

BURMA COUP WATCH FOR MONTH OF NOVEMBER 2021: **Junta vows to wipe out resistance; conflict numbers tell the story**

- During 1 Feb–26 Nov, there were 6,675 attacks on civilians or armed clashes that failed to protect them, a 632% increase from the same period in 2020.
- Junta forces continued to suffer heavy losses, with defections and deaths subtracting hundreds of soldiers per week. The junta reacted by shelling and conducting air strikes, particularly in Chin, Sagaing, and Magway States/Regions, raiding civilian homes and villages, arbitrarily detaining and torturing civilians. The UN's Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar (IIMM) said that evidence pointed to crimes against humanity.
- The junta's crimes resulted in a massive increase in displaced persons, including around 50,000 just in Chin, Sagaing, and Magway since May 2021.
- Junta courts handed down lengthy sentences to high-profile NLD leaders. Sham trials against Aung San Suu Kyi moved forward, but the court delayed two verdicts without explanation. Junta military courts sentenced 21 people to death and 29 to life in prison.
- The junta ordered its soldiers in Sagaing, Tanintharyi, and Mandalay Regions to shoot at any male passenger on a motorbike.
- The junta amended Burma's Broadcasting Law, further restricting online expression. As of 15 Nov, it had detained at least 107 journalists and media workers.
- Students and teachers largely boycotted schools reopening, and were targeted by the junta. Resistance forces targeted those who returned, flouting NUG orders.
- As of 1 Dec, the junta had killed at least 1,299 people and detained at least 10,568 politicians, activists, journalists and others. It continued to target relatives of people evading arrest, prompting families to cut ties with wanted relatives.
- Profits from extractive industries continued to provide a lifeline to the junta. International oil and gas companies were exposed as a source of USD 1.5 billion per year for the junta. The junta also cashed in on sanctions-busting gem and timber trade.
- The UN Security Council issued more empty statements. ASEAN leaders invited the NUG to represent Burma, for the first time, at a meeting on climate change and disaster risks.

CONTENTS

- 2 Junta's political vendetta continues**
- 2 Regime pushes for "electoral reform" as NLD vows return to civilian rule
- 2 Sham trials against Suu Kyi continue
- 2 Junta sentences top NLD officials
- 3 NLD members, activists under fire
- 4 Civil disobedience, crackdowns**
- 6 Clashes, attacks, and displacement**
- 6 Atrocity crimes
- 8 Conflict hot spots
- 10 Junta losses
- 11 Resistance attacks on junta supporters
- 13 Resistance administration in Magway
- 13 Displacement
- 15 Women leadership, victimization**
- 15 COVID-19**
- 15 Regime prepares reopening
- 16 Local outbreaks raise concerns
- 16 Schools reopen, face low attendance**
- 17 Teachers, students under fire
- 17 Business and economics**
- 17 Investors spooked, local firms drowning
- 18 Mytel under fire, cell towers mined
- 18 Junta milks mining industries
- 19 Gem, timber traders bypass sanctions
- 20 No easy way out for Telenor, Kirin
- 20 Oil, gas revenues keep funding the junta
- 21 CRPH and NUG**
- 22 International responses**
- 22 ASEAN
- 23 Global rejection
- 23 Junta friends and legitimization

Junta continues its political vendetta

Regime pushes for “electoral reform” as NLD vows return

On 5 Nov, the NLD announced the formation of a new seven-member Central Working Committee to carry out party activities and liaise with the remaining members of the Central Executive Committee (CEC), as they cannot convene a plenary meeting.¹ On 8 Nov, the NLD vowed to “return power to the people” as it marked the anniversary of its landslide 2020 victory. Former MP and CEC member Kyaw Htwe said that the junta must respect the election results and relinquish control.²

On 5-6 Nov, the junta-controlled Union Election Commission (UEC) held discussions on switching Burma’s electoral system to proportional representation with over 50 small or pro-military political parties, including the military-aligned USDP; the NLD and other major parties boycotted the meeting.³ The UEC chairman stated that Burma’s current first-past-the-post system was outdated and “unequal,” and pointed out that ethnic minorities, small parties, women, and individuals would be more represented at administrative and parliamentary levels under the new system.⁴

On 9 Nov, it was reported that political parties that won seats in the 2020 elections were opposed to the change. The Shan Nationalities League for Democracy noted that military-aligned parties would only need to win 26% of seats to form a government. The Arakan National Party, which won the fourth-highest number of votes in the 2020 election, said it agreed in principle with the switch, but expressed concerns parties or institutions might exploit the system for their own interests. The Ta’ang National Party, which won the fifth-highest number of seats in 2020, said that the system would confuse ethnic voters, and noted that a lot of voter education would be needed before making such a change.⁵

Sham trials against Aung San Suu Kyi continue

On 2 Nov, a lawyer present at Aung San Suu Kyi’s hearing on 1 Nov was quoted saying that prosecution witnesses made conflicting statements about her 1 Feb arrest. Four junta security officials said they had found allegedly illegal communications devices inside Suu Kyi’s home, while another said the devices were confiscated from her security team at the gate leading into her property. In July, the Major who led the raid on Suu Kyi’s residence testified that no security personnel were present at the time.⁶

On 12 Nov, the wife of former Yangon Region chief minister Phyo Min Thein told a junta court that she took gold from her shop and bought US dollars, at the request of her husband, to bribe Suu Kyi; however, she could not support her testimony with receipts, did not recall when the gold and cash were handed over, and said she did not accompany her husband when he allegedly bribed Suu Kyi.⁷

On 23 Nov, a junta judge barred ousted Mandalay Chief Minister Dr. Zaw Myint Maung from testifying in Suu Kyi’s trial for violating COVID-19 restrictions, citing a regime health official’s statement that he was unfit to travel. One observer suggested that the regime wanted to avoid a face-to-face meeting between Zaw Myint Maung and Suu Kyi. Junta judges reportedly gave her legal team the choice between her testifying via videoconferencing or before a judicial commission in Mandalay.⁸

On 30 Nov, a junta-controlled court delayed until 6 Dec its verdicts on charges of incitement and breaching COVID-19 restrictions against Suu Kyi. The judge gave no reason for the postponement.⁹

Junta sentences top NLD officials, adds charges

On 9 Nov, ousted Karen State chief minister Nang Khin Htwe Myint and finance minister Than Naing were respectively sentenced to 75 and 90 years in prison on corruption charges, after receiving two-

¹ Mizzima (5 Nov 2021) NLD Central Working Committee formed

² Radio Free Asia (8 Nov 2021) NLD vows to ‘return power to the people’ a year after Myanmar’s annulled election

³ Irrawaddy (9 Nov 2021) Myanmar Political Parties Reject Regime’s Proportional Representation System

⁴ Eleven Media Group (EMG) (6 Nov 2021) UEC chairman says that majority of the countries practice PR system

⁵ Irrawaddy (9 Nov 2021) Myanmar Political Parties Reject Regime’s Proportional Representation System

⁶ Myanmar Now (2 Nov 2021) Prosecution witnesses in Suu Kyi’s walkie-talkie case give ‘contradicting’ testimonies

⁷ Irrawaddy (12 Nov 2021) Former Yangon Chief Minister’s Wife Testifies Preparing Bribes for Suu Kyi

⁸ Irrawaddy (23 Nov 2021) Myanmar Regime Bars NLD Vice Chair From in Person Testimony at Suu Kyi Trial

⁹ Myanmar Now (30 Nov 2021) First verdicts against Aung San Suu Kyi postponed until Monday

year sentences for incitement in May.¹⁰ On 11 Nov, former Tanintharyi Region chief minister Myint Maung was sentenced to 11 years for incitement and violating COVID-19 and financial regulations.¹¹

On 16 Nov, the junta-appointed UEC filed charges against Suu Kyi, President Win Myint, former UEC chairman Hla Thein, former UEC members Myint Naing and Than Htay, Union Government Office minister Min Thu, ousted Mandalay Chief Minister Dr. Zaw Myint Maung, Naypyidaw mayor Dr. Myo Aung, and eight other individuals for alleged electoral fraud. These were the first public prosecutions of former UEC members since the coup began.¹² On 22 Nov, ousted Rakhine State Chief Minister Nyi Pu appealed to the Sittwe District court to overturn his two-year sentence for incitement, a request rejected on the same day.¹³

On 22 Nov, the junta filed four fresh corruption charges against ousted Magway Region Chief Minister Aung Moe Nyo; he was sentenced to two years for incitement in June, and now faces up to 90 years in prison.¹⁴ On the same day, Dr. Zaw Myint Maung was charged with voter fraud under Penal Code Section 130a and “undue influence” under Penal Code Section 171f. He faces up to four years in prison under these new charges.¹⁵ On 23 Nov, the junta charged former Minister of Investment and Foreign Economic Relations Thaug Tun with corruption. He faces up to 15 years in prison.¹⁶ On 30 Nov, junta media sources announced that new corruption charges had been filed against Suu Kyi and Win Myint.¹⁷

NLD members, opposition activists still under fire

On 8 Nov, junta forces arrested ousted Magway Region MP Win Myint Hlaing—wanted since February for incitement—along with his brother, and sealed his house in Taungdwingyi (Magway Region). One of his friends reported hearing from locals that junta soldiers had detained and tortured local people to force them to accuse Win Myint Hlaing of being a People’s Defense Force (PDF) member. As of 11 Nov, over 400 NLD members, including 91 MPs, were detained.¹⁸ On 18 Nov, junta forces arrested former NLD MP Phyo Zayar Thaw, accusing him of masterminding a series of Yangon attacks.¹⁹ On 26 Nov, the junta filed terrorism charges against three NLD members detained in Naypyidaw.²⁰

On 3 Nov, it was reported that there had been 50 attacks on NLD offices since 1 Feb, including 18 in Mandalay. Locals blamed the junta and its supporters.²¹ On 12 Nov, junta soldiers and pro-military Pyu Saw Htee members blew up the local NLD office in Thedaw village, Wundwin Township (Mandalay Region).²² On the same day, attackers bombed NLD offices in Chaungson and Yay Townships (Mon State).²³

On 11 Nov, the regime sealed off the houses of former NLD lawmakers Zin Ni Ni Win, Thet Kyu, and Pike Ko in Pakkoku (Magway Region). All three are in hiding and facing incitement charges. As of 15 Nov, junta forces had confiscated about 100 properties and houses from NLD- and NUG-linked activists, including NUG Minister of Federal Affairs Dr. Lian Hmung Sakhong,²⁴ NUG ambassador to the

Junta forces out military members of NLD government

On 26 Nov, it was reported that the junta had forced Lt Gen Sein Win and Lt Gen Ye Aung, the military-appointed Defense and Border Affairs Ministers under the NLD government, into retirement. It had moved both men to the National Solidarity and Peacemaking Negotiation Committee after the coup, before appointing them as chairman and vice-chairman of the Myanmar Veterans’ Association this month. A CDM military officer said that they were well-respected within the Tatmadaw, and did not have bad relations with the public. A Colonel from the Pa-O National Liberation Organisation raised the likelihood of disagreements among the military leadership, suggesting that some generals may oppose the junta’s ongoing atrocities.

Irrawaddy (26 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Sacked Generals Who Served as Ministers During NLD Govt

¹⁰ Myanmar Now (9 Nov 2021) Ousted chief minister of Karen State hit with 75-year prison sentence

¹¹ Irrawaddy (12 Nov 2021) Tanintharyi Chief Minister Jailed for 11 Years by Myanmar Junta

¹² Irrawaddy (16 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta’s Election Commission Charges Suu Kyi and Win Myint With Fraud

¹³ Myanmar Now (23 Nov 2021) Junta court rejects Rakhine chief minister’s appeal following incitement conviction

¹⁴ Myanmar Now (22 Nov 2021) Ousted Magway Region chief minister hit with fresh corruption charges

¹⁵ Myanmar Now (23 Nov 2021) Junta hits Mandalay chief minister with further charges of voter fraud, abuse of power

¹⁶ Myanmar Now (24 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Charges Former Investment Minister With Corruption

¹⁷ CNN (1 Dec 2021) Myanmar’s military gov’t files new corruption charge against Suu Kyi - state TV

¹⁸ Myanmar Now (11 Nov 2021) Relatives fear for safety of ousted NLD lawmaker detained with his brother

¹⁹ Myanmar Now (19 Nov 2021) Junta arrests former NLD legislator accused of leading attacks on regime targets

²⁰ Irrawaddy (30 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Charges NLD Members With Terrorism

²¹ Myanmar (3 Nov 2021) NLD party offices subjected to dozens of attacks nationwide since coup

²² Mizzima (13 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 13 November 2021

²³ EMG (13 Nov 2021) NLD Township offices bombed in Mon State

²⁴ Irrawaddy (15 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Continues to Seize Homes of Those With Ties to NLD, NUG

UN Kyaw Moe Htun,²⁵ and former Ayeyarwady Region Chief Minister Mahn Johnny.²⁶ On 22 Nov, junta soldiers sealed off the houses of ousted Tanintharyi Region Agriculture Minister Myint San and regional NLD MP Bo Htwe.²⁷

Civil disobedience, crackdowns (more details at protests, CDM, and crackdowns [tracker](#))

On 3 Nov, it was reported that the junta had escalated its campaign against anti-coup opponents nationwide by stepping up arrests, torture and killings, while ignoring calls from the international community to end all violence and release political prisoners. On 1 Nov alone, junta forces arrested around 30 young people including teenagers in Yangon, accusing them of involvement in anti-regime activities.²⁸ As of 30 Nov, the junta had killed at least 1,299 people and arrested at least 10,568 politicians, activists, journalists and others, in attacks against democracy.²⁹

The junta continued to torture and kill detainees. As of 11 Nov, at least 65 people had died within 24 hours of being arrested according to AAPP.³⁰ On 14 Nov, it was reported that former detainees who faced torture and other forms of abuse in custody were suffering from severe depression and living in constant fear of re-arrest. A 20-year-old man from Yangon was quoted saying that he had been beaten with batons by about 15 soldiers; and rearrested on the day of his first release. A 24-year-old female activist also stated that she lived in constant fear. Both are dealing with debilitating anxiety.³¹

On 12 Nov, junta soldiers detained a man when they were unable to find his nephew in Madaya Township (Mandalay Region). He died in junta custody within hours, with his body showing signs of severe injury.³² On 14 Nov, a 23-year-old man accused of involvement in local bomb attacks against the junta died after two days in custody.³³ On 15 Nov, junta forces arrested a volunteer and seven other people that had been helping IDPs in Pekon Township (Shan State).³⁴ The volunteer died in custody on 18 Nov, presumably after being tortured. The junta authorities claimed he died of cardiac arrest.³⁵

On 16 Nov, the junta's information minister denied reports that the regime was torturing detained protesters; and emphasized that only news reported by state-owned media were true.³⁶ On 17 Nov, junta forces arrested a CDM teacher and a civilian in Thabeikkyin Township (Mandalay Region). On 18 Nov, it was reported that the teacher had died in custody; and that the civilian had been released after sustaining severe injuries.³⁷ On 21 Nov, junta forces arrested a 21-year-old local protest leader in Taungtha Township (Mandalay Region). Soldiers reportedly took him back to his village on 22 Nov and tortured him in public to intimidate other villagers.³⁸

Transportation now grounds for extrajudicial killing

On 16 Nov, the junta issued an order that two men riding a motorcycle together may be shot and killed: a male driver and female passenger was allowed, and a male driver and an elderly male passenger was allowed, but any other case with a male passenger could result in shooting.

