multiple village raids and attacks have been reported in Sagaing Region in November, forcing hundreds or even thousands of civilians to flee from their homes. Military troops conducted a raid in Ponnagyun Township, Rakhine State in early November, killing 11 villagers,

including the elderly.<sup>26</sup> On November 3, fourteen residents of Kantbalu Township were reportedly tortured and killed by military forces.<sup>27</sup> On November 8, around 150 civilian homes were burned down by military troops in both Sagaing and Mandalay regions.<sup>28</sup> From November 14-21, in Sagaing and Wetlet Townships, the military conducted multiple raids, killing 15 civilians and destroying several hundred houses.<sup>29</sup> In Taungmaw Town, Kawlin Township, an estimated 4,500 residents have fled their homes since the military launched an offensive on November 16.<sup>30</sup> An estimated 7,000 residents have fled from their homes in the western region of Khin-U Township since November 17 due to the increased level of conflict in that region.<sup>31</sup> Around 200 soldiers completely burned 95 out of 130 homes in Kha War Thei village, Kyunhla Township on November 21.<sup>32</sup> Around 10,000 residents fled from their homes after a group of around 100 troops raided and burned down houses along the Mone Hle village on November 24.<sup>33</sup>

According to the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners, a total of 2,400 civilians have been killed by Myanmar regime forces in the 18 months since the coup in February 2021.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, according to Save the Children, more than 1.4 million people have been displaced by the conflict, including 500,000 children.<sup>35</sup>

## **II. Political Developments**

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

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

### **B. Corruption**

On November 15, former President Win Myint and former State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi appeared in court and pled not guilty to the remaining five corruption charges they face<sup>36</sup> relating to a helicopter purchase.<sup>37</sup> If convicted, together they will face up to 15 years in prison.<sup>38</sup> Aung San Suu Kyi has previously been sentenced to 26 years in prison in connection with 14 charges filed by the regime and Win Myint has received five years in prison in connection with three charges.<sup>39</sup>

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

The United Nations (“UN”) Secretary General condemned the “escalating levels of violence, the disproportionate use of force, and the appalling human rights situation in Myanmar,” noting that the attacks on civilians in Myanmar “may constitute war crimes under international law.”<sup>40</sup> He also stressed that the “political, security, human rights and humanitarian situation in Myanmar is sliding even deeper into catastrophe.”<sup>41</sup>

Germany’s Foreign Office is funding the training of junta military personnel via a training project run by the Max Planck Foundation to promote maritime peace and security in Southeast Asia, a move that some rights groups believe could be a potential violation of European Union sanctions.<sup>42</sup>

Despite widespread sanctions against Myanmar, the Indian foreign secretary visited Myanmar junta Chief Min Aung Hlaing in late November. The two discussed the potential for comprehensive bilateral cooperation.<sup>43</sup>

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (“ASEAN”) agreed to engage Myanmar opposition groups.<sup>44</sup> ASEAN leaders agreed on a fifteen point decision plan to elicit progress on the bloc’s five-point consensus peace plan for Myanmar.<sup>45</sup> The ASEAN leaders also warned the junta that if progress was not made, ASEAN could expand a ban on junta figures attending ASEAN meetings.<sup>46</sup> The appointment of the Myanmar junta general Aung Tan as the ASEAN Air Chiefs Conference chair has been criticized by various organizations and has led to calls for other countries to immediately sanction the junta general.<sup>47</sup>

Rights groups continue to call on governments to take action against the Myanmar junta, including Human Rights Watch, which has called on governments to support targeted sanctions and an arms embargo on Myanmar.<sup>48</sup> Burma Campaign UK, a non-governmental organization, has also called on the Qatari government to stop allowing cargo vessels owned by the Myanmar military to dock at Qatari ports.<sup>49</sup>

The U.S. announced sanctions against a local aviation company, Sky Aviator Company Limited, and its owner and director, Kyaw Min Oo, for operating in the defense sector. The European Union also announced sanctions against 19 individuals and entities, including a government minister and the supreme court’s chief justice.<sup>50</sup>

