

**BURMA COUP WATCH FOR THE MONTH OF DECEMBER 2022:
Security Council fails to deliver real action as humanitarian needs explode**

- As of 9 Dec, there were at least 18,636 armed clashes and attacks, displacing 1,225,100 people since Feb 2021. Junta troops continued to commit war crimes.
- UNOCHA projected that 17.6 million people (34% of the population) will need humanitarian assistance and protection in 2023, up from 14.4 million in 2022 and 1 million in 2021. It said the rate of new displacement was expected to continue at similar or higher levels in 2023, and projected a figure of 2.7 million IDPs (5.25% of the population) by the end of next year.
- The junta used the informal ceasefire it reached with the AA on 26 Nov to dispatch reinforcements to Rakhine State. In Karen State, fighting between KNLA-led resistance and junta forces brought border trade with Thailand to a near halt.
- Junta forces have killed at least 2,688 civilians and arrested 16,704 as of 30 Dec. The regime continued to target former officials and NLD members, as well as perceived opponents and their families. The junta sentenced ousted State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi and President Win Myint to seven more years in prison each, bringing their respective totals to 33 and 12.
- The regime stepped up preparations for its sham 2023 ‘election,’ gathering support from two minor political parties and five ethnic armed organizations. The junta sent two self-seeking NLD members to try and sell the election to Suu Kyi; to no avail.
- UNHCR reported that some 1,920 people, mostly Rohingya, had fled Burma and Bangladesh by sea during Jan-Nov 2022. An estimated 119 died, and 180 are feared dead: the highest toll in years.
- The UN Security Council adopted its first resolution on Burma in 74 years, urging the release of all political prisoners and demanding an end to violence. China and Russia opposed giving the Council coercive powers in case of non-compliance, making the text toothless.
- Thailand hosted a ‘non-ASEAN’ meeting on Burma attended by Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, during which junta reps urged ASEAN members to denounce the NUG and PDFs as terrorists. Human Rights Watch accused Thailand of helping whitewash the junta’s atrocities.
- The US Congress passed the BURMA Act, broadening the government’s authority to provide non-lethal assistance to resistance groups and impose sanctions on regime-controlled companies.

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Illegal junta's quest to cement control

Selling the generals' election

On 12 Dec, Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (SNDP) chair Sai Aik Pao confirmed that the SNDP will participate in the regime's sham 'election.'¹ On 19 Dec, it was reported that the pro-junta National Democratic Force (NDF) had expressed support for the 'election,' calling it a 'solution to the ongoing political crisis.'² On 27-29 Dec, the Arakan Liberation Party (ALP), Democratic Karen Benevolent Army (DKBA), KNU/KNLA-Peace Council (KNU/KNLA-PC), Lahu Democratic Union (LDU), and Pa'O National Liberation Organization (PNLO) also agreed to the junta's 'election' plans.³

On 26 Dec, it was reported that the junta had sent two self-seeking NLD members—former Yangon MP Sandar Min and Toe Lwin, the party's deputy chair in Ayeyarwady Region—to sell its 'election' plans to detained State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi. The pair met with Suu Kyi on 23 Nov to raise the topic and ask permission to reopen some NLD offices. She reportedly dismissed their proposals and told them not to come back. The NLD said it had assigned no one to negotiate with the regime, suggesting Sandar Min and Toe Lwin were renegade members. The former is one of the nearly ten NLD members who want to run in the regime's 'election.'⁴

Gearing up for the sham polls

On 8 Dec, the regime **sentenced three former junta-appointed Yangon Region cabinet members to prison for corruption:** Chief Minister Hla Soe (15 years), Economic Affairs Minister Aung Than Oo (20 years), and Government Secretary Soe Soe Zaw (six years).⁵ On 16 Dec, the junta sacked Aung Tun Khaing, its Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement Deputy Minister, for undisclosed reasons.⁶

