# STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

# **JANUARY 2024 REPORT**

**Summary.** This report reviews the January 2024 developments relating to human rights in Myanmar.

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# I. Coup, Crackdown on Protests and Civilian Resistance

The military government announced on January 31 that it will be extending the state of emergency for another six months, effectively further delaying a general election that it has promised since the February 2021 military coup.<sup>1</sup> This is the fifth extension of the state of emergency since February 2021.<sup>2</sup>

The Brotherhood Alliance, which consists of the Arakan Army ("AA"), the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army ("MNDAA") and the Ta'ang National Liberation Army, continues to seize control of towns and military bases across Rakhine and Chin States. As of January 14, the Brotherhood Alliance has gained control of 33 towns from the military regime. As a result, more and more military troops have fled their posts or surrendered to the resistance groups. General Manoj Pande, chief of the Indian army, said in a press conference on January 11 that around 416 Myanmar soldiers fled to India in November and December. More recently, almost 300 troops fled to India on January 17 after facing defeat in clashes against the AA and other resistance groups. In early January, around 104 soldiers abandoned their military camp in Chin Let Wa in Paletwa town, Chin State, which later led to the AA gaining complete control of Paletwa town on January 14. On January 8, around 200 soldiers surrendered to resistance groups at the military base of Taung Shey Taung, Rakhine State and, less than a week later, on January 14, 100 soldiers surrendered to the AA in another strategic hilltop military base in Rathedaung Township, Rakhine State. On January 16, around 600 military troops, including a commander, surrendered to the AA in Kyauktaw Township, Rakhine State.

Most notably, around 2,395 soldiers, including six brigadier generals and 1,605 of the soldiers' family members, <sup>12</sup> surrendered to the MNDAA in the Kokang region, northern Shan State on January 5, which then led to the MNDAA's capture of Laukkai (the capital of the Kokang Self-Administered Zone in northern Shan State). <sup>13</sup> Upon their release by the ethnic armed group, the six brigadier generals were detained by the military regime. <sup>14</sup> A few weeks later, the military government reportedly replaced the six brigadier generals with at least five colonels <sup>15</sup> and sentenced the brigadier generals to either life imprisonment or to death for "abandoning their positions." <sup>16</sup> Three brigadier generals, Brigadier General Moe Kyaw Thu, Tun Tun Myint and Zaw Myo Win, were sentenced to death, while the three other brigadier generals, Brigadier General Aye Min Oo, Thaw Zin Oo and Aung Zaw Lin, were sentenced to life in prison. <sup>17</sup>

According to the Karenni Nationalities Defense Force ("KNDF"), as of mid-January, the joint resistance forces behind Operation 1111 in Shan and Karenni States reportedly already have control of 80% of Karenni State, including most of Pekon town in southern Shan State. On January 21, Kachin Independence Army and Peoples Defense Forces ("PDFs") took full control of Mabein Township in northern Shan State and, on January 28, the KNDF seized Mawchi town in Hpasawng Township, Karenni (Kayah) State.

The military has reportedly increased the number of aerial attacks that target schools, hospitals and playgrounds since Operation 1027 began in late October. Around 57 civilians, including 18 children, were killed and 119 were injured during the first week of January alone. At least 20 civilians were killed from January 14-18 in Bago and Sagaing regions and in Rakhine and Chin States. At least 20 civilians were killed from January 14-18 in Bago and Sagaing regions and in Rakhine and Chin States.

According to the independent research group Data for Myanmar, the military regime and pro-regime militia have destroyed 78,737 civilian homes across the country since the February 2021 military coup.<sup>24</sup> Around 29,689 homes were incinerated in 2023 alone.<sup>25</sup> The area with the most incinerated homes is Sagaing Region with around 59,221 destroyed homes.<sup>26</sup> In Karenni State, the number of homes destroyed by arson attacks has more than doubled, from 144 in 2022 to 322 homes in 2023,<sup>27</sup> which is a primary driver of the 80% or around 350,000 of 420,000 of the State' residents fleeing their homes since the February 2021 military coup, according to the interim local government.<sup>28</sup> Around 100,000 new internally displaced persons were added within the past two months alone.<sup>29</sup>

# II. Political Developments

## A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis

According to the United Nations refugee agency, approximately 569 Rohingya people died or went missing at sea in 2023 (the most since 2014) as they embarked on dangerous boat journeys to Southeast Asia.<sup>30</sup> The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (the "UNHCR") said nearly 4,500 Rohingya people took boats across the Andaman Sea and Bay of Bengal in 2023, fleeing crowded refugee camps in Bangladesh and/or persecution in Myanmar.<sup>31</sup>

