

STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

APRIL 2023 REPORT

Summary. This report reviews the April 2023 developments relating to human rights in Myanmar.

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I. Coup, Crackdown on Protests and Civilian Resistance

At least 172 people¹ were killed in an air raid carried out by the military during the opening ceremony of an office of the People's Administration Team, which operates under the National Unity Government ("NUG"), in Pa Zi Gyi in Kanbalu Township, Sagaing Region on April 11.² A fighter jet dropped two bombs on the building before a military helicopter opened fire on the crowd of around 200 people for around 10 minutes.³ The Myanmar military justified their actions by stating that there were members of the People's Defense Force ("PDF") in attendance; however, only 18 people out of the 172 killed were members of the PDF,⁴ while at least 42 were children⁵ and 24 were pregnant women.⁶ Many women and children were at the event to receive food as part of the ceremony.⁷ A week later, around 200 troops raided Pa Zi Gyi village, forcing villagers to flee their homes.⁸ 215 out of 230 houses in the village were destroyed,⁹ while a total of around 450 houses from three villages in Kanbalu Township were destroyed.¹⁰

On April 10, a similar attack killed nine people when the military dropped two bombs on a high school in northern Chin State.¹¹ The school was not open at the time, but the principal and his wife were among those killed.¹²

The annual Water Festival, or Thingyan, began on April 13. While the military forced local civil servants to participate¹³ and held celebrations under tight security, local PDFs warned residents not to attend Thingyan this year due to planned attacks during the celebrations.¹⁴ The Revolutionary Force for Justice, a guerilla group, bombed a stage in Thanbyuzayat Township, Mon State on April 9.¹⁵ Another stage was bombed in Lashio Township, Shan State on April 13.¹⁶ Four people were killed and bystanders were injured as a result of the bombing.¹⁷ Drone attacks were conducted by the Loikaw PDF on Thingyan stages in Loikaw Town, Kayah State on April 15.¹⁸ Around 28 people were injured, including multiple civil service personnel.¹⁹

According to the Mandalay PDF, the resistance group killed at least 75 military forces in clashes in northern Shan State from April 5-14.²⁰ At least 41 military forces were killed on April 29 alone in multiple clashes in Sagaing and Mandalay regions and Chin, Mon and Karen States.²¹

Residents in Sagaing Region continued to experience an increase in military activity in and around their villages this month. On April 3, around 130 of 300 houses in Hnawkan Village were burned down by a column of around 100 soldiers.²² Approximately 15,000 residents of nearby villages fled after the attack on Hnawkan Village.²³ Later in the month, around 20,000 more residents fled from sixteen villages in Khin U Township after the military began attacking their villages on April 19.²⁴ On April 23, soldiers burned down approximately 500 of 1,000 houses, including a pagoda and a monastery, in Tabeyinkwal Village, Sagaing Township.²⁵ Residents report that this is the third time the military has set fire to houses and buildings in their village.²⁶

II. Political Developments

A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis

In furtherance of the Chinese-backed pilot project to repatriate Rohingya refugees to Rakhine State from Bangladesh, Bangladesh's foreign secretary met with representatives from China and Myanmar's junta.²⁷ However, Rohingya leaders maintain that any repatriation must guarantee equal human rights in Myanmar and return them to their land.²⁸

B. Corruption

Junta chief Min Aung Hlaing personally requested that Thai authorities drop his daughter's name from a court case involving a Myanmar arms dealer indicted on charges of drug trafficking and money laundering.²⁹ Arms dealer Tun Min Latt was arrested in a police raid in Bangkok in September last year, along with three Thai nationals.³⁰ More than 200 million baht (US\$5.4 million) worth of drugs and other items were confiscated in the raid.³¹ Tun Min Latt and the three Thais are currently on trial for money laundering, drug trafficking, and transnational organized crime at a criminal court in the Thai capital.³² Tun Min Latt runs the Star Sapphire Group, which brokered imports of Israeli reconnaissance drones and aircraft parts for the Myanmar Air Force.³³ His ties to Myanmar junta leader Min Aung Hlaing's family were revealed when Thai police found bankbooks and title deeds to a luxury condominium owned by the junta chief's daughter, Khin Thiri Thet Mon, and her brother, Aung Paye Sone, among the items seized during the raid in September.³⁴ Min Aung Hlaing's daughter was also a co-founder of the Star Sapphire Group's subsidiary, Star Thiri Investment Limited, which is now operating as Royal Mawtaung Mining Company Limited.³⁵