On 14 Dec, it was reported that the military-backed Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) had started briefing its members in Thandwe, Manaung, Sittwe, Maungdaw, and Kyaukphyu (Rakhine State) on its 'election' plans.⁷ On 20 Dec, it was reported that, starting on 9 Jan 2023, the regime will conduct a population census in Rakhine State to 'facilitate the compiling of voter lists.' The USDP is the only political party that is officially preparing for the 'election' in the state.⁸ On 23 Dec, it was reported that the USDP had begun scrutinizing potential candidates in Mon State.⁹

On 15 Dec, it was reported that, in November, junta leader Min Aung Hlaing had transferred over a dozen military officers to the Union Civil Service Board (UCSB), the Union Election Commission (UEC), and the Ministry of Investment and Foreign Economic Relations.¹⁰ On 21 Dec, it was reported that the junta had replaced hundreds—at least 364—of village, ward, and 100-household administrators in Yangon Region with hardline USDP supporters, including members of pro-regime Pyu Saw Htee militias. The junta reportedly plans to appoint them as election officials.¹¹

Wrapping up sham trials against Suu Kyi, more jail terms for others

On 23 Dec, it was reported that the junta was preparing to seize the assets of Suu Kyi's Daw Khin Kyi foundation.¹² On 30 Dec, the junta sentenced Suu Kyi to seven years in prison for corruption in the last case against her, bringing her total sentence to 33 years.¹³ Ousted President Win Myint was handed the

¹ Irrawaddy (12 Dec 2022) People Long For What We Did For Them After 2010: SNDP Chair

² Irrawaddy (19 Dec 2022) Pro-Regime NDF Backs Myanmar Junta's Election

³ Development Media Group (DMG) (30 Dec 2022) Five ethnic armed groups agree to junta-organised election in 2023

⁴ Myanmar Now (12 Dec 2022) Beyond the Headlines: Myanmar junta convicts prominent columnist of sedition, bringing total prison term to 12 years; Irrawaddy (26 Dec 2022) Recruiting Renegade NLD Members is Myanmar Regime's Tactic to Divide the Party

⁵ Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) (5 Dec 2022) Chin pastor receives prison sentence, Former junta ministers sentenced for corruption; Eleven Media (9 Dec 2022) Former Yangon Chief Minister U Hla Soe served under SAC sentenced to 15 years prison term

⁶ Eleven Media (18 Dec 2022) Deputy Minister for Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement allowed for retirement

⁷ DMG (14 Dec 2022) Arakan State USDP starts to prepare for proposed 2023 election

⁸ DMG (20 Dec 2022) Regime's Arakan State government to conduct census ahead of planned 2023 election

⁹ Than Lwin Times (23 Dec 2022) USDP in Mon State prepares for election

¹⁰ Irrawaddy (15 Dec 2022) Myanmar Regime Still Parachuting Army Officers Into Senior Govt Roles

¹¹ Myanmar Now (21 Dec 2022) Myanmar junta replaces Yangon administrators with hardline supporters

¹² Irrawaddy (23 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta Preparing to Seize Assets of Suu Kyi-Founded Charity

¹³ AP News (30 Dec 2022) Court in Myanmar again finds Suu Kyi guilty of corruption

same sentence, bringing his total to 12 years.¹⁴ The rulings came just eight days after a UN Security Council resolution on Burma explicitly urged the regime to free the pair.¹⁵

On 6 Dec, the junta sentenced ousted **Mon State Chief Minister Dr. Aye Zan to two years in prison** for abuse of power, bringing his total sentence to 27 years.¹⁶ On 13 Dec, the regime sentenced **former Central Bank of Myanmar (CBM) deputy governor Bo Bo Nge to 20 years in prison** for alleged corruption and money laundering.¹⁷ On 21 Dec, the junta sentenced former President's Office security team deputy head Aung Naing Oo to five years in prison for terrorism, bringing his total sentence to 15 years. It also sentenced former Union Government Office Minister Min Thu and ousted Naypyidaw deputy mayor Ye Min Oo to 18 months and two years, respectively, under Penal Code section 409.¹⁸

