

# STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

## JANUARY 2026 REPORT

**Summary.** This report reviews the January 2026 developments relating to human rights in Myanmar.

<b>I.</b>	<b>Coup, Crackdown on Protests and Civilian Resistance.....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>II.</b>	<b>Political Developments.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Rohingya Refugee Crisis.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Corruption.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>C.</b>	<b>International Community / Sanctions.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>III.</b>	<b>Civil and Political Rights.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Freedom of the Press and Censorship.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>IV.</b>	<b>Economic Development.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>C.</b>	<b>Land Seizure.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>V.</b>	<b>Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Ethnic Violence.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Peace Talks.....</b>	<b>10</b>

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

The military proxy Union Solidarity and Development Party (“USDP”) won the tightly controlled national election.<sup>1</sup> The three-phase election across 263 townships culminated on January 25 without the country’s most popular democratic party, the National League for Democracy (“NLD”).<sup>2</sup> The NLD was previously dissolved by the junta’s poll body along with dozens of other major opposition parties.<sup>3</sup> All party leaders except those from the USDP lost in the national elections.<sup>4</sup>

The State Administration Council (“SAC”) intensified attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure in 2025, committing widescale crimes against humanity in the lead-up to its stage-managed election, according to international human rights groups.<sup>5</sup> Amnesty International, Fortify Rights, and Human Rights Watch said violence escalated as the military sought to use the polls to crush political opposition, derail efforts to restore civilian rule and entrench a military-controlled state. Since the 2021 coup, the SAC has banned dozens of political parties and detained more than 30,000 political prisoners, including Aung San Suu Kyi and other NLD leaders.<sup>6</sup> In January, the military said it had prosecuted more than 400 people under its “election protection” law, which punishes criticism of the vote with lengthy prison sentences and even death.<sup>7</sup> The rights groups said the military sharply increased its use of airstrikes—including deliberate and indiscriminate attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, religious buildings and camps for displaced people.<sup>8</sup> After introducing conscription in February 2024, the SAC has forcibly abducted young men and boys for military service, detained relatives of runaway conscripts, and increased recruitment of child soldiers, according to the reports.<sup>9</sup> Further, more than 2,200 people have died in junta custody since the coup, the groups said, citing reports of torture, sexual violence and denial of medical treatment in prisons and military detention sites.<sup>10</sup> Military operations have also displaced at least 3.6 million people, while more than 15 million face acute food insecurity, particularly in Rakhine State, the groups said.<sup>11</sup> Following the March 2025 earthquake in central Myanmar, the SAC blocked aid access in opposition-held areas while conducting more than 550 attacks in the two months after the disaster despite announcing a ceasefire, the groups said.<sup>12</sup> They also noted a rise in lawlessness since the coup, including online scam centers, drug production and unregulated mining.<sup>13</sup>

The People’s Defense Forces (“PDF”) and allied resistance forces launched a fresh New Year offensive in the wake of the first phase of the junta-organized election, with flashpoints cropping up across the Bamar heartland.<sup>14</sup> In early January, resistance forces entered Katha on the Irrawaddy River in Sagaing Region amidst artillery fire and airstrikes.<sup>15</sup> The resistance forces reportedly captured the town’s main entry checkpoint and its education college.<sup>16</sup> Some civilians were trapped along escape routes and were being held up at security checkpoints the junta and the resistance groups set up along the Sagaing-Kachin border, witnesses said.<sup>17</sup>

The PDF claims to have killed at least 40 Myanmar troops in western Bago Region in a major offensive launched on January 7 that targeted regime bases in three townships along the road running north from Yangon to Pyay.<sup>18</sup> The largest regime losses reportedly came in Nattalin Township, where Bago and Yangon PDF forces raided the police station in Taung Nyo town, killing 20 Myanmar soldiers and injuring others.<sup>19</sup> The SAC responded with airstrikes, according to resistance sources.<sup>20</sup>

*The Irrawaddy* reports that more than 10,000 people have been displaced by ongoing clashes around Penwagon town in eastern Bago Region.<sup>21</sup> People from at least 20 surrounding villages have reportedly fled SAC raids and daily artillery strikes since resistance groups launched an offensive in early January to coincide with the election.<sup>22</sup> Some 200 military troops are currently trying to retake a resistance-held village about 6 km from Penwagon, residents said.<sup>23</sup>

