

STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

OCTOBER 2024 REPORT

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

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I. Coup, Crackdown on Protests and Civilian Resistance

According to the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (“MNDA”), the Myanmar military under General Min Aung Hlaing has launched a campaign of nationwide airstrikes, with resistance strongholds such as the MNDA-controlled northern Shan State capital of Lashio facing indiscriminate bombardment.¹ According to data released by the MNDA, regime fighter jets attacked the town nine times in September, killing six civilians and injuring 77 others.² The airstrikes have devastated the town, destroying around 15 hotels, plus monasteries, a technological university, schools, several residential areas, markets and civilian property including cars, workshops and stores.³ Myanmar junta airstrikes targeted Lashio again on October 4, destroying a Chinese temple and a residential building under construction.⁴ Residents of Lashio are reportedly fleeing to Mandalay, Pyin Oo Lwin in Mandalay Region and Taunggyi in southern Shan State where they are struggling to pay rent and buy food and other necessities.⁵

Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica, an independent group monitoring junta atrocities against civilians, says that the Myanmar junta has conducted an average of seven airstrikes per day across the country over the past four months, killing up to four civilians per day.⁶ The research group said the junta conducted a total of 820 airstrikes from May to August this year alone, killing a total of 455 civilians and wounding 819 others.⁷ Most airstrikes have reportedly targeted Rakhine and northern Shan States, where almost all towns and townships have fallen under the control of ethnic armed organizations.⁸

The combined forces of local People’s Defense Force (“PDF”) groups and a resistance group called 96 Soldiers attacked Myanmar military troops between Sipaw and Kywe Thay Chaung villages in Sagaing Region on September 30.⁹ According to a 96 Soldiers spokesman, approximately 50 junta soldiers were killed.¹⁰

Around 400 Myanmar junta soldiers and Pyu Saw Htee militia allies raided villages along the Ayeyarwady River west of Madaya Township in Mandalay Region, forcing back resistance groups.¹¹ According to resistance groups, junta soldiers are carrying out an offensive using air raids, artillery and ground troops to retake Madaya Township from the Mandalay PDF and its allies, who seized 35 junta positions in July.¹²

Around 200 Myanmar junta troops reportedly torched a Budalin Township village in Sagaing Region on October 9 and seized approximately 20 villagers to be used as human shields, according to a member of Budalin PDF.¹³ Junta troops have been raiding villages along the Monywa-Budalin road since October 4 following a resistance attack that defeated a regime force near Budalin town on September 30.¹⁴ The *Irrawaddy* reports that at least 25 civilians have been killed by junta troops and allied Pyu Saw Htee militia in the region.¹⁵ The *Irrawaddy* also reports that photographs circulating online show heads and limbs of civilians displayed on fence posts in Budalin Township.¹⁶ Resistance groups said the photos were taken by residents of Sipar village, where junta troops arrived on October 17.¹⁷

Resistance groups captured Pinlebu town on the border of Sagaing Region and Kachin State on October 8.¹⁸ Over 50 anti-regime groups from Kawlin, Pinlebu, Wuntho, Katha, Kantbalu, Kale, Shwebo, Mawleik, Sagaing and Yinmabin Townships took part in the joint

operation from Kawlin, Kantbalu and Katha (3K) districts.¹⁹ Nearly 800 junta troops were defeated while more than 5,000 bombs were dropped in over 670 air attacks, according to the National Unity Government (“NUG”), which commands most of the anti-regime groups involved in the battle for Pinlebu.²⁰ Around 70 junta soldiers were killed, 275 are missing, 225 were wounded, 48 surrendered and 102 were captured during the fighting.²¹ Around 400 firearms and other military equipment were seized.²²

Two Myanmar junta airstrikes targeted Nawnghkio town in northern Shan State during the Thadingyut festival on October 17.²³ Nawnghkio residents said around seven bombs were dropped across three hours.²⁴