On 6 Dec, the regime sentenced Kyaw Myint, the leader of the now-dissolved United Democratic Party, to six years in prison for money laundering. In 2021, the junta had already ordered him to complete a nine-year sentence handed to him over 20 years ago, to which it added two years for prison break-out.¹⁹ On 28 Dec, in an apparent case of **judicial harassment**, the regime sentenced Mandalay lawyer Ywet Nu Aung to 15 years in prison with hard labor for allegedly financing terrorist groups. She was defending Mandalay Region Chief Minister Dr. Zaw Myint Maung when she was arrested in April.²⁰

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

On 30 Dec, Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma) (AAPP) said regime forces had arrested at least 16,704 civilians since 1 Feb 2021.²¹ On 9 Dec, it was reported that the junta had arrested 817 people over social media posts supporting the National Unity Government (NUG), Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH), or People's Defense Forces (PDF) since 27 Jan.²²

The junta pulled out more smokescreen amnesties. On 4 Dec, it was reported that only 5,000 (8%) of the 62,700 inmates freed by the regime in mass amnesties since Feb 2021 were political prisoners.²³ On 29 Dec, the junta released ousted Ayeyarwady Region Chief Minister Hla Moe Aung, days after freeing most of his cabinet members and the chair and vice-chair of the regional parliament. CRPH member Zaw Min Thein attributed the move to the relative calm in the region. The region's Social Welfare Minister Hla Myat Thwe, who had urged public servants to join the CDM, remained in custody.²⁴

The junta continued to torture people in custody. On 1 Dec, regime forces arrested and beat to death a young man following the bombing of a police station in Lewe Township (Naypyidaw Union Territory). The junta said he had succumbed to a pre-existing heart condition and denied his family access to the body.²⁵ In early December, staff at Insein Prison (Yangon Region) beat and tazed a political prisoner for allegedly insulting the warden, leaving him seriously injured.²⁶ On 16 Dec, junta forces and Pyu Saw Htee members arrested and tortured two alleged PDF supporters in Mandalay.²⁷

More evidence emerged regarding ill-treatment in junta prisons. On 5 Dec, it was reported that regime personnel had been denying proper medical treatment to a Kyauktaw Township (Rakhine State) detainee who was tortured in custody.²⁸ On 19 Dec, anti-coup activist Ko Agga recounted his time as a political prisoner in Obo prison (Mandalay Region) during Feb 21-Oct 22. He reported widespread

¹⁴ DVB (30 Dec 2022) Naypyidaw Prison Court gives final sentence to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Win Myint

¹⁵ Irrawaddy (22 Dec 2022) UN Security Council Adopts First-Ever Resolution on Myanmar; Myanmar Now (22 Dec 2022) UNSC resolution calls for peace in Myanmar

¹⁶ Than Lwin Times (7 Dec 2022) Junta court extends Mon Chief Minister's prison sentence to 27 years

¹⁷ Irrawaddy (16 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta Jails NLD Govt's 'Incorruptible' Banking Reformer for 20 Years

¹⁸ Myanmar Now (22 Dec 2022) Five years added to Suu Kyi security officer's prison sentence

¹⁹ Myanmar Now (9 Dec 2022) Leader of disbanded party gets another six years in prison

²⁰ Myanmar Now (29 Dec 2022) Junta sentences prominent Myanmar lawyer to 15 years in prison

²¹ Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma) (AAPP) (30 Dec 2022) Daily Briefing in Relation to the Military Coup

²² Than Lwin Times (9 Dec 2022) More than 800 people arrested for social media posts supporting NUG, CRPH, PDF

²³ Than Lwin Times (4 Dec 2022) Only 8% of political prisoners released under junta amnesty during 22-month military coup

²⁴ Myanmar Now (31 Dec 2022) Myanmar junta releases Ayeyarwady Region's chief minister, most of cabinet

²⁵ DVB (2 Dec 2022) Daily Briefing: Friday, December 2, 2022; Myanmar Now (7 Dec 2022) Teen dies in Naypyitaw detention centre after arrest for suspected involvement in bombing

