

STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

JANUARY 2025 REPORT

Summary. This report reviews the January 2025 developments relating to human rights in Myanmar.

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I. Coup, Crackdown on Protests and Civilian Resistance

Myanmar's junta extended the state of emergency by six months on January 31.¹ Elections cannot be held under a state of emergency, so long-promised polls the junta has said will be held in 2025 will not take place until the second half of the year at the earliest.²

On January 4, the civilian National Unity Government ("NUG") claimed that People's Defense Forces ("PDFs") and ethnic armed organizations have secured complete or partial control of 144 of the country's 330 townships, leaving just 107 in regime hands four years after the 2021 coup.³ Meanwhile nearly 15,000 regime soldiers and police have defected to the civil disobedience movement, and over 480 "have taken up revolutionary duties," according to the NUG.⁴

An estimated 95 civilians, including 14 children, were killed by Myanmar's regime in December, the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners ("AAPP") reported on January 7.⁵ The junta's airstrikes were the major cause, resulting in 45 fatalities, followed by shelling which left 30 dead, including 35 women, 59 men and one member of the trans community, the AAPP reported.⁶

According to the Burmese Women's Union, at least 478 women were killed by Myanmar's junta and 412 others were injured during 2024, an increase from the previous year.⁷ Sagaing Region reported the most female deaths last year with 109, followed by Shan State with 92 and Rakhine State with 83.⁸ Mandalay, Magway and Bago regions also reported numerous female deaths.⁹ Junta airstrikes accounted for 257 female fatalities last year, followed by regime shelling, which killed 142.¹⁰

On January 28, in an ambush in Mandalay Region's Natogyi Township, PDF groups reportedly killed at least 22 junta troops and captured eight troops alive.¹¹ The PDF's No. 1 Military Region reported that it attacked a junta column of approximately 50 troops from Light Infantry Division 99 between the township's Mya Taung and Sein Pan Kan villages.¹²

The junta regime reportedly has plans to evacuate the Defense Services Academy and Defense Services Technological Academy from Mandalay Region's Pyin Oo Lwin.¹³ The regime plans to move the Agricultural University campus to Naypyitaw's Zeyathiri Township, according to Deputy Agriculture, Livestock and Irrigation Minister Tin Htut.¹⁴

After three months of being forced to cease their assault when junta forces took civilian hostages as human shields, on January 27, PDFs resumed their offensive against the last junta position in Indaw town in northern Sagaing Region.¹⁵

On January 25, a junta warplane dropped two bombs on a district hospital in Kyaukme, northern Shan State, which is controlled by the Ta'ang National Liberation Army, killing three people, including two female public health workers who had joined the civil disobedience movement.¹⁶ At least 20 others were badly injured and are being treated in the hospital.¹⁷ After the raid, almost all buildings had been flattened, suggesting that the facility was deliberately targeted.¹⁸

On January 18, 28 women and children were killed after a junta fighter jet bombed detention centers holding family members of regime troops captured by the Arakan Army (“AA”).¹⁹ The AA reported that the fighter jet conducted three airstrikes on the campus near Yann Chaung village in Mrauk-U Township, Rakhine State.²⁰ According to reports, this is not the first time that junta warplanes have killed their own detained troops.²¹

Junta troops have reportedly been raiding villages near Mann Shwesettaw Pagoda in Magway Region’s Minbu Township since January 10 as the regime prepares for an annual festival lasting from February to April.²²

According to Colonel Naw Bu, the spokesperson of the Kachin Independence Army (“KIA”), on January 11, at least 15 civilians were killed, and 10 were injured when a junta warplane bombed the Tsan Lun gold mine west of Tanai town in Kachin State.²³

On January 8, more than 40 civilians, including children, were killed in a junta airstrike on a village tract controlled by the AA.²⁴ The airstrike also injured at least 20 residents and destroyed 500 homes.²⁵

On January 1, junta troops abandoned a police station in Sagaing Region’s Budalin Township after a yearlong siege by PDF groups.²⁶ Junta troops abducted some 200 civilians and forced them to carry their weapons and ammunition as they left the police station for Budalin town.²⁷ The abductees were released in the evening of January 1 and morning of January 2.²⁸ A 25-year-old male abductee was killed when he tried to flee and his body dumped near Talai village, according to residents.²⁹