Blasts at the General Administration Department office in Htantabin Township on January 11 killed a Union Election Commission assistant director and wounded one staff member, according to a local UEC official.<sup>24</sup> In Minhla Township, another explosion was reported on the same day.<sup>25</sup> The Minhla PDF claimed responsibility. The attack came after PDF fighters cut the road to a Minhla polling station on January 10.<sup>26</sup>

On January 12, PDF fighters attacked Myanmar military soldiers advancing into Kyein Khar Kone Village near the highway southeast of Penwagon in Kyauktaga Township.<sup>27</sup> The PDF say they defeated the troops, killing 20 of the soldiers.<sup>28</sup>

An ambush on junta-appointment administrators inspecting polling stations in Kamma Township, Magway Region during stage two of the election reportedly killed one person and injured several others.<sup>29</sup> The SAC blamed PDF fighters for the attack.<sup>30</sup>

The SAC arrested at least 40 residents and sealed a number of civilian homes in Madaya, Singu and Thabeikkyin townships in northern Mandalay Region.<sup>31</sup> Residents say that families of the Mandalay PDF have been killed or arrested, and young men have been pressed into military service.<sup>32</sup>

The SAC carried out airstrikes on January 20 against a prison run by the Arakan Army (“AA”) in Rakhine State.<sup>33</sup> Twenty-one captured regime soldiers and their family members were reportedly killed during the airstrike.<sup>34</sup> The prisoners were set to be released under an amnesty agreement, according to a representative from the AA.<sup>35</sup> These soldiers and their families surrendered to the AA in 2024 during the seizure of Ponnagyun and Kyauktaw towns.<sup>36</sup> One of the prisoner’s wives, Thazin Cho, questioned whether the regime regarded them as traitors for surrendering to the AA.<sup>37</sup> Children and women were also reportedly killed in the airstrikes.<sup>38</sup>

Since recapturing Madaya, Singu and Thabeikkyin Townships along the Irrawaddy in northern Mandalay Region, the SAC has reportedly arrested at least 40 residents and occupied several civilian homes as of January 13.<sup>39</sup> Families of members of the Mandalay People’s Defense Force have reportedly been killed or arrested.<sup>40</sup> Residents said young men were press-ganged into military service.<sup>41</sup> At least nine of those detained in Singu and Thabeikkyin have been reportedly been killed while the fate of the others remains unknown.<sup>42</sup>

On January 22, a Myanmar military jet allegedly bombed a crowd preparing for a wedding in Tat Kone village, Magway Region, killing at least five people, including a child.<sup>43</sup> Later on the same day, the Myanmar military reportedly bombed a funeral in Kaung Jar village, Bhamo Township, killing 22 mourners and wounding 28 more, including three children.<sup>44</sup>

Kaung Jar village hosts war-displaced families and sits across the Irrawaddy River from Bhamo town, where Kachin Independence Army (“KIA”) forces have been attacking junta strongholds for months.<sup>45</sup>

## **II. Political Developments**

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

Bangladesh’s National Security Adviser, Dr. Khalilur Rahman, held meetings with senior U.S. officials at the State Department in Washington D.C. on January 10 to discuss topics including the Rohingya crisis.<sup>46</sup> He thanked the U.S. for its continued support for displaced Rohingya refugees sheltered in Bangladesh and requested sustained assistance, noting that Washington is the largest donor to the refugee response.<sup>47</sup> Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Allison Hooker thanked Bangladesh for bearing a substantial burden by hosting Rohingya refugees and stressed the need for broader international burden-sharing and a durable solution to the crisis.<sup>48</sup> She also urged Bangladesh to expand livelihood opportunities for Rohingya refugees during their stay.<sup>49</sup>

Humanitarian agencies have issued renewed warnings that funding shortfalls are once again threatening food rations for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.<sup>50</sup> The most serious alerts have come from the World Food Program, which supports food assistance for more than 1 million Rohingya refugees living in camps around Cox’s Bazar.<sup>51</sup>

UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, has welcomed a €1 million contribution from Italy to support life-saving healthcare services for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.<sup>52</sup> The funding by Farnesina, Italy’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, and its Directorate General for Migration Policies, will help UNHCR and partners sustain essential health services in the camps, including primary healthcare, emergency referrals, maternal and child health services and disease prevention, ensuring refugees’ continued to access critical care.<sup>53</sup>

