

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

**MAY 2023 REPORT**

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

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

Over the past month, People's Defense Forces ("PDFs") have stepped up their attacks against the military across the country.<sup>1</sup> From May 8-10, at least 24 military troops and three resistance fighters were killed, 13 of which were killed when PDF groups ambushed troops in Salingyi Township, Sagaing Region on May 8.<sup>2</sup> At least 38 military soldiers and four members of resistance groups were killed from May 11-15 in Kayin and Mon States and Mandalay, Sagaing and Magway regions.<sup>3</sup> Twenty-six troops were killed from May 17-19 in Bago, Magway, Mandalay and Sagaing regions and Mon State.<sup>4</sup> From May 19-24, around 46 troops were killed in Sagaing, Magway, Bago, Tanintharyi regions and Mon and Kayin States.<sup>5</sup> Separately, according to resistance groups in Kayah State, almost 40 soldiers were killed in Demoso Township from May 14-25.<sup>6</sup> At least 31 military troops were killed in Sagaing, Magway, Mandalay regions and Kayin State from May 27-29.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, at least 19 civilians were killed and 18 civilians were injured from May 22-29 during airstrikes and village raids in Kayah and Kayin States and Bago, Magway and Sagaing regions.<sup>8</sup>

Military troops raided three villages and burned down houses in Ye-U Township, Sagaing Region from April 30-May 1 and, as a result, more than 5,000 residents of 20 nearby villages fled their homes out of fear.<sup>9</sup> 7,000 people were displaced in Khin U Township after the military set fire to more villages in the area from May 7-8.<sup>10</sup> In Kanbalu Township, at least 20,000 residents of around 20 villages fled their homes as a result of ten days of military raids in the area, where more than 171 houses were destroyed.<sup>11</sup> Days later, the number of residents who fled the area grew to over 50,000 people after the military raided an additional four villages.<sup>12</sup>

A total of around 16,000 residents of the Sagaing Region fled military raids in mid-May.<sup>13</sup> About 3,000 of these residents left their homes after the military raided Chan Thar Gone village on May 14.<sup>14</sup> On May 22, the military destroyed more than 500 homes in a 1,000-household village in Pa Du village.<sup>15</sup>

In Bago Region, military troops set fire to 18 villages in Htantabin Township on May 10 and killed multiple civilians, including four children under the age of nine and a man and a woman in their seventies.<sup>16</sup> In Yesagyo Township, Magway Region, a column of around 200 military troops torched homes in ten villages from May 26-27.<sup>17</sup> On May 26, five villages were raided, including Nwet Ni, Mi Pha Yar and Sin Te.<sup>18</sup> Five more villages were burned down the next day.<sup>19</sup> The military raided an internally displaced persons camp where more than 100 displaced villagers were residing on May 28.<sup>20</sup> On May 29, the military raided villages in Yay Lel Kyun and allegedly tortured and killed a resident who tried to put out a fire from the military's arson attack earlier that day.<sup>21</sup> More than 20 civilians have been used as human shields throughout these military raids in Yesagyo Township.<sup>22</sup> Overall, at least 21,000 villagers have been displaced in Yesagyo Township by these raids.<sup>23</sup>

On May 4, military forces used dynamite to destroy a local high school in Ye-U Township's Chan Thar village, a predominantly Catholic community, in their fifth attack on the area since last year.<sup>24</sup> The soldiers proceeded to torch the structural remains after blowing up most of the building.<sup>25</sup> The school was the last standing building in the village; all that remains in the village now is a cemetery.<sup>26</sup> Although the school has not been operating since the 2021 coup, the building was being used as a shelter for internally displaced persons from nearby villages.<sup>27</sup> This incident was part of a string of raids on villages located in western Ye-U that began on May 3.<sup>28</sup> Roughly 3,000 people from neighboring areas have been displaced as a result of these attacks, and are seeking shelter in monasteries that do not have enough food.<sup>29</sup>

