

STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

DECEMBER 2022 REPORT

Summary. This report reviews the December 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.....7**
- V. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence.....7**
 - A. Ethnic Violence.....7**
 - B. Peace Talks.....8**

I. Coup, Crackdown on Protests and Civilian Resistance

Twenty military-appointed ward and village administrators in Rathedaung Township, Rakhine State resigned in mid-December because they believed that they could not perform their duties amid tensions between the military regime and the local residents.¹ Meanwhile, in Yangon region, around 351 local administrators were replaced by supporters of the military regime.²

Clashes between the military and resistance groups were reported in Sagaing, Mandalay and Magwe Regions from December 1-2, during which at least 44 members of the People's Defense Force ("PDF") were killed.³ Thirty-two of the PDF members were killed in Shwebo Township, Sagaing Region alone.⁴ From December 3-5, at least 73 PDF members were killed during attacks in Kayah State and Magwe, Sagaing, Mandalay, Bago, Yangon and Tanintharyi Regions.⁵ Of the deaths, twenty were killed in Demoso Township, Kayah State and thirty were killed in Yesagyo Township, Magwe Region.⁶ From December 7-14, at least 79 military soldiers, including a military-appointed administrator, were killed in Sagaing, Mandalay, Magwe, Bago and Tanintharyi Regions and Chin and Shan States.⁷

The military continues to target and attack villages throughout the Sagaing Region. On December 6, a group of 200 soldiers raided Eai Dine Village in Kyun Hla Township and burned 142 houses, which represented almost half of the village.⁸ After clashing with resistance groups in Nyang Ngoke To village, Sagaing Township on December 10, a group of military soldiers raided five nearby villages and destroyed more than 720 homes.⁹ In total, the military raided and destroyed at least 26 villages across Sagaing Region on December 10, including in Depayin, Tigyaing, Kawlin, Budalin and Ye-U Townships.¹⁰ Thirteen villages in Tigyaing were torched, while eight villages in Depayin were destroyed.¹¹ Around 100 houses were burned and one elderly resident was killed in Mae Oh village, Depayin Township.¹² A group of 50 soldiers raided Ayadaw Township on December 11, during which they captured, tortured and killed five people.¹³ On December 14, thirteen villages along the Monywa to Pathein highway were raided, causing around 12,000 residents to flee their homes.¹⁴ More than 90 homes were destroyed in Thain Chaung, Htan Taw Kone and Gu Gyi Kone villages on December 23.¹⁵

On December 27, a group of 50 military troops reportedly hid in a gravel-filled dump truck while impersonating quarry workers and opened fire at a checkpoint of resistance forces in Shwebo Township before raiding Ti Pin village.¹⁶ At least six people were killed and almost 150 out of 450 homes in the village were destroyed, along with the checkpoint.¹⁷ Six villages in Chaung-U Township were raided and torched by the military on December 27 and 28, resulting in the displacement of more than 16,000 residents.¹⁸ A group of 70 soldiers and Kawlin People's Defense Force clashed on December 28 in Kawlin Township, which resulted in casualties on both sides before the troops proceeded to raid the Ywar Huang, Thaw Kaw and Thi Par villages.¹⁹

II. Political Developments

A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis

The bodies of 13 Rohingya men were reportedly found dumped by a roadside in Hlegu Township, Yangon on December 5.²⁰ The bodies were reportedly wet and bloated.²¹ On December 20, 12 human traffickers were arrested in Yangon for allegedly transporting a total of 255 Rohingya from Bangladesh refugee camps to Malaysia via Rakhine State in five separate cases of trafficking, including the incident that resulted in the deaths of the 13 Rohingya men in Hlegu.²² The 13 Rohingya were among 33 refugees brought to Yangon by the 12-member trafficking network.²³ The victims reportedly suffocated to death.²⁴

The *Irrawaddy* reports that risking prosecution on immigration charges with potential imprisonment, Rohingya in Rakhine State continue to leave to find work, driven by poverty and institutionalized discrimination. On November 28, 68 Rohingya, including women and children, were arrested in Hlegu.²⁵ The detainees were identified as Rohingya from Buthidaung Township in Rakhine State, the media reported, quoting Hlegu police.²⁶ Another 78 Rohingya, 56 men and 22 women, were arrested in Mon State's Mudon Township on December 5.²⁷ At least 10 Rohingya heading to Yangon were arrested by the regime on the Yangon-Mandalay highway in October.²⁸