Fighting has also intensified in southern Shan State as junta troops and the allied Pa’O National Organization raided villages on the border between Pinlaung and Pekon townships controlled by Karenni resistance forces.²⁵ Fighting has been raging for around a month in at least five locations in the mountainous region since around 1,000 junta troops and PNO militias advanced from Pinlaung town, according to a resident of Banmauk village helping displaced people.²⁶ The regime is also increasingly using drones in its attacks, a member of the Pekon Township PDF said.²⁷

More than 3,000 residents from at least seven villages have been displaced by fighting in Pulaw Township, Tanintharyi Region, which began after junta troops raided Kye village on October 14.²⁸

A Myanmar junta airstrike on Chauk Township in Magway Region killed at least 14 people and injured many more on October 27, according to the Chauk Revolution Army (“CRA”).²⁹ Over 500 junta troops advanced into the township in three groups on October 25.³⁰ Troops clashed with the CRA near Htein San village, the armed group said.³¹ Resistance forces retreated, and junta troops occupied and torched Gwaybin Lay and Na Ywal villages.³² At least 33 Na Ywal village homes were burned, according to a CRA member.³³ Resistance groups attacked junta soldiers near Na Ywal on October 27.³⁴ The junta troops retreated and raided Ywar Ma village.³⁵ After suffering heavy casualties, the junta launched an airstrike on Ywar Ma village.³⁶ A bomb hit the village monastery, killing at least 14 displaced people.³⁷

Myanmar junta troops reportedly torched Kyi Su and Kyauk Tai villages and abducted 31 civilians in Kantbalu Township, Sagaing Region, on October 30.³⁸

The Myanmar military regime is cracking down on citizens who are suspected of going abroad for work purposes without proper documentation.³⁹ According to the *Irrawaddy*, civilians are fleeing to Thailand, Malaysia and other neighboring countries, both to escape the conscription law and to look for job opportunities.⁴⁰ In early May, the junta also suspended permits for men to work abroad amid efforts to secure more military recruits.⁴¹

Junta troops arrested an estimated 200 people in Myeik Township, Tanintharyi Region who tried to cross into Thailand on October 15 and 140 of them are being forcibly conscripted into the military, according to the Thai-based NGO, Myanmar Humanitarian Action Center.⁴² Most of those arrested are ethnic Rakhine but there are also Bamar, Mon, Kayin and Chin among the detainees.⁴³

II. Political Developments

A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis

As Malaysia takes over the chair of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (“ASEAN”) next year, Bangladesh’s interim leader Muhammad Yunus sought the Malaysian prime minister’s help in engaging a regional Southeast Asia bloc on raising the issue of repatriating Rohingya refugees home to Myanmar.⁴⁴

At the ASEAN summit held on October 8, Indonesian Vice President Ma’ruf Amin highlighted the need to resolve the Rohingya issue as part of addressing the broader Myanmar crisis.⁴⁵

The International Organization for Migration launched a Mental Health and Psychosocial Support One-stop Service Center in Cox’s Bazar in Bangladesh to provide comprehensive mental health, psychosocial, protection and health services to the Rohingya refugee community and support the preservation of Rohingya cultural heritage.⁴⁶ The Netherlands played a pivotal role in funding the center, along with contributions from organizations such as the Asian Development Bank, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia and Global Affairs Canada.⁴⁷ The initiative is further supported by the European Union, the Government of Japan, the U.S. Department of State, the World Bank and the UK’s Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office.⁴⁸

B. Corruption

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

C. International Community / Sanctions

On October 4-5, in advance of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting, representatives from Indonesia, ASEAN, the European Union, the United Nations and members of anti-junta groups met in Jarkarta to discuss the conflict.⁴⁹

During the Foreign Ministers Meeting, on October 10, the Southeast Asian leaders condemned Myanmar’s efforts to implement a plan to end the country’s civil war as “substantially inadequate,” according to a draft summit statement.⁵⁰ After discussing the Myanmar conflict at the annual summit, the ASEAN leaders demanded the junta take steps to implement the five-point consensus.⁵¹ ASEAN leaders held their first face-to-face talks with a senior Myanmar junta representative in more than three years at the summit on October 9; however, the meeting did not yield a major breakthrough.⁵²