²⁶ Myanmar Now (12 Dec 2022) Beatings leave Insein prisoner with head injuries and broken arm

²⁷ DVB (18 Dec 2022) မတ္တရာနယ်၌ အမျိုးသမီး ၂ ဦး ရိုက်နှက်ဖမ်းဆီးခံရ၊ အောင်ပန်းတွင် YUG ရဲဘော် ၁၁ ဦး ဖမ်းဆီးခံရ

²⁸ DMG (5 Dec 2022) Kyauktaw Twsp villager charged under Unlawful Associations Act needs medical treatment, wife says

abuse from staff, adding that detainees were starved, bound, and beaten during interrogation. He said guards also sexually assaulted youths and LGBT+ people.²⁹ On 20 Dec, it was reported that Insein Prison staff had been singling out over 80 detained Rohingya for abuse, including brutal beatings and forced labor involving cleaning the latrine system. A political prisoner reported that more than 20 Rohingya inmates were suffering from severe malnutrition and that one had died in early December.³⁰

The junta continued to weaponize the judiciary. On 2 Dec, a regime court in Yangon sentenced a teacher who had joined the Civilian Disobedience Movement (CDM) to 10 years in prison with hard labor for terrorism.³¹ On 12 Dec, the junta sentenced 78-year-old activist leader Shwe Htoo to 17 years in prison for terrorism.³² On 23 Dec, the regime sentenced 88 Generation Peace and Open Society member Myat Thu to 15 years in prison for terrorism.³³

On 2 Dec, **UN High Commissioner for Human Rights** Volker Türk said the regime's military courts had 'consistently failed to uphold any degree of transparency contrary to the most basic due process or fair trial guarantees,' and called on the junta to suspend all executions and return to a moratorium on death penalty. Türk added that, by resorting to using death sentences to crush opposition, the regime had confirmed its disdain for the efforts of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the international community to end violence and create the conditions for a political dialogue.³⁴

On 30 Dec, the junta-controlled Hinthada District Court (Ayeyarwady Region) sentenced a teacher to death for alleged murder and terrorism.³⁵ As of that date, **the regime had sentenced 139 people to death, including 11 in December alone.**³⁶

The junta continued to target student activists. On 29 Dec, it was reported that regime courts had sentenced seven student activists from Mon, Mandalay, and Yangon State/Regions to prison terms ranging from two to 25 years over the week prior. Student unions reported that, as of that date, the junta had sentenced 78 students from Mawlamyine University (Mon State) and eight students from the Myanmar Maritime University (Yangon) since the attempted coup.³⁷

The junta continued to target artists. On 6 Dec, it was reported that regime forces had arrested renowned traditional dance performer Phoe Chit and lyricist Shan Tun in Yangon on 30 Nov. Phoe Chit led several anti-regime demonstrations in the aftermath of the attempted coup, and kept posting pro-democracy messages on social media until his arrest.³⁸ On 27 Dec, junta troops arrested well-known cartoonist Tarte in Pyay (Bago Region). He had stopped publishing after the attempted coup.³⁹

The junta continued to target religious leaders. On 5 Dec, regime forces arrested former Kachin Baptist Convention (KBC) leader Dr. Hkalam Samson in Mandalay as he was about to board a flight to Thailand for medical treatment.⁴⁰ On 30 Dec, it was reported that the regime had charged him with unlawful association and transferred him to Myitkyina Prison (Kachin State).⁴¹ On 7 Dec, a junta court sentenced Chin Christian leader Thian Lian Sang to 20 years in prison for terrorism and to three years with hard labor for sedition.⁴²

The junta continued to target journalists. On 14 Dec, the Committee to Protect Journalists reported that, as of 1 Dec, **the junta had jailed at least 42 reporters in 2022**, and sentenced nearly half of them

²⁹ Myanmar Now (19 Dec 2022) Surviving more than 600 days as an inmate of Obo Prison