Locals reported hearing or reading the announcement in Kyaukpadaung, Meiktila, and Taungtha Townships (Mandalay Region), Monywa Township (Sagaing Region), and Dawei Township (Tanintharyi Region). On 13 Nov, six junta soldiers stopped and beat two men riding a motorbike in front of a high school "as a warning." On 20 Nov, junta troops opened fire on two men riding a motorcycle in Chaung-U Township (Sagaing), killing one.

The rule was presumably a reaction to a significant number of attacks carried out by resistance forces from moving vehicles. However, locals said that the rule would be onerous for the many people who rely on motorcycle transport to buy goods or for their livelihoods.

Myanmar Now (16 Nov 2021) Junta officials in some townships say men risk being shot if they ride the same motorcycle together; Mizzima (16 Nov 2021) Military announces if two men travel on the same motorcycle they may be shot; Mizzima (22 Nov 2021) Two men riding a motorcycle shot by military, one killed

²⁵ Radio Free Asia (11 Nov 2021) Myanmar junta seizes home of UN envoy it accuses of 'terrorism'

²⁶ Irrawaddy (2 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Seizes Homes From Those Tied to NLD, Shadow Govt

²⁷ Myanmar Now (25 Nov 2021) Soldiers cordon off houses of NLD officials in Tanintharyi

²⁸ Irrawaddy (3 Nov 2021) Myanmar Military Regime Steps up Campaign of Terror

²⁹ AAPP (30 Nov) Daily Briefing in Relation to the Military Coup

³⁰ Myanmar Now (11 Nov 2021) Relatives fear for safety of ousted NLD lawmaker detained with his brother

³¹ Radio Free Asia (14 Nov 2021) Trauma follows Myanmar torture victims after release

³² Myanmar Now (15 Nov 2021) Man dies in junta custody after soldiers detain him because they couldn't find his nephew

³³ Myanmar Now (16 Nov 2021) Body of man killed at Ayeyarwady Region interrogation center not returned to family

³⁴ Shan News (17 Nov 2021) Burma Army Arrests Volunteers in Southern Shan State

³⁵ Shan News (25 Nov 2021) Pekon IDPs volunteer tortured to death and corpse request denied

³⁶ Nikkei Asia (19 Nov 2021) Myanmar minister says 'there is no torture' of protesters

³⁷ Mizzima (18 Nov 2021) CDM teacher dies during interrogation

³⁸ Mizzima (24 Nov 2021) Protest leader arrested in Taungtha Township

The junta continued to target the relatives of people evading arrest. On 1 Nov, junta soldiers arrested the mother of a protest leader in Launglon Township (Tanintharyi Region) after local guerrillas killed a police officer.³⁹ On 14 Nov, junta police took a 13-year-old boy hostage after they failed to find and arrest his father, a local NLD member.⁴⁰ The boy remained in custody as of 25 Nov. The family was reportedly told that the boy would only be freed if the NLD member turned himself in.⁴¹ On 24 Nov, it was reported that families fearing arrest or confiscation of property were publicly disowning their children if the latter were active in opposing military rule, with announcements posted prominently in public media. Families of anti-junta activists living in foreign countries have also been targeted for reprisal, leading them to cut ties with their children too. A veteran Yangon lawyer said that there was no guarantee the announcements would prevent the junta from taking action against these families.⁴²

The junta continued to use civil and military courts to crack down on opponents. On 1 Nov, it was reported that it had sentenced Ven. Thawbita, one of the leaders of the monk-led Saffron Revolution, to two years in prison for incitement. He had previously been given the same sentence for allegedly violating section 66d of the Telecommunications Law on 2 Feb, a day after his arrest. According to one of his lawyers, this first sentence was handed down before the trial was even completed.⁴³

On 7 Nov, the junta charged veteran pro-democracy activist Ko Jimmy with high treason under section 124 of the Penal Code and violations of the Counter-Terrorism Law, the Unlawful Associations Act, the Arms Act, and the Explosive Substances Act. In a statement describing him as an advisor “to the terrorist CRPH/NUG,” the regime accused him of “conducting terrorism acts [...] to undermine the state stability.” Prior to his arrest, Ko Jimmy was only wanted on charges of incitement.⁴⁴

On 17 Nov, International Commission of Jurists Secretary-General Saman Zia-Zarifi said that the junta had buried the very modest gains Burma’s legal system made over the past decade by reasserting absolute control over the already weak judiciary and Bar Association, arbitrarily imposing or suspending laws, and increasingly using its own tribunals to prosecute people and hand down sentences. He added that the legal system had returned to simply being an administrative tool for asserting military rule, with the courts to being weaponized as instruments of coercion.⁴⁵

On 23 Nov, military tribunals sentenced 21 people to death for their alleged involvement in attacks on regime targets. A further 29 people were sentenced to life in prison for allegedly undergoing military training in areas controlled by EAOs, making donations to PDFs or the NUG, or being involved in bomb attacks on administration offices. Up until the end of October, the junta had sentenced 65 people to death, including two children. 39 of them were tried in absentia. None of them are believed to have been executed. Rights groups have condemned the death sentences, which were handed down after egregiously unfair, secretive trials.⁴⁶

The junta continued to target journalists and restrict freedom of expression. On 1 Nov, the junta amended the 2015 Broadcasting Law, adding prison sentences up to five years and extending its scope of application in what was described as an attempt to criminalize online behavior critical of the regime. On 8 Nov, the Center for Law and Democracy pointed out that the amendments breach various human rights guarantees, including those relating to freedom of expression and criminal due process. They also introduce a vague definition of broadcasting that could potentially include a wide range of activities.⁴⁷

On 12 Nov, detained US journalist Danny Fenster was sentenced to 11 years in prison for incitement, contacting an illegal organization, and breaching visa regulations. Human Rights Watch called the ruling a “travesty of justice by a kangaroo court operating at the beck and call of the Myanmar military junta.”⁴⁸ On 15 Nov, it was reported that the junta had released Fenster.⁴⁹ Military-owned Myawaddy TV said that he had been granted an amnesty following requests from former US Ambassador to the

³⁹ Myanmar Now (3 Nov 2021) Soldiers burn house and detain mother of protester after police officer shot dead in Tanintharyi

⁴⁰ Myanmar Now (18 Nov 2021) Soldiers take 13-year-old boy hostage in bid to force his father to hand himself in

⁴¹ Myanmar Now (25 Nov 2021) Mandalay teen taken hostage by the junta still in detention

⁴² Radio Free Asia (24 Nov 2021) Myanmar families fearing arrest cut ties with activist children

⁴³ Myanmar Now (1 Nov 2021) Two years added to sentence of prominent monk

⁴⁴ Myanmar Now (8 Nov 2021) Myanmar junta charges 88 Generation activist Ko Jimmy with high treason and terrorism

⁴⁵ Nikkei Asia (17 Nov 2021) Myanmar’s release of U.S. journalist cannot erase sham conviction

⁴⁶ Irrawaddy (25 Nov 2021) Over 20 Anti-Coup Activists Sentenced to Death by Myanmar Junta

⁴⁷ Mizzima (10 Nov 2021) NGO voices fears over Myanmar junta’s amendments to the Broadcasting Law

⁴⁸ Irrawaddy (12 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Sentences Detained US Journalist to 11 Years in Prison

⁴⁹ Associated Press (15 Nov 2021) US journalist freed from Myanmar jail with ex-diplomat’s aid

UN Bill Richardson and two Japanese representatives “to maintain the friendship between the countries and to emphasize humanitarian grounds.”⁵⁰ The Committee to Protect Journalists reacted by stating that Fenster should never have been jailed or sentenced on bogus charges in the first place; and called on the regime to “stop using journalists as pawns in their cynical games and release all the other reporters still languishing behind bars on spurious charges.”⁵¹ As of 15 Nov, the junta had arrested 107 journalists and media staff, 37 of whom were still in detention.⁵²

On 18 Nov, junta troops arrested female freelance journalist Yin Yin Thein in Indaw Township (Sagaing Region).⁵³ On 24 Nov, one of her relatives was quoted saying that she had been beaten and verbally abused during her arrest.⁵⁴ In Rakhine State, reporters from Western News went into hiding after junta forces interrogated Sittwe residents to find the location of their office on 19 Nov.⁵⁵ Narinjara, another media outlet, was reportedly investigated too. Both outlets reported on the commemoration of the seventh anniversary of the killings of eight AA cadets by the military (Tatmadaw) on 19 Nov 2014—a potentially fraught subject. On 23 Nov, a junta police official was quoted saying that they were not investigating Rakhine State-based media outlets, and that no cases had been opened against reporters.⁵⁶

Armed clashes, attacks, and displacement (more details at conflict & displacement [tracker](#))

During 1 Feb–26 Nov, there were 6,675 armed clashes and attacks on civilians, a 632% increase from the same period in 2020 (912).⁵⁷ On 26 Nov, the Special Advisory Council for Myanmar (SAC-M) said that the junta was pushing civilians in Burma to the brink of starvation with its repeated offensives.⁵⁸

The junta stepped up its brutality in responding to resistance groups. On 2 Nov, it was reported that junta leaders had assured Chinese security officials that fighting would only take place in the interior of the country and would not affect border stability, and that the civilian resistance would be wiped out within three months. This followed junta second in command Vice Senior General Soe Win’s instruction to commanders and all forces to annihilate PDFs—to “find out and take action against the insurgents and PDF immediately” and “arrest all the people from their hideouts in villages.”⁵⁹

On 4 Nov, it was reported that every State and Region saw attacks and clashes during 19–25 Oct, with 38 clashes and “people’s defensive wars” resulting in the deaths of 184 junta soldiers and 30 civilians.⁶⁰

Junta atrocity crimes

On 5 Nov, it was reported that the Independent Investigative Mechanism on Myanmar (IIMM) had received 200,000 communications and more than 1.5 million pieces of evidence since the coup began, and its documentation pointed to systematic attacks on civilians amounting to crimes against humanity.⁶¹ The NUG reported that, during 7 Sep–31 Oct, the junta committed war crimes against its own civilians by shelling and burning down houses as well as religious buildings in 56 villages and a town across seven states/regions: 520 structures, including offices and religious buildings in Chin, Shan, Karenni, Magway, Sagaing, Mandalay, and Tanintharyi States/Regions. It said that junta shelled residential areas, looted and burned houses, arbitrarily killed civilians and used them as human shields, especially in Chin, Shan, Karenni, Magway, and Sagaing, States/Regions.⁶²

⁵⁰ Reuters (16 Nov 2021) U.S. journalist freed in Myanmar, says he was not beaten or starved

⁵¹ Associated Press (15 Nov 2021) US journalist freed from Myanmar jail with ex-diplomat’s aid

⁵² Reporting ASEAN (accessed 1 Dec 2021) IN NUMBERS: Arrests of Journalists and Media Staff in Myanmar

⁵³ Mizzima (22 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 22nd November 2021

⁵⁴ Network Media Group (24 Nov 2021) Armed Forces Detain Reporter In Sagaing Region

⁵⁵ Development Media Group (DMG) (20 Nov 2021) Reporters go to ground after authorities in Sittwe search for office of Western News

⁵⁶ DMG (23 Nov 2021) Police deny any investigation into Arakan State-based media outlets

⁵⁷ Armed Conflict Location and Event Data (ACLED) Data Export Tool (updated 1 Dec 2021), available at <https://acleddata.com/data-export-tool/>. The event sub-types included in this calculation are Abduction/forced disappearance, Air/drone strike, Armed clash, Arrests, Attack, Excessive force against protesters, Grenade, Looting/property destruction, Protest with intervention, Sexual violence, and Shelling/artillery/missile attack.

⁵⁸ Special Advisory Council for Myanmar (26 Nov 2021) People in Myanmar on the brink of starvation

⁵⁹ Irrawaddy (2 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Aims to Wipe Out Armed Resistance in Three Months

⁶⁰ Mizzima (4 Nov 2021) Increasing figures of all-round attacks in Myanmar from 19 to 25 October - NUG

⁶¹ UN News (5 Nov 2020) Myanmar: Systematic attack on civilians, rights mechanism reveals

⁶² Irrawaddy (10 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta’s Shelling, Burning of Civilian Buildings Are War Crimes: Shadow Govt (citing NUG (9 Nov 2021) Ministry of Home Affairs and Immigration, Warning for violations against civilians, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/225933076293998>)

Junta troops continued to target aid workers and healthcare staff. On 10 Nov, it was reported that the military had arrested 14 aid workers in Karenni state and destroyed stocks of food meant for people displaced by conflict. There have also been reports of junta militias looting property and medicine, and committing arson.⁶³ On 15 Nov, in Pekhön Township (Shan State), junta forces arrested a volunteer and seven other people who had been helping IDPs. Soldiers reportedly beat the volunteer and destroyed his property before dragging him out of the house.⁶⁴ He reportedly died in custody on 17 Nov.⁶⁵

On 15 Nov, junta troops raided a Mandalay-based charity helping people displaced by violence and arrested its chairwoman on accusations that she had been providing financial support to PDF and CDM members. Soldiers reportedly ransacked the office and even broke open packages of donations to an orphanage and IDP camps.⁶⁶ On 16 Nov, the Tatmadaw and Border Guard Force (BGF) destroyed a clinic in Karen National Union (KNU)-controlled Phalantaung village, Paung Township (Mon State).⁶⁷

On 22 Nov, junta forces arrested 18 doctors, nurses and volunteers in a raid on a cathedral hosting a charity clinic, which was suspected of treating resistance fighters, in Loikaw (Karenni State). They also searched the houses of clergy members and confiscated a priest's laptop.⁶⁸

