

# STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

## SEPTEMBER 2024 REPORT

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

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

A total of 1,132 women have been killed and 5,649 arrested by the Myanmar military junta since the February 2021 coup, according to a new report by the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (“AAPP”).<sup>1</sup> The AAPP notes that these figures reflect only cases that could be verified, and the actual number of victims is probably much higher.<sup>2</sup> The AAPP said the main causes of the deaths were shelling, bombing and torture to death under interrogation in prisons and police stations.<sup>3</sup> Yangon region saw the most women arrested and imprisoned with 1,440, followed by Mandalay with 929, Sagaing with 705, Bago with 428, Tanintharyi with 424, Magway with 314, Ayeyarwady with 288, Mon with 275, Shan with 249, Kachin with 197, Kayin with 116, Naypyitaw with 83, Rakhine with 52, Chin with 50, Kayah with 45.<sup>4</sup> The location of another 54 deaths or arrests was unidentified.<sup>5</sup>

Myanmar’s junta stepped up deadly airstrikes on civilian targets including a school, a bazaar, towns, and a camp for internally displaced people (“IDPs”), killing at least 40 people including a dozen children in the first six days of September.<sup>6</sup> The aerial massacres came after junta boss Min Aung Hlaing’s recent vow to launch counterattacks to retake territory seized by resistance forces.<sup>7</sup> Resistance groups and rights bodies said the junta was brazenly escalating its campaign of war crimes by targeting civilian populations in retaliation for battlefield and territory losses.<sup>8</sup> Revolutionary groups also reiterated their demand for the United Nations, European Union and ASEAN to ban exports of aviation fuel and ammunition to the Myanmar military and take effective action that prevents junta war crimes against civilians.<sup>9</sup>

Myanmar junta airstrikes targeted a village near the China-owned Tagaung Taung nickel-processing factory in Sagaing Region, killing several villagers, according to the Tigyaing People’s Administration.<sup>10</sup> China has major investments in Myanmar, including several mining projects and oil and gas pipelines from the Indian Ocean in Rakhine State to Yunnan Province, crossing Magway and Mandalay regions and northern Shan State.<sup>11</sup> Beijing has repeatedly warned all warring parties to protect Chinese assets and citizens in Myanmar.<sup>12</sup> A junta airstrike on September 1 hit a truck loaded with fuel containers outside a restaurant and other buildings, killing nine civilians and wounding ten others.<sup>13</sup> The Tigyaing People’s Administration said the junta was intentionally targeting civilians.<sup>14</sup>

Myanmar junta aircraft launched near simultaneous airstrikes on Namkham town near the Chinese border and the Bangkok IDP Camp in Pekon Township, Shan State on September 5-6, killing a total of around 20 civilians, including children, in less than five hours.<sup>15</sup> The targeted areas are under the control of Karenni resistance groups.<sup>16</sup>

On September 6, a junta fighter jet used 300-lb bombs and machine guns to attack a school at Lat Yat Ma Village in Myaing Township, Magway Region despite the absence of clashes in the area.<sup>17</sup> The attack killed six villagers, including a child, and wounded more than ten others, according to anti-regime group We Love Myaing.<sup>18</sup>

In Thingangyun, North Dagon, Hlaing Thar Yar, Shwepyithar, Twante, Dala and other townships, ward administrators are luring mostly older trishaw drivers to join so-called People’s Security and Anti-Terrorism Groups, which are effectively militias at the village and ward level.<sup>19</sup> In Yangon’s Thingangyun Township, motorized trishaw drivers are being pushed by

their ward administrators to join their People's Security Groups with the incentive of buying fuel at any gas station.<sup>20</sup> One driver said, "With this card I can now buy the gasoline I need to fill my motorcycle every day, and if the police or traffic police stop me on the road they can't arrest me for driving an illegal trishaw."<sup>21</sup> Motorized trishaws are officially illegal but are chosen by many residents in Yangon's suburbs for shorter rides in their neighborhood.<sup>22</sup> Until recently, they were tolerated, but since the fuel shortages in August, they have been denied access to fuel in most townships in Yangon.<sup>23</sup>