A massive fire broke out in the early hours of the morning on January 20 in Cox’s Bazar, Bangladesh.<sup>54</sup> The fire reportedly destroyed 335 homes and damaged hundreds more.<sup>55</sup> More than 2,000 people have reportedly been affected.<sup>56</sup> All families living in the destroyed homes have been forced to relocate to relatives or friends.<sup>57</sup> “This fire highlights the extreme vulnerability of Rohingya refugees living in overcrowded, makeshift homes that burn rapidly and offer little protection. “A single spark can devastate entire sections of the camp, further exhausting already vulnerable families,” said Dipankar Datta, the Norwegian Refugee Council’s country director in Bangladesh.<sup>58</sup>

Rohingya migrants held in detention centers across Malaysia are at risk of forced removal, rights advocates warn, as the SAC carries out a biometric registration scheme.<sup>59</sup> The Refugee Registration Document is the first step in the determination of who should be detained, deported or is eligible for transfer to safe third countries under UN refugee resettlement projects, according to the Home Ministry.<sup>60</sup> But verification is a complex task for Rohingya refugees, who are often undocumented, as Myanmar authorities refuse to recognize them as a legitimate community.<sup>61</sup> Rights groups say those who do not qualify for official documents risk a long limbo in detention centers or deportation back to Myanmar.<sup>62</sup>

The European Commission has allocated €63 million in humanitarian aid for people affected by conflict in Myanmar and for Rohingya refugees in neighboring countries, with most support directed to Bangladesh.<sup>63</sup> The funding is part of the EU's initial 2026 humanitarian allocation for South and Southeast Asia, the European Commission announced on January 30.<sup>64</sup>

In a hearing before the International Court of Justice ("ICJ") on January 12, Gambia's Justice Minister Dawda Jallow alleged that Myanmar's military deliberately targeted the Rohingya minority in a bid to destroy the community.<sup>65</sup> The Gambia brought the case accusing Myanmar of breaching the 1948 Genocide Convention during a crackdown in 2017.<sup>66</sup> A final decision could take months or even years, and while the ICJ has no means of enforcing its decisions, a ruling in favor of the Gambia would heap more political pressure on Myanmar.<sup>67</sup> Myanmar has always maintained the crackdown by its armed forces was justified to root out Rohingya insurgents after a series of attacks left a dozen security personnel dead.<sup>68</sup> On January 14, Myanmar's Foreign Ministry called the ICJ case "flawed and unfounded," and in a statement in a state newspaper, the SAC called on the ICJ to "reach its judgement based on fact and settled law strictly within the framework of the Genocide Convention."<sup>69</sup>

## **B. Corruption**

*The Irrawaddy* reported on January 14 that the United Wa State Army colludes with Myanmar's military by sharing revenue from illegal mining in partnership with Chinese gray-capital networks, with some profits flowing into Thailand via informal deals, including a Chiang Rai mine operating with Myanmar military permission.<sup>70</sup> This partnership reportedly allows ethnic Wa to obtain Thai citizenship, while other long-resident ethnic groups remain stateless, and a Wa-linked fiber-optic cable project was allegedly covered up by bribes.<sup>71</sup> Wa networks also allegedly use funds and bribery to field candidates in local and national elections, aligning with gray-capital politicians to threaten Thailand's political integrity.<sup>72</sup>

On January 28, *The Irrawaddy* published an investigation into Aung Myo Min Din, a top Myanmar hotelier, whose business rise is reportedly tied to questionable military links.<sup>73</sup> He reportedly built his hotel empire with financial support from military-linked banks and developed high-end properties for the family of Myanmar leader Min Aung Hlaing.<sup>74</sup> Many of his hotels also reportedly stand on land seized by the military, including former historic sites.<sup>75</sup>

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

The United Nations Human Rights Council Special Rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar, Tom Andrews, urged UN Member States "to reject the [election] process, isolate the junta and press its leaders to cancel the remaining two phases of voting" following the results of the initial phase of voting, which Andrews further described as a "junta-orchestrated sham."<sup>76</sup> In his statement on January 8, he noted that the Myanmar election could not be a "free, fair or credible election" when Myanmar military forces are using the threat of conscription to compel young people to vote, where displaced people are being threatened with the denial of humanitarian aid, education immigration documents and other essential services or where thousands are imprisoned as political prisoners.<sup>77</sup>

On January 13, the government of Bangladesh “summoned the ambassador of Myanmar after gun battles in [Myanmar] spilled over the border, wounding a Bangladeshi girl.”<sup>78</sup> In a press statement from the Bangladeshi foreign ministry, the government said that “the unprovoked firing towards Bangladesh is a blatant violation of international law and a hindrance to good neighborly relations.”<sup>79</sup>