## **II. Political Developments**

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

On May 5, as part of the repatriation pilot project, Bangladeshi officials brought 20 Rohingya refugees to Rakhine State to visit resettlement camps.<sup>30</sup> Five Rohingya refugees who were part of this visit said that the detention-like conditions and lack of full citizenship rights were not conducive to a safe return.<sup>31</sup> Instead of full citizenship rights, Myanmar is offering returning Rohingya refugees national verification cards (NVCs).<sup>32</sup> NVCs identify Rohingya individuals as foreigners.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, Human Rights Watch stated that conditions in Rakhine State are not favorable for sustainable repatriation of Rohingya refugees.<sup>34</sup>

Cyclone Mocha, a powerful category five storm, hit the coastlines of Bangladesh and Myanmar on May 9.<sup>35</sup> Myanmar was more directly impacted, with the storm crashing through houses in Rakhine State, home to hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees.<sup>36</sup> Myanmar's military junta stated that Cyclone Mocha has killed 148 people mostly from the Rohingya minority.<sup>37</sup> The disaster has left hundreds of thousands without a roof over their heads.<sup>38</sup>

### **B. Corruption**

Military family members and defected soldiers disclosed that Myanmar military commanders have been diverting insurance payments for slain soldiers into their own pockets.<sup>39</sup> In early 2023, the regime halted insurance payouts for families of 66<sup>th</sup> Light Infantry Division soldiers killed in Kayah State whose bodies could not be recovered.<sup>40</sup> The regime can avoid issuing insurance payouts and revealing ongoing heavy military casualties by listing these soldiers as missing in action rather than as dead.<sup>41</sup> Since 2015, four years after Min Aung Hlaing became the military chief, the regime has required all military personnel to purchase life insurance with Aung Myint Moh Min Insurance Company, which is owned by Min Aung Hlaing's son, Aung Pyae Sone.<sup>42</sup> Family members are often unaware of the insurance amount or the existence of such insurance and so they cannot verify whether they have received the death benefits in full or they simply do not collect on the insurance at all.<sup>43</sup>

According to the activist group Justice for Myanmar, the family of junta Energy Minister Myo Myint Oo has been profiting from fossil fuel and mining companies.<sup>44</sup> Before his appointment to the Energy Ministry, Myo Myint Oo was in charge of Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise ("MOGE"), a state agency that regulates the oil and gas sector.<sup>45</sup> MOGE functions

both as a state revenue collector and a commercial partner in projects and is currently controlled by the Energy Ministry.<sup>46</sup> Dr. Ohnmar May Tin Hlaing, Myo Myint Oo's wife, co-owns Environmental Quality Management Company Limited ("EQM") with her father, Tin Hlaing, who was a high-ranking civil servant.<sup>47</sup> EQM provides services to the oil and gas sector as well as military conglomerates, raising concerns that the company could benefit from her husband's position.<sup>48</sup> In 2022, EQM completed a project providing ambient air quality monitoring services to TotalEnergies, which provided a five-month internship to Myo Myint Oo's daughter, Lin Hay Thi Oo in September 2017.<sup>49</sup> It remains unclear whether Lin Hay Thi Oo financially benefited from her father's position or her parents' business interests.<sup>50</sup>

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

Discussion of the situation in Myanmar dominated the Association of Southeast Asian Nations ("ASEAN") summit in early May.<sup>51</sup> Leaders of the ASEAN nations are "deeply concerned" about the violence in Myanmar, condemning a recent attack on a convoy of diplomats providing humanitarian aid.<sup>52</sup>

The United Nations ("UN") special envoy for Myanmar, Noeleen Heyzer, called for a unified regional approach to solve the crisis in Myanmar, believing that a solution that is in accordance with the will and needs of the Myanmar people could make tangible progress on the ground.<sup>53</sup> On June 12, Heyzer will step down from the special envoy position after her 18-month tenure; a new envoy is expected to be appointed to fill the position.<sup>54</sup>

The acting director-general of the Intelligence Bureau of the Joint Staff Department of China's Central Military Commission visited Myanmar at the end of May to discuss military cooperation with the junta.<sup>55</sup> This is the first publicly reported visit by a Chinese military official.<sup>56</sup>