³⁰ Myanmar Now (20 Dec 2022) Rohingya inmates 'beaten brutally' and forced to clean faeces, Insein Prison source says

³¹ DVB (7 Dec 2022) Rohingya stranded at sea, CDM teacher sentenced to 10 years, Dancer and songwriter detained

³² Myanmar Now (14 Dec 2022) 78-year-old former political prisoner receives 17-year sentence

³³ Mizzima (27 Dec 2022) Three 88 Generation members sentenced to 15 years in prison

³⁴ UN News (2 Dec 2022) Myanmar: Secretive military courts sentence scores of people to death

³⁵ DVB (3 Jan 2023) DVB Peace Documentary 2022 Film "Karenni"; Ayeyarwady Court hands death sentence to teacher

³⁶ AAPP (30 Dec 2022) Daily Briefing in Relation to the Military Coup; AAPP (30 Nov 2022) Daily Briefing in Relation to the Military Coup

³⁷ Radio Free Asia (RFA) (29 Dec 2022) Myanmar's junta courts crack down on student activists

³⁸ Myanmar Now (6 Dec 2022) Renowned performer of traditional Myanmar dance form arrested for anti-coup activism

³⁹ DVB (28 Dec 2022) Cartoonist arrested and 'taken in for interrogation' in Pyay

⁴⁰ RFA (5 Dec 2022) Myanmar religious leader detained and banned from leaving the country

⁴¹ Irrawaddy (30 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta Charges Kachin Faith Leader With Unlawful Association

⁴² AAPP (14 Dec 2022) Daily Briefing in Relation to the Military Coup

on incitement and ‘false news’ charges.⁴³ Reporters Without Borders said the regime detained 62 journalists as of that date, making it the **world’s second biggest jailer of journalists** after Iran.⁴⁴

On 9 Dec, the regime sentenced political columnist Sithu Aung Myint to another seven years in prison with hard labor for sedition, bringing his total sentence to 12 years.⁴⁵ On 21 Dec, it sentenced two Myanmar Press Photo Agency journalists to three years in prison for incitement.⁴⁶ On 25 Dec, junta forces arrested Tai News Editor Kyaw Zeya in Gyobingauk (Bago Region) for undisclosed reasons.⁴⁷ On 26 Dec, a regime court sentenced Kamayut Media co-founder Hanthar Nyein to five years in prison under Electronic Transactions Law section 33(a), bringing his total sentence to seven years.⁴⁸

Conflict and displacement (more details at [conflict & displacement tracker](#))

On 1 Dec, NUG acting President Duwa Lashi La said the resistance ‘could win in six months’ if it had anti-aircraft weapons. He added that conflict had killed nearly 25,000 regime soldiers and 2,000 PDF members since the coup.⁴⁹ On 18 Dec, Min Aung Hlaing approved an additional MMK 440 billion in military spending, bringing the junta’s total defense budget for fiscal 2022-23 to over MMK 4.1 trillion. The NLD government had previously capped military spending at MMK 3.4 trillion/fiscal year.⁵⁰ On 31 Dec, the junta extended its unilateral ceasefire agreement with EAOs until the end of 2023, except for cases in which ‘defense, security and administrative mechanisms are obstructed.’ The declaration is expected to have no practical effect.⁵¹

On 5 Dec, it was reported that the regime had taken delivery of six FTC-2000G fighter jets purchased from **China** in November. They will reportedly be based at Namhsan airbase (Southern Shan State) and replace the Myanmar Air Force’s (MAF) ageing K-8 jets.⁵² On 6 Dec, it was reported that a 10-member MAF team was in **Pakistan** undergoing a four-week training on the JF-17 fighter jet; likely an attempt to fix the problems that have left the junta’s JF-17s grounded due to technical malfunctions.⁵³ On 15 Dec, the MAF officially commissioned five FTC-2000Gs along with ten other aircraft, including two **Russian**-made Su-30SME.⁵⁴ CDM Air Force officers warned that the introduction of these aircraft would likely translate into an increase in the number of airstrikes.⁵⁵