In a New Year State of the Union Address, Acting NUG President Duwa Lashi La acknowledged that during the period since the coup, shortcomings in leadership and side-effects of flawed systems have caused harm to civilians but he said that reforms will be carried out within NUG ministries to ensure better leadership and performance in 2025.³⁰ Administrative, security and defense bodies under the NUG have faced growing public criticism in some areas particularly in Sagaing and Tanintharyi regions.³¹ Additionally, lack of reforms and effectiveness at some of its ministries have drawn criticism from political observers as well as by some supporters over the past nearly four years.³² Duwa Lashi La also extended an invitation to individuals who can effectively lead and take responsibility to join the NUG.³³

II. Political Developments

A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis

The UN Refugee Agency has called on states to prioritize life-saving actions as hundreds of Rohingya stateless refugees from Myanmar have sought safety in the nearby region in January.³⁴ A total of 460 men, women and children arrived by boat in countries in the region, including Malaysia (196 people on January 3) and Indonesia (264 people on January 5) in the first few days of the new year after weeks at sea.³⁵ Ten people reportedly died during the journeys.³⁶ There are also reports of boats being pushed back to sea.³⁷ “While states have the legitimate right to control their borders and manage irregular movements, especially in the context of people smuggling and trafficking, such measures must guarantee the rights of people

to reach safety,” said Hai Kyung Jun, Director of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (“UNHCR”) Regional Bureau for Asia and the Pacific.³⁸ “We call on all states to continue search and rescue efforts and make sure that survivors receive the assistance and protection they need.”³⁹

Justice For All, a leading human rights organization, has issued an urgent appeal to the UNHCR to take immediate action in response to the rise in kidnappings targeting Rohingya refugees around the camps in Teknaf, Bangladesh.⁴⁰ This plea follows reports of over 30 individuals being abducted in just three days, with dozens more being victimized daily, including a 6-year-old child.⁴¹

On January 25, the United States Agency for International Development (“USAID”) suspended its funding to the Muhammed Yunus-led interim Bangladesh government after President Donald Trump suspended all foreign aid for 90 days.⁴² According to USAID, its program in Bangladesh is the largest USAID program in Asia.⁴³ USAID also the largest donor to Bangladesh’s humanitarian assistance portfolio, which addresses the Rohingya refugee crisis.⁴⁴

B. Corruption

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

C. International Community / Sanctions

On January 6, the governments of the United States, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Norway, the Republic of Korea, Switzerland, Timor-Leste, the United Kingdom and the European Union released a joint statement to “address the human rights and humanitarian crisis in Myanmar.”⁴⁵ In the joint statement, the governments rebuked the junta’s “ongoing and violent repression of the people of Myanmar” and noted that they had received “credible reports of human rights violations and abuses, and international humanitarian law violations committed against civilians” and reiterated their support of ASEAN’s role in “finding a resolution to the crisis.”⁴⁶

On January 26, the United States Department of State announced that “all foreign assistance via the department and U.S. Agency for International Development would be suspended for 90 days pending a review.”⁴⁷ On January 28, the United States’ freeze on foreign aid funding took effect, leading to medical care being “withdrawn from tens of thousands of Myanmar refugees in Thai border camps.”⁴⁸ This aid suspension has forced hospitals to close “in five refugee camps on the Thai-Myanmar border.”⁴⁹

On January 30, the Secretary-General of the United Nations (“UN”) released a statement condemning all forms of violence and called on all parties to the conflict to exercise maximum restraint, uphold human rights and international humanitarian law, and prevent further incitement of violence and intercommunal tensions.⁵⁰ In his statement, he further highlighted that more than one-third of the population of Myanmar need humanitarian assistance, compared to only one million before the military took over four years ago.⁵¹

Also on January 30, the head of the UN’s Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar (“IIMM”) stated that “according to substantial evidence collected and analyzed by the

IIMM, serious international crimes have been committed across [Myanmar].”⁵² In his statement, the IIMM head asserted that protests against the junta were “suppressed with often lethal violence,” that “perceived opponents have been unlawfully imprisoned,” and that “[i]ncreasingly frequent and indiscriminate air strikes, artillery and drone attacks have killed civilians, driven survivors from their homes, and destroyed hospitals, schools and places of worship.”⁵³

On January 31, Australia, Canada, the European Union, the Republic of Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States issued a joint statement on the situation in Myanmar to mark the four-year anniversary of the junta’s coup.⁵⁴ In the statement, the combined nations condemned “in the strongest terms the Myanmar military regime’s escalating violence harming civilians, including human rights violations, sexual and gender-based violence, and systematic persecution and discrimination against all religious and ethnic minorities.”⁵⁵ They further called on the junta to “immediately de-escalate violence, ensure unhindered and safe humanitarian access across the country and . . . urge[d] all parties to prioritize the protection of civilians.”⁵⁶