More than 150 Rohingya migrants were rescued on December 7 after a week at sea by the Myanmar navy and junta-controlled Oil and Gas Enterprise.²⁹ The migrants are being held on a navy vessel.³⁰ A total of 106 men and 48 women were on board after leaving refugee camps in Bangladesh in the hope of reaching Indonesia.³¹ The boat was adrift off the Thai coast and six people died after food and water ran out, human rights adviser Aung Kyaw Moe of the National Unity Government ("NUG") told the media.³²

Sixty-two Rohingya refugees will soon be resettled in the United States.³³ Bangladesh's foreign minister, AK Abdul Momen, said 62 refugees is "a drop in the ocean," but appreciated that the United States had made a start on the resettlement process.³⁴ A Bangladesh official told *The Irrawaddy* that a committee is being established to oversee the resettlement process in the U.S.³⁵ In August, U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken announced that he was working to resettle Rohingya from the region, including from Bangladesh, in the U.S.³⁶ Canada resettled 64 Rohingya refugees in 2022, while the Netherlands and Australia resettled seven and ten refugees, respectively.³⁷ Four others are prepared for resettlement in Italy.³⁸

B. Corruption

Former State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi was sentenced on December 30 to seven additional years in prison with respect to five corruption charges.³⁹ These charges were the last of 19 charges that were filed against her since she was ousted in February 2021.⁴⁰ She was reportedly given three-year sentences on four charges, to be served concurrently, and a four-year sentence on one of the charges.⁴¹ Former President Win Myint was also a defendant in these corruption charges and was also sentenced to seven years in prison.⁴² Aung San Suu Kyi now faces a total of 33 years in prison.⁴³

The military regime has filed an appeal for one of the corruption cases against Aung San Suu Kyi, reportedly in order to seize the assets of Aung San Suu Kyi's charity, the Daw Khin Kyi Foundation.⁴⁴ The foundation closed soon after the military coup in 2021.⁴⁵ Last year, Aung San Suu Kyi was charged and was eventually sentenced to six years of prison over four counts of

corruption for leasing land to the charity.⁴⁶ However, the case targeted National League for Democracy (“NLD”) leaders rather than the foundation. This appeal may therefore have been filed to seize the assets of the charity.⁴⁷

C. International Community / Sanctions

The United Nations (“UN”) Security Council adopted its first-ever resolution on the situation in Myanmar.⁴⁸ The resolution calls for an “immediate end to all forms of violence” as well as for the Myanmar junta to release all “arbitrarily detained prisoners,” including Aung San Suu Kyi.⁴⁹ The resolution elicited mixed reactions from the international community. Singapore welcomed the resolution, noting that it “remains deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation in Myanmar.”⁵⁰ Conversely, the junta accused the UN of trying to destabilize Myanmar.⁵¹ A United Kingdom Rohingya organization welcomed the resolution but expressed disappointment that the resolution did not go far enough.⁵²

The UN rejected the Myanmar junta’s nomination for ambassador to the UN, choosing instead to allow the NUG’s representative to continue serving as ambassador.⁵³

Following the UN Security Council resolution, representatives from Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam held an informal meeting with a top junta diplomat. Although the meeting was not affiliated with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (“ASEAN”), the gathering was intended to complement ASEAN’s work.⁵⁴

The United States Congress passed the Burma Act, authorizing non-lethal aid to resistance forces in Myanmar.⁵⁵ The Burma Act, which has been applauded by the NUG, also aims to expand sanctions against the junta regime and its related businesses.⁵⁶

Canada has imposed sanctions on military jet fuel suppliers to Myanmar, becoming the first jurisdiction to do so.⁵⁷ Canada also sanctioned key military arms brokers for the Myanmar military.⁵⁸