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

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

Seven students from Dagon University, who participated in anti-regime protests, were sentenced to death. The students, Ko Khant Zin Win, Ko Thura Maung Maung, Ko Zaw Lin Naing, Ko Thiha Htet Zaw, Ko Hein Htet, Ko Thet Paing Oo and Ko Khant Linn Maung Maung, were arrested in April for alleged involvement in the shooting of Global Treasure Bank branch manager and former military officer, Saw Moe Win. The death sentences were issued in closed military tribunal trials.<sup>51</sup>

LGBTQ+ activist Sue Sha Shin Thant was sentenced to 22 years in prison for terrorism and incitement. Sue Sha Shin Thant was detained in October 2021 and had previously been sentenced to three years in prison for incitement earlier this year. According to *The Irrawaddy*, LGBTQ+ individuals have been targeted for participation in anti-regime protests. Shan Thant helped to draft the Protection of Women Against Violence bill and was a Union-level representative for the Youth Committee in Mandalay Region prior to the coup.<sup>52</sup>

Former Kachin Baptist Convention (“KBC”) President, Dr. Hkalam Samson, has reportedly been detained by the military regime but the reasons for his arrest are not yet known. In 2019, the Myanmar military’s Northern Command attempted to open a lawsuit against Dr. Hkalam Samson for discussing the military’s religious oppression of ethnic minorities in the country with then-U.S. President Donald Trump, but the case was dropped.<sup>53</sup>

## B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

*The Irrawaddy* editor Kyaw Zwa Moe indicated that the publication will continue to operate despite the junta's recent ban on the outlet and revocation of its license.<sup>54</sup> *The Irrawaddy* has been operating outside Myanmar since the 2021 coup.<sup>55</sup> Publisher Thaung Win was arrested several weeks before the ban and remains in custody.<sup>56</sup> The International Press Institute strongly condemned the ban on *The Irrawaddy*, describing it as “an obvious attempt at silencing independent news and information in the country.”<sup>57</sup>

On November 17, the military junta gave amnesty to and released 5,774 prisoners to mark Myanmar's National Day.<sup>58</sup> The junta announced it freed the prisoners “on grounds of humanitarianism.”<sup>59</sup> Only 402 of the nearly 6,000 released prisoners were political prisoners, many of whom had nearly completed their sentences.<sup>60</sup> “These types of hostage tactics by the junta should not fool the international community into believing that the military has changed its colors,” according to National Unity Government Minister Htin Linn Aung.<sup>61</sup>

Japanese filmmaker Toru Kubota, who was recently sentenced to ten years in prison, was among the prisoners released.<sup>62</sup> In a press conference, Kubota described his initial detention as “hellish,” and said he was held in solitary confinement at Insein Prison.<sup>63</sup> He urged the Japanese government to take a stronger approach to Myanmar's human rights violations, to scrutinize funding flowing to the military junta and to accept more Myanmar refugees.<sup>64</sup>

Writer and professor Maung Thar Cho, known for satirical articles criticizing the military, was also released from Insein Prison under the amnesty.<sup>65</sup> He was among the first detained as part of the military's initial wave of arrests in 2021.<sup>66</sup> In addition, *Mizzima* correspondent Than Htike Aung was released from Yamethin Prison, in the Mandalay Region.<sup>67</sup> The following journalists were also released: Ye Yint Tun and San Myint from Patheingyi Region, La Pyae from Pyaw in Bago Region, Aung Myo Htet from Shwebo in Sagaing Region, and Mya Wun Yan from Nyaungshwe in Shan State.<sup>68</sup>

On November 18, the junta arrested two journalists, who are being held in a prison in Naypyidaw.<sup>69</sup> Win Oo, editor for *New History for People*, and Zaw Min Oo, editor for *Dae Pyaw*, purportedly annoyed the authorities while asking questions at an Information Ministry news conference.<sup>70</sup> This is the first time Myanmar's junta has targeted journalists who normally transmit junta propaganda, and “speaks volumes about the total paranoia now prevailing in Naypyidaw,” said Daniel Bastard, the head of Reporters Without Borders's Asia-Pacific desk.<sup>71</sup>