On January 17, the SAC issued a statement in protest against the recent meeting between Timor-Leste President Jose Ramos-Horta and the resistance organization, Chin Human Rights Organization (“CHRO”).<sup>80</sup> Ramos-Horta met with a delegation from the CHRO to discuss the humanitarian situation in Myanmar and “promot[e] justice and accountability,” according to a CHRO press release.<sup>81</sup> The SAC described the meeting as “blatant interference,” noting that Timor-Leste had told Myanmar officials that they would “respect ASEAN’s non-interference principle.”<sup>82</sup>

On January 20, Malaysian foreign minister, Mohamad Hasan, stated that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (“ASEAN”) would not send observers to Myanmar’s election and therefore would not endorse the election.<sup>83</sup> Thailand’s foreign minister, Sihasak Phuangketkeow, noted on January 19 that the Thai SAC had sent monitors to observe the general election in Myanmar.<sup>84</sup> In his statement, he noted his hope that “the election [was] going to be the start of a transition process” and that while the election was “probably not perfect” that Thailand was in a position where it must deal “with the reality [of the situation] because Myanmar is it’s ‘next-door neighbor.’”<sup>85</sup> The government of the Philippines, acting as current ASEAN chair, said on January 22 that it looked forward to further talks with opponents of Myanmar’s ruling junta, and expected to engage more groups while staying open to the outcome of the general election.<sup>86</sup> Speaking through the ASEAN special envoy on the Myanmar crisis, Maria Theresa Parreno Lazaro, the Filipino government stressed that it is not endorsing the election but remained open to the outcome.<sup>87</sup>

On January 26, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Guo Jiakun shared the Chinese government’s congratulations “on a steady and orderly general election with active turnout” and further noted that “China stands ready to continue deepening the comprehensive strategic cooperation with Myanmar.”<sup>88</sup> In doing so, China became the “first country to hail the junta-orchestrated election after the final phase of the monthlong polls concluded” and Guo indicated that China would “help sell the polls international, saying Beijing will persuade the international community to respect ‘the choice of the people of Myanmar.’”<sup>89</sup>

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

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

The SAC announced on January 4 that it would release 6,134 prisoners as part of an annual amnesty to mark the country’s independence day.<sup>90</sup> Fifty-two prisoners are also set to be released and deported.<sup>91</sup>

The Union Election Commission (“UEC”) announced on January 14 that it would take action against Thet Thet Khine, head of the People’s Pioneer Party, and party Central Executive Committee member Htet Htet Naing, for allegedly meeting with representatives of a foreign

embassy on December 12, 2025 without the UEC's approval.<sup>92</sup> The UEC said the two confessed, during interrogation, to attending the meeting.<sup>93</sup> Under the Myanmar Constitution, political parties are prohibited from directly or indirectly receiving support from foreign governments, organizations, or individuals, or from being influenced by them.

The SAC warned its nationalist supporters to exercise restraint in protests against the genocide hearings at the ICJ, urging them against anti-Rohingya hate speech or other actions that could undermine the junta's defense.<sup>94</sup> The warning comes as the junta attempts to distance itself from anti-Rohingya and anti-Muslim statements made by nationalist monks, including incendiary sermons delivered by former Ma Ba Tha vice chair Sitagu Sayadaw—a prominent monk with close ties to junta leadership—during the military's Rakhine crackdown in 2017.<sup>95</sup> Gambia's legal team has presented evidence of anti-Rohingya hate speech by senior monks, nationalist groups, and pro-military figures—including Sitagu Sayadaw and ultranationalist monk Wirathu—arguing that such rhetoric demonstrated genocidal intent.<sup>96</sup>

Many Mandalay residents say they were pressured into voting in the final phase of the junta-organized election on January 25, with some local administrators personally dragging them from their home to the polling station.<sup>97</sup> *The Irrawaddy* reports that families with draft-age members cast their ballots out of fear of forced conscription, while others who had moved away from the townships where they were registered got phone calls to come back urgently.<sup>98</sup> In Patheingyi, Mahlaing and Myittha townships, which surround Mandalay city, local authorities reportedly arranged vehicles to ferry residents to polling stations. Patheingyi also reportedly saw loudhailers deployed hectoring people to vote, as did the inner-city township of Chanmyathazi, while ward and village administrators went house-to-house pressuring residents.<sup>99</sup>