On 11 Nov, Insecurity Insight noted 297 reported attacks and threats to healthcare, 210 health workers arrested, and 87 incidents of hospitals being raided, in Burma Feb-Sep. The incidents included: blocking aid from getting into certain areas by creating deliberate bureaucratic impediments, including delays in travel authorization and visas at checkpoints; killing a medical student because he had been treating members of the Chin National Front (CNF); firing indiscriminately at a private hospital and housing complex, breaking hospital windows and killing a civilian; firing heavy artillery indiscriminately into a village, destroying a public clinic and five houses, and causing 270 civilians to flee; raiding a charity medical organization's office and seizing its ambulance; searching the home of a prominent doctor and pro-democracy politician, forcibly closing his family-owned private hospital, and discharging 29 patients; and firing on an ambulance aiding injured civilians, injuring two medics.⁶⁹

Junta forces raped women. On 7 Nov, a junta soldier from Light Infantry Battalion 336 raped a 62-year-old woman after three soldiers stole food from her home in Kutkai Township (Shan State).⁷⁰ On 11 Nov, three junta soldiers gang-raped the 27-year-old Chin mother of a baby in Akllui village, Tedim Township (Chin State). They beat her husband with rifle butts, and made him watch. Two of the soldiers returned to the house and raped the victim again later that night.⁷¹ On 15 Nov, it was reported that two junta soldiers had also raped the victim's pregnant sister-in-law, bitten her genitals, and beaten her husband the same night.⁷² On 19 Nov, it was reported that the soldiers' commanding officer later apologized to the victim, and that one of the perpetrators had been tied up and beaten up by junta troops. An advisor to the Burmese Women's Union said that junta officers hardly ever take action in such cases unless they grab headlines.⁷³

The junta continued to torture and execute detainees, and use them as porters and human shields. On 8 Nov, an unidentified caller informed relatives to end their search for a 24-year-old man detained in Hakha Township (Chin State) a month earlier along with four others because he was dead.⁷⁴ On 16 Nov, junta forces captured twelve PDF medics, ten of them women, during a raid on their base camp in Kalay (Sagaing Region). They tortured at least three of them to death, including one woman, and used the others as human shields.⁷⁵ The nine surviving female medics were reportedly taken to prison on 24 Nov after a week of questioning. At least three of them were tortured in custody.⁷⁶ On 17 Nov, a PDF in Saw Township (Chin State) found a man who escaped from junta troops who forced him to work as

⁶³ Al Jazeera (10 Nov 2021) Myanmar military accused of blocking aid to displaced civilians

⁶⁴ Shan News (17 Nov 2021) Burma Army Arrests Volunteers in Southern Shan State

⁶⁵ Mizzima (19 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 19 November 2021

⁶⁶ Myanmar Now (18 Nov 2021) Plainclothes soldiers arrest leader of Mandalay charity on suspicion of links to PDF

⁶⁷ Mizzima (18 Nov) Spring Revolution daily news for 18 November 2021

⁶⁸ Myanmar Now (24 Nov 2021) Loikaw church closes clinic after military arrests medical staff

⁶⁹ Insecurity Insight (11 Nov 2021) Attacks on Health Care Bi-Monthly News Brief: 20 October-02 November 2021

⁷⁰ Kachin News Group (11 Nov 2021) Burma Army Soldier Rapes Senior Citizen In Kutkai Township

⁷¹ Irrawaddy (15 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Troops Rape Chin Mother: Media

⁷² Radio Free Asia (16 Nov 2021) Junta troops accused of raping two women in Myanmar's Chin state

⁷³ Irrawaddy (19 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Soldiers' Gang Rape Victim Reveals Her Ordeal

⁷⁴ Myanmar Now (10 Nov 2021) Family of detained Hakha man told to stop looking for him

⁷⁵ Myanmar Now (17 Nov 2021) Soldiers capture PDF medics during raid on resistance base camp in Kalay; Myanmar Now (21 Nov 2021) Discovery of bodies heightens concern for detained women

⁷⁶ Radio Free Asia (29 Nov 2021) Nine female medics seized in Myanmar army raid now held in prison

a porter. He said that he junta soldiers had repeatedly kicked him in the face with combat boots, beat him with barbed wire, and prodded him with hot metal irons.⁷⁷ On 17 Nov, in Loikaw (Karenni State), locals in Loikaw (Karenni State) claimed that junta soldiers had used 13 civilians, including a teenage boy, as human shields during raids on villages in the area. The junta had reportedly been hunting for PDF members, and its raids led to around 3,000 people fleeing.⁷⁸

On 12 Nov, it was reported that junta forces were **extorting** money from motorists and bus drivers travelling from Kalay (Sagaing Region) to the Indian Border in Chin State. A local said that he was forced to pay a 5,000 MMK bribe at each of six checkpoints on his way. Some bus companies suspended their operations over security concerns, and others reportedly increased fares for the route from MMK 15,000 to MMK 50,000.⁷⁹ On 24 Nov, it was reported that the junta-affiliated Wu Yang People's Militia Force (PMF) had been extorting money from travelers in Waingmaw Township (Kachin State).⁸⁰

Junta and allied forces, including pro-junta Pyu Saw Htee groups, carried out **reprisal attacks** against civilians. On 1 Nov, soldiers burned down the home of an anti-coup activist in Sitpyea village, Launglon Township (Tanintharyi Region).⁸¹ On 10 Nov, it was reported that the junta had detained 40 civilians—three of whom died—in connection with a 5 Nov ambush on a junta truck in Kungyangon Township (Yangon Region). All the detainees were beaten, three died from torture, and at least 10 were in critical condition; only five had been released at the time of reporting.⁸²

Conflict hot spots

There were continued clashes across **Chin State**. On 9 Nov, it was reported that a Paletwa chapter of the Chinland Defence Force (CDF) had launched its first attacks against junta forces; it killed six in a clash near Kentaung village on 9 Nov; it killed five more in a clash near Pauksin village on 10 Nov; and a third clash took place near Waryon village on 11 Nov.⁸³ On 22 Nov, junta soldiers burned another 49 houses in Thantlang (Chin State); in total, they have destroyed 256 of the town's roughly 2,000 homes. Almost all of Thantlang's 10,000 residents fled in mid-September, when 18 houses and a government building burned down amid artillery fire during a clash. It remains a ghost town, with only 150–200 junta soldiers stationed on a hill overlooking the town, as well as at a police station.⁸⁴

Conflict was most intense in southern **Sagaing Region**. On 3 Nov, junta shelling in Natchaung village, Kalay Township killed a civilian and injured two rescue workers who tried to collect his body. On the same day, junta troops raided Chaung Gwa and torched three houses, and fired multiple shells near Hakhalay village.⁸⁵ On 19 Nov, more than 50 junta soldiers raided San Thar village, Kale Township. Local PDF fighters responded by firing on junta soldiers, who then retaliated with drone strikes and heavy artillery. More than 500 people fled the village due to the fighting.⁸⁶

On 8 Nov, junta troops burned down 12 houses and fired guns and artillery at fleeing residents in Moedar Lay village, Katha Township, injuring a five-year-old with shrapnel, after their infantry column was ambushed by a PDF. Around 1,000 of the village's 1,500 residents fled; troops reportedly told villagers to leave within two days or they would torch the village again. On 10 Nov, the junta sent reinforcements by boat to Moedar Lay, who remained stationed in schools and monasteries.⁸⁷

On 8 Nov, four helicopters brought junta troops to Tabayin Township, who began raiding villages the following day, displacing some 30,000 residents from around 20 villages. Soldiers looted homes and torched houses in three villages in Tabayin on 9 Nov.⁸⁸ On 9 Nov, soldiers raided three villages where locals say there have been no clashes between the junta and resistance forces. Approximately 100 troops occupied the school in the 100-household Winyan village before proceeding to raid Winyan, Kone Yoe,

⁷⁷ Myanmar Now (18 Nov 2021) Chin man abducted, tortured by Myanmar army manages to escape

⁷⁸ Myanmar Now (20 Nov 2021) Soldiers use civilians as 'human shields' during raids on villages in Magway Region

⁷⁹ Khonumthung News (12 Nov 2021) Junta Extorting Motorists Travelling To Indian Border

⁸⁰ Kachin News (24 Nov 2021) PMF Extorting Waingmaw Residents

⁸¹ Myanmar Now (3 Nov 2021) Soldiers burn house and detain mother of protester after police officer shot dead in Tanintharyi

⁸² Irrawaddy (10 Nov 2021) Civilians Killed by Myanmar Regime in Response to Ambush

⁸³ Myanmar Now (15 Nov 2021) Resistance fighters in southern Chin's Paletwa launch first attacks against junta soldiers

⁸⁴ Myanmar Now (26 Nov 2021) Junta soldiers torch another 49 houses in deserted Thantlang; Irrawaddy (26 Nov 2021) Chin State Town Blames Myanmar Junta for Arson Attacks

⁸⁵ Myanmar Now (4 Nov 2021) Man dies amid military shelling in Sagaing as PDF ambush 'kills 47 junta soldiers'

⁸⁶ Mizzima (20 Nov 2021) Myanmar junta troops raid San Thar village in Kale township

⁸⁷ Myanmar Now (11 Nov 2021) Junta forces torch homes in Sagaing village after PDF kills 20 soldiers

⁸⁸ Irrawaddy (12 Nov 2021) Tens of thousands Flee Myanmar Junta Raids in Upper Myanmar

Tatti, Inboke, and Myakanthar villages, causing around 2,000 residents to flee. “We are still very scared to go back home. Even if we are attacked on the ground, we can still manage to run away, but if the attacks come from the sky, there’s not much we can do,” a villager from Inboke said. “Even a slight noise from the sky frightens us to the core.”⁸⁹

On 9 Nov, locals found three houses destroyed and the dead bodies of three youths near Aye Chan Thar village, Kyunhla Township, after around 200 junta troops occupied the village for three days and forced residents to stay in the local monastery.⁹⁰ On 10 Nov, junta troops clashed with the Kani PDF near Tazeichaung village, and shot from a helicopter, reportedly injuring three locals. The junta had sent 50 troops, reportedly including Pyu Saw Htee members, as well as food and several heavy weapons to Kani, and launched increased airstrikes since early November. Over 1,000 locals were displaced from Tazeichaung, Shan Myaung, Mingone and Nyaung Pin Wun villages.⁹¹

On 19 Nov, the junta sent two MI 35 helicopters to attack the local PDF after 20 junta soldiers were killed in fighting in Saw Township (**Magway Region**).⁹² On 21 Nov, the Yaw Defense Force (YDF) carried out two separate attacks, killing at least 11 junta soldiers, in Gangaw Township (Magway Region).⁹³ On 22 Nov, it was reported that around 120 junta soldiers and 15 resistance fighters had been killed during regime raids and airstrikes against the YDF over the previous two weeks.⁹⁴

After relative calm in **Rakhine State** since early 2021, the junta escalated conflict by moving into territory controlled by the Arakan Army (AA). On 9 Nov, clashes erupted after junta soldiers entered AA territory in northern Maungdaw Township, where tensions were reportedly running high as both sides had reinforced their troops. An AA spokesperson said more clashes were likely if junta troops advanced further into its territory.⁹⁵ On 11 Nov, more fighting was reported near a border guard post west of Minkhamaung village, Maungdaw Township. An AA information officer said that the situation remained tense, and that a third party was involved in negotiations to settle the dispute. There were also reports that all mobile internet services, except for those provided by military-owned Mytel, had been cut off in Maungdaw on 9 Nov. Local residents said they had seen a recent buildup of military forces in northern Maungdaw, where some police outposts are now said to be armed with artillery.⁹⁶

On 14 Nov, the junta carried out a series of airstrikes in Hpakant Township (**Kachin State**), and three of its tactical bases shelled nearby areas, following coordinated attacks by the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) earlier in the day on three army outposts in the Nang Jang Kuu region.⁹⁷

On 21 Nov, it was reported that the junta had carried out a series of attacks targeting Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA) camps in the Phaungsai area of Monekoe District (**Shan State**); where one its mortars killed a local woman.⁹⁸ On 25 Nov, it was reported that junta troops and the MNDAA had been clashing fiercely, with over ten junta battalions in Monekoe, Muse Township.⁹⁹ It was reported on 30 Nov that there had been 263 clashes between the junta and MNDAA since July.¹⁰⁰

6 Nov, it was reported that battles between the junta and resistance groups had been intensifying in **Pekhon Township (Shan State)**, a geographically strategic township bordering Karenni State and Pinlaung Township, which provides access to Burma’s capital Naypyidaw. Junta Military Operations Command 7 and troops from Light Infantry Battalion 336 set up bases on a hill surrounded by civilian communities, and have increasingly been firing artillery shells into these civilian areas and sending reinforcements troops to Pekhon. They set up artillery at the township’s general administration office and police station, and laid landmines on a path leading to the area.¹⁰¹ On 2 Nov, the junta clashed with

⁸⁹ Myanmar Now (10 Nov 2021) Junta soldiers sent by helicopter torch Depayin Township homes; Myanmar Now (12 Nov 2021) Military scales up air attacks on Sagaing Region

⁹⁰ Myanmar Now (16 Nov 2021) Three bodies found near Sagaing village occupied by junta troops

⁹¹ Myanmar Now (12 Nov 2021) Military scales up air attacks on Sagaing Region

⁹² Myanmar Now (20 Nov 2021) Junta uses attack helicopters against resistance fighters in Magway Region

⁹³ Myanmar Now (23 Nov 2021) Yaw defence force kills at least 11 junta soldiers with handmade explosives

⁹⁴ Irrawaddy (22 Nov 2021) Around 120 Myanmar Junta Troops Killed in Magwe Region: Resistance

⁹⁵ Irrawaddy (11 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Clashes With Arakan Army After Year’s Peace; Myanmar Now (10 Nov 2021) Locals report new clash between Arakan Army, military in Maungdaw

⁹⁶ Myanmar Now (11 Nov 2021) Another clash reported in Maungdaw Township

⁹⁷ Myanmar Now (15 Nov 2021) Hpakant hit with airstrikes after KIA attacks army outposts

⁹⁸ Mizzima (22 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 22nd November 2021

⁹⁹ Irrawaddy (25 Nov 2021) Heavy Fighting Reported Between Myanmar Junta and Northern Shan Armed Group

¹⁰⁰ Irrawaddy (30 Nov 2021) Kokang Army Claims to Have Killed 198 Myanmar Junta Soldiers

¹⁰¹ Myanmar Now (6 Nov 2021) Myanmar military operation underway in Pekhon, PDF says

a combined force of the Pekhon PDF, Loikaw PDF, Central Myanmar Regional Operation Task Force, Karenni National Defence Force (KNDF), and Karenni Army (KA), forcing nearly all 300 residents of Larwe village to flee. Junta troops occupied the village, staying in the local monastery. The junta fired heavy artillery, causing an elderly woman to suffer a fatal heart attack. The following day, junta forces reportedly set fire to some of the abandoned homes in Larwe.¹⁰²