A Rohingya NGO claims that the Myanmar junta is defying the provisional measures ordered by the International Court of Justice to prevent ongoing genocide.⁵⁹ A report released by the NGO documents serious violations against the Rohingya committed over the past six months, including killings, sexual violence and the shelling of homes, villages and mosques.⁶⁰

The NUG has criticized European Union and ASEAN leaders for failing to take any new effective action to address the crisis in Myanmar at the mid-December EU-ASEAN summit held in Belgium.⁶¹

The International Finance Corporation, a member of the World Bank Group, has divested from Yoma Bank after its business with junta companies was exposed.⁶²

Switzerland barred junta representatives from attending the Global Effective Development Cooperation Summit in Geneva after previously stating that it would allow junta representatives to participate virtually.⁶³

III. Civil and Political Rights

A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association

In early January, the Myanmar regime announced that 7,021 prisoners were released from prisons across the country in celebration of Myanmar's 75th anniversary of independence from the United Kingdom.⁶⁴ It is uncertain how many of those released were political prisoners.⁶⁵ However, among the freed prisoners were NLD Minister of Religious Affairs and Culture, Thura Aung Ko, philanthropist and writer, Than Myint Aung, and ex-NLD information officer and writer, Htin Lin Oo, as well as certain detained journalists.⁶⁶

As reported by *The Irrawaddy*, in a leaked internal military regime announcement, the pardon granted to Australian economist Sean Turnell has been revoked due to his criticism of the Myanmar government.⁶⁷ Turnell formerly served as an economic adviser to the ousted leader of the NLD, Aung San Suu Kyi.⁶⁸ Turnell was arrested following the coup in 2021 and accused of possessing "state secret" information. Turnell was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in September last year but was released in November amid the junta's amnesty "in consideration of bilateral relations and on humanitarian grounds."⁶⁹ After his arrival in Australia, Turnell posted messages on Facebook stating that he was acutely aware that "the 53 million people in Myanmar continue to suffer under a regime that is about as unrepresentative of them as is possible to imagine" and that "it is a tragic and terrible thing that the nicest people I have encountered anywhere are ruled over by such knaves and fools."⁷⁰

B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

On November 30, Pyapon Prison military court sentenced freelance journalist Myo San Soe to fifteen years in prison on two terrorism counts.⁷¹ He received a ten-year sentence under Section 50(j) of the Counter-Terrorism Act and five years in prison under Section 52(a).⁷² Myo San Soe was transferred to Patheingyi prison after being sentenced, according to his family.⁷³ He has worked for *The Irrawaddy*, *BNI News* and *Delta News Agency* as a freelance reporter.⁷⁴

Journalist Sithu Aug Myint was sentenced by the Insein Prison military court to an additional seven years in prison on December 9 for a total of twelve years in prison.⁷⁵ The *Voice of America* journalist was sentenced under sedition law Section 124(a), which prohibits inciting hatred towards the Myanmar Army.⁷⁶

A junta court sentenced freelance journalist Soe Yazar Tun to four years in prison with hard labor on December 17.⁷⁷ He was sentenced under Section 52 (a) of the Counter-Terrorism law for allegedly communicating with revolutionary forces.⁷⁸

On or around December 17, a military court sentenced two editors of *Thingangyun Post Media*, Wai Lin Yu and Htet Htet Aung, to five years imprisonment under Section 5 of the Explosive Substance Act.⁷⁹ The journalists have been jailed at Insein Prison since September 2021.⁸⁰

On December 21, a junta court sentenced two journalists, Kaung Sett Lin and Hmue Yadanar Khet Moh Moh Tun, to three years in prison with hard labor.⁸¹ The journalists were

detained after a military vehicle rammed into them at a peaceful protest, severely injuring them.⁸² They were charged under Section 505(a) of the Penal Code.⁸³

According to *The Irrawaddy*'s publisher, Aung Zaw, the junta's ban on the outlet has not had a practical effect on its readership or reporting.⁸⁴ The website and social media channels are still operational and readers in Myanmar can access the website using a VPN.⁸⁵ However, journalists on the ground in Myanmar continue to contend with physical and economic insecurity.⁸⁶ "The saying 'journalism is not a crime' does not work here. It's the opposite. [Journalists] are afraid of everything. We have to worry about everything," reporter Ma Khine told *Democratic Voice of Burma*.⁸⁷ "We're not just 'enemies of the state,' but are forced to lead a double or even triple life," an underground journalist told *Nikkei*.⁸⁸