On November 22, the Insein Special Court sentenced reporter Ah Hla Lay Thuzar, known as Thuzar, to two years in prison with hard labor under Section 505(a).<sup>72</sup> She was arrested in September 2021, and was interrogated for a month before being transferred to Insein Prison.<sup>73</sup> Thuzar has worked as a journalist for nearly 15 years.<sup>74</sup> Post-coup, she worked as a freelance reporter for *The Friday Times Journal* and *The Myanmar Pressphoto Agency*, until she was forced to go into hiding.<sup>75</sup>

On November 24, journalist Sithu Aung Myint was sentenced to two years in prison by Bahan Township Court under Section 505(a). Sithu Aung Myint has been sentenced to five

years total, and faces an additional sedition charge.<sup>76</sup> A *Frontier Myanmar* columnist and contributor to *Voice of America* and an outspoken critic of the military, Sithu Aung Myint was arrested along with Htet Htet Kaing in August.<sup>77</sup>

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

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

Innwa Bank records reveal transactions with international banks ANZ, UOB and BIDV in kyat, according to pressure group Justice for Myanmar.<sup>78</sup> The almost 20,000 records show that major international banks continued to transact with Innwa Bank after its parent company, Myanmar Economic Corporation (“MEC”), was sanctioned by the U.S., United Kingdom and European Union in response to the human rights violations and atrocities committed by the junta. On November 22, ANZ announced that it plans to withdraw from Myanmar by 2023, citing increasing “operational complexity” over the past several months.<sup>79</sup> The bank said the end of its operations would be “subject to local regulatory approval.”

According to figures released by the Military Council’s Directorate of Investment and Company Administration, Myanmar received a total of 52 investments from foreign countries for a total of US\$1.451 billion from April 1 to October 31.<sup>80</sup> Investment from Singapore is nearly 80% of the total foreign investment.

According to Justice for Myanmar, Yoma Bank, which is affiliated with the World Bank’s International Finance Corporation, held over US\$10 million in a U.S. dollar account for Telecom International Myanmar as of March 2022.<sup>81</sup> Telecom International, the operator of the Myanmar military’s Mytel cell phone network, is a joint venture of the military’s Myanmar Economic Corporation conglomerate. Other Mytel shareholders are Viettel Global Investment, backed by Vietnam’s Ministry of National Defense, and Myanmar National Telecom Holdings.

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

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

##### **C. Land Seizure**

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

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

##### **A. Ethnic Violence**

An estimated 16 junta soldiers were killed by landmines set by the Arakan Army (“AA”) in Maungdaw and Thandwe Townships on November 1 and November 2.<sup>82</sup> Further, another 13 soldiers were reportedly killed between Thandwe and Taungup Townships by landmines also set by the AA.<sup>83</sup>

On November 3, two junta soldiers died in Myawaddy Township in a raid carried out by the Karen National Liberation Army.<sup>84</sup> Additionally, numerous junta soldiers were reportedly killed in a clash between the AA and junta troops in Maungdaw Township.<sup>85</sup>

On November 8, the AA reportedly ambushed two military boats in Minbya Township, Rakhine State, which resulted in an intense fire fight with casualties.<sup>86</sup> There were additional clashes between the AA and military forces in Ann Township and Maungdaw Township in Rakhine State and Paletwa Township in neighboring Chin State later in the afternoon on November 8, which led to casualties.<sup>87</sup>

According to the Karen National Union (“KNU”), on November 9, a Christian church and a primary school were destroyed in Kayin State when junta fighter jets bombed civilian targets in Sawmupalaw Village.<sup>88</sup> Myanmar junta troops allegedly killed 11 villagers in Ponnagyun Township, Rakhine State, over two days in November, according to villagers.<sup>89</sup>

On November 9 and 10, the Karen National Liberation Army (“KNLA”) and allied PDF groups clashed with regime forces that were attempting to occupy areas along the Myawaddy-Wal Lay highway.<sup>90</sup> At least four civilians, including two students, were reportedly injured in Ponnagyun Township, Rakhine State in air, artillery and drone strikes on civilian targets in villages, which were conducted by the junta in response to an AA landmines ambush on two military vehicles.<sup>91</sup> The junta attacks continued through November 11 and reportedly killed eleven civilians.<sup>92</sup>