Some 800 civilians, including Buddhist monks, elderly people and children, became trapped in the monastery in Sagaing Region's Indaw town since fighting broke out on August 16.<sup>24</sup> A member of Indaw Township People's Defense Force ("PDF") said, "The junta soldiers want to use those trapped in the monastery as human shields, so they don't allow them to leave."<sup>25</sup> The monastery is adjacent to an underground hospital built by the Japanese in World War II, and junta troops are deployed in the monastery compound.<sup>26</sup> There are also security posts nearby.<sup>27</sup> As of September 17, approximately half of the civilians were reportedly released by the junta but an estimated 400 civilians remained trapped at the monastery.<sup>28</sup> According to an anti-regime fighter from Indaw Township, two men and two women died at the monastery; three died in junta artillery strikes and one died suddenly.<sup>29</sup>

According to the Arakan Army ("AA"), around 70 people, mostly regime detainees, were killed in Rakhine State on September 8 and 9 in regime airstrikes on AA detention centers in Pauktaw and Maungdaw townships.<sup>30</sup> Junta airstrikes also targeted a United Nations building in Maungdaw township on September 8 and another AA detention center in Pauktaw township near the state capital, Sittwe, the AA said.<sup>31</sup> A clinic treating regime troops and others detained by the AA was hit, killing 17 people, including seven regime personnel, medical staff and other civilians.<sup>32</sup>

A total of 27 migrants from Myanmar who were repatriated by the Thai authorities and were conscripted into the military reportedly escaped to the Karen National Union ("KNU") in Tanintharyi Region on September 10.<sup>33</sup> Two other conscripts are missing. The group crossed the Tanintharyi border looking for work but were handed back in early September.<sup>34</sup> They were drafted into the military at the Palaw Operations Command, according to KNU's Myeik district secretary Saw Ehna Doh.<sup>35</sup> The 29 conscripts reportedly overpowered and killed two junta guards, took their weapons and reached KNU territory.<sup>36</sup>

Chung-U and Monywa PDFs say they have seized the pro-junta Kanzee village near the headquarters of the junta's Northwest Military Command on September 19.<sup>37</sup> Junta-backed Telegram channels reported that a policeman and militia member were killed and over 30 villagers, including two militia members, were taken away by resistance groups.<sup>38</sup>

Six civilians, including children, were killed when Myanmar regime forces conducted air and artillery strikes while raiding a village in Madaya Township, Mandalay Region on September 21.<sup>39</sup> Over 100 junta soldiers and allied Pyu Saw Htee militiamen attacked Thone-sel-pay, a village by the Irrawaddy River, 16 kilometers northwest of Mandalay city, resulting in clashes with PDF groups.<sup>40</sup> Junta troops attempted to advance with artillery support before bringing in two fighter jets, according to a member of Madaya Township PDF.<sup>41</sup> The artillery strikes killed a mother and her eight-year-old daughter and infant son, an elderly woman and her

grandson, and a five-year-old boy.<sup>42</sup> Three others, including two children aged six and eight, were wounded.<sup>43</sup>

Over 50,000 residents evicted from villages around Rakhine State's capital, Sittwe, after a massacre by Myanmar junta troops in May, are now facing starvation and illness in overcrowded temporary camps.<sup>44</sup> Troops slaughtered nearly 80 civilians in Byian Phyu village in late May, then forcibly relocated residents of some 20 villages on the outskirts of Sittwe into the town in early July.<sup>45</sup> Junta spokesman Major General Zaw Min Tun claimed AA fighters disguised as villagers had attacked junta positions from the villages with homemade rockets.<sup>46</sup> Observers said the civilians were evicted to serve as human shields against attacks by the ethnic army, which has taken control of most of the state since launching an offensive late last year.<sup>47</sup>

Myanmar junta airstrikes targeted Thandwe in Rakhine State, killing at least 14 displaced people and injuring more than 25 others on September 26, according to the AA.<sup>48</sup> AA spokesman Khaing Thukha said two fighter jets dropped four bombs on the Environmental Protection Office and Thandwe Town Hall, where more than 200 civilians were sheltering.<sup>49</sup>