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

On January 13, *Than Lwin Times* reported that the SAC continues to restrict social media access and prosecute civilians for social media use.<sup>100</sup> The SAC continues to block Facebook, Myanmar's most popular social media platform.<sup>101</sup> During 2025, the Myanmar military regime reportedly leveraged artificial intelligence to surveil social media users and arrested approximately 2,650 people for allegedly anti-junta social media activity.<sup>102</sup> Also, approximately 131 Myanmar townships continue to experience widespread internet shutdowns.<sup>103</sup> Despite the restrictions, millions of users in Myanmar reportedly circumvent the Facebook, and it reportedly remains an essential platform for 96 independent media outlets.<sup>104</sup>

The Independent Press Council Myanmar (“IPCM”) issued a statement on January 19 demanding that the Myanmar junta release 27 journalists currently in detention.<sup>105</sup> According to Secretary Toe Zaw Latt, 14 of the detained journalists are serving long term sentences.<sup>106</sup> In the statement, the IPCM urged the junta to stop targeting, arresting, torturing and imprisoning journalists.<sup>107</sup> In addition, it urged the international community to support Myanmar's independent media.<sup>108</sup> Toe Zaw Latt told *Karen News*, “[p]ress freedom is not only important for us as journalists. It is also important for people to know the truth about what is happening in conflict areas. We will keep discussing those issues.”<sup>109</sup>

On or around January 24, veteran photojournalist Myat Thu Kyaw was reportedly seriously injured in a violent assault at Insein Prison.<sup>110</sup> Authorities at the prison allegedly

directed members of an incarcerated Taiwanese drug syndicate to attack Myat Thu Kyaw and three other prisoners.<sup>111</sup> Myat Thy Kyaw sustained serious injuries to his eyes, face and arms and was taken to the hospital for treatment.<sup>112</sup> In 2023, the photojournalist was arrested while covering a protest and sentenced to three years in prison under Section 505(a) of the Myanmar Penal Code.<sup>113</sup> In 2025, he was sentenced to an additional five and a half years under the Counterterrorism Law.<sup>114</sup> The Committee to Protect Journalists urged the junta to ensure Myat Thu Kyaw’s safety, stop abusing prisoners and unconditionally release all of the journalists in detention.<sup>115</sup>

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

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

The price of gold in Myanmar rose to an all-time high of 9.89 million kyats (\$4,710) per tical (16.33 grams) on January 14, according to domestic market data.<sup>116</sup> The domestic gold price has jumped by over 1 million kyats since December 1, tracking a world trend as international prices rose to a record \$4,647 per ounce on January 14.<sup>117</sup> After losing faith in the kyat following the 2021 coup, Myanmar citizens have reportedly increasingly turned to gold, foreign property, and the US dollar to protect their savings.<sup>118</sup> The surge in demand has left gold in short supply.<sup>119</sup> In response, the junta-controlled Yangon Region Gold Entrepreneur Association set the reference rate at 6 million kyats per tical, threatening action against dealers who fail to comply.<sup>120</sup> Trade has since slowed sharply, with bullion transactions largely confined to insiders.<sup>121</sup>

On January 26, *Reuters* published a report alleging that illicit Iranian deliveries of jet fuel have enabled the expansive bombing campaign by the Myanmar military that has struck more than 1,000 civilian locations in 15 months.<sup>122</sup> In the report, *Reuters* further noted that Iran has also dispatched cargoes of urea, a key ingredient in the junta’s munitions.<sup>123</sup> According to shipping documents reviewed by *Reuters* and satellite imagery and analysis, the outlet noted that from October 2024 to December 2025, Iran delivered a total of about 175,000 tons of jet fuel to the Myanmar military in nine shipments and that such deliveries were “circumventing Western sanctions on both Iran and Myanmar.”<sup>124</sup> Following the report, Tom Andrews, the Special Rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar, called for the Iranian government to be held accountable for its assistance to the Myanmar military.<sup>125</sup>

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

President Office Minister Tin Aung San, who chairs the Electricity and Energy Development Commission, in a speech at Kachin State Day celebrations in the state capital Myitkyina on January 11, insisted that hydropower “is the most cost-effective option” and reiterated that the Myitsone Dam project, a massive China-backed scheme involving seven dams along the Mali and N’Mai with a combined capacity of 20,000 MW of electricity, must be “reviewed and implemented.”<sup>126</sup> He argued that the series of dams would boost power generation and “deliver long-term benefits for both Kachin State and the country as a whole.”<sup>127</sup> Deputy Electricity Minister Aye Kyaw told locals that the SAC had already begun discussions with Chinese companies to move the project forward.<sup>128</sup> Local sources also report that Chinese teams have resumed technical assessments and outreach activities in preparation for restarting the

project.<sup>129</sup> The shadow National Unity Government has condemned efforts to revive the project, citing environmental threats, seismic risks and displacement of locals.<sup>130</sup>