These dangerous journeys are partially being driven by escalating challenges faced by the Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, which hosts close to one million refugees, such as rising gang violence, susceptibility to climate-related disasters like floods, landslides and fires, limited access to employment and education, restricted mobility, overcrowding and food insecurity perpetuated by cuts in food rations.<sup>32</sup> In one such example, a fire destroyed 800 shelters, damaged approximately 120 facilities, including mosques and healthcare centers, and rendered nearly 7,000 refugees homeless in Cox's Bazar on January 7.<sup>33</sup>

The majority (62 percent) of refugees arrived in Indonesia in 2023, while others disembarked or were intercepted in Myanmar, Bangladesh, India, Malaysia and Thailand.<sup>34</sup> Among these arrivals, 65 percent comprised women and children in 2023.<sup>35</sup> With the calm water season after the monsoons continuing until April 2024, it is anticipated that the number of refugees attempting to reach Indonesia will continue to steadily increase during the first quarter of this year.<sup>36</sup>

The last two months of 2023 saw more than 1,500 Rohingya land on the northern tip of Indonesia's Sumatra island, the largest number of Rohingya arrivals since 2015.<sup>37</sup> According to UNHCR, there are now approximately 1,750 refugees living in nine different sites in Aceh, with all but 147 of them having arrived in recent months.<sup>38</sup> Recent Rohingya arrivals have been met with hostility, including the use of force from local communities, threats of deportation and eviction from shelters and increased border patrols led by Indonesian authorities together with local fisherman.<sup>39</sup> In one such incident, approximately 200 people were feared to have drowned after their boat sank in the Andaman Sea, and in another, a mob of local protesters stormed a building sheltering refugee families, forcing 137 people onto trucks and taking them to a government building to demand that they be removed.<sup>40</sup>

The UNHCR urged governments to take steps to avoid a repeat of such incidents, stating that these were caused by "a coordinated online campaign of misinformation, disinformation and hate speech against refugees." Human Rights Watch also accused anonymous accounts on Instagram, X and TikTok of spreading disinformation and misinformation about Rohingya refugees. Azharul Husna, coordinator of the Aceh chapter of the Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence, says the current level of hostility towards Rohingya is unprecedented and has not been seen since Rohingya refugees first arrived in the province in 2009.

## B. Corruption

The *Irrawaddy* reports that former Major General Myat Thet Oo has been sentenced to ten years in prison.<sup>44</sup> The exact charges are still being unknown, though a number of other junta officials recently fired and jailed in Kachin State were accused and convicted of receiving bribes in exchange for mining licenses.<sup>45</sup>

## C. International Community / Sanctions

On January 4, China voiced its "strong dissatisfaction that the armed conflict [in Myanmar had] caused Chinese casualties" when an artillery shell from Myanmar "had fallen across the border in the town of Nansan in China's Yunnan province." In response, Myanmar's junta boss met with senior Chinese representatives on January 5 in Naypyitaw. 47

On January 4, Cambodia, Belarus, North Korea, Russia and Syria each sent congratulatory messages to Myanmar on the anniversary of its independence in a move that highlighted the junta's diplomatic isolation.<sup>48</sup> Cambodia was the only member of ASEAN to congratulate Myanmar on the anniversary of its independence.<sup>49</sup>

On January 10, the newly appointed ASEAN special envoy to Myanmar met with junta boss Min Aung Hlaing to discuss ASEAN's five-point consensus from April 2021, which the regime has so far failed to implement, and the delivery of humanitarian assistance to around two million displaced people. The five-point consensus includes calls for an end to violence, dialogue among all parties and the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The five-point consensus includes calls for an end to violence, dialogue among all parties and the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

On January 23, the activist group Justice for Myanmar released a report detailing the activities of mining companies either linked to Australia or backed by Australian investors, which the group alleges have continued their operations in Myanmar since the coup.<sup>52</sup> A spokesperson for Justice for Myanmar alleged that the Australian government was "still failing to take necessary action to block the junta's sources of funds from mining and other lucrative sectors." However, some of the companies named in the report have disputed the allegations.<sup>54</sup>

On January 26, the U.S. National Security Advisor met with the Thai Prime Minister where they discussed efforts to address the worsening crisis in Myanmar, and the importance of providing humanitarian assistance to the people of Myanmar. The National Security Advisor additionally "affirmed the United States' unwavering commitment to ASEAN centrality, and welcomed efforts to advance meaningful implementation of the ASEAN's 5-point consensus."