On November 11, 20 junta soldiers in a military convoy were reportedly killed in Bilin Township, Mon State in an ambush by the KNLA and allied PDF forces.<sup>93</sup>

On November 12, three junta police officers were reportedly killed and four others were captured in Kyaik Mayaw Township, Mon State during a raid of the police station by the KNLA and allied PDF fighters.<sup>94</sup> Eleven regime forces were allegedly killed in Nyaunglaypin District, Bago Region when the KNLA seized three military outposts.<sup>95</sup> Following the seizure, junta aircraft conducted airstrikes against KNLA troops and civilian targets in nearby villages.<sup>96</sup> Eleven junta soldiers were allegedly killed in a raid by the KNLA and allied resistance groups on three junta outposts in Thanseik, Bawkahtar and Ton Tan, Bago Region, which led to retaliatory airstrikes against villages in the region.<sup>97</sup>

On November 13, the KNLA and allied resistance forces reportedly raided another junta police station in Kyaikmayaw Township, Mon State and killed three policemen.<sup>98</sup> The raid provoked airstrikes on nearby villages.<sup>99</sup> The Kachin Independence Army and allied PDF groups reportedly killed four junta soldiers in an attack on regime forces in Indaw Township, Sagaing Region.<sup>100</sup> During an ambush on junta troops in Loikaw Township, Kayah State and the Karenni Nationalities Defense Force allegedly killed three regime soldiers.<sup>101</sup> Another four regime troops were killed on November 14.<sup>102</sup>

On November 15, a junta air base in Magwe Township, Magwe Region was reportedly attacked by combined KNU and PDF forces as an act of retaliation for violence against civilians.<sup>103</sup> At least eight regime troops were reportedly killed in the attack.<sup>104</sup>

On November 21, sixteen junta police officers were reportedly killed by the KNLA and allied PDF groups in Kyaikmayaw Township, Mon State during a raid on the police station.<sup>105</sup>

According to the KNU, the KNLA and the Karen National Defense Organizations, a total of 396 regime soldiers were killed in 286 clashes in October.<sup>106</sup>

## **B. Peace Talks**

On November 28, the Myanmar military regime and the AA announced that they had reached a temporary ceasefire agreement under the mediation of Yohei Sasakawa, Nippon Foundation chairperson.<sup>107</sup> In response to the agreement, the junta re-opened the Sittwe-Rathedaung-Buthidaung waterway, which was blocked during the fighting.<sup>108</sup> The junta will further ease travel restrictions in Rakhine State and end the blockade of Sittwe, the capital of Rakhine State.<sup>109</sup> A junta source indicated that this is only the first stage of the ceasefire agreement as the two parties are working toward further de-escalation. However, despite the ceasefire agreement, neither side has withdrawn its troops.<sup>110</sup>