The U.S. Agency for International Development has provided an initial \$450,000 in humanitarian assistance to meet the immediate needs for the people of Myanmar and Bangladesh most affected by Cyclone Mocha.<sup>57</sup> The United Nations launched an appeal on May 23 for \$333 million in emergency funding for 1.6 million people it said were affected by Cyclone Mocha.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, the United Kingdom is providing \$2.3 million in humanitarian support to Rohingya refugees and host communities in Bangladesh in the aftermath of Cyclone Mocha.<sup>59</sup>

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

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

According to local statistics and United Nation reports, the Myanmar regime has arrested and imprisoned more than 21,000 people since the coup in February 2021.<sup>60</sup> Among the detainees are 170 journalists<sup>61</sup> and more than 120 opposition members of Parliament,<sup>62</sup> including 41 Union parliament lawmakers and 87 regional lawmakers.<sup>63</sup> On May 2, Myanmar Labour Alliance announced the junta has arrested and imprisoned about 300 labor workers and killed 53 of them.<sup>64</sup> On May 3, Committee to Protect Journalists revised its data and reported the junta jailed at least 40 reporters in December, 2022, up from the previously reported 30.<sup>65</sup>

On May 9, the junta transferred 330 male and 235 female prisoners from Yangon's Insein Prison to Bago's Tharyarwaddy Prison.<sup>66</sup> The junta carried out the transfer of the 565 prisoners without informing their families.<sup>67</sup> The transferring process was alleged to treat the prisoners "like chickens in a cage."<sup>68</sup>

On May 19, a junta court convicted anti-regime protest leader Ko Wai Moe Naing of high treason for his role in the Monywa protests after the February 1 coup and sentenced him to 20 years in prison.<sup>69</sup> Together with the other eight charges against him, including sedition, unlawful assembly, abduction with the intent to murder, murder and treason, this brought his total sentence to 54 years in prison.<sup>70</sup>

From May 20-21, the junta detained ten owners of food and grocery stalls and tea shops in Yay Phyu village for selling foods to the resistance groups.<sup>71</sup> The junta has since released five out of the ten detained shop owners.<sup>72</sup>

On May 23, the junta arrested local influencer and philanthropist Wai Hun Aung along with another others as they travelled to provide aid to people affected by Cyclone Mocha.<sup>73</sup> The junta later released Wai Hun Aung on May 25.<sup>74</sup> However, citing reasons such as connections with outlawed news outlets, the junta has not yet released two out of the other four detained in the same incident.<sup>75</sup> Since the incident, several Myanmar NGOs have voiced their fears of arrest.<sup>76</sup>

On May 3, the junta announced that it pardoned 2,153 prisoners.<sup>77</sup> The junta also released Win Mya Mya from Mandalay's Obo Prison after arresting her in February 2021 for leading protests in Mandalay following the coup.<sup>78</sup>

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

Journalists were among the 2,153 prisoners released from prison to honor Buddha Day, May 3.<sup>79</sup> According to an official statement, the prisoners had all been sentenced under section 505(a) of the penal code, which prohibits spreading "fake news or statements that incite public disorder or fear."<sup>80</sup> Journalists Nyein Nyein Aye (aka Mabel), Zaw Tun (aka Blake), Zaw Lin Htut (aka Phoe Thar), Kaung Set Lin, Kyaw Swar Tun, and Kyaw Zeyya were reportedly among the prisoners released.<sup>81</sup> According to photojournalist Thuzar, who was imprisoned for 16 months, "[t]he junta is trying to repair its reputation as a major human rights abuser by releasing prisoners."<sup>82</sup>

Junta officials are reportedly searching for people who took photographs of Bagan's ancient pagodas flooded after Cyclone Mocha.<sup>83</sup> In Mandalay, district-level officials ordered people not to post pictures of the flooded temples on social media, and they told staff to search for people who posted such pictures online.<sup>84</sup> At least one photographer went into hiding because he had posted pictures of the flooded temples prior to the edict.<sup>85</sup>