III. Civil and Political Rights

A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association

Myanmar’s ruling junta has rapidly expanded its search for much-needed conscripts and amended the conscription law. Citizens eligible for conscription are now prohibited from traveling abroad and government workers are no longer exempted from the conscription statute.⁵⁷ Reports emerged in early January that covert, plainclothes officers are targeting motorbike riders in Mandalay.⁵⁸ The military is reportedly disregarding the limitations of the conscription law and there are reports of students under the age of eighteen and women being conscripted.⁵⁹

The junta is reportedly beginning to arrest high school students although high school students are not eligible for conscription under the law.⁶⁰ Military officials are allegedly demanding that schools provide a list of all students aged fifteen and older along with information about whether each student is a good candidate.⁶¹ School officials report being asked “whether students wear glasses, are on long-term medication, or have physical disabilities.”⁶² One Yangon resident said that her nephew was conscripted and the family could not afford to pay the requisite bribe for his release.⁶³ He has now gone into hiding.⁶⁴

Further, the military is alleged to pad the conscript list with kidnapped homeless people. Aid workers report that in Mandalay, there were 100,000 homeless people just after the 2021 coup.⁶⁵ Today, there are only 60,000 homeless.⁶⁶ There are rumors that the homeless were “snatched by patrolling junta soldiers and forcibly recruited into the Myanmar military.”⁶⁷

The military has additionally allegedly begun compiling lists of women who may be drafted for military service.⁶⁸ Officials claim they are merely “compiling lists” and have “no plans for female recruitment.”⁶⁹ However, one woman was told by her ward administrator that only married women who are pregnant or have children will be exempted from military service.⁷⁰

Dr. Nay Soe Maung, the son-in-law of former military dictator Than Shwe, has been handed three years in jail on January 16 for alleged sedition nearly three months after being

detained and tried at a junta court in Mandalay's Obo Prison.⁷¹ The junta charged the ex-dictator's son-in-law for with "damaging national peace and stability" through his Facebook posts, in a challenge to Than Shwe, who handpicked current regime leader Min Aung Hlaing as military chief in 2011.⁷²

B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

On January 1, the military junta enacted a new cybersecurity law targeting virtual private networks ("VPNs").⁷³ The junta previously banned Facebook, Instagram, X, WhatsApp and VPN services.⁷⁴ The new law sets out a penalty of six months in prison and a fine for "unauthorized VPN installation or service."⁷⁵ It also requires digital platform service providers to store user data records for up to three years, and, if asked, turn them over to the authorities.⁷⁶ Critics believe the junta will wield the new law to further suppress digital freedom.⁷⁷

On January 6, the United States Department of Commerce added junta-owned telecommunications company Mytel to its sanctions list.⁷⁸ According to the U.S. government, Mytel provided financial support and surveillance services to the junta, enabling it to carry out human rights abuses.⁷⁹ During 2024, the junta shut down telecommunications in approximately 87 townships.⁸⁰ In some townships, the military shut down all telecoms services except Mytel SIM cards, reportedly to facilitate its surveillance of the public.⁸¹ Since its formation in 2016, Mytel has been accused of corruption, cronyism, and carrying out government disinformation campaigns.⁸²

On January 9, the military junta banned seven LGBTQ+ books.⁸³ On January 16, the junta banned three additional LGBTQ+ books, and revoked the licenses of Yangon's Euphoria Book House and Master Printing Service for distributing the books.⁸⁴ The junta claimed the books contain "obscene" and "socially unacceptable" content.⁸⁵ An author interviewed by *Democratic Voice of Burma* said the junta is targeting LGBTQ+-themed books that mention any form of touch, such as hand holding.⁸⁶ Despite the junta's book bans, Myanmar LGBTQ+ books continue to be shared on Wattpad, a free social media platform.⁸⁷

On January 25, the Independent Press Council Myanmar ("IPC Myanmar") released a statement condemning the junta's unjust imprisonment, torture and killing of journalists.⁸⁸ According to IPCM Chairperson Nan Paw Gay, "The main challenges ahead for media outlets and journalists are operational sustainability and security." Since the 2021 coup, the military junta has arrested roughly 200 journalists.⁸⁹ As of January 25, the junta has prosecuted imposed custodial sentences on 43 journalists, ranging from three years to life.⁹⁰ In addition, since the coup, the junta has executed seven journalists.⁹¹