### **C. Land Seizure**

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

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

### **A. Ethnic Violence**

A Myanmar military commander and a dozen soldiers were reportedly killed on January 4 in an ambush by the AA in the Nyaungyo area of Padaung Township on the Rakhine-Bago border.<sup>131</sup> The SAC has deployed large troop numbers to the Nyaungyo area to block AA advances into Padaung, which is home to several ordnance factories on the banks of the Irrawaddy River.<sup>132</sup>

The AA clashed with Myanmar military forces in Rakhine State's capital Sittwe and coastal Kyaukphyu in early January as the AA reportedly shifts from defensive to offensive operations in the region.<sup>133</sup>

The Ta'ang National Liberation Army ("TNLA") is being accused of assisting Myanmar troops to extend their territory to rural parts of Mongmit Township in northern Shan State.<sup>134</sup> A local source said the regime is expanding operations beyond Mongmit town (or Momeik), which it took back from the TNLA under a China-brokered ceasefire at the end of last year.<sup>135</sup> The TNLA also returned the neighboring ruby-mining hub of Mogoke in Mandalay Region, escorting military convoys into both towns in early December.<sup>136</sup> The TNLA is reportedly planning to bring regime troops to Myit Son village halfway to Mabein up National Highway 31, according to sources, sparking friction with the KIA, which holds Mabein.<sup>137</sup>

### **B. Peace Talks**

There have been no material updates since the prior report.

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- <sup>1</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 27, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/politics/rival-party-leaders-defeated-or-barred-as-junta-proxy-usdp-sweeps-myanmar-election.html>.
- <sup>2</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>3</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>4</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>5</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 29, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-stepped-up-crimes-against-humanity-before-sham-election-rights-groups.html>.
- <sup>6</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>7</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>8</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>9</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>10</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>11</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>12</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>13</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>14</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 2, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/resistance-forces-march-into-katha-on-the-irrawaddy.html>.
- <sup>15</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>16</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 6, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-losing-grip-on-key-sagaing-stronghold-as-kia-led-forces-advance.html>.
- <sup>17</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 2, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/resistance-forces-march-into-katha-on-the-irrawaddy.html>.
- <sup>18</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 9, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/myanmar-junta-suffers-heavy-losses-in-bago-days-before-election.html>.
- <sup>19</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>20</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>21</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 28, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/thousands-flee-intense-fighting-on-old-yangon-mandalay-road-in-bago.html>.
- <sup>22</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>23</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>24</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 11, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-election-official-killed-as-blasts-rock-bago-region.html>.
- <sup>25</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>26</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>27</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 13, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/war-against-the-junta/resistance-keeps-punishing-myanmar-junta-forces-in-eastern-bago.html>.
- <sup>28</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>29</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 12, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-election-inspector-killed-in-magwe-ambush.html>.
- <sup>30</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>31</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 16, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-unleashes-reign-of-terror-in-recaptured-mandalay-towns.html>.
- <sup>32</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>33</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 22, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/junta-airstrike-on-aa-prison-kills-captured-regime-troops-relatives-in-rakhine.html>.
- <sup>34</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>35</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>36</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>37</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>38</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>39</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 16, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-unleashes-reign-of-terror-in-recaptured-mandalay-towns.html>.
- <sup>40</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>41</sup> *Id.*

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<sup>42</sup> *Id.*

<sup>43</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 23, 2026: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-junta-kills-27-civilians-in-airstrikes-on-wedding-and-funeral.html>.

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*

<sup>46</sup> The Daily Star, January 10, 2026: <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh-us-discuss-elections-trade-and-rohingya-crisis-washington-meetings-4077421>.

<sup>47</sup> *Id.*

<sup>48</sup> *Id.*

<sup>49</sup> *Id.*

<sup>50</sup> Arab News, January 11, 2026: <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2628998>.

<sup>51</sup> *Id.*

<sup>52</sup> UNHCR, January 13, 2026: <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/120531>.

<sup>53</sup> *Id.*

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