Following the Foreign Ministers Meeting, Thai chief diplomat Maris Sangiampongsa announced that Thailand was ready to host an extended informal consultation on the situation in Myanmar, following consultation with current ASEAN chair, Laos.⁵³ With Thailand’s announcement, Thai Foreign spokesman Nikorndej Balankur also said that the proposal was “backed by both Laos, the outgoing [ASEAN] chair, and Malaysia, the incoming chair, and therefore likely to come to fruition.”⁵⁴

On October 21, China announced that it had lodged a protest with Myanmar authorities after the Chinese consulate in Mandalay was attacked with an explosive device on October 18.⁵⁵ China's Foreign Ministry spokesman, added that "China expresse[d] its deep shock at the attack and sternly condemn[ed] it."⁵⁶

Chinese Ambassador to Myanmar, Ma Jia, met with the junta's second in command, Soe Win, on October 25 to discuss cooperation between the two countries' militaries in various sectors including technology and information, peace and stability along the border and internal peace in Myanmar.⁵⁷ During his trip to Napyitaw, the Chinese Ambassador also met with junta Information Minister Maung Maung Ohn to discuss enhancing media cooperation between the two countries.⁵⁸

On October 27, China fired warning shots at a junta jet fighter that flew too close to the border while it was bombing the rebel-held town of Namkham.⁵⁹ According to a local resident, the "aircraft came back again some five minutes later . . . so China fired shots again [and] it happened again and again."⁶⁰

On October 28, Myanmar's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Kyaw Moe Tun, urged the international community and UN Member States to take immediate and effective actions to support the Myanmar people's efforts to end the junta's unlawful repression and military dictatorship.⁶¹

On October 29, the Head of the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar, Nicholas Koumjian, delivered a statement to the Third Committee of the General Assembly, calling on the UN Member States to take action to hold those responsible for the atrocities taking place in Myanmar to account and stating that the Independent Investigate Mechanism "stands ready to work with [the UN's] judicial and prosecutorial authorities to build cases in national or international courts."⁶²

The UN special envoy for Myanmar, Julie Bishop, told the UN General Assembly's human rights committee on October 29 that there could "be little progress on addressing the needs of the people while armed conflict continues across [Myanmar]."⁶³ In her remarks, she also stressed that the "sheer scale of arms productions and trade, human trafficking, drug manufacture and trafficking, and scam centers means Myanmar now ranks highest among all member states for organized crime" and noted that the "criminal networks are out of control [in the country]."⁶⁴

On October 29, the European Union, the United Kingdom and Canada imposed additional sanctions on individuals and entities supplying aviation fuel and equipment to the junta army.⁶⁵ Britain's minister for the Indo-Pacific, Catherine West, released a statement announcing that the sanctions target the suppliers of equipment and aviation fuel to the Myanmar military to "further constrain the military's access to funds, equipment and resources."⁶⁶ Canada also separately imposed sanctions on three people, including Myanmar's Industry Minister Charlie Than.⁶⁷

III. Civil and Political Rights

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

According to the Political Prisoners Network Myanmar (“PPNM”), more than 20 political prisoners have been killed by Myanmar’s junta this year.⁶⁸ The PPNM says that around 10 political prisoners were tortured to death this year and around 12 political prisoners died due to insufficient medical care in Daik-U, Kyaikmaraw, Insein, Obo, Magway, Kale, Thayet, Pyay and Thaton prisons.⁶⁹