Myanmar's junta-controlled Supreme Court of the Union agreed to hear appeals of the rulings against jailed former State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi and former President Win Myint.³⁶ The cases involve the alleged misuse of public funds for the rental and subsequent purchase of a helicopter and electoral fraud.³⁷ Aung San Suu Kyi's appeal of her conviction for violating the Official Secrets Act will also be heard by the Supreme Court.³⁸

C. International Community / Sanctions

The United Nations Human Rights Council adopted a new resolution on Myanmar on April 4.³⁹ The resolution unequivocally condemns the junta's continuing violence against civilians.⁴⁰ It also holds the junta responsible for the worsening human rights and humanitarian crisis in Myanmar.⁴¹ The resolution was applauded by the NUG,⁴² though some non-governmental organizations do not believe the resolution goes far enough, particularly because the resolution does not explicitly call for an arms embargo or additional sanctions.⁴³ Despite the new resolution, the health ministry of the NUG says that the United Nations and foreign governments have turned a blind eye to the human rights abuses in Myanmar and that no meaningful action has been taken by the international community.⁴⁴

The United Nations special rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar, Thomas Andrews, urged Japan to sanction the Myanmar junta and immediately end a training program for Myanmar troops.⁴⁵ Japan lodged an official complaint with Myanmar after it discovered that three ships supplied by Japan through a development assistance program were used for military purposes by the junta.⁴⁶

Former United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon met with junta leader Min Aung Hlaing at the end of April on behalf of The Elders, a group of former world leaders founded by Nelson Mandela which works to promote peace.⁴⁷ During the meeting, Ban Ki-moon called for an end to coup-related violence, urging the junta to “to adopt an immediate cessation of violence, and start constructive dialogue among all parties concerned.”⁴⁸

III. Civil and Political Rights

A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association

On March 22, the Myanmar regime arrested 15 Mandalay teachers working online with the NUG.⁴⁹ The regime accused the teachers of funding resistance groups through school fees.⁵⁰ The regime also said that it would target parents and children who attend schools run by the NUG.⁵¹

A regime court in Kachin State sentenced the prominent Kachin Christian leader Reverend Hkalam Samson to six years in prison on unlawful association, incitement and counterterrorism charges.⁵² The Kachin State Baptist leader was arrested in December by the regime for defaming the military in his sermons.⁵³ He was initially detained and charged with unlawful association in January, before being indicted for incitement.⁵⁴ On February 14, the junta filed a further charge under the counterterrorism law, accusing Dr. Samson of meeting with a member of the opposition NUG.⁵⁵ In February, the United States condemned the Myanmar military regime’s arrest and detention of Dr. Samson on politically motivated charges.⁵⁶

Myanmar’s military regime sentenced jailed anti-junta protest leader Ko Wai Moe Naing to an additional 20 years in prison on charges including robbery, rioting and carrying a deadly weapon in a crowd.⁵⁷ Ko Wai Moe Naing, a former student union leader, had already been given a 14-year sentence on four charges including incitement and is now facing a total of 34 years in prison.⁵⁸ The activist defended himself at the trial as neither of his two lawyers was able to attend.⁵⁹ One has been detained, while the other is in hiding after being made the subject of an arrest warrant.⁶⁰ Ko Wai Moe Naing has also been charged with treason for leading protests in Monywa and for affiliation with the Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, a group of deposed lawmakers that the junta has declared an unlawful organization.⁶¹ The treason charge carries either a death sentence or life imprisonment. Ko Wai Moe Naing also faces one charge of murder.⁶²

The Myanmar regime released more than 3,000 prisoners to mark the traditional New Year.⁶³ The government did not say whether anti-junta protestors or journalists jailed covering the coup and its aftermath were among those freed.⁶⁴ However, any of the freed prisoners who reoffend will need to serve the remainder of their sentence with an additional penalty.⁶⁵