- <sup>1</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 2, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/lieutenant-colonel-among-56-myanmar-junta-soldiers-killed-in-week-of-clashes-with-resistance.html>.
- <sup>2</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>3</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>4</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>6</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>7</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>8</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>9</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>10</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 8, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-forces-torch-nearly-150-civilian-homes-in-a-day.html>.
- <sup>11</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 4, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/about-20-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-latest-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>12</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>13</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>14</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 8, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/mother-killed-as-myanmar-junta-artillery-targets-sagaing-civilians.html>.
- <sup>15</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 10, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/dozens-of-myanmar-junta-forces-pdf-member-killed-in-two-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>16</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 14, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-100-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-as-resistance-steps-up-attacks.html>.
- <sup>17</sup> Mizzima, November 16, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/nearly-70-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-friendly-fire-helicopters>.
- <sup>18</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 17, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-100-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-as-resistance-steps-up-attacks.html>; *see also* The Irrawaddy, November 18, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-30-myanmar-junta-troops-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>19</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 22, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-60-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>20</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 23, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-30-myanmar-regime-forces-killed-in-two-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>21</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 25, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-20-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>22</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 28, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-70-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>23</sup> The Irrawaddy, December 1, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/battalion-commander-among-over-20-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-by-resistance-in-three-days.html>.
- <sup>24</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 30, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-20-myanmar-regime-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>25</sup> The Irrawaddy, December 1, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/battalion-commander-among-over-20-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-by-resistance-in-three-days.html>.
- <sup>26</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 11, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-kill-eleven-civilians-in-rakhine-state.html>.
- <sup>27</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 9, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/fourteen-sagaing-villagers-tortured-and-killed-by-myanmar-junta-forces.html>.
- <sup>28</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 9, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-forces-torch-nearly-150-civilian-homes-in-a-day.html>.
- <sup>29</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 22, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/15-civilians-killed-10000-flee-as-myanmar-junta-forces-raid-sagaing-communities.html>.
- <sup>30</sup> Mizzima, November 20, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/4500-displaced-myanmar-junta-offensive-sagaings-kawlin-township>.
- <sup>31</sup> Mizzima, November 21, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/around-7000-residents-flee-sagaings-khin-u-township-due-junta-attacks>.
- <sup>32</sup> Myanmar Now, November 23, 2022: <https://www.myanmar-now.org/en/news/village-in-sagaing-region-resistance-stronghold-reduced-to-ashes-by-myanmar-military>.
- <sup>33</sup> Mizzima, November 27, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/military-council-troops-set-fire-mone-hla-village-sagaings-khin-u-township>.
- <sup>34</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 14, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-has-killed-over-2400-civilians-since-coup-aapp.html>.
- <sup>35</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 2, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/number-of-myanmar-children-made-homeless-under-junta-passes-half-a-million.html>.
- <sup>36</sup> Mizzima, November 23, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmars-suu-kyi-denies-latest-corruption-charges-court-appearance>.
- <sup>37</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 16, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/ousted-president-denies-myanmar-juntas-latest-corruption-charge.html>.
- <sup>38</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>39</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>40</sup> Mizzima, November 15, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/un-secretary-general-asean-un-summit-myanmar-attacks-civilians-may-be-war-crimes>.
- <sup>41</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>42</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 25, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/german-govt-is-funding-myanmar-junta-military-training-rights-group.html>.