Dr. Zaw Myint Maung, a life-long leader of Myanmar’s democratic movement and close ally of jailed leader Aung San Suu Kyi, died in junta custody on October 7 at the age of 73.⁷⁰ The prominent politician and four-time elected lawmaker was chief minister of Mandalay Region and a deputy chair of the National League for Democracy (“NLD”).⁷¹ He was arrested after the military coup in February 2021 along with Aung San Suu Kyi and other senior NLD figures.⁷² The current junta sentenced the 73-year-old, who was suffering from leukemia, to a total of 29 years in jail on charges including corruption and electoral fraud.⁷³ The PPNM issued a statement saying the death was the result of inadequate medical care in prison.⁷⁴ Tens of thousands of Mandalay residents lined the streets on October 8 for the funeral procession of Dr. Zaw Myint Maung, despite a heavy junta armed security presence.⁷⁵ Dr. Zaw Myint Maung’s wife and children, who are in hiding for fear of arrest, attended the funeral online, according to sources close to the family.⁷⁶ On October 26, the military regime arrested a renowned leader of the charity, Parahita Min Kaung, a.k.a. M-Rescue, in Aung Chantha village in Patheingyi Township near Obo Prison, and seven other people in Mandalay City, apparently to punish them for their role in the funeral.⁷⁷ Local media outlets *MDY Revolution* and *Voice of Mandalay* said the detainees were taken to the administrative capital Naypyitaw to be investigated for their attendance at Dr. Zaw Myint Maung’s funeral.⁷⁸

Myanmar security forces arrested a prominent democracy activist and protest leader, Paing Phyto Min, in a nighttime raid in Yangon on October 9.⁷⁹ Amnesty International said it understood Paing Phyto Min and Shein Wai Aung, another activist, “were arrested on 9 October and sent to an interrogation center.”⁸⁰ Following the military’s 2021 ouster of Aung San Suu Kyi’s government, Paing Phyto Min helped organize pro-democracy demonstrations in Yangon that were later crushed by security forces.⁸¹

The Myanmar military junta announced on October 23 that it has arrested and filed a case against the son-in-law of the country’s ex-dictator Than Shwe for allegedly “damaging the state’s peace and stability” through his Facebook posts.⁸² Facebook is banned in Myanmar but people inside the country use virtual private networks to bypass the prohibition. Nay Soe Maung expressed his condolences on social media on October 7 over the death of jailed statesman Dr. Zaw Myint Maung, the vice chair of the NLD.⁸³ In the post, he used a Burmese phrase equivalent to “casting pearls before swine” to reply to a comment asking him whether his father-in-law had tried to persuade current regime boss Min Aung Hlaing to stop the killing and bombing of civilians.⁸⁴

The Myanmar military regime on October 29 granted a pardon to Win Khine, the ailing electricity and energy minister of the ousted NLD government, releasing him from Obo Prison in

Mandalay.⁸⁵ The 73-year-old former minister has been suffering from clogged arteries, and his condition started to deteriorate earlier this year.⁸⁶ He was sent to an intensive care unit after the pardon was granted.⁸⁷ In December 2021, the regime opened a case against Win Khine and his deputy Dr. Tun Naing for alleged corruption.⁸⁸ A court in Naypyitaw sentenced the former minister to 28 years in prison.⁸⁹ According to the AAPP, 103 political prisoners have died in prison since the putsch, 63 of whom died due to a lack of proper medical treatment.⁹⁰

A Hindu man who went missing for five days after he criticized a Myanmar romantic comedy as racist has turned up in junta custody.⁹¹ Shine Htet Aung went missing on October 26 after claiming on social media that the film “Jar Kit Sar Pu Three” (Have You Ever Ridden a Jeep) displayed racist undertones in its title and promotional imagery.⁹² The Defense Services Office confirmed on October 29 that the police station in Yangon’s Hlaing Township was investigating Shine Htet Aung for “instigating and spreading propaganda to disrupt peace and stability in the country.”⁹³

B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

On October 19, Reporters Without Borders (“RSF”) launched its Myanmar Press Freedom Project in partnership with Exile Hub, in Chiang Mai, Thailand.⁹⁴ The project will provide Myanmar journalists with equipment, such as laptops, mobile phones, solar batteries, digital security tools and training.⁹⁵ According to RSF’s Director General, Thibaut Bruttin, the project “will provide crucial support to Myanmar journalists who continue to report on their country’s situation despite the relentless and ruthless oppression of the military regime.”⁹⁶