In a notice in its propaganda newspapers, the junta has threatened to punish citizens caught playing online video games, including the PDF Game, that raise funds for the country’s armed resistance movement.⁶⁶ The notice states that the apps are developed by “terrorist organizations affiliated [with the] National Unity Government and its parliamentary committee, the Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, and used to support PDFs engaged in terrorist activities.”⁶⁷ The junta also said the games create a false impression and incite rebellion among

young people.⁶⁸ The PDF Game enables players to take on the role of PDF fighters and shoot junta soldiers as well as top generals, including coup leader Min Aung Hlaing, virtually.⁶⁹ Proceeds from the app are being donated to fund the resistance and help displaced civilians.⁷⁰ The game has been downloaded more than 500,000 times.⁷¹

B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

On March 29, it was announced that photographer Mauk Kham Wah won a World Press Photo 2023 regional award.⁷² The photograph, “Retrieving the Dead,” depicts a group of resistance fighters in retreat; one carries a lifeless comrade.⁷³ Mauk Kham Wah has been documenting the front lines of the conflict in and around Kayah(Karenni) State since 2021.⁷⁴ “Karenni State is just a small dot compared to our earth. But living in that small dot are those who are fighting injustice with their lives. I wanted to speak out about them,” he told *Myanmar Now*.⁷⁵

On April 11, the military arrested Yangon journalist Kyaw Min Swe for posting a black square on Facebook in response to the junta’s deadly bombing on Pazi Gyi.⁷⁶ He was charged with incitement under section 505(a) of the penal code, which carries a maximum penalty of life imprisonment.⁷⁷ Kyaw Min Swe was previously editor-in-chief of *The Voice Weekly* magazine, editor of *Aasan*, and secretary for the Myanmar News and Media Council.⁷⁸

On or around April 11, actress May Pa Chi and singers Shwe Yi Thein Tan and May La Than Sin were also arrested by the military for posting black squares on Facebook.⁷⁹ The detainees were charged with incitement under section 505(a) of the penal code.⁸⁰ The junta has reportedly arrested dozens for Facebook posts this month, but exact numbers are unknown.⁸¹ “The desire to erase any allusion to their atrocities is one of the characteristics of war criminals,” according to Daniel Bastard, head of Reporters Without Borders’ Asia-Pacific desk.⁸²

IV. Economic Development

A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment

According to the Directorate of Investment and Company Administration, Myanmar attracted more than US\$1.64 billion in foreign direct investment in the 2022-23 fiscal year.⁸³ During this period, the Myanmar Investment Commission approved 87 foreign investment enterprises.⁸⁴ The power sector attracted the most foreign investment, with over US\$820.27 million, followed by the services sector with over US\$504.12 million and the manufacturing sector with over US\$271.8 million.⁸⁵ Singapore, China and Thailand are the largest investors in Myanmar.⁸⁶

Swedish-Finnish engineering services supplier AFRY has withdrawn from Myanmar’s hydropower projects.⁸⁷ AFRY was paid US\$4.7 million in service fees for consulting on the Upper Yeywa and Middle Paunglaung projects from February 2021 to September 2022, according to Justice For Myanmar, based on leaked tax filings from the whistleblower website Distributed Denial of Secrets.⁸⁸ AFRY has been the engineering consultant for 13 hydropower projects in Myanmar and delivered in-house engineering service to the Nancho, Thaythay, Upper Yeywa, Kun and Upper Keng Tawng projects.⁸⁹

Rights groups have demanded that five British insurance companies stop covering aviation fuel deliveries to Myanmar following junta airstrikes on Pa Zi Gyi that killed 172 people.⁹⁰

B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects

On April 12, officials from China and Myanmar held a ceremony to connect the components of the Thanlwin Bridge (Kunlong).⁹¹ The Thanlwin Bridge (Kunlong) Construction Project is located about 24 kilometers from Chinshwehaw Town, a border town between China and Myanmar.⁹² The Yunnan Government is building the bridge at a cost of 140 million yuan.⁹³ When the Thanlwin Bridge (Kunlong) is complete, the Lashio- Hsenwi- Kunlong-Chinshwehaw road will become the main trade route between China and Myanmar.⁹⁴

C. Land Seizure

There have been no material updates since the previous report.

V. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence

A. Ethnic Violence

On April 3, the Karen National Liberation Army (“KNLA”) and its allies attacked a junta hilltop outpost in Thingan Nyi Naung and junta-run offices in northern Kawkareik.⁹⁵

The Kaw Thoo Lei Army (“KTLA”), an ethnic Karen armed group, said that it is attacking Shwe Kokko in Myawaddy Township because the city has become a hub of drugs and sex-trafficking that funds the military regime with dirty money as a result of a joint venture between the junta-affiliated Border Guard Force (“BGF”) and Chinese tycoons that run the casino town.⁹⁶ Known as “China Town,” the Shwe Kokko project is a US\$15 billion collaboration between the BGF and the Hong Kong-registered Yatai International Holding Group.⁹⁷ Fighting erupted in the area after three members of the KTLA were arrested by Thai authorities and handed over to the BGF on April 1.⁹⁸ The KNLA and its allies clashed with junta troops in the village of Mekanel on April 11 amid junta airstrikes.⁹⁹ Mekanel is about 16 kilometers from Shwe Kokko. Around 8,000 people have fled the area to the Moei River near Mae Sot because of the fighting.¹⁰⁰ Thai authorities have allowed displaced people to take shelter at five temporary camps along the Moei River according to volunteers helping displaced people.¹⁰¹

Eleven civilians were killed and many injured by Myanmar regime airstrikes on Falam Township, Chin State on April 10 after the Chin National Defense Force (“CNDF”) seized a police station.¹⁰² The CNDF raided and torched the outpost, where about 30 police officers were stationed.¹⁰³ Seven police officers and several weapons were captured, according to a spokesman.¹⁰⁴

On April 10, the Chin National Army (“CNA”) attacked a military convoy outside of Hakha Town, killing ten regime troops.¹⁰⁵ Three of the vehicles in the convoy were seized by

resistance forces.¹⁰⁶ Another convoy traveling to reinforce Hakha was completely destroyed on April 13 by Chin resistance groups.¹⁰⁷ Fierce fighting continued in the area in response to the destruction of the convoy on April 13.¹⁰⁸

At least three civilians, including a child, were killed and six injured in a Myanmar regime airstrike on Mindat Township, Chin State on April 16.¹⁰⁹

According to local media, at least eight junta soldiers were killed in heavy fighting in Demoso Township, Kayah State with the combined forces of the Karenni Army and Karenni Nationalities Defense Forces on April 19.¹¹⁰ The Karenni Information Center reported that one junta soldier was also captured in the conflict.¹¹¹ A Karenni Army member was also reportedly killed in the clashes.¹¹²

Myanmar's junta intensified bombing in Myawaddy Township, Karen State to bolster their ground troops fighting several resistance groups, including the KNLA and KNU.¹¹³ Around 3,000 residents from Kae Ka Nei and nearby villages are sheltering at monasteries in Myawaddy town.¹¹⁴

According to the KNLA, at least 21 Myanmar junta troops were killed on April 22 and 24 during raids on five regime bases in Bago Region and Karen State.¹¹⁵ The KNU said that one resistance fighter was killed in the raids on April 22.¹¹⁶ The regime launched airstrikes in the area after the resistance groups left.¹¹⁷

Myanmar junta troops clashed with a combined force of the Karenni Army and Karenni Nationalities Defense Force (“KNDF”) on April 24 in Pekon Township on the border of Kayah and Shan States.¹¹⁸ Military forces are advancing in Pekon, having deployed six detachments in the township since February 24.¹¹⁹ More than 6,000 civilians in Pekon have fled their villages since early March.¹²⁰

More than 40 junta personnel, including an election official and military commanders, were killed in a series of attacks by resistance groups between April 21 and 23.¹²¹ Sai Kyaw Thu, the deputy director-general of the Union Election Commission and a former Lieutenant Colonel, was shot dead by For The Yangon, an urban guerrilla force resisting the junta, on April 22.¹²² The junta confirmed the attack, saying the killing was carried out by anti-regime forces.¹²³ On the same day, an army major and four people in his entourage were shot dead when the Kachin Independence Army and allied PDF forces raided a karaoke joint in Hpakant, Kachin State.¹²⁴ The junta also lost 21 troops in clashes with the KNLA and allied PDF forces in Kyauk Kyi Township, Bago Region on April 22, according to a resistance statement.¹²⁵