## **II. Political Developments**

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

In an interview with *The Irrawaddy*, the AA chief, Tun Myat Naing, denied reports that the AA has committed crimes against the Rohingya, noting that the junta has armed and trained certain Rohingya, including groups like ARSA.<sup>50</sup> Tun Myat Naing also noted that the AA is collaborating with Muslim communities in places such as Minbya, Mrauk-U, Kyauktaw and Rathedaung on governance and law enforcement, and that such collaboration “reflects [the AA’s] dedication to fostering peaceful coexistence and harmony among different groups.”<sup>51</sup> He further stated that, in areas with large Muslim populations, the AA takes measures to warn residents of impending clashes to avoid accusations of forced evacuations or indiscriminate shootings, and, if AA personnel violate the AA’s code of conduct, the matter is dealt with “decisively, applying the highest levels of discipline.”<sup>52</sup>

### **B. Corruption**

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

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

During the three-day Global Public Security Cooperation Forum in China between September 6 and September 8, the Chinese Minister of Public Security, Wang Xiaohong, and Myanmar Home Affairs Minister, Yar Pyae, signed two memoranda of understanding: one on the establishment of a center for cooperation between the two countries’ police forces, and the other on the provision of police equipment and supplies worth 5 million yuan (approximately US\$700,000).<sup>53</sup>

On September 17, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Volker Turk, released a report stating that “5,350 civilians had been killed by the [Myanmar] military since the coup” in 2021.<sup>54</sup> The report further noted that the number of people who died in the last reporting

period from April 2023 to June 2024 saw an increase of 50% compared with the previous reporting period and that nearly 27,400 people have been arrested since the coup and are thought to be in military training centers.<sup>55</sup>

Myanmar's civilian National Unity Government and allied anti-regime groups called on the UN, European Union, ASEAN and international organizations on September 17 to help civilians in Myanmar "bear the double burden of natural and manmade disasters amid ongoing conflict."<sup>56</sup> The statement further called for "the monitoring of aid distribution to avoid it falling into junta hands."<sup>57</sup>

On September 20, the human rights group ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights said it was "deeply troubled" after receiving a report from what it called a reliable source about the pending executions of five democracy activists in Myanmar.<sup>58</sup> In a statement, the group demanded that the junta halt the executions and immediately release the five activists.<sup>59</sup>

*Reuters* reported on September 23 that India had invited political and military opponents of Myanmar's ruling junta to attend a seminar in New Delhi hosted by the government-funded Indian Council of World Affairs.<sup>60</sup> Leaders from the parallel National Unity Government and ethnic minority rebels from the states of Chin, Rakhine and Kachin were also invited, but it was not immediately clear if Myanmar's military government would also be invited to the event.<sup>61</sup> According to the vice chairman of the ethnic armed group Chin National Front ("CNF"), the CNF would send representatives to the event and he noted that it would be the first time that India had formally engaged with the non-state actors in Myanmar.<sup>62</sup>

On September 24, *Reuters* reported that Pope Francis had called for liberation of Myanmar's detained former leader Aung San Suu Kyi and offered the Vatican as a haven during his 12-day tour across Southeast Asia.<sup>63</sup>

Also on September 24, the U.S. Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights, Uzra Zeya, announced that the United States would contribute nearly \$199 million in additional assistance for Rohingya refugees and communities hosting them in Bangladesh and the region.<sup>64</sup>

Malaysian Foreign Minister Datuk Seri Mohamad Hasan met with UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres on September 27 and expressed Malaysia's "deep concern" over the ongoing conflicts and human rights violations in Myanmar.<sup>65</sup> During the meeting, Hasan called on the UN to "intensify efforts to restore peace and stability," stressing the urgency of addressing the humanitarian crisis affecting millions of civilians.<sup>66</sup>

On September 27, Japan declined to replace its ambassador to Myanmar after former ambassador to Myanmar, Ichiro Maruyama, returned home.<sup>67</sup> Shogo Yoshitake, the second-ranked diplomat at the Japanese embassy in Myanmar, will instead take over as Japan's "charge d'affaires ad interim," following in the footsteps of countries like the United States and the United Kingdom.<sup>68</sup>

China signed two memoranda of understanding with Myanmar; one on the establishment of a center for cooperation between the two countries' police forces, and the other on the provision of police equipment and supplies worth 5 million yuan (approximately US\$700,000).<sup>69</sup>