On 3 Nov, it was reported that nearly 4,000 villagers in Pekon Township had fled their homes following recent fighting. The KNDF said that 500 junta soldiers were stationed in Pekon. According to the NUG, around 58 houses in Pekon Township and 267 houses in Loikaw and Demoso Townships (Karenni State) had been burned down as of 30 Oct, and the attacks were increasing.¹⁰³ On 5 Nov, it was reported that relatives were worried about 19 civilians the junta detained from Kathea village on 27 Oct, after shelling the village a day earlier; most of the 400 villagers fled.¹⁰⁴ On 17 Nov, junta soldiers raided an outpost of the Moebye PDF, injuring two members and forcing the resistance fighters to retreat from the site.¹⁰⁵ On 18 Nov, it was reported that junta forces had set fire to over 30 houses in La Tu, an ethnic Kayan village, and camped in the area, forcing all residents to flee.¹⁰⁶

On 2 Nov, the junta fired at least 10 artillery shells in Demoso Township (**Karenni State**), forcing residents to flee. Residents of five villages—with a total population around 1,000 households—in Demoso Township had fled since 26 Oct, but around 150 returned home to harvest their rice crops because of the poor health of their children.¹⁰⁷ On 25 Nov, junta troops ambushed a KNDF battalion amid fierce fighting around Demoso, including four clashes on 23 Nov.¹⁰⁸

There were also continued guerrilla-style attacks in **Yangon Region**. On 5 Nov, fighters working under the NUG attacked a military vehicle in Kungyangon Township carrying weapons and 25 soldiers, killing seven and injuring 13.¹⁰⁹ On 10 Nov, there were explosions at a police outpost in Lanmadaw Township, on the railway tracks in Insein Township, and at a traffic police office in Mayangon Township.¹¹⁰ On 15 Nov, attackers in a car opened fire near the Thanlyin Bridge in Tharketa Township, and at Tarson in Htantabin Township, killing up to nine security force members.¹¹¹

On 8 Nov, the Mon Thaton Special Defence Force detonated a bomb at the arsenal of Artillery Battalion 402 in Thaton Township (**Mon State**), destroying half of the arsenal.¹¹² On 22 Nov, the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) and Thaton PDF attacked the Tatmadaw on the border of Htone Bo Lay and Htone Bo Gyi villages, Thaton Township, killing two soldiers and injuring four.¹¹³ On 18–19 Nov, a joint Tatmadaw/BGF force clashed three times with the KNLA in Hpapun District (**Karen State**).¹¹⁴

On 16 Nov, junta forces opened fire and arrested people in Pathein (**Ayeyarwady Region**) after four junta police were reportedly injured in a shootout in front of a marine police force office.¹¹⁵ On 21 Nov, six junta soldiers and one Launglon PDF fighter were killed during a clash in Launglon Township (**Tanintharyi Region**), after the PDF attacked a junta vehicle carrying 10 soldiers and police.¹¹⁶

Junta losses

During 1–14 Nov, civilian resistance forces reportedly killed around 550 junta troops in Hakha, Matupi, Mindat and Kanpetlet Townships (Chin), Ayadaw, Chaung-U, Kale, Katha, Kani, Kawlin, Kyunhla, Monywa, Myaung, Pale, Tigyaing, Ye-U, and Yinmabin Townships (Sagaing), Gangaw, Kyaukhtu,

¹⁰² Myanmar Now (4 Nov 2021) Hundreds displaced as clashes break out in Pekhon, southern Shan State; Myanmar Now (6 Nov 2021) Myanmar military operation underway in Pekhon, PDF says

¹⁰³ Irrawaddy (3 Nov 2021) Thousands Flee Homes as Myanmar Junta Steps Up Attacks

¹⁰⁴ Myanmar Now (5 Nov 2021) Families fear for safety of missing Pekhon villagers

¹⁰⁵ Myanmar Now (18 Nov 2021) Dozens of junta troops ambush Moebye PDF outpost

¹⁰⁶ BNI (18 Nov 21) Junta Attacks Kayan Village In Pekon, Youth Group Open Libraries In Karenni State IDP Camps

¹⁰⁷ Mizzima (3 Nov 2021) Residents in Demoso flee due to heavy shelling

¹⁰⁸ Myanmar Now (25 Nov 2021) Military kills four kndf members in Demoso

¹⁰⁹ Myanmar Now (8 Nov 2021) Fighters under command of NUG kill 7 soldiers in attack on military vehicle in Yangon Region

¹¹⁰ EMG (10 Nov 2021) Car catches fire after about five blasts in Lanmadaw, explosion occurs at traffic police post at U Wisara Roundabout

¹¹¹ EMG (15 Nov 2021) Shootings reportedly occur at traffic lights near Tharkayta National Race Village, police post in Htantabin causing some casualties

¹¹² Mizzima (10 Nov 2021) Tatmadaw artillery battery's arsenal in Thaton township bombed

¹¹³ Mizzima (23 Nov 2021) The Thaton PDF and KNLA attack Tatmadaw in Thaton township

¹¹⁴ Mizzima (21 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 21 November 2021

¹¹⁵ Mizzima (18 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution daily news for 18 November 2021

¹¹⁶ Myanmar Now (23 Nov 2021) Clash in tanintharyi leaves six junta soldiers one pdf member dead

and Yesagy Townships (Magway), Kyaukse, Mogoke, Myingyan, and Taungtha Townships (Mandalay), Pekhön Township (Shan), Demoso Township (Karenni), Phyu and Pyay Townships (Bago), Dagon and Mingaladon Townships (Yangon), Kyaikto and Thaton Townships (Mon), and Dawei, Palaw, and Thayetchaung Townships (Tanintharyi).¹¹⁷

On 8 Nov, it was reported that around 271 junta soldiers and allies died in October clashes with the KNU; the two sides clashed 275 times despite the junta announcing a ceasefire from 1 Oct. The KNU said that fighting in October was far more intense than in prior months, and more than twice the number in August and September combined.¹¹⁸ On 16 Nov, it was reported that 32 junta soldiers, including a battalion commander and a company commander, were killed and a further 56 were wounded in fighting in November. Local sources said that junta forces had increased their operations in KNU-defined Mutraw District (northern Karen state), with daily clashes and fears of increased displacement.¹¹⁹

On 11 Nov, the NUG was cited as saying the junta suffered its heaviest losses yet during 7 Oct–6 Nov, with 1,300 soldiers killed and 463 injured in 668 clashes. This was almost double the number from September, when 768 were killed and 220 injured during 690 incidents. The number of civilians killed also almost doubled, with 313 killed and 63 wounded in 197 junta attacks, compared to 164 and 109, respectively, in 174 September incidents. It said the junta also stepped up its use of air power in Chin, Sagaing, and Magway States/Regions, conducting air strikes and flying in reinforcements.¹²⁰

Defections also continued. On 8 Nov, the NUG reported that the number of defections had increased since 7 Sep; that 155 junta troops and 161 police officers (total: 316) defected through the People's Embrace Facebook page 8 Oct–7 Nov; and that these numbers did not include soldiers and police who joined PDFs and live in EAO-controlled areas.¹²¹

On 11 Nov, junta troops killed two soldiers in Taungtha Township (Mandalay Region)—after searching for them for two days—after they fled from a group patrolling Mytel towers in Meiktila. After the incident, Yone Pin Kan, Kyauk Myay villages and some surrounding villages were still being besieged by a large number of troops, as of 12 Nov.¹²² On 16 Nov, the Danish Institute for International Studies released a report, *Soldier Defections in Myanmar*, discussing the motivations for defections as well as reasons soldiers might continue to serve the junta. It estimated that around 2,000 soldiers had defected, a significant blow to the morale of the Tatmadaw.¹²³

Resistance attacks on junta supporters

On 23 Nov, the junta reported that 193 junta-appointed administrators had been killed.¹²⁴

During 1–24 Nov, resistance groups and individuals killed or seriously injured at least 12 administrators in Dagon Seikkan, Hlaingthaya, North Dagon Myothit, and Shwepyitha Townships (Yangon Region), Chanmyathazi, Maha Aungmye Township, and Nyaung-U Townships (Mandalay Region), Myinmu Township (Sagaing Region), Paung Township (Mon State), and Thayetchaung Township (Tanintharyi Region).¹²⁵ On 1 Nov, the administrator of Thinpyo village, Kyaukse Township (Mandalay Region)

¹¹⁷ Irrawaddy (2 Nov 2021) Resistance Attacks Leave Junta Troops Dead Across Myanmar; Irrawaddy (5 Nov 2021) Almost 100 Myanmar Junta Soldiers Killed in Two Days: Resistance; Irrawaddy (8 Nov 2021) Around 150 Junta Troops Killed By Myanmar Resistance Over Weekend; Irrawaddy (9 Nov 2021) Around 90 Myanmar Junta Troops Killed in Resistance Attacks; Irrawaddy (10 Nov 2021) Over 100 Myanmar Junta Troops Killed in Clashes; Myanmar Now (12 Nov 2021) PDF fighters use explosives to attack dozens of junta soldiers marching in Sagaing; Myanmar Now (11 Nov) Military suffers major casualties in southern Chin State, resistance force says; Irrawaddy (12 Nov 2021) Resistance Groups Claim to Have Killed 90 Myanmar Junta Troops in Two Days; Myanmar Now (15 Nov 2021) Junta forces killed, injured in PDF attacks in Bago and Magway regions; Mizzima (15 Nov 2021) Five Tatmadaw killed in Ye-U township

¹¹⁸ Myanmar Now (8 Nov 2021) KNU says it killed 271 in escalating clashes with junta forces in October

¹¹⁹ Karen News (17 Nov 2021) Fighting Increases in Northern Karen State – “Burma Army 32 Dead and 56 Wounded...”

¹²⁰ Irrawaddy (11 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Loses 1,300 Soldiers Killed Over Last Month: NUG (citing NUG (11 Nov 2021) Myanmar Conflict Summary (Monthly), <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/227353192818653>)

¹²¹ NUG (8 Nov 2021) Ministry of Defence, List of the soldiers and police who came into people's embrace, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/225803489640290>

¹²² Mizzima (13 Nov 2021) Two Myanmar army deserters shot dead by military in Mandalay

¹²³ Danish Institute for International Studies (16 Nov 2021) Soldier Defections in Myanmar

¹²⁴ Irrawaddy (23 Nov 2021) Almost 200 Myanmar Junta-Appointed Administrators Killed Since Coup

¹²⁵ Mizzima (3 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 3rd November 2021; Mizzima (5 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 5 November 2021; Mizzima (9 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 9th November 2021; Myanmar Now (9 Nov 2021) Second junta-appointed administrator shot dead in Mandalay ward by local resistance group; Mizzima (11 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 11 November 2021; EMG (10 Nov 2021) Some administrative officials shot at tea shop in Dagon Seikkan, garment factory manager shot dead in Hlinethayar; EMG (13 Nov 2021) Administrator of Kadonse ward, Paung shot by an unknown gunman; Mizzima (15 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 15th November 2021; Mizzima

was shot dead while announcing that residents needed to pay their electricity bills or face a power cut.¹²⁶ On 3 Nov, the junta-appointed director of Karenni State's Parliament Office was shot.¹²⁷

On 7 Nov, it was reported that 33 administrators, village heads, and civilians had been killed in Kachin State since May.¹²⁸ On 7 Nov, two junta soldiers, three administrative staff, and an alleged informant were killed in shootings in South Dagon, Mingaladon, Mayangone and Hlaingthaya Townships (Yangon Region).¹²⁹ The Khin U Township (Sagaing Region) Jungle Cobra group announced it had killed 66 alleged informants and Pyu Saw Htee members, including ten during 18–25 Nov.¹³⁰

During 1–15 Nov, resistance groups and individuals shot two Ma Ba Tha members and alleged informants in Thaketa Township (Yangon Region);¹³¹ killed a Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) candidate in Bilin Township (Mon State);¹³² killed a local USDP supporter and alleged informant in Ayadaw Township (Sagaing Region);¹³³ killed two Pyu Saw Htee members and alleged informants in Khin-U Township (Sagaing Region);¹³⁴ and killed a 60-year-old USDP and Ma Ba Tha supporter in Tamu Township (Sagaing Region).¹³⁵ During 1–20 Nov, resistance groups and individuals shot dead seven alleged junta informants in Kyimyindaing and South Dagon Townships (Yangon Region), Wundwin (Mandalay Region), Mawlamyinegyun and Pyapon Townships (Ayeyarwady Region), and Taze Township (Sagaing Region).¹³⁶

On 7 Nov, there was an explosion near North Dagon Myothit General Administration Department (Yangon Region).¹³⁷ On 8 Nov, it was reported that unnamed attackers shot at the Mingaladon Township General Administration Office and Mingaladon Air Force security gate during a celebration of the 33rd anniversary of the General Administration Office, injuring a female janitor and at least two junta troops.¹³⁸ On 13 Nov, the Waw PDF detonated a bomb near the administration office in Gwe Gyi village, Waw Township (Bago Region), reportedly because the village administrator put pressure on villagers and groomed some people as informants.¹³⁹

Anti-junta forces continued to target cell towers. On 3 Nov, sound bombs were detonated in front of an MBT WiFi office in Muse Township and near a USDP office in Lashio Township (Shan State).¹⁴⁰ On 4 Nov, an unidentified man shot and killed the CFO of Mytel Telecommunications Co.—owned by the Tatmadaw and Vietnam's Ministry of Defense—in Mayangone Township (Yangon Region).¹⁴¹ On 5 Nov, two groups blew up a Mytel tower and a military vehicle that came to inspect the site, killing two soldiers, in Myittha Township (Mandalay Region).¹⁴² On 2 Nov, Telenor Myanmar was quoted estimating that as many as 800,000 of its customers lacked full access mobile data services because of damage or threats to its infrastructure. Telenor currently has 8,900 towers across Burma.¹⁴³

On 1 Nov, the Burma Phoenix Organization bombed a gem trading center in Maha Aungmyay Township (Mandalay), killing a police officer; it said the attack was a response to the junta's order to reopen the market, and it would take further action against junta-owned businesses, informants, and

(16 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 16th November 2021; Mizzima (18 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 18 November 2021; EMG (22 Nov 2021) Ward administrative official shot dead in Mandalay's township of Chanmyathazi; Mizzima (25 Nov) Spring Revolution Daily News for 25 November 2021

¹²⁶ Myanmar Now (3 Nov 2021) Junta-appointed administrator shot dead in Mandalay while urging people to pay electric bills

¹²⁷ Mizzima (4 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 4 November 2021