On October 27, independent journalists Tar Lynn Maung and Naung Yo were released from detention by the Kachin Independence Army (“KIA”).⁹⁷ Tar Lynn Maung, a reporter for the *Red News Agency*, was purportedly detained by the KIA on September 29 for criticizing the group in a social media post.⁹⁸ Naung Yo was detained by the group the following day, while he was investigating the disappearance of Tar Lynn Maung.⁹⁹ KIA has not responded to RSF’s requests for information about the detentions.¹⁰⁰

Since mid-October, communications blackouts have severely restricted phone and internet access in Rakhine State.¹⁰¹ The major telecom providers, MPT, Ooredoo, Mytel and Atom were completely disconnected.¹⁰² On October 28, *Development Media Group* reported that Rakhine State journalists are distributing a free newspaper, *Arakkadesh*.¹⁰³ The journalists behind *Arakkadesh* intend to counter misinformation in Rakhine State, which has been isolated by the ongoing violence and blackouts.¹⁰⁴

On October 30, Committee to Protect Journalists ranked Myanmar number 10 on its 2024 Impunity Index, a list of countries where journalists’ murders go unpunished.¹⁰⁵ In addition, Freedom House’s 2024 report, released in October, ranked Myanmar and China as the world’s worst countries for internet freedom.¹⁰⁶ The report cites the Myanmar junta’s telecommunications shutdowns, bans on websites and VPNs, mass censorship and surveillance, and arbitrary prosecutions among the reasons for the low score.¹⁰⁷

IV. Economic Development

A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment

As reported by the state-run newspaper *The Global New Light of Myanmar*, the Myanmar Investment Commission approved 30 foreign investment projects, totaling US\$223 million in the first half of the current fiscal year 2024-25.¹⁰⁸ According to the report, which cited the Directorate of Investment and Company Administration, the transport and communications sector attracted US\$87.7 million in foreign direct investment followed by the manufacturing sector with US\$81.225 million and the services sector with US\$44 million.¹⁰⁹ The power sector brought in US\$8.5 million, while the agriculture sector received less than US\$1 million.¹¹⁰ Singapore was the leading investor in Myanmar with US\$87.74 million in the first half of the fiscal year, followed by Thailand and China.¹¹¹

Myanmar officials have increased searches for “smuggled” goods in Mon and Kayin States after deputy junta chief Soe Win called on them to regulate food and consumer goods imported through the border, saying that the goods finance armed organizations.¹¹² According to merchants, junta officials have since carried out raids in Mon and Kayin States.¹¹³ A trader based on the Myanmar-Thai border said the illegal trade was triggered by the junta’s tight control of U.S. dollars.¹¹⁴ “As their foreign currency income has declined, they don’t issue import licenses to limit the spending of US dollars. This has forced traders to engage in illegal trade.”¹¹⁵

China began closing all border trade posts, including informal ones, with Myanmar on October 22, businesspeople and residents of border areas said.¹¹⁶ The reason for the closure of the border trade gates was not announced, but the move followed an attack on the Chinese Consulate in Mandalay on October 18 and the intensification of clashes between junta and KIA troops near the border with China.¹¹⁷

The *Irrawaddy* reported that some areas of Myanmar are running out of food, medicine and consumer goods due to China’s ban on exports to the country following a rise of fighting along its border in Kachin State and northern Shan State, and the junta’s crackdown on “illegally imported” goods from neighboring China and Thailand.¹¹⁸ Myanmar relies heavily on neighboring Thailand and China for a wide variety of essential goods, ranging from food to fertilizer.¹¹⁹ Shortages of consumer staples like cooking oil, coffee, instant noodles, toothpaste and soap have been reported.¹²⁰