The Ta'ang National Liberation Army (“TNLA”) confirmed that it had received a letter from the Ruili Town Security Committee warning the ethnic armed group to “immediately stop fighting and cooperate with China in maintaining peace and stability in northern Shan State and along the China-Myanmar border or face more deterrent and disciplinary actions.”<sup>70</sup> When asked by *AFP* about the letter during a press conference in Beijing, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson replied, “China is closely following the situation in Myanmar and the developments of the conflict in northern Myanmar and has been working to promote peace talks and ceasefire... China will continue to play a constructive role for Myanmar’s peace and reconciliation process and promote the de-escalation in northern Myanmar.”<sup>71</sup> Since the Chinese Embassy in Myanmar shared the ministry’s reply on its Facebook, thousands of citizens in Myanmar have responded to the post, slamming Beijing for interfering in Myanmar’s domestic affairs while expressing their support for the TNLA.<sup>72</sup> The post had attracted 6,300 comments as of noon on September 2, most of them criticizing China for its threat against the TNLA.<sup>73</sup> In response, more than 270 Myanmar civil society groups called on China to immediately halt all threats against the country’s ethnic armed organizations and to stop pressuring them to agree to a ceasefire and concessions with the illegal Myanmar military junta.<sup>74</sup>

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

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

The Myanmar military regime has branded the three ethnic armed organizations that comprise the Brotherhood Alliance as “terrorist groups.”<sup>75</sup> In a statement on Monday, the military regime accused the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (“MNDAA”), the TNLA and the AA of conducting “terrorist acts” including bombing civilian areas and destroying state-owned infrastructure and buildings.<sup>76</sup> The military junta also accused the ethnic armies of killing innocent civilians and conducting forced recruitment.<sup>77</sup>

A junta court inside Sittwe Prison in the Rakhine State capital has sentenced over 100 residents of Byian Phyu Village to three years in prison under Section 17 (1) of the Unlawful Association Act for allegedly having ties to the AA.<sup>78</sup>

Four young people who joined a protest against high commodity prices and mandatory military service in Yangon on September 19 were arrested by the regime the same day.<sup>79</sup> The two men arrested were Zaw Lin Htut, a/k/a Poe Thar, a University Students’ Union Alumni Force co-founder and freelance photojournalist, and Aung Min Khaing, a/k/a Mae Gyi, leader of the Youth Strike Committee (“YSC”).<sup>80</sup> The two women detained were YSC members Mya Myintzu and Hnin Ei Khaing.<sup>81</sup>

Myanmar junta officials are threatening charity groups aiding flood victims in Taungoo District, Bago Region, with arrest under the counterterrorism law.<sup>82</sup> The threats stem from an assumption that the aid will reach villages under resistance control, according to the groups.<sup>83</sup> The junta has designated the National Unity Government and PDFs as terrorist groups, threatening any suspected affiliates with charges under the counter-terrorism law, which carries a penalty of three to 10 years in jail for communicating with, aiding or funding “terrorists.”<sup>84</sup>

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

On September 4, the White House met with several big technology companies and activists to urge them to support internet censorship circumvention tools developed by the U.S.-backed Open Technology Fund (“OTF”).<sup>85</sup> OTF supports VPNs designed to evade censorship in authoritarian states.<sup>86</sup> Since 2020, the United States has significantly increased its funding for OTF, and its VPNs have proliferated in Myanmar, Russia and Iran.<sup>87</sup> In May 2024, the Myanmar junta banned VPNs, in addition to blocking access to Facebook, Instagram, X and WhatsApp.<sup>88</sup> The VPN ban has significantly impacted internet access in Myanmar; however, citizens are reportedly finding creative ways to bypass it.<sup>89</sup>

In early September, while Myanmar was reeling from Typhoon Yagi’s deadly flooding, junta surrogates accused independent media of fueling panic about the disaster.<sup>90</sup> According to *The Irrawaddy*, independent media outlets have played an important role in responding to the floods.<sup>91</sup> In contrast, the junta’s propaganda newspapers have failed to report on major stories such as the mudslide-buried villages in Mandalay and the flooded villages in Shan State.<sup>92</sup> The regime has also been accused of blocking relief efforts, preventing food and aid from reaching flood-affected areas in resistance stronghold areas in Bago Region.<sup>93</sup>