Military police arrested hip-hop artist Byu Har after he broadcast a Facebook video complaining about Myanmar's rolling power outages on May 23.<sup>86</sup> Photos of Byu Har's badly beaten face were later circulated on pro-military Telegram channels, spurring rumors he may have been killed in detention.<sup>87</sup> However, Byu Har survived, was reportedly charged under

section 505(a) of the penal code and is being detained at North Dagon Township police station. He faces up to three years in prison if found guilty.<sup>88</sup> Byu Har’s father is composer Naing Myanmar, whose song “Kabar Ma Kyay Buu” has been widely sung at anti-junta protests.<sup>89</sup>

On May 26, a military court sentenced journalist Hmue Yadanar Khet Moh to an additional 10-year prison term for allegedly violating the counter-terrorism law.<sup>90</sup> In December 2021, the journalist was filming a protest when military soldiers rammed her with a military vehicle, severely injuring her.<sup>91</sup> In December 2022, Hmue Yadanar Khet Moh was sentenced to three years for filming the protest; her total prison sentence is now 13 years.<sup>92</sup> According to her family, Hmue Yadanar Khet Moh has enduring mobility issues from the vehicular assault.<sup>93</sup>

Reporters Without Borders ranked Myanmar 173<sup>rd</sup> out of 180 countries in its annual World Press Freedom Index Report.<sup>94</sup> According to the report, the military routinely targets journalists, and it systematically invokes section 505(a) of the penal code, under which “incitement” or spreading “false information” is punishable by three years in prison.<sup>95</sup> Myanmar is the world’s second worst jailer of journalists, and relative to its population, imprisons the most.<sup>96</sup> At least 170 journalists have been arrested since the coup.<sup>97</sup>

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

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

India’s Adani Ports and Special Economic Zone has completed the sale of its port in Myanmar to Solar Energy for \$30 million, significantly lower than its investment in the project.<sup>98</sup> The Adani Group announced the sale in May 2022.<sup>99</sup> The deal was, however, delayed due to challenges in meeting certain conditions including completion of the project.<sup>100</sup>

India’s state-owned Numaligarh Refinery Limited (“NRL”) plans to set up retail fuel outlets in Sagaing Region, according to Indian media reports.<sup>101</sup> NRL has been exporting oil to Myanmar via the 421-kilometer road linking Numaligarh in Assam State to Moreah on the border with Sagaing.<sup>102</sup> NRL did not disclose the name of its Myanmar partner or its timeline for the Sagaing project.<sup>103</sup>

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

On May 9, India and Myanmar inaugurated the Sittwe Port in Rakhine State.<sup>104</sup> The port was constructed with Indian aid and will play a critical role in connectivity, reducing transportation costs and times between Kolkata, Agartala, and Aizwal by 50%.<sup>105</sup> The Sittwe Port is a component of India’s Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project, which connects Kolkata in eastern India to Sittwe on Myanmar’s western coast via a sea route. From there, the corridor follows an inland path through Myanmar via the Kaladan River and a highway, eventually entering northeastern India.<sup>106</sup>

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

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

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

### **A. Ethnic Violence**

On April 29, at least five military soldiers were killed in a clash with resistance group Cobra Column in Myawaddy Township, Kayin State.<sup>107</sup> The same day, two junta soldiers were killed and two were injured in Bilin Township, Mon State after a joint attack by seven members of the PDF and the Karen National Liberation Army (“KNLA”).<sup>108</sup> Members of the Chinland Defense Force (“CDF”) also claimed to have killed two junta soldiers in Kyin Dway Town in Kanpetlet Township.<sup>109</sup>

On May 2, two junta fighter jets dropped bombs and opened fire on villages within Karen National Union (“KNU”) territory in Bago Region’s Htantabin Township, killing three civilians and injuring another three.<sup>110</sup> The attack, which targeted Thayet Tan and Kywel Lan, two neighboring villages located near the border of Kayin State, was the first of its kind in Htantabin Township.<sup>111</sup> The township is located in the KNU’s Taungoo District, which is under the control of the KNLA.<sup>112</sup>

On May 6, a combined PDF-KNLA group attacked a military headquarters and two police outposts, killing at least six.<sup>113</sup>