Sixty-two journalists are currently imprisoned in Myanmar.⁸⁹ The military junta has revoked the licenses of fourteen news outlets.⁹⁰ According to Reporters Without Borders, Myanmar ranks 176th out of 180 countries in press freedom.⁹¹

IV. Economic Development

A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment

Russian Economic Development Minister Maxim Reshetnikov and Myanmar Senior General Min Aung Hlaing and his ministers signed seven agreements following discussions.⁹² No details on the agreements were provided by the Myanmar regime, but Russian state news agency *Tass* reported that a joint protocol on trade, disease control, education and science was signed.⁹³

Myanmar's military regime and Russian state-run atomic energy corporation, Rosatom, signed a memorandum of understanding in November for a feasibility study to build small modular nuclear reactors in Myanmar.⁹⁴ The Rosatom delegation arrived in Myanmar in early December to conduct the feasibility study, making field trips to potential sites for wind power and small-scale hydropower projects.⁹⁵ Rosatom is also aiding the regime in establishing a lithium battery factory.⁹⁶

The International Finance Corporation ("IFC"), a member of the World Bank Group, has divested from Yoma Bank after its business with military companies was exposed, according to activist group Justice For Myanmar.⁹⁷ IFC sold its 4.5% stake in Yoma Bank to First Myanmar Investment for US\$5 million.⁹⁸

B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects

Consul and Head of Chancery from the Consulate General of India, Sittwe, Jay Krishna, met junta-appointed Rakhine State Chief Minister Dr. Aung Kyaw Min for talks regarding the India-backed Kaladan Multi Modal Transit Transport Project on December 2, just days after an informal truce between Myanmar's military regime and the Arakan Army ("AA").⁹⁹ The transport project linking the two countries, which is considered crucial for New Delhi's Act East Policy, has been delayed partly by the fighting between junta forces and the AA.¹⁰⁰ At the meeting, the two representatives discussed the official opening of Sittwe's seaport and the

Kaladan River route inland through Rakhine's Kyauktaw to Paletwa in Chin State.¹⁰¹ They also discussed the development of a two-lane highway running from Paletwa to Zorinpui on the Myanmar-India border.¹⁰²

C. Land Seizure

In Kayah State, the military regime seized 292 acres of land for "security reasons."¹⁰³ Some farmers are continuing to farm the land in question, though they "don't dare to complain."¹⁰⁴ The seized land is located near the headquarters of a regime infantry division and land designated for veterans.¹⁰⁵

Residents of a village on the Myanmar-Thai border were "forced to relocate by the military regime," as a result of a proposed military outpost near the village.¹⁰⁶ Approximate 350 residents of the village have fled across the border to Thailand, with the rest of the villagers sheltering in the village's monastery and at relatives' homes.¹⁰⁷

V. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence

A. Ethnic Violence

On November 29, a junta battalion commander and nine other junta soldiers were reportedly killed in a clash between regime troops and the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army ("MNDAA") in the Chin Shew Haw area after regime forces attempted to occupy a strategic MNDAA base.¹⁰⁸

At least 20 regime soldiers were reportedly killed on December 4 in Kayah State during a clash between the combined forces of the Karenni Nationalities Defense Force and the Karenni Army with the military.¹⁰⁹

On December 7, at least 13 junta soldiers and two ethnic Kayin fighters reportedly died in a raid by the Karen National Liberation Army ("KNLA") and Karen National Defense Organization on a military outpost in Papun District, Kayin State.¹¹⁰

According to locals in Hpakant Township, Kachin State, at least 30 military forces were killed in an attack launched by the combined forces of the Kachin Independence Army and the Kachin Region People's Defense Force on December 6.¹¹¹ The attack was reportedly in response to the seizure and shelling of a village by junta forces.¹¹²

On December 8, a fight broke out in Shan State between the Ta'ang National Liberation Army and regime forces after a helicopter attack launched by the regime.¹¹³ At least 47 regime soldiers were reportedly killed in the clash, which lasted over a week.¹¹⁴