On January 29, Myanmar's junta sent a senior official to a gathering of ASEAN foreign ministers in Laos. <sup>57</sup> This was the first time a representative of Myanmar had attended a high-level meeting of the regional bloc in more than two years. <sup>58</sup> At the meeting, the foreign ministers from ASEAN endorsed Thailand's initiative to set up a humanitarian corridor to provide aid for civilians displaced by the conflict in Myanmar. <sup>59</sup> According to the Thai Foreign Minister, the assistance provided by Thailand would begin in late February after the junta and the Thai government designate the areas for the corridor connecting Myanmar and Thailand. <sup>60</sup>

## III. Civil and Political Rights

## A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association

On January 4, the junta regime granted amnesty to 9,652 inmates being held in prisons across the country, but only around 120 of those released were political prisoners and most of the political prisoners that were released had nearly completed their terms. Models Thinzar Wint Kyaw and Nang Mwe San, who were jailed by the regime for "harming Myanmar's culture and dignity," were not among the inmates freed by the junta regime. Thinzar Wint Kyaw was detained by the regime shortly after attending the wedding of the daughter of a Shan State Progress Party official and Nang Mwe San had posted a clip on social media in which she talked about the junta's crackdown on anti-coup protesters and its crimes against the Rohingya ethnic minority before her detention.

On December 30, political prisoner San Lin San, who was jailed under the Counterterrorism Law, was allegedly tortured to death at Pathein Prison in Ayeyarwady Region. According to a relative, San Lin San was beaten during interrogation until two wooden sticks broke. The regime also allegedly barred San Lin San's family from taking photos of his body. San Lin San led anti-regime protests following the 2021 coup and was arrested in September 2022. The Myanmar Political Prisoners Network estimates that 18 political prisoners died in prison in 2023. On January 12 and 16, two other political prisoners died after being denied of medical treatment and the Human Rights Foundation of Monland condemned the ongoing ill-treatment of political prisoners.

On January 12, the Myanmar State's gazette reported that a special unit was formed in mid-December to monitor social media for indecent postings and political attacks and to take action against those who post such material.<sup>69</sup> The junta's Ministry of Information later announced that it would take action against actors, producers, organizers and crew members working on recordings, broadcast videos and TV series if they were found to have been involved in producing content that contains inappropriate behavior or obscene speech.<sup>70</sup>

On January 19, junta authorities detained and questioned Ashin Ariawuntha, an ultranationalist Buddhist monk who called for the resignation of junta boss Min Aung Hlaing at a pro-military rally in Mandalay Region's Pyin Oo Lwin town.<sup>71</sup>

Two leaders of the Hpakant Strike Committee, which was involved in efforts to overthrow the military dictatorship, were sentenced to ten years in prison by a junta court in Hpakant Town, Kachin State.<sup>72</sup> The court cited violations of the Counter Terrorism Law, Sections 52(a) and 50(j).<sup>73</sup> Since the 2021 military coup, more than 100 people have been

apprehended and detained in Hpakant Township for involvement in alleged anti-military activities.<sup>74</sup>

The Brotherhood Alliance also released a statement expressing concern about the communications disruptions and noting that the junta commits more atrocities against civilians when communications are restricted. The junta has not issued any formal statement regarding the disruptions. The junta has not issued any formal statement regarding the disruptions.

# B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship\_

Myanmar was ranked as the second-worst jailer of journalists in the world, with 43 media staff arrested in 2023, according to the prison census results published by the Committee to Protect Journalists.<sup>77</sup> Three years after the military coup in 2021, the junta continues to target journalists under an anti-state provision in the broadcasting law which criminalize "incitement" and "false news." Journalists have been sentenced to prison terms between a few years and life imprisonment since 2021.<sup>79</sup>

The Assistance Association for Political Prisoners reported that 192 media staff have been arrested since the 2021 coup and 61 are still behind bars.<sup>80</sup>

On January 4, at least nine journalists were released as part of an amnesty celebrating Myanmar's independence. Among those freed was photojournalist Kaung Set Lin. Kaung Set Lin was arrested in December 2021 after a military vehicle rammed into a protest he was covering in Yangon. Hmu Yadanar Khet Moh Moh Tun, a photojournalist who was arrested with him, remains imprisoned.