On September 14, Independent Press Council Myanmar (“IPCM”) urged the junta to give journalists access to natural disaster areas and related government reports.<sup>94</sup> IPCM argues that journalists need access to disaster areas to accurately broadcast warnings and facilitate aid distribution.<sup>95</sup> “Understanding the true conditions on the ground could greatly aid in saving lives,” according to Toe Zaw Latt, Secretary of IPCM.<sup>96</sup> IPCM also demanded that the junta not obstruct communications to areas affected by natural disasters.<sup>97</sup> Since the coup, the junta has frequently weaponized internet and mobile communications shutdowns to isolate civilians and impede resistance activities.<sup>98</sup>

## **IV. Economic Development**

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

Myanmar’s ambassador to China, Tin Maung Swe, invited China and ASEAN countries to invest in the country’s agriculture, livestock and other sectors at the 21<sup>st</sup> China-ASEAN Expo, held in Nanning, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.<sup>99</sup>

According to a new report compiled by human rights groups Justice for Myanmar and Info Birmanie, Airbus is continuing – if not deepening – its partnership with Aviation Industry Corporation of China, a major supplier of military aircraft and weapons to Myanmar’s junta.<sup>100</sup> The report argues that Airbus should reduce its complicity in war crimes in Myanmar through such partnership.<sup>101</sup>

Myanmar junta Defense Minister General Tin Aung San has sought cooperation with high-tech drone manufacturers in China as the regime escalates airstrikes on territories lost to ethnic armies.<sup>102</sup> Tin Aung San attended the 11th Beijing Xiangshan Forum in China from September 12-15 at the invitation of his Chinese counterpart Admiral Dong Jun.<sup>103</sup> During his visit, he met General He Weidong, Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission for talks

on stability along the border, increased cooperation in the defense sector and military technology and sending Myanmar trainees to China, junta media reported.<sup>104</sup> Tin Aung San also visited leading technology companies in Beijing to observe military drone and other air defense technologies.<sup>105</sup> He discussed potential for technical cooperation between these companies and the regime, according to junta media.<sup>106</sup>

Six more FTC-2000G midrange fighter jets purchased from China arrived in Myanmar in August.<sup>107</sup> The warplanes were among a batch ordered in 2020, but delivery and pilot training were delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic and China's strict containment policy.<sup>108</sup>

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

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

## **C. Land Seizure**

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

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

## **A. Ethnic Violence**

Since launching phase two of Operation 1027 on June 25, the Brotherhood Alliance, consisting of the AA, MNDAA and the TNLA, has seized around 25 towns, including, Nawngkhio, Mongmit and Kyaukme towns in northern Shan State, Mogoke Township in Mandalay Region and Lashio City, capital of northern Shan State, and vital trade routes with China.<sup>109</sup> An earlier China-brokered ceasefire in January 2024 failed in June 2024 after a series of junta air and artillery strikes on alleged civilian targets and territory under the Brotherhood Alliance's control.<sup>110</sup> It has been reported that in some situations, Chinese authorities have closed border gates and halted trade between Myanmar and China at the Brotherhood Alliance-controlled border gates in an effort to end the fighting.<sup>111</sup> These reports follow continued fighting in Hispaw town, northern Shan State, where the TNLA are fighting holdout junta forces, including Infantry Battalion 23, following the TNLA's occupation of Hispaw and prior seizure of bases belonging to artillery battalions 354 and 902 in Taung Hkam.<sup>112</sup>

On September 7, the Kachin Independence Army ("KIA") and PDFs launched attacks in Singtawn village, Hpakant Township in Kachin State and thousands of residents have fled their homes as clashes between the junta and the KIA and PDFs escalate.<sup>113</sup> According to the KIA, junta forces have destroyed over 200 homes in Singtawn since the fighting started.<sup>114</sup> The KIA and PDFs are also coordinating attacks on junta forces in the border areas between Kachin State and Sagaing Region.<sup>115</sup> It was reported that at least five naval vessels heading from Mandalay to Bhamo with weapons, equipment and reinforcements were destroyed by the KIA and PDFs on September 22, with only one naval vessel and two small security boats having successfully arrived to Bhamo on September 18.<sup>116</sup> The KIA is also fighting junta forces who are trying to retake Momauk following the KIA's seizure on August 19.<sup>117</sup> It is estimated by local residents that the junta have around 2,000 troops in Bhamo and over 100 troops and armored vehicles in Aung Myay.<sup>118</sup>