According to the KNLA, 20 regime soldiers were killed in an attack by the KNLA on a cargo train on December 13.¹¹⁵ On December 16, at least six junta soldiers were reportedly killed in Kawkareik Township, Kayin State in a raid of an infantry battalion by the KNLA and the allied White Tiger Column.¹¹⁶

On December 18, at least nine junta officers were reportedly killed in a raid on a military camp in Hpruso Township, Kayah State by the Karenni Army.¹¹⁷

Between December 16 and 18, at least 40 junta soldiers were allegedly killed in clashes with the combined forces of the Kachin Independence Army and PDF fighters in Indaw Township, Sagaing Region.¹¹⁸

According to the KNLA, in a total of 78 clashes between military regime troops and the KNLA between December 1 and 15, 21 military soldiers were killed in Papun Township, Kayin State.¹¹⁹

B. Peace Talks

Seven ethnic armed organizations, which are signatories to the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement, failed to schedule an informal meeting with Myanmar's regime in December.¹²⁰ On December 7, the Restoration Council of Shan State, New Mon State Party, Karen National Union/Karen National Liberation Army Peace Council, Arakan Liberation Party, Democratic Karen Benevolent Army, Pa-O National Liberation Organization and Lahu Democratic Union wrote to propose an informal meeting with the chairman of the regime's National Solidarity and Peace Negotiation Committee, Lieutenant General Yar Pyae.¹²¹ The ethnic armed organizations suggested in the letter to meet informally in Chiang Mai to discuss easing the crisis in Myanmar and building a permanent peace.¹²² On December 8, the Committee rejected the meeting proposal.¹²³

- ¹ Myanmar Now, December 20, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/local-administrators-resign-en-masse-in-rakhine-states-rathedaung-township>.
- ² Myanmar Now, December 21, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/myanmar-junta-replaces-yangon-administrators-with-hardline-supporters>.
- ³ The Irrawaddy, December 2, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-40-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-two-days-of-clashes-with-resistance.html>.
- ⁴ *Id.*
- ⁵ The Irrawaddy, December 5, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/scores-of-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- ⁶ *Id.*
- ⁷ The Irrawaddy, December 14, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/scores-of-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-week-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- ⁸ The Irrawaddy, December 8, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-forces-torch-nearly-150-homes-in-village-in-sagaing.html>.
- ⁹ Myanmar Now, December 30, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/junta-troops-raid-villages-in-southern-sagaing-clash-with-resistance-forces-in-the-north>.
- ¹⁰ The Irrawaddy, December 12, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-burns-26-villages-on-human-rights-day.html>.
- ¹¹ *Id.*
- ¹² Mizzima, December 14, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/juntas-sagaing-region-arson-attack-destroys-100-houses-and-kills-one>.
- ¹³ Myanmar Now, December 15, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/myanmar-junta-troops-murder-five-in-sagaings-ayadaw-township>.
- ¹⁴ Mizzima, December 16, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/12000-displaced-13-villages-monywa-pathein-highway>.
- ¹⁵ Myanmar Now, December 30, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/junta-troops-raid-villages-in-southern-sagaing-clash-with-resistance-forces-in-the-north>.
- ¹⁶ Myanmar Now, December 31, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/several-people-killed-in-myanmar-military-ambush-of-sagaing-resistance-checkpoint>.
- ¹⁷ *Id.*
- ¹⁸ The Irrawaddy, December 30, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-torch-six-sagaing-villages.html>.
- ¹⁹ Myanmar Now, December 30, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/junta-troops-raid-villages-in-southern-sagaing-clash-with-resistance-forces-in-the-north>.
- ²⁰ The Irrawaddy, December 7, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/rohingya-activists-accuse-myanmar-regime-of-killing-13-rohingya.html>.
- ²¹ *Id.*
- ²² The Irrawaddy, December 21, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-regime-arrests-traffickers-after-bodies-of-rohingya-dumped.html>.
- ²³ *Id.*
- ²⁴ *Id.*
- ²⁵ The Irrawaddy, December 6, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/thirteen-rohingya-bodies-found-dumped-outside-yangon.html>.
- ²⁶ *Id.*
- ²⁷ The Irrawaddy, December 7, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/rohingya-activists-accuse-myanmar-regime-of-killing-13-rohingya.html>.
- ²⁸ The Irrawaddy, December 6, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/thirteen-rohingya-bodies-found-dumped-outside-yangon.html>.
- ²⁹ The Irrawaddy, December 8, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/154-rohingya-migrants-seized-off-coast-myanmar-junta.html>.
- ³⁰ *Id.*
- ³¹ *Id.*
- ³² *Id.*
- ³³ The Irrawaddy, December 7, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/us-agrees-to-resettle-62-rohingya-refugees-from-bangladesh.html>.
- ³⁴ *Id.*
- ³⁵ *Id.*
- ³⁶ *Id.*
- ³⁷ *Id.*
- ³⁸ *Id.*
- ³⁹ Myanmar Now, December 30, 2022: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/myanmars-junta-hands-su-kyi-another-seven-years-behind-bars-completing-its-barrage-of-charges>.
- ⁴⁰ *Id.*
- ⁴¹ *Id.*
- ⁴² *Id.*
- ⁴³ *Id.*
- ⁴⁴ The Irrawaddy, December 23, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-preparing-to-seize-assets-of-su-kyi-founded-charity.html>.
- ⁴⁵ *Id.*
- ⁴⁶ *Id.*
- ⁴⁷ *Id.*