Over 20 Myanmar soldiers were killed and two arrested during resistance raids by the Moby PDF, the KNDF and Urban Revolutionary Front on a regime base in Moby town, Shan State on April 26.¹²⁶

B. Peace Talks

The NUG sent congratulations to Rakhine State's Arakan Army (“AA”) on April 10, 2023, to celebrate its 14th anniversary.¹²⁷ The NUG acknowledged the contributions made by

the AA over the past 14 years in Rakhine State and also expressed hope that both sides could work together to build a federal alliance to defeat the Myanmar military regime.¹²⁸ Other AA allies, the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army and the Ta'ang National Liberation Army and other ethnic armed organizations such as the Student Armed Forces, Chin National Organization, the People's Revolutionary Alliance (Magway), the PDF-Mandalay and the Burma People's Liberation Army also sent messages on AA's 14th anniversary.¹²⁹

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- ² Myanmar Now, April 11, 2023: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/myanmar-junta-airstrikes-kill-dozens-in-attack-on-nug-ceremony/>.
- ³ Myanmar Now, April 14, 2023: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/death-toll-for-kanbalu-massacre-surpasses-160/>.
- ⁴ Mizzima, April 19, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/junta-airstrike-killed-more-twice-many-children-pdf-members>.
- ⁵ The Irrawaddy, April 19, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-military-raids-pazi-gyi-village-again.html>.
- ⁶ The Guardian, April 18, 2023: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/apr/18/our-country-is-sick-survivors-in-shock-after-deadly-myanmar-airstrike>.
- ⁷ Myanmar Now, April 11, 2023: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/myanmar-junta-airstrikes-kill-dozens-in-attack-on-nug-ceremony/>.
- ⁸ The Irrawaddy, April 19, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-military-raids-pazi-gyi-village-again.html>.
- ⁹ The Irrawaddy, April 26, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-torches-over-450-houses-in-five-days-in-resistance-stronghold-sagaing.html>.
- ¹⁰ *Id.*
- ¹¹ Myanmar Now, April 10, 2023: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/airstrike-kills-at-least-nine-at-a-school-in-northern-chin-state/>.
- ¹² *Id.*
- ¹³ The Irrawaddy, April 3, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-orders-civil-servants-to-participate-in-regimes-thingyan-festival.html>.
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- ¹⁵ Mizzima, April 12, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/juntas-thingyan-stage-bombed-mon-states-thanbyuzayat-township>.
- ¹⁶ Mizzima, April 14, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/bomb-kills-four-near-thingyan-pandal-shan-states-lashio>.
- ¹⁷ *Id.*
- ¹⁸ Mizzima, April 17, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/two-thingyan-stages-bombed-drones-loikaw-town>.
- ¹⁹ *Id.*
- ²⁰ The Irrawaddy, April 18, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/dozens-of-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-shan-state-clashes-mandalay-pdf.html>; *see also* Mizzima, April 19, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/75-junta-soldiers-killed-10-days-fighting-mandalayshan-border>.
- ²¹ The Irrawaddy, May 1, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-40-myanmar-regime-forces-killed-in-single-day-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- ²² Mizzima, April 6, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-junta-burns-down-130-houses-pale-township>.
- ²³ *Id.*
- ²⁴ The Irrawaddy, April 20, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/tens-of-thousands-flee-myanmar-junta-raids-in-sagaing.html>.
- ²⁵ Mizzima, April 27, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-junta-burns-down-500-houses-sagaing-township>.
- ²⁶ *Id.*
- ²⁷ The Irrawaddy, April 20, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/china-hosts-myanmar-junta-and-bangladesh-to-discuss-rohingya-repatriations.html>.
- ²⁸ *Id.*
- ²⁹ The Irrawaddy, April 12, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-chief-asks-thailand-to-drop-daughters-name-from-drugs-laundering-case.html>.
- ³⁰ *Id.*
- ³¹ *Id.*
- ³² *Id.*
- ³³ *Id.*
- ³⁴ *Id.*
- ³⁵ *Id.*
- ³⁶ The Irrawaddy, April 21, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmars-supreme-court-to-hear-daw-aung-san-suu-kyi-appeals.html>.
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- ³⁸ *Id.*
- ³⁹ Mizzima, April 6, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/nug-welcomes-un-condemnation-myanmar-junta-abuses>.
- ⁴⁰ *Id.*
- ⁴¹ *Id.*
- ⁴² *Id.*
- ⁴³ Mizzima, April 16, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/ngos-say-un-move-trashes-myanmar-juntas-claim-legitimacy-and-legality>.
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- ⁴⁵ Mizzima, April 29, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/un-expert-urges-japan-sanction-myanmar-junta>.
- ⁴⁶ Mizzima, April 29, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/japan-lodges-complaint-myanmar-after-junta-troops-use-donated-ships>.
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- ⁴⁹ The Irrawaddy, April 6, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-arrests-15-nug-linked-teachers.html>.
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- ⁵¹ *Id.*
- ⁵² The Irrawaddy, April 7, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-regime-court-jails-kachin-baptist-leader-for-six-years.html>.
- ⁵³ *Id.*
- ⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ The Irrawaddy, April 8, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-sentences-jailed-pro-democracy-activist-to-additional-20-years-in-prison.html>.