IV. Economic Development

A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment

The military regime has expanded its cooperation with Belarus beyond arms dealing, hosting a first-ever visit by its top diplomat at the Myanmar-Belarus Business Forum on January 10.⁹² Junta media reported that the two countries plan to sign a memorandum of understanding for technology transfer.⁹³ An initial agreement for cooperation was signed by the Belarus

Foreign Ministry and the junta's Ministry of Investment and Foreign Economic Relations during the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ryzhenkov's trip.⁹⁴

Minister of Investment and Foreign Economic Relations Kan Zaw addressed a meeting of Myanmar's Central Working Group for Special Economic Zones ("SEZs").⁹⁵ He called for effective collaboration between Kyaukphyu SEZ Consortium Company Ltd.—formed as a Myanmar Government Designated Entity—and China's CITIC Consortium, as well as collaboration with relevant ministries to expedite the project and compliance with regulations.⁹⁶ The Kyaukphyu port and SEZ are key to the planned 1,700-km China-Myanmar Economic Corridor connecting Kunming in China's Yunnan province to the Indian Ocean.⁹⁷ The budget for the Kyaukphyu SEZ is US\$1.3 billion, while the port is expected to cost US\$7.3 billion.⁹⁸

B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects

China and India are reportedly competing for their interests in Rakhine State as the AA takes increasing control of the Bay of Bengal coastline.⁹⁹ China is pushing ahead with the Kyaukphyu SEZ and a deep-sea port in Rakhine State.¹⁰⁰ India is also assisting the development of the Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Corridor at the India-funded Sittwe port in the capital of Rakhine State.¹⁰¹ The Kaladan Project, which aims to connect Kolkata with Sittwe by sea, is a crucial part of India's Act East Policy to counter China's influence in Myanmar through its Belt and Road Initiative.¹⁰² In Myanmar, the project will link Sittwe's seaport to Paletwa in southern Chin State via the Kaladan River before connecting to Mizoram State in northeast India by road.¹⁰³

China is also mining extensively with allegedly little regard to the environmental impact in the northern Kachin State, in a move seen by critics as a push by China to dominate the global supply chain of critical minerals.¹⁰⁴ The *Irrawaddy* reports that Myanmar is China's primary source of heavy rare earths, supplying approximately 40% of crucial elements such as dysprosium, yttrium and terbium.¹⁰⁵ Global Witness, an international environmental non-governmental organization, has investigated the widespread destruction of ecosystems, with toxic chemicals from processing operations contaminating water sources and agricultural land.¹⁰⁶ Local communities further report severe health impacts, including skin diseases, respiratory problems and internal organ damage.¹⁰⁷

Russia is also promoting its interests in Myanmar with a potential investment in the Dawei SEZ in Tanintharyi Region in southern Myanmar.¹⁰⁸ Russian Ambassador to Myanmar Iskander Azizov traveled to Dawei to discuss the implementation of the Dawei SEZ with junta-appointed Tanintharyi Region Chief Minister Myat Ko and the junta-appointed Dawei SEZ Management Committee chairman.¹⁰⁹ The Russian ambassador is reported to have expressed Moscow's interest in the tourism sector in Tanintharyi, and also indicated an interest in the previously abandoned deep-sea port construction in the Dawei SEZ.¹¹⁰

Russia also supplied six fighter jets to the Myanmar regime in January.¹¹¹

There is a reported shortage of cement in the construction sector caused by disruption to domestic cement production due to the armed conflicts in the country.¹¹² In addition, Myanmar is suffering from frequent power blackouts caused by damage to the power lines from the fighting

and natural disasters.¹¹³ Given the increasing national electricity demand, the Myanmar government is constructing 11 solar power plants in several regions across the country.¹¹⁴

C. Land Seizure

In December 2017, southern Mandalay’s Amarapura Township granted a project initiative known as “Amarapura River City” or the “Amarapura Urban Development Project.”¹¹⁵ The project seeks to reshape the farmland in the area, primarily the area locally known as Shan Lay Kyun village, and turn it into a housing project.¹¹⁶ So far, the project has received investment of over 1,300 billion kyats (US\$360 million).¹¹⁷ The project is led by Maung Weik, a controversial business developer who owns Mandalay Business Capital City Development Ltd (“MBCCD”).¹¹⁸ MBCCD has stated that it plans to build high-rise buildings, which will house apartments, business offices, markets, government offices and schools by laying soil 20-feet deep across the island.¹¹⁹ At the project’s inception, many residents of the area stated that they want to stay in their village and were unsupportive of the project.¹²⁰ In 2017, Wai Wai Mar, a local of Shan Lay Kyun village, said there have been “many examples” of people being forced to move from similar project areas without receiving any form of compensation.¹²¹