- ⁴⁸ The Irrawaddy, December 22, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/un-security-council-adopts-first-ever-resolution-on-myanmar.html>.
- ⁴⁹ *Id.*
- ⁵⁰ Mizzima, December 24, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/singapore-welcomes-un-security-councils-resolution-myanmar>.
- ⁵¹ Mizzima, December 24, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/un-security-council-trying-destabilise-myanmar-junta-says>.
- ⁵² Mizzima, December 23, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/uk-rohingya-organisation-un-security-council-resolution-fails-address-rohingya-genocide>.
- ⁵³ Mizzima, December 15, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/nug-representative-un-accepted-myanmar-junta-nominee-rejected>.
- ⁵⁴ The Irrawaddy, December 23, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/myanmar-junta-foreign-minister-meets-four-regional-counterparts-at-informal-thai-meeting.html>,
- ⁵⁵ The Irrawaddy, December 16, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmars-nug-praises-passage-of-us-burma-act.html>.
- ⁵⁶ *Id.*
- ⁵⁷ Mizzima, December 13, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/canada-sanctions-myanmar-jet-fuel-suppliers>.
- ⁵⁸ *Id.*
- ⁵⁹ Mizzima, December 3, 2022: <https://mizzima.com/article/rohingya-ngo-claims-myanmar-military-defying-un-court-rohingya-genocide>.
- ⁶⁰ *Id.*
- ⁶¹ The Irrawaddy, December 20, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/nug-criticizes-eu-and-asean-for-failing-to-take-action-against-myanmar-regime.html>.
- ⁶² The Irrawaddy, December 20, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/ifc-divests-from-yoma-bank-after-myanmar-military-links-exposed.html>.
- ⁶³ The Irrawaddy, December 9, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/myanmar-regime-representatives-barred-from-swiss-development-summit.html>.
- ⁶⁴ The Irrawaddy, January 4, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-releases-some-political-prisoners-in-independence-day-amnesty.html>.
- ⁶⁵ *Id.*
- ⁶⁶ *Id.*
- ⁶⁷ The Irrawaddy, January 10, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-revokes-pardon-for-freed-australian-economist-sean-turnell.html>.
- ⁶⁸ *Id.*
- ⁶⁹ *Id.*
- ⁷⁰ *Id.*
- ⁷¹ Radio Free Asia, December 2, 2022: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/journalist-15-years-12022022023736.html>.
- ⁷² *Id.*
- ⁷³ *Id.*
- ⁷⁴ *Id.*
- ⁷⁵ Democratic Voice of Burma, December 13, 2022: <https://english.dvb.no/junta-holds-ceremony-with-russian-officials-journalist-receives-additional-prison-sentence/>.
- ⁷⁶ *Id.*
- ⁷⁷ The Irrawaddy, December 22, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-jails-pair-of-journalists-who-were-rammed-by-military-vehicles-at-protest.html>.
- ⁷⁸ *Id.*
- ⁷⁹ *Id.*
- ⁸⁰ Coconuts Yangon, May 9, 2022: <https://coconuts.co/yangon/news/two-yangon-journalists-in-legal-limbo-after-9-months-in-insein-prison/>.
- ⁸¹ The Irrawaddy, December 22, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-jails-pair-of-journalists-who-were-rammed-by-military-vehicles-at-protest.html>.
- ⁸² *Id.*
- ⁸³ *Id.*
- ⁸⁴ International Press Institute, December 6, 2022: <https://ipi.media/interview-myanmars-assault-on-free-media-continues/>.
- ⁸⁵ *Id.*
- ⁸⁶ Democratic Voice of Burma, December 10, 2022: <https://english.dvb.no/myanmar-i-will-be-a-journalist-till-the-end/>.
- ⁸⁷ *Id.*
- ⁸⁸ Nikkei, December 14, 2022: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/Asian-countries-top-list-for-worst-jailers-of-journalists-report>.
- ⁸⁹ *Id.*
- ⁹⁰ Democratic Voice of Burma, December 10, 2022: <https://english.dvb.no/myanmar-i-will-be-a-journalist-till-the-end/>.
- ⁹¹ *Id.*
- ⁹² Irrawaddy, December 6, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/russian-trade-delegation-signs-seven-agreements-with-myanmar-junta.html>.
- ⁹³ *Id.*
- ⁹⁴ Irrawaddy, December 13, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/myanmar-junta-toasts-energy-deals-with-russias-atomic-agency.html>.
- ⁹⁵ *Id.*
- ⁹⁶ *Id.*