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ *Id.*

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ The Irrawaddy, April 18, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-to-free-3000-prisoners-in-traditional-new-year-amnesty.html>.

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ The Irrawaddy, April 25, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-regime-threatens-players-of-pdf-video-game.html>.

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⁶⁸ *Id.*

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⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ *Id.*

⁷² Mizzima, April 2, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-photographer-wins-world-press-photo-2023-regional-award>.

⁷³ *Id.*

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ Myanmar Now, April 26, 2023: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/as-myanmars-revolution-beckons-a-new-breed-of-activist-photographers-heeds-the-call/>.

⁷⁶ Voice of America News, April 24, 2023: <https://www.voanews.com/a/myanmar-editor-arrested-over-social-media-images/7064137.html>.

⁷⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁸ Radio Free Asia, April 24, 2023: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/airstrike-04212023164734.html>.

⁷⁹ *Id.*

⁸⁰ *Id.*

⁸¹ The Irrawaddy, April 28, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-cracks-down-on-social-media-posts-deemed-anti-regime.html>.

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⁸³ The Star, April 9, 2023: <https://www.thestar.com.my/aseanplus/aseanplus-news/2023/04/09/myanmar-attracts-over-us164bil-in-fdi-for-2022-23-fiscal-year>.

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⁸⁵ *Id.*

⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁷ The Irrawaddy, April 28, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/european-dam-specialists-withdraw-from-myanmar-amid-rights-concerns.html>.

⁸⁸ *Id.*

⁸⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁰ The Irrawaddy, April 21, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/rights-group-demands-insurance-firms-stop-covering-myanmar-junta-fuel-supplies.html>.

⁹¹ Myanmar Information Sheet, April 16, 2023: <https://infosheet.org/node/4607>.

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ *Id.*

⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁵ The Irrawaddy, April 7, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/resistance-raids-myanmar-junta-outposts-near-chinese-gambling-hub.html>.

⁹⁶ The Irrawaddy, April 10, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/shwe-kokko-crime-hub-attacked-for-funding-myanmar-junta-ktla.html>.

⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁹⁸ *Id.*

⁹⁹ The Irrawaddy, April 11, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/fresh-fighting-breaks-out-near-chinese-gambling-hub-in-myanmars-karen-state.html>.

¹⁰⁰ The Irrawaddy, April 10, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/shwe-kokko-crime-hub-attacked-for-funding-myanmar-junta-ktla.html>.

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

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¹⁰³ *Id.*

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

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¹⁰⁸ The Irrawaddy, April 19, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/fighting-continues-after-myanmar-junta-convoy-crushed-in-chin-state.html>.

¹⁰⁹ The Irrawaddy, April 18, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-airstrike-kills-three-chin-civilians.html>.

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¹¹² *Id.*

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¹¹⁴ *Id.*

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¹¹⁷ *Id.*

¹¹⁸ The Irrawaddy, April 25, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-regime-forces-continue-to-clash-with-karenni-resistance-in-southern-shan.html>.

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¹²⁰ *Id.*

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¹²⁴ *Id.*

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¹²⁹ *Id.*