In late 2024, MBCCD reportedly began filling in land slated for use in the Amarapura Urban Development Project, including farmland still in use.¹²² Further, as the project has continued, local farmers in the area have had their land purchased for pennies on the dollar, or entirely seized without compensation.¹²³ Farmers have increasingly reported that the company is pressuring them to sell their land within the 2,500 acre project area at below-market prices.¹²⁴ While land with ‘Form-7’ farming rights certificates was worth up to 220 million kyats (US\$105,000) per acre before the military coup, the company is now pressuring owners to sell for prices below this.¹²⁵ A notice from the Amarapura Urban Project Support Committee, dated November 13, 2024, reveals the company is buying land in the project area for 150 million kyats (US\$70,000) per acre with Form-7 certificates and 60 million kyats (US\$30,000) per acre for alluvial land without certificates.¹²⁶

Certain village chiefs are convincing landowners to sell the land plots nonetheless, implying the land will be seized if not sold.¹²⁷ Zaw Yan, a farmers’ rights activist, said that farmers are struggling to resolve land disputes through legal channels under the military.¹²⁸ As of December 30, 2024, over 75% of the project area land has already been sold off.¹²⁹

On January 11, 2025, there was a protest in the Shan Lay Kyun Village against the Amarapura Urban Development Project.¹³⁰ Around 35 people joined the protest, but an anonymous villager said that many people were afraid to go.¹³¹ Protestors called for compensation for crop damage caused by the project, replacement of village-owned cemetery land and the reopening of the village’s western access road.¹³²

V. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence

A. Ethnic Violence

On January 27, the AA announced that it was advancing eastward through the Rakhine mountains, and that on January 26, it had captured the Moe Hti base between Rakhine’s Taungup

and Bago's Padaung after a five-day assault.¹³³ Additionally, on January 27, fighting was reported on the Rakhine-Ayeyarwady border, as junta troops' attempted to recapture their Point 263 base, which the AA seized on January 25.¹³⁴ Residents of the Magyizin and Bomie villages near Shwe Thaung Yan report that AA troops now control these villages.¹³⁵ The Chin Defense Force (Asho) reported that it had captured 17 regime soldiers, seizing their weapons and ammunition as they retreated along the Ann-Padan road from Ann Township.¹³⁶

The KIA, All Burma Democratic Front and other groups seized Mansi Township, Kachin State on January 8 and subsequently attacked retreating junta troops.¹³⁷ The Irrawaddy, reports that at least 100 retreating troops have been injured, numerous soldiers have been detained and large amounts of arms and ammunition seized.¹³⁸

According to KIA spokesperson Colonel Naw Bu, on January 26, the KIA and allied resistance forces seized the airport and base of a junta armored battalion in Bhamo.¹³⁹

The AA confessed that its troops killed two captive Myanmar junta soldiers in Kyauktaw Township, Rakhine State.¹⁴⁰ AA spokesman Khaing Thukha said the incident occurred during the group's offensive on the 9th Military Operations Command in Kyauktaw on February 7 last year.¹⁴¹ Action had been taken against the perpetrators, he said, but did not specify the punishment.¹⁴² Thai-based group Fortify Rights said, "Torturing and summarily executing civilians or captured enemy soldiers are war crimes."¹⁴³ Khaing Thukha said the AA backs its policy not to kill prisoners of war and pledged to prevent future occurrences, claiming that hundreds of junta soldiers have been treated well in captivity.¹⁴⁴

B. Peace Talks

On January 18, a formal ceasefire agreement went into effect between the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army ("MNDAA") and the military junta.¹⁴⁵ The truce was signed at the latest round of peace talks brokered by China.¹⁴⁶ No specific details of the ceasefire have yet been issued by the junta or the MNDAA.¹⁴⁷ MNDAA-controlled border gates have reopened, restoring trade with China and with territory controlled by the United Wa State Army in southern Shan State.¹⁴⁸ On January 28, the MNDAA's leader, Peng Daxun, vowed that the group would endeavor to achieve peace.¹⁴⁹