- ⁹⁷ Irrawaddy, December 20, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/ifc-divests-from-yoma-bank-after-myanmar-military-links-exposed.html>.
- ⁹⁸ *Id.*
- ⁹⁹ The Irrawaddy, December 5, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/india-and-myanmar-junta-using-rakhine-truce-to-finalize-trade-corridor.html>.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Id.*
- ¹⁰¹ *Id.*
- ¹⁰² *Id.*
- ¹⁰³ BNI Online, December 19, 2022: <https://www.bnionline.net/en/news/military-council-confiscates-300-acres-land-pretext-security-loikaw-karenni-state>.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Id.*
- ¹⁰⁵ *Id.*
- ¹⁰⁶ BNI Online, December 14, 2022: <https://www.bnionline.net/en/news/tanintharyi-region-village-forced-relocate-military-regime>.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Id.*
- ¹⁰⁸ 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>.
- ¹⁰⁹ The Irrawaddy, December 1, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/scores-of-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- ¹¹⁰ The Irrawaddy, December 7, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/nearly-30-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-two-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- ¹¹¹ The Irrawaddy, December 7, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/30-myanmar-junta-troops-killed-in-kachin-village-clash-residents.html>.
- ¹¹² *Id.*
- ¹¹³ The Irrawaddy, December 8, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/at-least-20-myanmar-junta-troops-killed-in-two-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- ¹¹⁴ The Irrawaddy, December 14, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/scores-of-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-week-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- ¹¹⁵ *Id.*
- ¹¹⁶ The Irrawaddy, December 16, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/karen-resistance-groups-claim-victories-over-myanmar-junta-forces.html>.
- ¹¹⁷ The Irrawaddy, December 18, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/dozens-of-myanmar-regime-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- ¹¹⁸ The Irrawaddy, December 20, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/uss-burma-act-is-an-ultimatum-to-myanmar-regime.html>.
- ¹¹⁹ The Irrawaddy, December 21, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-regime-troops-take-heavy-casualties-in-karen-state.html>.
- ¹²⁰ The Irrawaddy, December 14, 2022: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-snubs-pro-regime-armed-groups-call-for-peace-talks.html>.
- ¹²¹ *Id.*
- ¹²² *Id.*
- ¹²³ *Id.*