¹²⁸ EMG (7 Nov 2021) Drive-by shootings kill five including one monk, wound eight at tea shop in Hopin

¹²⁹ Myanmar Now (9 Nov 2021) Seven people, including two soldiers, killed in Yangon shootings

¹²⁹ EMG (20 Nov 2021) Five locals from three villages in Khin U Township killed for being alleged informers and members of Pysawhtee group; EMG (26 Nov 2021) Another five locals assassinated in Khin U Township for being informers and members of Pysawhtee group

¹³¹ Mizzima (3 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 3rd November 2021

¹³² EMG (11 Nov 2021) Regional USDP's candidate shot dead in Bilin

¹³³ Mizzima (12 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 12 November 2021

¹³⁴ Mizzima (13 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 13 November 2021

¹³⁵ Mizzima (16 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 16th November 2021

¹³⁶ Mizzima (2 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 2nd November 2021; Mizzima (6 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 6 November 2021; Mizzima (9 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 9th November 2021; Mizzima (8 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 8th November 2021; Mizzima (15 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 15th November 2021; Mizzima (22 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 22nd November 2021

¹³⁷ EMG (8 Nov 2021) Explosion near North Dagon Myothit Township administration office

¹³⁸ Mizzima (8 Nov 2021) Mingaladon GAO Office and Mingaladon Air Force security gate attacked

¹³⁹ Mizzima (15 Nov 2021) Bomb explodes near administration office in Bago

¹⁴⁰ EMG (5 Nov 2021) Sound bombs explode in Muse and Lashio

¹⁴¹ Irrawaddy (5 Nov 2021) Mytel CFO Most Prominent Victim So Far as Myanmar Military-Linked Firms Targeted

¹⁴² Mizzima (8 Nov 2021) Military council vehicle blown up two troops killed

¹⁴³ Mizzima (2 Nov 2021) Telenor estimates 800,000 customers unable to access mobile and data services due to damage

administration offices where junta soldiers are stationed.¹⁴⁴ On 25 Nov, bombs exploded across Mandalay, near the Development Affairs Committee, near a shopping mall, and at the 30th Street compound.¹⁴⁵ On 5 Nov, explosions rocked the KBZ headquarters and an ATM in Mayangone Township,¹⁴⁶ and the Myanmar Motion Picture Organization in Bahan Township (Yangon).¹⁴⁷ On 1 Nov, a local PDF attacked an electricity office in Tatkon Township (Naypyidaw Union Territory).¹⁴⁸ On 6 Nov, the Phoenix Urban Guerilla Force threw a grenade at an Electric Power Corporation (EPC) office in Ottara Thiri Township (Naypyidaw) after its staff members accompanied junta soldiers to intimidate people into paying electricity bills. On 10 Nov, an explosion occurred in Naypyidaw's Myoma Market, near a City Development Committee office.¹⁴⁹

Resistance administration in Magway

On 12 Nov, it was reported that politicians and resistance fighters in the Yaw region of Magway had formed a People's Administration Team to govern much of the area after the majority of state employees resigned or defected. The governing body includes CDM civil servants; it will reportedly have branches in Gangaw, Htilin, and Saw Townships; and lawmakers who won seats in 2020 will serve as township-level patrons for the teams, which will prioritize healthcare and the safety where they operate. A Yaw Defense Force (YDF) leader said that 80% of government employees had resigned, and that the holdouts were not numerous enough for the junta to exert significant control there.¹⁵⁰

Displacement

The junta continued to obstruct humanitarian assistance to the hundreds of thousands of people its actions had displaced. On 15 Nov, UNHCR estimated that 235,000 people have been internally displaced since 1 Feb 2021, and 15,000 more fled to neighboring India.¹⁵¹ On 8 Nov, it was reported that junta bureaucracy was making humanitarian access extremely difficult, as was a lack of funding, with under half the USD 385 million needed available.¹⁵²

On 3 Nov, it was reported that recent shelling and burning of villages in northwest Burma had destroyed over 160 houses and displaced 37,000 people.¹⁵³ On 16 Nov, it was reported that over 9,000 people had been displaced by clashes in Gangaw Township (Magway Region) over the past few days.¹⁵⁴ On 18 Nov, it was reported that conflict between the junta and local PDFs in Chin, Magway, and Sagaing States/Regions had forced 49,700 people to flee since May.¹⁵⁵ On 26 Nov, it was reported that over 5,000 people had fled 11 villages in Taze Township (Sagaing Region) in recent days after around 500 junta soldiers arrived in the area. An aid worker said it was not feasible to set up an IDP camp because it would become a military target.¹⁵⁶

On 3 Nov, it was reported that nearly 4,000 villagers in Pekhonn Township (Shan State) had fled following fresh fighting. The KNDF said that 500 junta soldiers are now stationed in Pekhonn, where they burned down houses. According to the NUG, around 267 houses in Loikaw and Demoso Townships (Karenni State) and 58 houses in Pekon Township had been burned down as of 30 Oct, and attacks were increasing.¹⁵⁷ On 26 Nov, it was reported that thousands of people had been forcibly displaced from 30 villages in Demoso and Loikaw Townships (Karenni State) after junta forces renewed raids, randomly bombarded villages. The raids followed clashes with the KNDF and KA on 11 Nov.¹⁵⁸

¹⁴⁴ Myanmar Now (5 Nov 2021) Police officer dies in Mandalay bombing near gems trading centre

¹⁴⁵ EMG (25 Nov 2021) A series of bomb blasts in Mandalay

¹⁴⁶ EMG (5 Nov 2021) Explosions occur at KBZ ATM in Min Dhamma Road, Mayangone Township, and between KBZ headquarter in Pyi road and Marlar bus stop

¹⁴⁷ EMG (6 Nov 2021) Explosion occurs at entrance of Myanmar Motion Picture Organization

¹⁴⁸ Irrawaddy (8 Nov 2021) Electricity Office in Myanmar Capital Targeted With Bomb Blast; Myanmar Now (8 Nov 2021) Guerrillas attack Naypyitaw electricity office with grenade after staff help soldiers coerce people into paying their bills

¹⁴⁹ EMG (11 Nov 2021) Blast occurs in NPT's Myoma market

¹⁵⁰ Myanmar Now (12 Nov 2021) After hobbling junta's ability to govern in Yaw, anti-coup forces form People's Administration Team

¹⁵¹ UNHCR (15 Nov 2021) Myanmar Emergency Overview

¹⁵² VOA (8 Nov 2021) Top US Diplomat Calls for Return to 'Genuine and Inclusive Democracy' in Myanmar

¹⁵³ DevDiscourse (3 Nov 2021) About 37,000 people displaced in Myanmar's northwest, many have fled into India: UN spokesperson

¹⁵⁴ DVB English, via Twitter (16 Nov 2021) https://twitter.com/DVB_English/status/1460624453344260099

¹⁵⁵ EMG (18 Nov 2021) UN says more people are being displaced in northwestern Myanmar

¹⁵⁶ Myanmar Now (26 Nov 2021) Thousands flee villages in Sagaing's Taze as soldiers occupy local police stations

¹⁵⁷ Irrawaddy (3 Nov 2021) Thousands Flee Homes as Myanmar Junta Steps Up Attacks

¹⁵⁸ Irrawaddy (25 Nov 2021) Thousands Flee as Myanmar Regime Resumes Raiding Resistance Groups

On 8 Nov, it was reported that civil society members were calling on the Thai government to formalize **cross-border humanitarian assistance** to Burma through the Thai Red Cross. Burma has seen one million IDPs since 1 Feb, 30% of whom are going hungry.¹⁵⁹ On 18 Nov, UNHCR reported that humanitarian actors were ready to support Thailand's efforts to receive refugees from Burma; and that as of 8 Nov, 169,000 people had been displaced into southeast Thailand, the majority from Karenni (86,100), Karen (49,500), and Shan (28,600) States, up from 155,000 as of 11 Oct.¹⁶⁰

On 16 Nov, it was reported that villagers from the Kambudam IDP camp in Myitkyina Township (Kachin State) were facing hardship after droughts destroyed 10 acres of rice. The camp manager said that they needed financial help to survive, especially because COVID-19 prevented them from looking for work outside the camp. October temperatures in Myitkyina hit 37.5°C, breaking a 14-year record.¹⁶¹

On 8 Nov, it was reported that many IDPs in Rakhine State were suffering from the seasonal flu, notably in Nyaung Chaung IDP camp, in Kyauktaw Township. A camp official said that every household had been infected, due to overcrowding. Authorities reportedly ordered the local health department to open clinics in IDP camps to provide healthcare services three times per month, but healthcare workers were too busy administering COVID-19 vaccines to travel to IDP camps. An IDP from Pi Pin Yin IDP Camp, in Mrauk-U Township, said that people infected with seasonal flu had to use medicine from nearby pharmacies because they lacked money for treatment at clinics.¹⁶²

On 6 Nov, it was reported that the quality of life for Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar had deteriorated even further. In the aftermath of the murder of Mohib Ullah and the attack and killing of another seven people in October, refugees lived in constant fear of killing squads coming to their door. The perpetrators of these killings have yet to be identified. Refugees blamed the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) for the nighttime killings and violence in the camps, while the Bangladesh government and ARSA said that this armed group had no presence there.¹⁶³ On 2 Nov, it was reported that Bangladesh police had arrested 172 Rohingya after a crackdown sparked by the murder of Mohib Ullah, including 10 suspected of involvement in the killing and 114 people who had declared themselves ARSA members. Police also relocated over 70 people, including relatives of Mohib Ullah and seven people shot dead in an October assault on an Islamic school.¹⁶⁴

On 10 Nov, in a meeting with Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, the French foreign minister promised to support Bangladesh to find a permanent, agreeable solution for Rohingya refugees.¹⁶⁵ On 13 Nov, Hasina said that the security risks of inaction were growing and could affect the entire region.¹⁶⁶ On 23 Nov, Human Rights Watch (HRW) urged Bangladesh authorities to halt the relocation of Rohingya refugees to Bhasan Char, which it said would contravene the Oct 2021 Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Bangladesh and UNHCR on Bhasan Char refugee operations.¹⁶⁷ On 24 Nov, it was reported that the Bangladesh government would resume sending Rohingya refugees to Basan Char, starting with 2,000 during 22-26 Nov, and ultimately up to 100,000.¹⁶⁸

On 29 Nov, the junta arrested 228 Rohingya people, including 33 children, trying to flee Burma by sea.¹⁶⁹

International justice for Rohingya

On 28 Nov, the Second Chamber of the Federal Criminal Court in Buenos Aires, Argentina, allowed a case to proceed against the Tatmadaw for the atrocity crimes they committed against the Rohingya in 2017. This is the first universal jurisdiction case concerning the Rohingya genocide.

Burma Rohingya Organisation UK had originally lodged its application to the court in November 2019. A lower court rejected the application, but on 28 Nov the appellate court reversed this decision and opened the investigation phase of the case.

Jurist (28 Nov 2021) Argentinian judiciary opens case against the Myanmar military; Burmese Rohingya Organisation UK (15 Aug 2021) Rohingya Genocide Survivors Will Get Historic Day In Court

¹⁵⁹ Asia News Network (8 Nov 2021) Prayut gov't called on to formalize cross border assistance to Myanmar

¹⁶⁰ UNHCR (18 Nov 2021) Inter-agency Operational Update

¹⁶¹ Kachin News Group (16 Nov 2021) Kachin IDPs Hopeless After Losing Paddy To Drought

¹⁶² DMG (8 Nov 2021) Flu season arrives at IDP camps in Arakan State

¹⁶³ VOA (6 Nov 2021) Fear Stalks Rohingya Refugee Camps After Murders

¹⁶⁴ AFP (2 Nov 2021) Bangladesh arrests more than 170 Rohingya after leader's murder

¹⁶⁵ United News of Bangladesh (11 Nov 2021) Bangladesh urges France to take Rohingya issue to UN Security Council

¹⁶⁶ Times of India (13 Nov 2021) Sheikh Hasina calls on world leaders to 'act seriously' for Rohingyas repatriation to Myanmar

¹⁶⁷ Human Rights Watch (23 Nov 2021) Bangladesh: Halt Forced Relocation of Rohingya Refugees

¹⁶⁸ Washington Newsday (24 Nov 2021) Bangladeshi authorities have resumed the transfer of Rohingya refugees to a flood-prone island.

¹⁶⁹ Reuters (29 Nov 2021) Myanmar seizes boat carrying 228 Rohingya- state TV

Women's leadership despite victimization (more details at [women tracker](#))

On 14 Nov, a Takatha Students Union member was quoted saying said that women in junta custody were frequently sexually assaulted and subjected to other forms of psychological and physical abuse that traumatized them long after they were freed.¹⁷⁰ On 17 Nov, a former female reported on the dismal conditions faced by female activists in Insein Prison (Yangon). She said that the nearly 300 inmates held in the No. 2 women's dormitory had to share filthy bathwater; causing many to suffer from severe skin rashes and lesions. In July, she and several inmates contracted COVID-19, and a 60-year-old woman died. Healthcare services at the prison hospital were so deplorable that the inmates opted for trying to care for themselves instead of seeking help from prison staff. She stated that she remained traumatized by her time in prison; and that she regularly experienced anxiety attacks and nightmares.¹⁷¹

On 20 Nov, it was reported that junta troops were increasingly arresting and interrogating women in Mindat Township (Chin State) on the assumption that they were involved in transporting supplies for the local PDF.¹⁷²

Despite the continued risks, women continued to lead protests and fight the regime. On 2 Nov, a group of women held an anti-junta rally in Mandalay under the slogan "We'll wear as we wish. But it's not for you to rape us."¹⁷³ On 3 Nov, women held an anti-junta protest in Tabayin Township (Sagaing Region).¹⁷⁴ On 20 Nov, it was reported that, in October, activists in Sagaing Region had formed the country's first women-only anti-junta militia, the Myaung Women Guerrilla Group (MWGG), to empower women who might be targeted by raiding troops. MWGG fighters reportedly participate in operations using explosives and "exterminating military informers."¹⁷⁵

On 7 Nov, it was reported that Reporters Without Borders (RSF) had included Kaw Zon Nway, a female reporter from the Mon News Agency, on the list of nominees for the 2021 Press Freedom Awards' prize for courage. She was arrested on 26 Feb while live-streaming an anti-junta protest, and released on 1 Jul after 124 days of detention.¹⁷⁶ On 12 Nov, the World Association of Newspapers and Publishers (WAN-IFRA) awarded its Women in News' 2021 Editorial Leadership Award for Southeast Asia to Nyein Nyein Naing, editor-in-chief of the now-shuttered 7 Day Digital.¹⁷⁷

COVID-19 (more details at [COVID-19 tracker](#))