Starting May 7 and lasting for two days after, the military launched air raids on Ye Township, Mon State, injuring civilians and killing three resistance fighters.<sup>114</sup> The deceased were members of the Albino Tiger Column, a military unit made up of allied PDF and KNLA members.<sup>115</sup>

On the evening of May 8, a military airstrike in Hakha Township, Chin State left two members of the CDF dead and three members injured.<sup>116</sup> A military jet also bombed the central executive council office of the CDF Senthang, a group most active in areas inhabited primarily by ethnic Senthang Chin people, located in Khuapi village.<sup>117</sup>

During three days of fighting beginning on May 11, combined resistance forces operating under the KNLA killed at least eight junta troops in Mee Ka Nal village in Myawaddy Township, Kayin State.<sup>118</sup> One resistance fighter was killed and ten were injured.<sup>119</sup> Most residents of Mee Ka Nal and neighboring villages have been forced to flee their homes since fighting broke out last month.<sup>120</sup>

On May 17, the military dropped two bombs on Saw Lon village in Kayah State’s Bawlakhe Township, killing a 17-year-old girl and injuring four elderly villagers.<sup>121</sup> The attack also destroyed six houses and two buildings at the village clinic, damaged a monastery and killed several livestock.<sup>122</sup> This marks the second attack on the township in May, with junta forces launching assaults on 12 Miles Hill and Want Ma Lan village on May 9.<sup>123</sup> In response, the Karenni Nationalities Defense Force (“KNDF”) and the Karenni Army ambushed the troops responsible for the attacks, killing five.<sup>124</sup>



Nearly 50 military soldiers were killed during clashes in Mon and Kayin States in the span of five days starting on May 19.<sup>125</sup> Roughly 30 junta forces are reported to have been killed in Ye Township, Mon State on May 20 and 21 during shootouts with the Albino Tiger Company 1, a resistance group.<sup>126</sup> Also on May 21, the KNLA killed five members of the junta-allied Border Guard Force (“BGF”) in Hpapun District, Kayin State after raiding their camp.<sup>127</sup> The BGF camp was reportedly extorting money from civilians.<sup>128</sup> The same day, resistance group Kyaikhto Revolution Force coordinated with other PDF groups and the KNLA to conduct drone strikes on a police outpost in Mae Pali Village in Mon State’s Bilin Township, which is located in KNU territory.<sup>129</sup> Four bombs were dropped during the strikes, but the number of casualties is unknown.<sup>130</sup> On May 23, the KNU and its allies carried out several assaults on military bases in Kayin State’s Myawaddy Township, killing a battalion commander and eight other junta personnel.<sup>131</sup>

The military has ramped up air and ground attacks on Chin State, especially in the area between state capital Hakha and Thantlang Township, in an attempt to take control of Timit Valley.<sup>132</sup> During the third week of May, 150 junta soldiers advanced into Timit Valley, clashing with the Chin National Army and CDF.<sup>133</sup> On May 29, another battle broke out near the Timit River, during which a military fighter jet launched a heavy artillery strike on resistance forces, killing 11.<sup>134</sup> As a result of the violence, most residents of Thantlang have fled their homes.<sup>135</sup>

## **B. Peace Talks**

Since the end of 2022, the junta-appointed National Solidarity and Peacemaking Negotiation Committee has been engaged in peace talks with seven of the ten signatories to the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (“NCA”) and three non-signatories.<sup>136</sup> However, some ethnic armed groups have refused to participate in these meetings and have decided to fight against the junta alongside various resistance groups.

On May 5, 2023, the Karen National Union (KNU), one of the signatories to the NCA, announced after its 17th congress that it would join other pro-democracy forces to end the junta’s rule in Myanmar.<sup>137</sup> Later on May 10, the junta’s committee criticized the KNU’s statement as contradicting the NCA and leading to confrontation. The committee reiterated that such peace talks are open to all EAOs.<sup>138</sup>