- <sup>43</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 23, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/indian-foreign-secretary-visits-myanmar-junta-leaders-as-ties-deepen.html>.
- <sup>44</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 11, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/asean-agrees-to-talk-to-myanmar-opposition.html>.
- <sup>45</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 11, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/asean-leaders-struggle-for-answers-to-myanmar-crisis.html>.
- <sup>46</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>47</sup> Mizzima, November 11, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/appointment-myanmar-junta-general-asean-air-chiefs-conference-chair-criticised>.
- <sup>48</sup> Mizzima, November 2, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/human-rights-watch-calls-myanmar-sanctions-and-arms-embargo>.
- <sup>49</sup> Mizzima, November 28, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/call-qatar-stop-hosting-myanmar-military-vessels>.
- <sup>50</sup> Irrawaddy, November 9, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/us-eu-extend-myanmar-sanctions-target-aviation-company-minister-judge.html>.
- <sup>51</sup> The Irrawaddy, December 1, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-sentences-seven-students-to-death.html>.
- <sup>52</sup> The Irrawaddy, December 14, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/junta-court-hands-leading-myanmar-lgbtq-activist-22-years-in-jail.html>.
- <sup>53</sup> The Irrawaddy, December 6, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-detains-former-kachin-baptist-leader.html>.
- <sup>54</sup> Voice of America News, November 4, 2022: <https://www.voanews.com/a/irrawaddy-vows-to-keep-reporting-despite-junta-ban/6820729.html>.
- <sup>55</sup> The Irrawaddy, October 31, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/after-repeated-crackdowns-myanmar-junta-officially-bans-the-irrawaddy.html>.
- <sup>56</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>57</sup> International Press Institute, November 11, 2022: <https://ipi.media/myanmar-junta-bans-independent-news-outlet-the-irrawaddy/>.
- <sup>58</sup> Mizzima, November 17, 2022: <https://www.mizzima.com/article/mizzima-editor-htike-aung-released-prison>.
- <sup>59</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>60</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 23, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/only-402-of-myanmars-nearly-13000-political-prisoners-freed-in-junta-amnesty.html>.
- <sup>61</sup> Reuters, November 17, 2022: <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/myanmar-media-military-releases-6000-prisoners-including-four-foreigners-under-2022-11-17/>.
- <sup>62</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 17, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/some-political-prisoners-among-almost-6000-freed-in-myanmar-junta-amnesty.html>.
- <sup>63</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 29, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/formerly-detained-japanese-journalist-urges-tokyo-to-pressure-myanmar-junta.html>.
- <sup>64</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>65</sup> Mizzima, November 17, 2022: <https://www.mizzima.com/article/mizzima-editor-htike-aung-released-prison>.
- <sup>66</sup> The Irrawaddy, February 5, 2021: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-134-political-prisoners-following-military-coup.html>.
- <sup>67</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>68</sup> Myanmar Now, November 21, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/beyond-the-headlines-six-journalists-among-thousands-released-in-myanmar-amnesty>.
- <sup>69</sup> Voice of America News, November 23, 2022: <https://www.voanews.com/a/myanmar-military-arrests-2-journalists-from-friendly-media/6847509.html>.
- <sup>70</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>71</sup> Reporters Without Borders, November 28, 2022: <https://rsf.org/en/even-journalists-deemed-close-junta-are-no-longer-safe-burma>.
- <sup>72</sup> Mizzima, November 26, 2022: <https://www.mizzima.com/article/yangon-journalist-sentenced-two-years-prison-myanmar-junta>.
- <sup>73</sup> Myanmar Now, November 28, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/beyond-the-headlines-australian-bank-announces-plans-to-withdraw-from-myanmar>.
- <sup>74</sup> Mizzima, November 26, 2022: <https://www.mizzima.com/article/yangon-journalist-sentenced-two-years-prison-myanmar-junta>.
- <sup>75</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>76</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>77</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>78</sup> Mizzima, November 3, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/anz-uob-and-bidv-transacting-myanmar-militarys-innwa-bank-despite-sanctions>.
- <sup>79</sup> Myanmar Now, November 28, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/beyond-the-headlines-australian-bank-announces-plans-to-withdraw-from-myanmar>.
- <sup>80</sup> Mizzima, November 26, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmars-fdi-stands-14-billion-7-months-singapore-main-player>.
- <sup>81</sup> Irrawaddy, November 29, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/world-bank-backed-yoma-bank-working-with-myanmar-militarys-mytel-network-operator.html>.
- <sup>82</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 2, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/more-than-20-regime-personnel-killed-in-two-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>83</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>84</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>85</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 3, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/at-least-3-myanmar-regime-soldiers-killed-in-rakhine-ambush-aa.html>.
- <sup>86</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 9, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-20-myanmar-regime-forces-killed-in-two-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>87</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 10, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/dozens-of-myanmar-junta-forces-pdf-member-killed-in-two-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.

<sup>88</sup> *Id.*

<sup>89</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 11, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-kill-eleven-civilians-in-rakhine-state.html>.

<sup>90</sup> *Id.*

<sup>91</sup> *Id.*

<sup>92</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 15, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/thousands-of-rakhine-villagers-flee-myanmar-juntas-deadly-wrath.html>.

<sup>93</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 14, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-100-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-as-resistance-steps-up-attacks.html>.

<sup>94</sup> *Id.*

<sup>95</sup> *Id.*

<sup>96</sup> *Id.*

<sup>97</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 14, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/karen-rebels-hail-victories-over-myanmar-junta-in-outpost-and-convoy-attacks.html>.

<sup>98</sup> *Id.*

<sup>99</sup> *Id.*

<sup>100</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 15, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-30-myanmar-regime-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.

<sup>101</sup> *Id.*

<sup>102</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 16, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/dozens-of-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.

<sup>103</sup> *Id.*

<sup>104</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 16, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/three-myanmar-junta-fighter-jets-destroyed-resistance.html>.

<sup>105</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 22, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-60-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.

<sup>106</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 8, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/karen-rebels-claim-to-have-killed-369-myanmar-junta-troops-in-october.html>.

<sup>107</sup> The Irrawaddy, November 28, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-military-and-arakan-army-agree-temporary-truce-in-rakhine-state.html>.

<sup>108</sup> *Id.*

<sup>109</sup> *Id.*

<sup>110</sup> *Id.*