The military regime launched airstrikes on civilian areas in northern Shan State where the TNLA is active.<sup>119</sup> On September 19 alone, the regime’s air force attacked Nawngkhio and Hsipaw towns with over 70 bombs.<sup>120</sup>

During the last weekend of September, airstrikes by the junta forces continued in Lashio on Brotherhood Alliance positions, with an estimated 15 bombs, including large 500- and 200-pound bombs, on Lashio’s market and residential areas.<sup>121</sup> The Brotherhood Alliance estimates that the junta conducted 40 airstrikes, killing around 180 people, including 15 children in the month of September.<sup>122</sup>

The Karenni Nationalities Defense Force (“KNDF”) deputy commander Marwi told *The Irrawaddy* that it shelled two locations in Loikaw, the capital of Karenni (Kayah) State—the Loikaw Regional Operations Command and the Loikaw State Hall—after being tipped off that Min Aung Hlaing was scheduled to visit both places on September 4.<sup>123</sup> The junta boss and his entourage escaped the attacks and urgently left the capital after the bombardment, Marwi said.<sup>124</sup>

## **B. Peace Talks**

Following three and a half years of conflict, Myanmar’s military extended an invitation to armed opposition groups to halt hostilities and engage in peace talks on September 26.<sup>125</sup> In a statement, the junta declared that the peace talks are open to all groups, including those labeled as terrorists.<sup>126</sup>

The TNLA has rejected the junta’s peace proposal, deeming it unrealistic.<sup>127</sup> Echoing this sentiment, the Karenni State Interim Executive Council, which administers the anti-junta forces in Karenni State, also dismissed the overture as a self-serving tactic.<sup>128</sup> Anti-junta factions across Myanmar have reportedly interpreted the junta’s offer of peace talks as a strategic maneuver aimed at diverting attention from its faltering authority.<sup>129</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 3, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/specials/women/myanmar-junta-slaughtered-1132-women-since-coup-report.html>.
- <sup>2</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>3</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>4</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>6</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 7, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-juntas-counterattack-targets-civilians-killing-40-including-children.html>.
- <sup>7</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>8</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>9</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>10</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 4, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-airstrike-targets-near-chinese-factory.html>.
- <sup>11</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>12</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>13</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>14</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>15</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 6, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/at-least-19-civilians-killed-as-myanmar-junta-jets-bomb-town-idp-camp-in-shan.html>.
- <sup>16</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>17</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 7, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-juntas-counterattack-targets-civilians-killing-40-including-children.html>.
- <sup>18</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>19</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 5, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-lures-trishaw-drivers-into-militias-with-incentives.html>.
- <sup>20</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>21</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>22</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>23</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>24</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 9, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/civilians-die-after-being-trapped-by-fighting-in-myanmars-indaw.html>.
- <sup>25</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>26</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>27</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>28</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 19, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/four-sagaing-civilians-trapped-by-myanmar-junta-killed.html>.
- <sup>29</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>30</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 10, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-airstrikes-kill-regime-detainees-arakan-army.html>.
- <sup>31</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>32</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>33</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 12, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/knu-myanmar-junta-conscript-kill-guards-and-escape.html>.
- <sup>34</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>35</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>36</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>37</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 20, 2024: [https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/sagaing-resistance-seizes-pro-myanmar-junta-village-near-nw-command.html#google\\_vignette](https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/sagaing-resistance-seizes-pro-myanmar-junta-village-near-nw-command.html#google_vignette).
- <sup>38</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>39</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 25, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-forces-kill-six-mandalay-women-and-children-in-scorched-earth-retreat.html>.
- <sup>40</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>41</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>42</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>43</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>44</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 26, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/over-50000-face-starvation-in-sittwe-after-massacre- eviction-by-myanmar-junta.html>.
- <sup>45</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>46</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>47</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>48</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 26, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-airstrikes-kill-14-displaced-civilians-aa.html>.
- <sup>49</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>50</sup> The Irrawaddy, September 10, 2024: [https://www.irrawaddy.com/in-person/interview/aa-chief-dismisses-lies-about-crimes-against-rohingya.html#google\\_vignette](https://www.irrawaddy.com/in-person/interview/aa-chief-dismisses-lies-about-crimes-against-rohingya.html#google_vignette).
- <sup>51</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>52</sup> *Id.*
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