Regime prepares reopening as virus "no longer an issue"

As official case numbers decreased in November, from 1,180 on 11 Nov to 482 on 25 Nov,¹⁷⁸ the junta decreased the number of townships with stay-at-home orders, from 69 to 15.¹⁷⁹ On 30 Nov, the junta extended the temporary COVID-related entry restrictions on foreign travelers until 31 Dec.¹⁸⁰

On 16 Nov, the junta announced that Burma would reopen its land borders with China and Thailand in December due to progress with vaccinations.¹⁸¹ Junta information minister Maung Maung Ohn said that the virus was "no longer an issue," and that the regime was "accelerating the resumption of social and economic activity to restore national stability following the challenges of the pandemic and the internal social unrest." Air travel is expected to resume for business passengers in January, and for tourists by March. Maung Maung Ohn said that that the resumption of flights would be an important catalyst for tourism, foreign investment, and international business activities.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁰ Radio Free Asia (14 Nov 2021) Trauma follows Myanmar torture victims after release

¹⁷¹ Radio Free Asia (17 Nov 2021) In Myanmar's Insein Prison, inmates shared bath water and were denied medical care

¹⁷² Mizzima (20 Nov 2021) Local residents claim junta troops making more arrests of women in Chin State

¹⁷³ Mizzima (3 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 5 November 2021

¹⁷⁴ Mizzima (5 Nov 2021) Spring Revolution Daily News for 5 November 2021

¹⁷⁵ Radio Free Asia (20 Nov 2021) All-women militia formed in Myanmar's Sagaing region in response to military violence

¹⁷⁶ EMG (7 Nov 2021) Myanmar Now reporter nominated for 2021 RSF Press Freedom Awards

¹⁷⁷ EMG (13 Nov 2021) WAN-IFRA Women in News announce the recipients of 2021 editorial leadership award

¹⁷⁸ EMG (11 Nov) Myanmar reports 1,180 new patients and 14 deaths on Nov 10; EMG (26 Nov 2021) Myanmar reports 482 new patients and 9 deaths on Nov 25

¹⁷⁹ EMG (11 Nov 2021) MOH to exclude more townships from "Stay at Home" order; EMG (12 Nov 2021) MOH excludes 17 townships from "Stay at Home" order; Business Standard (20 Nov 2021) Myanmar lifts stay-at-home order in more towns with dropping Covid-19 cases; Xinhua (24 Nov 2021) Stay-at-home order lifted in Myanmar's 28 more townships

¹⁸⁰ Mizzima (1 Dec 2021) Myanmar extends entry restrictions for travellers

¹⁸¹ Reuters (16 Nov 2021) Myanmar to reopen land borders with China, Thailand next month

¹⁸² Nikkei Asia (16 Nov 2021) Myanmar plans to allow international flights from January

As of 23 Nov, over 11 million people had been fully vaccinated against COVID-19, and a further 4.7 million had received their first shot, according to junta figures.¹⁸³ Data compiled by Reuters showed that at least 25,869,175 doses had been administered as of 20 Nov, enough to fully vaccinate 23.9% of the population. Burma had reportedly administered an average 260,490 doses per day over the prior week. At that rate, it would take around 42 days to vaccinate another 10% of the population.¹⁸⁴

Local outbreaks continue to raise concerns

On 10 Nov, the Pankham (Wa State) Infectious Disease Control Team announced that the town would be locked down for five days to conduct extensive COVID-19 testing.¹⁸⁵ The lockdown was extended until 2 Dec after testing revealed that infections had spread across the town. No figures were released.¹⁸⁶

On 15 Nov, it was reported that thousands of COVID-19 infections had been detected in Laiza (Kachin State), and that KIO officials were struggling to contain the outbreak, which had spread to every ward, school, and dormitory in the city. On 12 Nov, 1,148 cases were detected, bringing the total number of local infections to 3,400. More than 500 cases were detected in Woichai, 941 in Alam Bum High School, 136 in Jay Yang IDP camp, 35 in Hpung Lon Yang IDP camp, and 36 in Hpung Mai Yang.¹⁸⁷

On 23 Nov, it was reported that Hsi Hseng Township (Shan State) had been put under semi-lockdown from 16-22 Nov because of COVID-19. The measure was reportedly extended until 29 Nov.¹⁸⁸

Junta faces widespread boycott as schools reopen

On 1 Nov, the regime reopened basic education schools nationwide,¹⁸⁹ with the exception of 46 townships: 26 in Shan State; six in Kachin State; four in Magway Region; three in Karenni State; two each in Karen and Chin States; and one each in Rakhine State and in Sagaing and Mandalay Regions.¹⁹⁰ The regime stated that lessons had been recalibrated to allow students to complete the curriculum in 14 weeks, with exams slated for the third week of February.¹⁹¹

In Yangon Region, only 83,278 out of 530,430 enrolled students attended class. In previous years, there were around 1.1 million basic education students in the region.¹⁹² Attendance was also reportedly low in Mandalay, with some schools unable to reopen due to low student turnout, leading high-ranking military officials to visit the No 16 and No 17 high schools to put pressure on school officials to improve student attendance.¹⁹³ In Mon State, where the local educational system typically hosts over 400,000 students in more than 1,500 schools, only around 40,000 students attended classes.¹⁹⁴ On 17 Nov, it was reported that classrooms remained almost completely empty, with students and teachers refusing to attend—both to protest against the junta and out of fear of attacks.¹⁹⁵

On 3 Nov, A CDM teacher was quoted saying that, in addition to low attendance rates, the reopening would also be affected by lower academic standards resulting from the regime's hasty efforts to re-establish control over the education system. A member of the central executive committee of the Myanmar Teachers' Federation also expressed concerns about the lack of anti-COVID-19 measures, and noted that many schools were understaffed due to the firing and arrest of CDM teachers.¹⁹⁶ On 5 Nov, it was reported that about 800 out of more than 1,000 students in Palay Yadanar, Rakhine State's largest monastic school, had yet to be vaccinated against COVID-19.¹⁹⁷ On 15 Nov, it was reported that 25 students and one teacher had tested positive for COVID-19 in Mongyai (Shan State). Schools were

¹⁸³ Xinhua (24 Nov 2021) Stay-at-home order lifted in Myanmar's 28 more townships

¹⁸⁴ Reuters (accessed 29 Nov 2021) COVID-19 tracker - Myanmar

¹⁸⁵ EMG (11 Nov 2021) Pansan to be placed on 5-day lockdown to have covid testing

¹⁸⁶ EMG (25 Nov 2021) Lockdown period extended in Pangkham

¹⁸⁷ Network Media Group (15 Nov 2021) KIO Grapples With Outbreak In Laiza

¹⁸⁸ Shan News (23 Nov 2021) Hsi Hseng Township Semi Lockdown Continues

¹⁸⁹ Myanmar Now (3 Nov 2021) School reopening greeted with criticism from parents and teachers

¹⁹⁰ DMG (12 Nov 2021) Plans underway to reopen schools in Gwa Twsp

¹⁹¹ Myanmar Now (3 Nov 2021) School reopening greeted with criticism from parents and teachers

¹⁹² EMG (3 Nov 2021) Yangon schools see just over 80,000 of over 500,000 enrollees on reopening day

¹⁹³ Mizzima (3 Nov 2021) Despite schools opening in Mandalay, little attendance

¹⁹⁴ Mon News Agency (3 Nov 2021) Over 40,000 students resume classes as Mon State schools open

¹⁹⁵ Al Jazeera (17 Nov 2021) Myanmar students boycott classes following school reopening

¹⁹⁶ Myanmar Now (3 Nov 2021) School reopening greeted with criticism from parents and teachers

¹⁹⁷ DMG (5 Nov 2021) About 80% of students at Arakan State's largest monastic education school yet to receive Covid vaccine

reopened after being disinfected, but no further action was taken to curb the spread of the disease. A local charity criticized the move, stating that the schools should have been temporarily closed.¹⁹⁸

Teachers, students under fire from both sides

On 3 Nov, it was reported that teachers and parents in Ayeyarwady Region were afraid of being caught up in the conflict between the junta and PDFs. A non-CDM education director pointed out that schools were not properly protected from attacks, and a retired military official from the Southwest Military Command confirmed that soldiers were too busy responding to PDF raids to protect teachers, government employees, and others supporters of the regime.¹⁹⁹ Following the reopening, the perceived support for the junta from non-boycotting teachers has made them targets for anti-junta armed groups.²⁰⁰

On 5 Nov, a teacher from North Okkalapa Township (Yangon Region) was killed in a taxi on her way to school.²⁰¹ On 11 Nov, unknown attackers shot dead the headmistress of Wuntwin Township (Mandalay Region) primary school and seriously injured her husband. On 23 Nov, two bombs exploded in front of a high school and a primary school in Paung Township (Mon State).²⁰² On 26 Nov, eight people, including two students, were injured in a bomb attack against the car of the headmistress of Hmawsisar basic education school in Hpakant Township (Kachin State). The incident followed the bombing of a police vehicle outside the school on 5 Nov, in which one person was injured.²⁰³ According to the junta, 444 schools nationwide were damaged by bomb and arson attacks 1 Feb–15 Nov.²⁰⁴

The military has also contributed to fears around safety in schools, with its history of attacking CDM teachers and students, and the presence of armed soldiers around school perimeters and in classrooms. In May alone, security forces attacked over 100 schools according to Save the Children, and this number has continued to increase since then. On 12 Nov, a computer training school linked to a charity affiliated with Aung San Suu Kyi was set on fire in Mandalay. During 13–14 Nov, junta forces arrested and beat two CDM high school teachers who had refused to work for the regime.²⁰⁵

On 18 Nov, in Sinbaungwe Township (Magway Region), junta troops detained a 27-year-old teacher along with three girls and two boys, ages 6 to 14, after raiding their monastery school the day before. The abbot said he did not know why the monastery was raided, but assumed it was because the junta suspected him of PDF ties. The soldiers threatened to kill the teacher and the children if anyone left.²⁰⁶

On 20 Nov, junta forces arrested Cherry Thet Shay, a female CDM high school teacher in Taungup (Rakhine State), reportedly the first teacher detained in Rakhine State for joining the CDM.²⁰⁷ On 22 Nov, it was reported that she had been charged with violating the Counter-Terrorism Law.²⁰⁸

Business and economics (more details at business and economic response [tracker](#))

On 11 Nov, it was reported that although the MMK had rallied against the USD after record falls during Feb-Oct, commodity and consumer goods prices were likely to remain high. The chair of the Rakhine State Chamber of Commerce said that it would take time before market prices reflect the appreciation of the MMK, mostly because goods were imported when the dollar was higher and transportation costs were still high. The vice chair of the Rakhine Economic Initiative Public Company added that the prices had not decreased significantly because political instability prevented people from doing business.²⁰⁹

Turmoil spooks investors, kills local businesses

On 3 Nov, the Irrawaddy reported that only six companies, including Chinese firms and local crony businesses, had made bids for the 12 solar power projects the regime had put up for tender in May. A director of a local energy company said that most domestic firms were not interested because of soaring prices of raw materials for solar power production in the global market; and that domestic electricity

¹⁹⁸ Shan News (15 Nov 2021) COVID-19 Outbreak Affects Northern Shan State Schools

¹⁹⁹ Network Media Group (3 Nov 2021) Irrawaddy Region Teachers Fear Violence After Regime Forces Reopening Of Schools

²⁰⁰ Al Jazeera (17 Nov 2021) Myanmar students boycott classes following school reopening

²⁰¹ EMG (12 Nov 2021) Headmistress of Wuntwin Township primary school shot dead

²⁰² EMG (24 Nov 2021) Bombs explode in front of high school and primary school in Paung Township

²⁰³ EMG (27 Nov 2021) The Headmistress of Hmawsisar BEHS's car bombed

²⁰⁴ EMG (24 Nov 2021) Bombs explode in front of high school and primary school in Paung Township

²⁰⁵ Al Jazeera (17 Nov 2021) Myanmar students boycott classes following school reopening

²⁰⁶ Myanmar Now (25 Nov 2021) Teacher and five children still in custody following raid on monastery school

²⁰⁷ Development Media Group (20 Nov 2021) Teacher involved in CDM arrested in Taungup

²⁰⁸ DMG (22 Nov 2021) Lawsuit opened against CDM-affiliated teacher under Counter-Terrorism Law

²⁰⁹ DMG (10 Nov 2021) Though kyat shows signs of rallying against dollar, no swift easing of commodity prices expected

demand was unlikely to significantly increase as Burma was barely receiving new foreign investment. He noted that even the Chinese companies that won tenders in previous projects were planning to withdraw from Burma; and expressed doubt over the profitability of current projects.²¹⁰

On 3 Nov, IndustriALL Global Union called on multinationals to cease operations, divest, stop placing new orders, and halt business relations in Burma. It said that human rights violations make it impossible to trade ethically; and it engaged with multi-stakeholder initiatives and multinationals in the energy, steel, and garment industries to promote these recommendations.²¹¹

During 5–15 Nov, the junta cut off power to about 30 Mandalay factories, workshops, hotels, and businesses that had refused to pay their electricity bills. Township authorities reportedly warned local businesses to pay their overdue bills on 2 Nov, but the latter said that they could not afford it. Many businesses are struggling amid an economic decline resulting from post-coup turmoil and COVID-19 restrictions, a situation made worse by the current limitations on cash withdrawals.²¹² On 26 Nov, it was reported that 1,500 companies were struck from the Directorate of Investments and Company Administration’s registration list from July to mid-November after they failed to submit annual returns and financial statements.²¹³

Mytel feels the heat as junta mines phone towers

On 4 Nov, an unidentified man shot dead the CFO of military-controlled Mytel Telecommunications.²¹⁴ Junta forces responded by arresting some 20 young people living nearby.²¹⁵ On 5 Nov, Justice for Myanmar (JfM) reported that customers and shop owners had turned their backs on Mytel, costing the company at least USD 24.9 million and almost 2 million subscribers from February to April. In addition, the number of Mytel Pay agents fell from 54,430 in January to 38,189 in July. To recover its losses, the company deployed a range of strategies: making sure users were not affected by internet shutdown orders; implementing aggressive promotions, including lucky draws and the lowest data rate ever in the country; and offering bonuses to shop owners not supporting the boycott. JfM noted that some of these measures would violate the Ministry of Transport and Communications’ price floor directive and competition rules, if the whole system were not now rigged in favor of the regime.²¹⁶

On 5 Nov, it was reported that the junta had laid landmines at telecommunications towers owned by or leased to mobile operators to protect them from PDF attacks. Telenor reportedly sent text message notifications to subscribers who live near dangerous towers and placed physical warning signs on the mined sites it owns. However, most mined sites are owned by tower companies who lease them to other operators, and it is unclear whether they have taken any action. Japanese companies KDDI Group and Sumitomo Corporation, who jointly operate state-owned mobile operator MPT, both said that they had not heard of any mines being laid at MPT towers despite reports to the contrary.²¹⁷

Junta expected to cash in on mining profits

On 10 Nov, it was reported that the junta would hold a gem fair in Naypyidaw on 10 Dec. Such events are normally held in March and September, and are a major revenue earner with sales taxed up to 40%. This will be the second gem fair since the coup, following one in April that earned the junta over USD 18 million. The military-owned Myanmar Economic Holdings Limited and its affiliated gem companies

Myanmar Plaza under fire after protest crackdown

On 25 Nov, private security staff attacked a group of young people who staged a flash mob anti-junta protest on the ground floor of the Myanmar Plaza complex, Yangon’s most popular shopping center. Images of the attack went viral on Facebook, generating considerable public anger. Responding to growing boycott calls, most of the almost 50 shops at the mall, including international retailers such as Adidas and Sony, decided to close their outlets from 26 Nov.