National overview

As of 9 Dec, there had been 195 armed clashes and attacks on civilians during the month. This brings the total number of incidents so far in 2022 to 10,399 (18,636 since 1 Feb 2021).⁵⁶ Junta forces had killed at least 2,688 civilians as of 30 Dec, likely an underestimate.⁵⁷ On 9 Dec, it was reported that, according to the NUG, the regime had **killed at least 165 children in 2022, up from 90 in 2021**.⁵⁸ On 10 Dec, the Independent research group Data For Myanmar reported that regime forces had burned down 38,383 houses in 12 states and regions during May 21-Nov 22, including 27,496 houses in Sagaing Region and 7,818 in Magway Region.⁵⁹

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said there were 1,505,700 internally displaced people (IDPs) in Burma as of 26 Dec, including 1,175,300 displaced after 1 Feb 2021, with

⁴³ CPJ (14 Dec 2022) Number of jailed journalists spikes to new global record

⁴⁴ Mizzima (24 Dec 2022) Nine people including two journalists receive three years jail terms

⁴⁵ Myanmar Now (12 Dec 2022) Beyond the Headlines: Myanmar junta convicts prominent columnist of sedition, bringing total prison term to 12 years

⁴⁶ Mizzima (24 Dec 2022) Nine people including two journalists receive three years jail terms

⁴⁷ DVB (26 Dec 2022) Kanbawza Tai News Editor arrested in Bago Region

⁴⁸ Mizzima (28 Dec 2022) Kamayut Media editor sentenced to five more years in prison

⁴⁹ Irrawaddy (2 Dec 2022) Myanmar’s Civilian Govt Says No Talks With Junta Until It Stops Killing Civilians, Quits Politics

⁵⁰ Irrawaddy (29 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta Boosts Military Funding Shortly Before Budget Year Ends; Than Lwin Times (31 Dec 2022) Junta defense spending surpasses Ks 4,000 billion

⁵¹ DMG (1 Jan 2023) Military regime extends nominal ceasefire with ethnic armed groups until end of 2023

⁵² Irrawaddy (5 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta Takes Delivery of FTC-2000G Fighter Jets from China

⁵³ Irrawaddy (6 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta and Pakistan Boost Military Ties

⁵⁴ Frontier India (19 Dec 2022) Myanmar Air Force inducts first two Su-30SME multifunctional fighters

⁵⁵ Than Lwin Times (18 Dec 2022) CDM air force officers warn to prepare for risk of junta’s air attacks

⁵⁶ Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLEDD) (accessed 9 Jan 2023) Data export tool, available at:

<https://acleddata.com/data-export-tool/>

⁵⁷ AAPP (30 Dec 2022) Daily Briefing in Relation to the Military Coup

⁵⁸ Guardian (29 Dec 2022) Myanmar’s junta blamed for deaths of more than 160 children in 2022; Irrawaddy (27 Dec 2022) Merciless Murders: Over 150 Children Killed by Myanmar Junta in 2022

⁵⁹ Irrawaddy (13 Dec 2022) Myanmar Regime Forces Torch Over 38,000 Homes Since Coup

49,800 refugees fleeing to neighboring countries;⁶⁰ likely an underestimate. On 27 Dec, the Institute for Strategy and Policy – Myanmar said there were 1,912,769 IDPs nationwide as of 14 Dec.⁶¹

On 1 Dec, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) projected that 17.6 million people will need humanitarian assistance and protection in 2023, up from 14.4 million in 2022 and 1 million in 2021. It said the rate of new displacement was expected to continue at similar or higher levels in 2023, and projected a figure of 2.7 million IDPs by the end of next year. UNOCHA also pointed out that the **junta continued to control and limit the transportation of rice, medicine, and fuel**, as well as humanitarian actors' access to people in need.⁶²