- <sup>1</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 10, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/dozens-of-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-clashes-with-resistance.html>.
- <sup>2</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>3</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 15, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/about-40-myanmar-junta-forces-four-resistance-fighters-killed-in-five-days-of-clashes.html>.
- <sup>4</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 19, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/dozens-of-myanmar-junta-troops-one-resistance-fighter-killed-in-three-days-of-clashes.html>.
- <sup>5</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 24, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/nearly-50-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-five-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>6</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 25, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/forty-myanmar-junta-soldiers-killed-in-10-days-kayah-resistance.html>.
- <sup>7</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 29, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/over-30-myanmar-junta-forces-killed-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html>.
- <sup>8</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 29, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/nineteen-civilians-killed-by-myanmar-junta-shelling-and-airstrikes-in-week-resistance.html>.
- <sup>9</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 3, 2023, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-5000-ye-u-township-villagers-flee-myanmar-junta-raids.html>.
- <sup>10</sup> Mizzima, May 10, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-junta-forces-displace-7000-people-sagaings-khin-u-township>.
- <sup>11</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 12, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/thousands-flee-myanmar-junta-arson-attacks-in-sagaing.html>.
- <sup>12</sup> Mizzima, May 19, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-junta-displaces-over-50000-sagaings-kanbalu-township>.
- <sup>13</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 15, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-force-16000-to-flee-amid-cyclone-mocha.html>.
- <sup>14</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>15</sup> Myanmar Now, May 26, 2023: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/junta-soldiers-torch-loot-hundreds-of-homes-in-prominent-sagaing-region-village/>.
- <sup>16</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 13, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-massacres-18-bago-villagers-including-five-children.html>.
- <sup>17</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 27, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-torch-10-magwe-villages-in-two-days.html>.
- <sup>18</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>19</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>20</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 30, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-raid-magwe-kill-three-civilians.html>.
- <sup>21</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>22</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>23</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>24</sup> Myanmar Now, May 8, 2023; <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/school-destroyed-in-fifth-myanmar-military-attack-on-sagaing-region-village/>.
- <sup>25</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>26</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>27</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>28</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>29</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>30</sup> Human Rights Watch, May 18, 2023: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/05/18/bangladesh-new-risks-rohingya-refugees>.
- <sup>31</sup> Human Rights Watch, May 19, 2023: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/05/18/bangladesh-new-risks-rohingya-refugees>.
- <sup>32</sup> CNN, May 7, 2023: <https://www.cnn.com/2023/05/07/asia/rohingya-myanmar-repatriation-visit-intl-hnk/index.html>.
- <sup>33</sup> Online Burma/Myanmar Library, December 5, 2019: <https://www.burmalibrary.org/en/tools-of-genocide-national-verification-cards-and-the-denial-of-citizenship-of-rohingya-muslims-in>.
- <sup>34</sup> VOA News, May 18, 2023: <https://www.voanews.com/a/hrw-calls-for-halt-to-rohingya-repatriation-from-bangladesh-to-myanmar/7102081.html>.
- <sup>35</sup> BBC News, May 15, 2023: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-65587321>.
- <sup>36</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>37</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 23, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/un-appeals-for-333-million-for-cyclone-mocha-relief-in-myanmar.html>.
- <sup>38</sup> UN News, May 23, 2023: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/05/1136937>.
- <sup>39</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 16, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-military-commanders-pocketing-dead-soldiers-insurance-sources.html>.
- <sup>40</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>41</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>42</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>43</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>44</sup> Mizzima, May 24, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-junta-energy-ministers-family-profiting-fossil-fuel-companies>.
- <sup>45</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>46</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>47</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>48</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>49</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>50</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>51</sup> Mizzima, May 9, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-dominate-asean-summit-violence-escalates>.

- <sup>52</sup> Mizzima, May 11, 2023: <https://mizzima.com/article/asean-leaders-say-deeply-concerned-about-myanmar-violence>.
- <sup>53</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 11, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/un-envoy-calls-for-unity-among-regional-players-to-solve-myanmar-crisis.html>.
- <sup>54</sup> The Irrawaddy, June 1, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/un-special-envoy-for-myanmar-to-step-down-this-month.html>.
- <sup>55</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 31, 2023: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/the-world-myanmar/top-chinese-intelligence-official-visits-myanmar-for-cooperation-talks.html>.
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