Taxi and delivery companies announced that they would stop servicing Myanmar Plaza and offices in the complex, while resistance groups vowed to retaliate. On 26 Nov, two-thirds of the mall’s shops were closed with no shoppers in sight. Most of the mall’s lights were off and the food court, home to some of Yangon’s most popular eateries, was deserted.

Irrawaddy (26 Nov 2021) Shoppers Boycott Myanmar Plaza After Attack on Anti-Regime Protest

²¹⁰ Myanmar Now (3 Nov 2021) Sun Not Shining on Myanmar Junta’s Solar Power Projects

²¹¹ IndustriALL Global Union (3 Nov 2021) IndustriALL calls on companies to divest from Myanmar

²¹² Irrawaddy (16 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta Cuts off Electricity to Local Businesses

²¹³ EMG (26 Nov 2021) A total of 1500 local companies struck off from the registration list from July to mid-November 2021

²¹⁴ Irrawaddy (5 Nov 2021) Mytel CFO Most Prominent Victim So Far as Myanmar Military-Linked Firms Targeted

²¹⁵ Myanmar Now (10 Nov 2021) Junta arrests 20 people in neighbouring ward hours after assassination of Mytel executive

²¹⁶ Justice for Myanmar (5 Nov 2021) Boycott and coup attempt cost Mytel USD \$24.9 million in three months

²¹⁷ Myanmar Now (5 Nov 2021) Telecoms tower sites mined by Myanmar military

are expected to participate. The junta has reportedly arranged ten hotels to host invited gem traders, and tightened security near Naypyidaw's Jade Hall.²¹⁸

On 10 Nov, it was reported that the junta was reaping profits from rare heavy earth metals. Burma is one of the main source countries of **dysprosium**, a key component of magnets found in the motors of electric vehicles and wind turbines. China, which dominates the manufacturing, curbed domestic mining over pollution concerns in recent years, causing prices to skyrocket; around half of its supplies currently come from Burma. These conditions will likely allow the junta to generate more revenue, as much of the extraction happens in areas of Kachin State controlled by the junta-affiliated Kachin BGF.

Global Witness called for these metals to be legally designated as conflict minerals, which would compel manufacturers to check that they are not being mined in a way that contributes to human rights abuses. Myanmar Now contacted six major car producers (Renault, Stellantis, Tesla, BMW, Volkswagen and Volvo), but none of the four that responded (Tesla, BMW, Volkswagen and Volvo) said whether they had specifically checked for dysprosium from Burma in their supply chains; Volvo said that it could not rule out this possibility. JfM said that it was shocking that, more than nine months after the coup, it could not be verified whether these companies had controls in place to ensure their rare earths supply chain was not driving atrocities in Burma.²¹⁹

International companies bypass sanctions

On 24 Nov, Justice for Myanmar (JfM) reported that major online retailers Amazon, Overstock, and Walmart were still facilitating the sale of loose gemstones and jewelry with gems sourced from Burma by Shop LC, India-based Vaibhav Global's main platform for consumer sales in the US. During 19 Feb–9 Jun, Vaibhav Global reportedly imported at least ten shipments of Burma rubies and jade to India, where its goods are manufactured for export. Vaibhav Global reportedly sent at least eight shipments of rubies to Shop LC since the US imposed sanctions on state-owned Myanmar Gems Enterprise. JfM noted that the chain of intermediaries between US retailers and MGE could help bypass sanctions and called on the US Congress to prohibit imports of Burma gemstones.²²⁰

On 25 Nov, the Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA) revealed that over 300 tons of teak from Burma, worth over EUR 2 million, had been imported into Italy since June, despite EU sanctions. The EIA said these imports were deliberate sanctions-busting, as the only beneficiaries were the traders and the junta. It called on the EU to move quickly and show that its sanctions were more than mere words by making a firm example of these importers in court.²²¹

On 30 Nov, RSF, Info Birmanie, JfM, and Sherpa denounced French company Thales for exporting military technology to Indian firm Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL), a supplier to the Tatmadaw. BEL has continued to supply the junta with equipment since 1 Feb, including a remote-controlled weapons system partly managed by executives from its joint venture with Thales. The four organizations pointed out that technology shared by Thales had likely been transmitted to the junta through BEL, in violation of EU sanctions. They called on Thales to stop these exports, and asked the French authorities to take the necessary measures to enforce EU law.²²²

Australia's Future Fund attacks future of Burma's civilians

On 29 Nov, Justice for Myanmar (JfM) reported that the Future Fund, Australia's sovereign wealth fund, held equity stakes valued at AUD 157.9 million across 14 publicly traded companies that maintain business links to the Tatmadaw. The fund's holdings include AUD 4.9 million invested in arms conglomerate Aviation Industry Corporation of China (AVIC), a supplier of Burma's Air Force; and USD 17.8 million in Bharat Electronics, a company controlled by the Indian government that has supplied weapons to the junta. JfM called on the Future Fund and all other institutional investors to immediately divest from those companies; and on Australia to immediately impose targeted sanctions against the Tatmadaw, its businesses, and business associates.

Justice for Myanmar (29 Nov 2021) Abusing Myanmar for Australia's Future; Guardian (28 Nov 2021) Australia's Future Fund invested in weapons manufacturers that have sold arms to Myanmar military

²¹⁸ Irrawaddy (10 Nov 2021) Myanmar Junta to Stage Gem Fair in December

²¹⁹ Myanmar Now (10 Nov 2021) Rare earth metals used in electric vehicles may come from mines controlled by Myanmar junta

²²⁰ Justice for Myanmar (24 Nov 2021) US Retailers Trading in Myanmar Gems, Despite Sanctions

²²¹ Environmental Investigation Agency (25 Nov 2021) Sanction-busting Italian timber traders defy EU law to import Myanmar teak, aiding the military junta

²²² Reporters Without Borders (30 Nov 2021) Civil society calls on French company Thales to put an end to suspected indirect support to the Myanmar Junta

No easy way out for Telenor, Kirin

On 11 Nov, it was reported that the junta was still reluctant to approve the sale of Telenor Myanmar to Lebanon-based M1 Group; and that it favored part-ownership by a local company. M1 is reportedly in advanced talks with Shwe Byain Phyu Group, led by a director of Mahar Yoma Public Company, which is part of a consortium that has a stake in Mytel. A local telecom company director said that Telenor Myanmar would likely be purchased by a consortium of local businesses because running a telecommunications service requires major investment. Several firms owned by junta cronies stated interest, including Amara Communications Co. Ltd., KT Group, and Yoma Strategic Holdings.²²³

On 12 Nov, it was reported that Japanese beverage giant Kirin was considering all possible measures, including legal action, to dissolve Myanmar Brewery, its joint venture with MEHL, whose profits plunged by almost 50% due to the boycott of military-linked products. Kirin had already announced the end of the partnership after the coup, but discussions on its dissolution stalled.²²⁴ On 19 Nov, MEHL requested a Yangon court to dissolve the joint venture²²⁵—presumably on MEHL’s terms—a request the court is likely to approve.²²⁶ On 24 Nov, Kirin branded the request a violation of Burma law, and said it will ask for its dismissal; the court will decide on 10 Dec. Kirin, which had planned to continue doing business in Burma, said that MEHL had rejected all its proposals, and that the petition was a way to hijack the liquidation process.²²⁷ A corporate lawyer said that production was likely to continue, with MEHL forming a new company and producing Myanmar Brewery’s brands under a different name.²²⁸

Oil, gas companies keep funding the regime

On 8 Nov, NUG Deputy Minister for Electricity and Energy Maw Htun Aung was quoted saying that there was a high possibility that the junta was using revenues from the Japan-backed Yetagun Gas Project, off Burma’s southern coast, to buy weapons. The Japanese government owns half of Nippon Oil Exploration, which in turn owns roughly a fifth of the project. Junta-controlled Myanma Oil and Gas Enterprises (MOGE), Thailand’s PTTEP, and Malaysia’s Petronas also have partial ownership. In August, Japan’s trade ministry said that it was not aware of any funds related to the Yetagun project going to the regime, but Maw Htun Aung said the claim was not credible. Even though gas production at Yetagun is in decline, the project remains one of the junta’s biggest single sources of state revenue.²²⁹

On 17 Nov, it was reported that South Korea-based POSCO International had begun work on Phase II of the Shwe gas field project, off the coast of Rakhine State. The Ann Township Oil and Gas Pipeline Monitoring group said that such gas exploration should not be carried out at a time of political instability, pointing out that this project did not benefit the local people. Similarly, the Kyaukphyu Township Peace and Development Center said that resource extraction projects should be stopped until a federal democratic union can be established. The Shwe gas field project has been exporting more than 500 million cubic feet of natural gas/day to the China National Petroleum Corporation since 2013.²³⁰

On 19 Nov, Arakan Oil Watch (AOW) reported that international oil and gas companies operating in Burma were not only providing funds and legitimacy to the junta, but expanding their projects. Planning is reportedly underway to exploit offshore gas in Rakhine State and south of Yangon. Sixteen companies from 13 countries currently have major shares in Burma’s oil and gas industry, including Chevron (US), Total (France), PTTEP (Thailand), and POSCO (South Korea). More are profiting through sub-contracts, such as Transocean (Switzerland) and McDermott International (US). The junta reportedly nets over USD 1 billion per year from natural gas exports, and approximately USD 500 million through state-owned Myanma Oil and Gas Enterprise’s domestic operations. Referring to recent junta weapons purchases from India and Russia, AOW’s director said: “We hold oil and gas companies accountable for continuing to extract, export and provide revenues that are used to kill the people of Burma.”²³¹

²²³ Irrawaddy (11 Nov 2021) Junta Cronies Eye Telenor’s Myanmar Business

²²⁴ Irrawaddy (12 Nov 2021) Japan’s Kirin to End Beer Joint Venture With Myanmar Military ‘by December’

²²⁵ Irrawaddy (24 Nov 2021) Myanmar Military’s Joint Venture Brewery to be Dissolved After Product Boycott

²²⁶ Nikkei Asia (24 Nov 2021) Myanmar military conglomerate files to dissolve Kirin beer venture

²²⁷ Myanmar Now (24 Nov 2021) Japan’s Kirin hits out at military-owned MEHL over ‘unjust’ legal request to dissolve partnership

²²⁸ Irrawaddy (24 Nov 2021) Myanmar Military’s Joint Venture Brewery to be Dissolved After Product Boycott

²²⁹ Myanmar Now (8 Nov 2021) NUG hits out at Japanese government for funding junta via lucrative gas project

²³⁰ DMG (17 Nov 2021) Posco International begins work on Phase II of Shwe gas field project off Arakan coast

²³¹ Arakan Oil Watch (19 Nov 2021) Fanning the Flames: Expansion of Foreign Oil and Gas Investments Despite Burma’s Military Coup

Also on 19 Nov, Human Rights Watch (HRW) noted that payments by energy and extractive companies to entities under Tatmadaw control were providing key funds to sustain the junta, and urged investment firms to act to help block massive payments currently flowing to the regime. HRW stated that, although energy companies had limited options for halting payments, they would need to comply with sanctions or other financial regulatory actions blocking those payments if imposed by the US, EU, and other key governments. It therefore called on investment firms to use their leverage to convince companies to support such sanctions.²³²

CRPH & NUG (more details at CRPH & NUG [tracker](#))

On 16 Nov, the National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC), a coalition of MPs, political parties, eight EAOs, and other anti-regime groups formed in April, held its first press conference to outline its goals and roadmap for establishing a federal democratic system. The NUCC will reportedly look to amend the CRPH's Federal Democracy Charter, notably to address structural weaknesses in power-sharing between the different anti-regime forces, ahead of a "people's congress" slated for December.²³³

On 9 Nov, the NUG released its economic sanctions policy, referencing its earlier Framework Guiding Responsible Investment and Continued Operations.²³⁴

On 10 Nov, the Ministry of Commerce blacklisted MEC and MEHL-related economic operations as terrorist economic operations. It said that these businesses are financially supporting the junta's treason, abuse of power, and use of force. It promised to take action against those purchasing, promoting, storing, or distributing products from these conglomerates and their associated businesses, which it said were contributing to war crimes.²³⁵ Various ministries also blacklisted civil servants (total: 253) working for the junta for harassing, firing, or threatening CDM members.²³⁶

On 16 Nov, the Ministry of Planning, Finance and Investment announced that it would start selling special Spring Revolution bonds, to support its revolution, with a two-year term and values of USD 100, 500, 1000, and 5000.²³⁷ On 23 Nov, it announced that it had reformed the system for purchasing the bonds, using an online payment system.²³⁸ The NUG said that in the first 10 hours, it had already raised USD 6.3 million from the bonds.²³⁹ On 26 Nov, the junta threatened to arrest citizens who invested in NUG bonds, warning of lengthy prison sentences for "terrorist" financing.²⁴⁰

On 10 Nov, the Ministry of Justice announced the formation of the All-Myanmar Judicial Employees Association, whose judicial responsibilities will be set by the NUG and the National Unity Advisory Council (NUCC). The association will be led by the Minister of Justice, as well as 12 other members, and will include judicial employees who have joined the CDM.²⁴¹

The Ministry of Defence continued to give daily updates on the locations of clashes, war crimes, and other events relevant to the conflict, such as defections and the humanitarian situation. On 5 Nov, the Ministry called on all local forces fighting the junta to follow the NUG's Code of Conduct, cooperate with each other and coordinate under the NUG chain of command, avoid jeopardizing people's lives

²³² Human Rights Watch (19 Nov 2021) Myanmar: Investors Should Act to Halt Funds to Junta