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

On October 17, the Karen National Liberation Army (“KNLA”) and allied resistance groups captured a hilltop artillery base on Swal Taw Mountain at La Kay Kaw near the Thai border in Myawaddy Township, Kayin State following four months of siege.¹²¹ This followed heavy fighting between the Myanmar military and resistance forces, including airstrikes by the junta to defend the base, which is viewed as crucial for security of the border trade hub of Myawaddy.¹²² The Asian Highway to Thailand continues to be closed, which the Karen National Union (“KNU”) fear if reopened, would allow the Myanmar military to advance on their positions in Myawaddy.¹²³ The KNLA and allied PDFs have surrounded Myawaddy town and are preparing for an intense battle with the Myanmar military, who have been reinforcing the town in preparation of an expected resistance attack.¹²⁴

As October progressed, the Arakan Army (“AA”) further encircled Myanmar military’s Western Command near Ann town following its capture of Light Infantry Battalion 373, a securities affairs battalion, and a military hospital in Ann Township.¹²⁵ The heavy attacks have reportedly caused Myanmar military troops in Ann to call for surrender following the news that the AA have captured most combat support battalions around the town.¹²⁶ If the Western Command falls, it will mark the second regional command seized by anti-regime groups after the North Eastern Command, based in Lashio, Shan State, fell to the Myanmar National Defense Alliance Army (“MNDAA”) in August.¹²⁷

The commander of the Bamar People’s Liberation Army (“BPLA”) announced plans for the BPLA to launch military operations in Anyar, focusing on the townships of Sagaing, Magway and Mandalay.¹²⁸ The BPLA has about 1,200 troops, and plans to cooperate with local PDF groups that are loyal to the NUG.¹²⁹ The BPLA also plans to carry over military operations in the same region following fighting in Shan State.¹³⁰

B. Peace Talks

On October 15, the head of Myanmar’s military extended an invitation to ethnic rebel groups to engage in peace talks to end the ongoing armed conflicts throughout the country.¹³¹ This is the second invitation in less than a month, following a previous invitation that was swiftly rejected by broader pro-democracy forces and ethnic groups.¹³²

In a video message to an event marking the ninth anniversary of the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (“NCA”) on October 15, Min Aung Hlaing said his regime “will not yield to demands made by pulling a gun,” referring to armed groups fighting his regime for either democracy or autonomy.¹³³ He further denounced ethnic armed groups that have violated the NCA as “opportunists” who “serve their own interests and seek political gain” and accused them of indirectly supporting the civilian NUG.¹³⁴ Offensives by the Brotherhood Alliance comprising the MNDAA, Ta’ang National Liberation Army and AA “further exacerbated economic and social turmoil,” he added.¹³⁵ He also accused other groups including the Karenni National Progressive Party, Karenni Nationalities Defense Force, Pa-O’ National Liberation Organization, KIA and KNU of “committing destructive acts” in their areas.¹³⁶ “We can’t make demands

through armed violence,” Min Aung Hlaing declared.¹³⁷ “We can only come to a political dialogue and solve conflicts peacefully. I would like to say that we will not compromise on the demands of armed terrorists,” which he vowed to “crush.”¹³⁸

The MNDAA – allegedly under Chinese pressure – has banned its members from joining international attempts to address Myanmar’s crises.¹³⁹ The armed group said that its personnel were banned from speaking to western governments or the international media.¹⁴⁰