On January 10, an Insein Prison military tribunal sentenced documentary filmmaker Shin Daewe to a life sentence under the Counterterrorism Act. <sup>85</sup> She was arrested on October 15 2023 in Yangon when soldiers found a drone in her luggage. <sup>86</sup> After her arrest, Shin Daewe was allegedly interrogated and tortured at a police station for two weeks, before being transferred to Insein Prison. <sup>87</sup> At trial, she was denied the right to legal representation. <sup>88</sup> Shin Daewe's life sentence is the harshest term the junta has imposed on a journalist since the military junta took power. <sup>89</sup>

## IV. <u>Economic Development</u>

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

Myanmar union industry minister Dr. Charlie Than and a business delegation from Myanmar visited the Gujarat Chamber of Commerce and Industry on January 19 to invite industries from Gujarat, specifically those involved in textiles and pharmaceuticals, to invest in Myanmar. <sup>90</sup>

## B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects

On January 17, Myanmar regime officials held a meeting in Naypyitaw to focus on developing the necessary infrastructure for a seaport project in Rakhine State's Kyaukphyu

Township.<sup>91</sup> The project is a crucial part of the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor, which aims to connect Kunming in Yunnan province to the Indian Ocean.<sup>92</sup> The seaport and special economic zone are being developed by the Kyaukphyu SEZ Deep Seaport Co. Ltd., a joint venture between China's CITIC Myanmar Port Investment Ltd. and the junta-backed Kyaukphyu SEZ Management Committee.<sup>93</sup>

### C. Land Seizure

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

## V. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence

### A. Ethnic Violence

On January 26, the ethnic group Pa-O National Liberation Organization declared that it formally exited peace talks with the military government and has joined the war against the military regime by participating in clashes in Hsihseng, southern Shan town. The Pa-O National Liberation Army, local PDFs and the KNDF joined forces and entered Hsihseng on January 24, which is a military-controlled area in the Pa-O self-administered zone, and torched multiple military checkpoints. Within the same day, the military responded with aerial attacks.

#### B. Peace Talks

On January 10 and 11, representatives from the Brotherhood Alliance met with junta counterparts and Chinese officials in Kunming to discuss a ceasefire in northern Shan. On January 11, the Brotherhood Alliance and junta had "agreed to a ceasefire and that their troops would not make any further advances" in a meeting facilitated by a Chinese envoy. The two sides also agreed to reopen vital Myanmar-China trade routes over which the joint ethnic armies had taken control. However, on January 16, the Brotherhood Alliance claimed that Myanmar's junta was violating the terms of the ceasefire deal by conducting artillery and airstrikes on civilian targets in northern Shan. 101