²³³ Myanmar Now (21 Nov 2021) NUCC outlines goals as it seeks to widen membership

²³⁴ NUG (9 Nov 2021) Sanction Policy, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/226135182940454>

²³⁵ NUG (10 Nov 2021) Ministry of Commerce, Statement 2/2021 on Terrorist Economic Operations,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/226764192877553>

²³⁶ NUG (2 Nov 2021) Ministry of Communication, Information and Technology, Announcement 5/2021,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/221580956729210>; NUG (4 Nov 2021) Blacklist of Ministry of Industry,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/222997823254190>; NUG (7 Nov 2021) Ministry of Women, Youth and Children

Affairs, Blacklist, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/225312759689363>; NUG (12 Nov 2021) Ministry of

Communications, Statement 9/2021, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/227924876094818>; NUG (12 Nov 2021)

Prime Minister's Office Statement 2/2021, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/228034022750570>; NUG (19 Nov

2021) Prime Minister's Office Statement 3/2021, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/232944028926236>; NUG (15

Nov 2021) Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management, Statement 1/2021,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/231543555732950>; NUG (18 Nov 2021) Ministry of Electricity and Energy,

Statement 17/2021, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/232728462281126>

²³⁷ NUG (16 Nov 2021) Ministry of Planning, Finance and Investment, Statement 13/2021 announcing the starting date of

special Spring Revolution bond sales, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/231276599092979>

²³⁸ NUG (23 Nov 2021) Ministry of Planning, Finance and Investment Statement informing the people that there will be a

clearer, easier, online payment system for the purchase of bonds,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/235170715370234>

²³⁹ Irrawaddy (23 Nov 2021) Myanmar Civilian Gov'ts Bond Sale Raises Over \$6 Million in Under 12 Hours

²⁴⁰ Reuters (26 Oct 2021) Myanmar threatens jail for buyers of bonds issued by opposition

²⁴¹ Mizzima (11 Nov 2021) NUG announces temporary formation of All Myanmar Judicial Employees Association

and property, and avoid hate speech.²⁴² On 12 Nov, it released infographics on its code of conduct, including soldiers' rules and treatment of captives, civilians, and women and children.²⁴³ On 18 Nov, it issued further guidance on the treatment of detainees and prisoners of war.²⁴⁴ On 2 Nov, the Ministry of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Management said that it gave over MMK 1.47 billion over the prior six months, but estimated that three million people still need assistance, up from one million before the coup.²⁴⁵ On 10 Nov, the Ministry of Health said it was working with friendly groups and associations to be able to provide healthcare.²⁴⁶

International responses (more details at international response [tracker](#))

On 8 Nov, the UN Security Council discussed Burma. The meeting was convened by the UK, whose deputy ambassador expressed concern at the buildup of troops in northwest Burma.²⁴⁷ On 10 Nov, all 15 Security Council members agreed to call on actors in Burma to stop the use of violence;²⁴⁸ the Council also expressed worries over escalating violence between the Tatmadaw and AA.²⁴⁹ On 18 Nov, UN members finally adopted a resolution by consensus prioritizing the Rohingya plight, acknowledging the generosity of Bangladesh, and putting pressure on Burma to address the issue of repatriation.²⁵⁰

On 8 Nov, the NUG welcomed the outcome of the UN Security Council's 8 Nov meeting on Burma, but said that a press statement on Burma was a wholly inadequate response. It called on the Security Council to: (1) adopt a resolution on the political and humanitarian situation, blocking importation of military and dual-use equipment, blocking funds to the junta, prioritizing humanitarian aid, protecting medical workers and medical care, and demanding restoration of democracy and accountability; (2) refer the situation to the ICC Prosecutor; (3) support ASEAN's efforts to implement its Five-Point Consensus, while acting complementarily; (4) formally recognize the NUG as the legitimate government of Burma; and (5) begin the process of listing the Tatmadaw as a terrorist organization.²⁵¹

ASEAN

On 1 Nov, Malaysian Foreign Minister Saifuddin Abdulah called on ASEAN to adopt a non-indifference policy, and urged Cambodia to plan an ASEAN meeting to discuss next steps. He also called for Erywan Yusof to be re-appointed as Special Envoy to Burma and for ASEAN members to create a list of people for the envoy to meet, including Aung San Suu Kyi.²⁵² On 5 Nov, it was reported that the Cambodian Foreign Ministry had said it would appoint its own envoy, replacing Yusof.²⁵³

On 11–12 Nov, junta ministers participated in the 27th ASEAN Transport Ministers Meeting (online), hosted by Cambodia,²⁵⁴ the 19th ASEAN-Japan Transport Ministerial Meeting, the 12th ASEAN-Korea Transport Ministerial Meeting, and special sessions for ASEAN dialogue and development partners.²⁵⁵

On 14 Nov, Thailand's Foreign Minister visited Burma to meet with coup leader Ming Aung Hlaing.²⁵⁶ On 2 Nov, it was reported that the US and Indonesia agreed to collaborate closely to pressure the junta to cease violence, return to democracy, and release all political prisoners.²⁵⁷

²⁴² NUG (5 Nov 2021) Ministry of Defence, Guidance for PDFs,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/224075423146430>

²⁴³ NUG (12 Nov 2021) Military Code of Conduct for People's Defense Force,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/227866216100684>

²⁴⁴ NUG (18 Nov 2021) Ministry of Defense, Guidance on detention of prisoners of war,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/231961835691122>

²⁴⁵ NUG (2 Nov 2021) Ministry of Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Management, six-month report,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/221758530044786>

²⁴⁶ NUG (10 Nov 2021) Ministry of Health Announcement 11/2021,

<https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/228690986018207>

²⁴⁷ Reuters (9 Nov 2021) U.N. aid chief says Myanmar deteriorating, Security Council meets

²⁴⁸ Reuters (10 Nov 2021) U.N. Security Council urges end to Myanmar violence

²⁴⁹ United Nations (10 Nov 2021) Security Council Press Statement on Myanmar

²⁵⁰ Business Standard (18 Nov 2021) UN resolution on Rohingyas asks Myanmar to address crisis

²⁵¹ NUG (8 Nov 2021) Ministry of Foreign Affairs Statement 7/2021 on the United Nations Security Council's Private Meeting on Myanmar, <https://www.facebook.com/NUGmyanmar/posts/226652859555353>

²⁵² Nikkei Asia (1 Nov 2021) Malaysia urges ASEAN talks on Myanmar, 'non-indifference' policy

²⁵³ VOA (5 Nov 2021) Cambodia Insists on Naming New ASEAN Envoy on Myanmar, Rejecting Malaysia's Call to Keep Incumbent

²⁵⁴ Global New Light of Myanmar (GNLM) (12 Nov 2021) MoTC Union Minister attends 27th ASEAN Transport Ministers Meeting, Associated Dialogue Partner Meeting

²⁵⁵ GNLM (13 Nov 2021) MoTC Union Minister attends ASEAN-Japan Transport Ministers' Meeting, related ASEAN meetings

²⁵⁶ Thaiger (19 Nov 2021) Thai Foreign Minister reportedly admits to meeting with Myanmar's military junta

²⁵⁷ Nikkei Asia (2 Nov 2021) Biden and Jokowi share concern over Myanmar

On 22 Nov, it was reported that ASEAN invited an NUG minister to represent Burma at the Third Climate Smart and Disaster Resilient ASEAN conference. This was the first time ASEAN recognized the NUG's legitimacy by openly inviting a member to participate in an official gathering.²⁵⁸

Global rejection

On 10 Nov, it was reported that **COP26** conveners had rejected a five-person junta delegation, including its Minister of Natural Resources and Environmental Conservation.²⁵⁹ On 13 Nov, it was reported that several prominent accounting bodies withdrew from the biennial ASEAN Federation of Accountants (AFA) conference after the junta Auditor-General Dr Kan Zaw was invited as a guest of honor.²⁶⁰ On 22 Nov, it was reported that the UK excluded the junta from a **G7** meeting in Liverpool.²⁶¹ On 25 Nov, it was reported that the junta was excluded from the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in Cambodia.²⁶²

On 1 Nov, former US diplomat Bill Richardson arrived in Burma;²⁶³ he met with Min Aung Hlaing, trying to persuade the junta to allow the disbursement of critical humanitarian assistance.²⁶⁴ Richardson secured the release of Aye Moe, a woman leader who worked in his foundation's capacity building team in Burma,²⁶⁵ and US journalist Danny Fenster.²⁶⁶ On 10 Nov, it was reported that junta media outlets used Richardson's visit as a publicity stunt to bolster the junta's legitimacy.²⁶⁷ On 15 Nov, the US, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Norway, Korea, Timor-Leste, the UK, and the EU reiterated their support for ASEAN, its Five-Point Consensus, and its Special Envoy as means to resolve the crisis.²⁶⁸

On 18 Nov, it was reported that **Australia** had channeled relief funds through NGOs and UN agencies, to circumvent the junta. Australia has committed AUD 95.5 million to Burma.²⁶⁹

On 8 Nov, the Council of the **European Union** commemorated the 8 Nov 2020 election. It assured that the EU will continue to provide aid to the region and work closely with the new UN envoy and ASEAN administration on building meaningful dialogue with all relevant parties, including the NUG.²⁷⁰

Junta friends and legitimization

On 15 Nov, Min Aung Hlaing met with **China's** Special Envoy for Asian Affairs to discuss junta objectives, ASEAN, and Burma-China relations and assistance.²⁷¹ On 18 Nov, it was reported that China had unsuccessfully lobbied ASEAN ministers to allow a junta representative to attend the 30-year anniversary of China-ASEAN relations;²⁷² China ultimately blocked the junta from the meeting.²⁷³

On 12 Nov, a **Russian** delegation—led by the Chairman of the Russian/Myanmar Military Technological Cooperation Joint Commission, the Deputy Director of Russia's FSMTC, and the Deputy Director-General of Rosoboronexport—met with Min Aung Hlaing and discussed enhancing their military technology collaboration.²⁷⁴ On 2 Nov, it was reported that junta high-level military offices have met with Russian diplomats at least eight times since the coup began.²⁷⁵

²⁵⁸ Irrawaddy (22 Nov 2021) ASEAN Invites Minister From Myanmar's Shadow Civilian Govt to Climate Conference

²⁵⁹ Radio Free Asia (10 Nov 2021) Myanmar's junta blocked from attending global climate summit

²⁶⁰ Myanmar Now (13 Nov 2021) Calls mount for 'deluded' UK accounting bodies to quit conference where junta official is guest of honour

²⁶¹ Guardian (22 Nov 2021) UK invites south-east Asian nations to G7 summit amid Aukus tensions

²⁶² Irrawaddy (25 Nov 2021) In Another Snub, Myanmar Junta Barred From Asia-Europe Meeting

²⁶³ Irrawaddy (1 Nov 2021) Former US Diplomat Bill Richardson to Visit Myanmar

²⁶⁴ Radio Free Asia (2 Nov 2021) Former US diplomat Richardson meets junta chief on Myanmar humanitarian mission

²⁶⁵ Washington Post (5 Nov 2021) Ex-US ambassador to UN Bill Richardson ends Myanmar visit

²⁶⁶ Radio Free Asia (15 Nov 2021) Myanmar frees US journalist Danny Fenster days after conviction

²⁶⁷ Irrawaddy (10 Nov 2021) How Myanmar Junta Chief Uses Richardson's Visit to Boost His Image

²⁶⁸ U.S. Department of State (10 Nov 2021) Joint Statement of Support for the Special Envoy of the ASEAN Chair on Myanmar

²⁶⁹ Australian (18 Nov 2021) Aussie aid funds bypass Myanmar junta

²⁷⁰ European Council for the European Union (8 Nov 2021) Myanmar/Burma: Declaration by the High Representative on behalf of the European Union

²⁷¹ GNLM (16 Nov 2021) SAC Chairman Prime Minister receives China's special envoy of Asian affairs in Nay Pyi Taw

²⁷² Reuters (18 Nov 2021) EXCLUSIVE ASEAN states object as China lobbies for Myanmar junta to join summit: sources

²⁷³ Irrawaddy (19 Nov 2021) Myanmar Coup Leader Min Aung Hlaing Barred from China-ASEAN Summit

²⁷⁴ GNLM (13 Nov 2021) State Administration Council Chairman Commander-in-Chief of Defence Services Senior General Min Aung Hlaing receives Chairman of Russian-Myanmar Military Technological Cooperation Joint Commission Deputy Director of FSMTC of Russia, Deputy Director-General of JSC "Rosoboronexport" Company and delegation

²⁷⁵ Irrawaddy (2 Nov 2021) Myanmar and Russia's Close Post-Coup Relationship

On 12 Nov, it was reported that the **Japan**'s Peace Ambassador to Burma Dr. Yohei Sasakawa visited Burma,²⁷⁶ where he discussed the present political situation with Min Aung Hlaing.²⁷⁷ On 13 Nov, it was reported that the Japanese Foreign ministry accepted the credentials of five junta diplomats.²⁷⁸

During November, junta representatives attended the Global Forum on Tourism Statistics, Knowledge, and Policies (Korea), third International Symposium of the AACC - the Association of Asian Constitutional Courts and Equivalent Institutions (Korea), **89th Interpol General Assembly** (Turkey), 10th AEM-Canada Consultations, and 13th High-Level Roundtable Meeting (Laos, UNDP).²⁷⁹

On Nov 26, the US, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, **Norway, South Korea**, and Britain urged the world to suspend all kinds of support to the junta.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Radio Free Asia (15 Nov 2021) Asian envoy visits to Myanmar may signal pressure on junta to honor pledge

²⁷⁷ GNLM (14 Nov 2021) State Administration Council Chairman Prime Minister Senior General Min Aung Hlaing receives Special Envoy of the Government of Japan for National Reconciliation in Myanmar, Chairman of the Nippon Foundation

²⁷⁸ ANI (13 Nov 2021) Japan accepts five Myanmar diplomats appointed by Junta-controlled govt

²⁷⁹ GNLM (5 Nov 2021) MoHT Union minister attends global forum on tourism statistics, knowledge and policies hosted by South Korea; GNLM (12 Nov 2021) Myanmar participates in 3rd International Symposium of AACC; Myanmar Now (19 Nov 2021) National Unity Government calls on Interpol to review junta's invitation to the 89th General Assembly; GNLM (18 Nov 2021) 10th AEM-Canada Consultations held; launching of negotiations announced for ASEAN-Canada Free Trade Agreement; GNLM (18 Nov 2021) MoFA Union minister participates in opening session of 13th High-Level Roundtable Meeting co-organized by Government of Lao PDR, UNDP

²⁸⁰ US News (26 Nov 2021) U.S. and Others Concerned About Myanmar Army Operations in Northwest