- ¹ The Irrawaddy, October 1, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/civilian-deaths-mount-as-myanmar-junta-intensifies-shan-counteroffensive-after-peace-offer.html>.
- ² *Id.*
- ³ *Id.*
- ⁴ The Irrawaddy, October 4, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-airstrikes-again-target-liberated-lashio.html>.
- ⁵ The Irrawaddy, October 4, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/residents-flee-lashio-amid-indiscriminate-air-raids-by-myanmar-junta.html>.
- ⁶ The Irrawaddy, October 10, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-steps-up-airstrikes-as-it-loses-ground-to-resistance.html>.
- ⁷ *Id.*
- ⁸ *Id.*
- ⁹ The Irrawaddy, October 2, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-resistance-groups-kill-scores-of-junta-soldiers-in-sagaing-ambush.html>.
- ¹⁰ *Id.*
- ¹¹ The Irrawaddy, October 8, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-attacks-force-mandalay-resistance-retreats.html>.
- ¹² The Irrawaddy, October 17, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-troops-advance-on-madaya-township.html>.
- ¹³ The Irrawaddy, October 10, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-troops-seize-sagaing-villagers-as-human-shields.html>.
- ¹⁴ *Id.*
- ¹⁵ The Irrawaddy, October 22, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/as-the-world-looks-away-myanmars-junta-launches-another-wave-of-revenge-atrocities.html>.
- ¹⁶ *Id.*
- ¹⁷ *Id.*
- ¹⁸ The Irrawaddy, October 14, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/in-person/interview/resistance-hails-huge-blow-for-myanmar-junta-in-pinlebu.html>.
- ¹⁹ *Id.*
- ²⁰ *Id.*
- ²¹ *Id.*
- ²² *Id.*
- ²³ The Irrawaddy, October 18, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-airstrikes-target-buddhist-celebrations.html>.
- ²⁴ *Id.*
- ²⁵ The Irrawaddy, October 24, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/fighting-flares-as-myanmar-junta-tries-to-retake-karenni-held-villages.html>.
- ²⁶ *Id.*
- ²⁷ *Id.*
- ²⁸ The Irrawaddy, October 24, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/tanintharyi-civilians-flee-fighting-in-southern-myanmar.html>.
- ²⁹ The Irrawaddy, October 30, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-airstrike-kills-14-in-magwe.html>.
- ³⁰ *Id.*
- ³¹ *Id.*
- ³² *Id.*
- ³³ *Id.*
- ³⁴ *Id.*
- ³⁵ *Id.*
- ³⁶ *Id.*
- ³⁷ *Id.*
- ³⁸ The Irrawaddy, October 31, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-seizes-31-sagaing-villagers.html>.
- ³⁹ The Irrawaddy, October 4, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-intensifies-crackdown-on-people-leaving-the-country.html>.
- ⁴⁰ *Id.*
- ⁴¹ *Id.*
- ⁴² The Irrawaddy, October 17, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-military-steps-up-conscription-of-would-be-migrant-workers.html>.
- ⁴³ *Id.*
- ⁴⁴ AP News, October 4, 2024: <https://apnews.com/article/bangladesh-malaysia-yunus-anwar-59c33187e4f6152af362c6e46084c014>.
- ⁴⁵ VOA News, October 11, 2024: <https://www.voanews.com/a/myanmar-crisis-dominates-asean-talks-as-consensus-plan-languishes/7819127.html>.
- ⁴⁶ Dhaka Tribune, October 15, 2024: <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/rohingya-crisis/361991/iom-opens-mental-health-and-support-centre-for>.
- ⁴⁷ *Id.*
- ⁴⁸ *Id.*
- ⁴⁹ The Irrawaddy, October 5, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/myanmars-crisis-the-world/indonesia-to-host-discussions-on-myanmar-conflict-diplomat.html>.
- ⁵⁰ The Irrawaddy, October 11, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/myanmars-crisis-the-world/myanmar-peace-efforts-substantially-inadequate-asean-draft.html>.
- ⁵¹ *Id.*

- ⁵² *Id.*
- ⁵³ The Irrawaddy, October 11, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/myanmars-crisis-the-world/thailand-to-host-informal-asean-talks-on-myanmar-in-december.html>.
- ⁵⁴ *Id.*
- ⁵⁵ The Irrawaddy, October 21, 2024: https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/myanmar-china-watch/china-lodges-protest-with-myanmar-over-consulate-attack.html#google_vignette.
- ⁵⁶ *Id.*
- ⁵⁷ The Irrawaddy, October 28, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/myanmar-china-watch/chinese-ambassador-military-attache-hold-talks-with-myanmar-junta-no-2.html>.
- ⁵⁸ *Id.*
- ⁵⁹ The Irrawaddy, October 28, 2024: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/china-fires-warning-shots-at-myanmar-junta-bomber.html>.
- ⁶⁰ *Id.*
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