- <sup>1</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 31, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/politics/myanmar-junta-extends-emergency-rule-by-six-months.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/politics/myanmar-junta-extends-emergency-rule-by-six-months.html</a>.
- <sup>2</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>3</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 16, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/conflicts-in-numbers/33-towns-in-80-days-mapping-the-gains-of-myanmars-anti-junta-offensives.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/conflicts-in-numbers/33-towns-in-80-days-mapping-the-gains-of-myanmars-anti-junta-offensives.html</a>.
- <sup>4</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>5</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 18, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/another-278-myanmar-junta-troops-flee-to-india.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/another-278-myanmar-junta-troops-flee-to-india.html</a>.
- <sup>6</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>7</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>8</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 15, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-loses-another-town-dozens-of-soldiers-in-four-days-of-resistance-attacks.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-loses-another-town-dozens-of-soldiers-in-four-days-of-resistance-attacks.html</a>.
- <sup>9</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 10, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-loses-nearly-50-troops-more-bases-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-loses-nearly-50-troops-more-bases-in-three-days-of-resistance-attacks.html</a>.
- <sup>10</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 16, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-100-myanmar-junta-soldiers-surrender-to-arakan-army-after-abandoning-base.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-100-myanmar-junta-soldiers-surrender-to-arakan-army-after-abandoning-base.html</a>.
- 11 The Irrawaddy, January 18, 2024: https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/another-278-myanmar-junta-troops-flee-to-india.html.
- <sup>12</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 6, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/mndaa-liberates-kokang-from-myanmar-junta.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/mndaa-liberates-kokang-from-myanmar-junta.html</a>.
- <sup>13</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 8, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-detains-generals-who-surrendered-to-resistance-in-laukkai.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-detains-generals-who-surrendered-to-resistance-in-laukkai.html</a>.
- <sup>14</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>15</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 20, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-generals-replaced-after-kokang-defeat.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-generals-replaced-after-kokang-defeat.html</a>.
- <sup>16</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 23, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/defeated-myanmar-junta-generals-given-death-sentences.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/defeated-myanmar-junta-generals-given-death-sentences.html</a>.
- <sup>17</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>18</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 12, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/karenni-resistance-says-it-controls-most-of-pekon-in-myanmars-southern-shan.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/karenni-resistance-says-it-controls-most-of-pekon-in-myanmars-southern-shan.html</a>.
- <sup>19</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 29, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/kia-led-troops-seize-another-shan-town-from-myanmar-junta.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/kia-led-troops-seize-another-shan-town-from-myanmar-junta.html</a>.
- <sup>20</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 29, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-relinquish-another-town-to-advancing-karenni-forces.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-relinquish-another-town-to-advancing-karenni-forces.html</a>.
- <sup>21</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 10, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-kills-57-civilians-since-january-1.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-kills-57-civilians-since-january-1.html</a>.
- <sup>23</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 19, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/at-least-20-civilians-killed-by-myanmar-junta-forces-in-past-five-days.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/at-least-20-civilians-killed-by-myanmar-junta-forces-in-past-five-days.html</a>.
- <sup>24</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 22, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/in-myanmar-the-junta-has-incinerated-almost-80000-civilian-homes.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/in-myanmar-the-junta-has-incinerated-almost-80000-civilian-homes.html</a>.
- <sup>25</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>26</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>27</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>28</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 17, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/more-than-80-of-the-population-of-myanmars-karenni-state-has-been-displaced-by-war.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/more-than-80-of-the-population-of-myanmars-karenni-state-has-been-displaced-by-war.html</a>.
- <sup>29</sup> Id.
- <sup>30</sup> Al Jazeera, January 24, 2024: <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/24/unhcr-569-rohingya-died-at-sea-in-2023-highest-in-nine-years">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/24/unhcr-569-rohingya-died-at-sea-in-2023-highest-in-nine-years</a>.
- <sup>31</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>32</sup> The Diplomat, January 23, 2024: <a href="https://thediplomat.com/2024/01/rohingya-refugees-and-the-shifting-tide-in-indonesia/">https://thediplomat.com/2024/01/rohingya-refugees-and-the-shifting-tide-in-indonesia/</a>.
- <sup>33</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>34</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>35</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>36</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>37</sup> Al Jazeera, January 24, 2024: <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/24/unhcr-569-rohingya-died-at-sea-in-2023-highest-in-nine-years">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/24/unhcr-569-rohingya-died-at-sea-in-2023-highest-in-nine-years</a>.
- The Guardian, January 18, 2024: <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/18/the-online-hate-campaign-turning-indonesians-against-rohingya-refugees">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/18/the-online-hate-campaign-turning-indonesians-against-rohingya-refugees</a>.
- <sup>39</sup> The Diplomat, January 23, 2024: https://thediplomat.com/2024/01/rohingya-refugees-and-the-shifting-tide-in-indonesia/.
- <sup>40</sup> The Guardian, January 18, 2024: <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/18/the-online-hate-campaign-turning-indonesians-against-rohingya-refugees">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/18/the-online-hate-campaign-turning-indonesians-against-rohingya-refugees</a>.
- <sup>41</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>42</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>43</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>44</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 15, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-sacks-jails-ambassador-to-laos.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-sacks-jails-ambassador-to-laos.html</a>.

  <sup>45</sup> Id
- <sup>46</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 4, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/specials/myanmar-china-watch/beijing-condemns-myanmar-border-clashes-that-caused-chinese-casualties.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/specials/myanmar-china-watch/beijing-condemns-myanmar-border-clashes-that-caused-chinese-casualties.html</a>.
- <sup>47</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 6, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/senior-chinese-envoys-meet-myanmar-junta-boss-after-shell-mishap.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/senior-chinese-envoys-meet-myanmar-junta-boss-after-shell-mishap.html</a>.
- <sup>48</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 8, 2024: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/a-few-pariah-states-congratulate-myanmar-on-the-anniversary-of-its-independence-day.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/a-few-pariah-states-congratulate-myanmar-on-the-anniversary-of-its-independence-day.html</a>.

  <sup>49</sup> Id.

- <sup>50</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 11, 2024; https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/myanmars-crisis-the-world/asean-envoy-from-laos-visitsmyanmar-junta-chief.html. <sup>51</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>52</sup> The Guardian, January 29, 2024: https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2024/jan/29/australian-linked-mining-companiesmyanmar-military-help-report-allegation.
- <sup>53</sup> *Id*. <sup>54</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>55</sup> Khaosod English, January 26, 2024: <a href="https://www.khaosodenglish.com/news/2024/01/26/thai-pm-and-u-s-jake-sullivan-address-">https://www.khaosodenglish.com/news/2024/01/26/thai-pm-and-u-s-jake-sullivan-address-</a> burma-worsening-crisis/.
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