- ¹ The Irrawaddy, January 31, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-extends-emergency-by-another-6-months.html>.
- ² *Id.*
- ³ The Irrawaddy, January 6, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-boss-warns-resistance-as-regime-loses-ground-nationwide.html>.
- ⁴ *Id.*
- ⁵ The Irrawaddy, January 8, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/aapp-myanmar-junta-killed-95-civilians-in-december.html>.
- ⁶ *Id.*
- ⁷ The Irrawaddy, January 22, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/at-least-478-females-killed-by-myanmar-junta-in-2024.html>.
- ⁸ *Id.*
- ⁹ *Id.*
- ¹⁰ *Id.*
- ¹¹ The Irrawaddy, February 1, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/22-myanmar-junta-troops-killed-by-mandalay-resistance.html>.
- ¹² *Id.*
- ¹³ The Irrawaddy, January 28, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-to-evacuate-elite-military-academies-to-naypyitaw.html>.
- ¹⁴ *Id.*
- ¹⁵ The Irrawaddy, January 28, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-resistance-forces-resume-assault-on-junta-holdouts-in-indaw.html>.
- ¹⁶ The Irrawaddy, January 27, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/20-killed-in-myanmar-junta-airstrikes-on-hospital-and-village.html>.
- ¹⁷ *Id.*
- ¹⁸ *Id.*
- ¹⁹ The Irrawaddy, January 20, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-airstrike-kills-28-detained-wives-children-of-regime-troops-aa.html>.
- ²⁰ *Id.*
- ²¹ *Id.*
- ²² The Irrawaddy, January 15, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-raids-villages-ahead-of-magwe-pagoda-festival.html>.
- ²³ The Irrawaddy, January 13, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/at-least-15-killed-as-myanmar-junta-jet-bombs-gold-mine-in-kachin.html>.
- ²⁴ The Irrawaddy, January 9, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-airstrike-kills-40-civilians-on-rakhines-ramree-island.html>.
- ²⁵ *Id.*
- ²⁶ The Irrawaddy, January 3, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/junta-fortress-in-sagaing-falls-after-yearlong-siege.html>.
- ²⁷ *Id.*
- ²⁸ *Id.*
- ²⁹ *Id.*
- ³⁰ Irrawaddy, January 3, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-nug-acting-president-vows-reforms-in-new-year-speech.html>.
- ³¹ *Id.*
- ³² *Id.*
- ³³ *Id.*
- ³⁴ The UN Refugee Agency, January 8, 2025: <https://www.unhcr.org/asia/news/press-releases/focus-saving-lives-urges-unhcr-more-rohingya-flee-sea>.
- ³⁵ *Id.*
- ³⁶ *Id.*
- ³⁷ *Id.*
- ³⁸ *Id.*
- ³⁹ *Id.*
- ⁴⁰ Justice For All, January 20, 2025: <https://www.justiceforall.org/burma-task-force/justice-for-all-calls-on-unhcr-to-address-escalating-kidnappings-of-rohingya-refugees-in-bangladesh/>.
- ⁴¹ *Id.*
- ⁴² The New Indian Express, January 26, 2025: <https://www.newindianexpress.com/world/2025/Jan/26/usaid-halts-funding-to-bangladesh-after-trump-imposes-90-day-hold-on-all-foreign-aid>.
- ⁴³ *Id.*
- ⁴⁴ *Id.*
- ⁴⁵ Canada.ca, January 6, 2025: <https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2025/01/joint-statement-on-the-human-rights-and-humanitarian-situation-in-myanmar.html>.
- ⁴⁶ *Id.*
- ⁴⁷ The Irrawaddy, January 29, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/us-aid-freeze-triggers-healthcare-crisis-on-myanmar-thai-border.html>.
- ⁴⁸ *Id.*
- ⁴⁹ *Id.*
- ⁵⁰ UN.org, January 30, 2025: <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2025-01-30/statement-attributable-the-spokesperson-for-the-secretary-general-myanmar?>

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⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² The Irrawaddy, January 31, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/myanmars-crisis-the-world/un-probe-warns-myanmar-violence-may-worsen-four-years-since-coup.html>.

⁵³ *Id.*

⁵⁴ Gov.UK, January 31, 2025: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/four-years-on-from-the-military-coup-in-myanmar>.

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ Development Media Group, BNI Online, January 27, 2025: <https://www.bnionline.net/en/news/juntas-introduces-oppressive-conscription-law-amendments>.

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ *Id.*

⁶⁰ The Irrawaddy, January 10, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/conscript-hungry-myanmar-junta-turns-sights-on-students.html>.

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ *Id.*

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ The Irrawaddy, January 20, 2025: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/street-kids-targeted-in-myanmar-juntas-conscription-drive.html>.

⁶⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁷ *Id.*

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