Kachin and Northern Shan States

Clashes continued to impact civilians in **Kachin State**. On 5 Dec, regime troops shelled and invaded Hmaw Bon village, **Hpakant Township**, detaining at least 30 residents. A Kachin Independence Army (KIA)/PDF counterattack allowed the villagers to escape amid fierce fighting. On 7 Dec, junta soldiers eventually withdrew after suffering at least 30 losses, abducting 20 people as they retreated. Both sides used artillery fire during the clash, trapping locals and injuring two civilians.⁶³ On 13 Dec, it was reported that the regime had arrested 201 Hpakant residents over the fortnight prior to use them as human shields and porters.⁶⁴

On 12 Dec, the junta shelled a KIA camp and three nearby villages in **Momauk Township**.⁶⁵ On 15 Dec, Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) vice-chairman General Gun Maw admitted for the first time that the KIA had trained more than 4,000 resistance fighters and was now providing increasingly advanced training.⁶⁶ On 17-20 Dec, regime forces launched a series of attacks on the KIA/KIA headquarters in **Laiza**. Junta jets bombed nearby Seng Mai Pa village twice, while regime artillery shells landed near Mong Lai Hkyet village and the Woi Chai Bum mountain. No casualties were reported.⁶⁷

UNHCR said there were around 105,100 IDPs in Kachin State as of 26 Dec, including 13,600 who were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.⁶⁸ During a visit to an IDP camp in Myitkyina on 7 Dec, junta Border Affairs Minister Lt-Gen Tun Tun Naung reportedly told IDPs the regime would take immediate action to close local relief camps despite continuing fighting in the area. According to a local IDP: *“They are forced to concoct a narrative that the areas have become peaceful again, and that IDPs can safely return home. They won’t show mercy to anyone. A single order can enforce the closure of a camp. [...] But there is no preparation nor safety guarantee in our home villages, so it will be very difficult to go back [...]”*⁶⁹

Fighting heated up in **Northern Shan State**. On 2 Dec, the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA) claimed to have repelled a regime attack on one of its bases in **Laukkai Township** during 27-29 Nov, killing 12 junta soldiers and injuring eight.⁷⁰ On 8 Dec, it was reported that thousands of residents had left Laukkai amid rumors of an incoming MNDAA attack on local regime forces.⁷¹ In Wein Hseng village, **Muse Township**, the MNDAA repelled a major junta attack on one of its bases on 21 Dec. Regime soldiers fired around 100 artillery shells during the clash, forcing residents from nearby villages to flee. It is unclear whether there were civilian casualties.⁷²

⁶⁰ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

⁶¹ Institute for Strategy and Policy – Myanmar (27 Dec 2022) စစ်အာဏာသိမ်းမှုအလွန် ပြည်တွင်း စစ်ပြေးဒုက္ခသည် နှစ်သန်းနီးပါးရှိလာ

⁶² UNOCHA (1 Dec 2021) Global Humanitarian Overview 2023

⁶³ Irrawaddy (7 Dec 2022) 30 Myanmar Junta Troops Killed in Kachin Village Clash: Residents; Shan News (9 Dec 2022) Hpakant Shelling Injures Two People

⁶⁴ Kachin News Group (13 Dec 2022) Regime Abducts Hundreds Of Hpakant Civilians

⁶⁵ Kachin News Group (14 Dec 2022) Regime Launches Midnight Attack On Lon Ja Bum

⁶⁶ Irrawaddy (15 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta Cannot Last Long: Kachin Leader

⁶⁷ Network Media Group (24 Dec 2022) Regime Airstrikes Target Laiza

⁶⁸ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

⁶⁹ Kachin News (17 Dec 2022) Lt. Gen Tun Tun Naung hates to hear about IDPs and threatens to close down refugee camps

⁷⁰ Myanmar Now (2 Dec 2022) Military launches major assault on Kokang base on China-Myanmar border

⁷¹ Myanmar Now (8 Dec 2022) Residents flee China-Myanmar border town amid fears of imminent fighting between military and Kokang army

⁷² Myanmar Now (25 Dec 2022) Major junta offensive in northern Shan State fails to capture Kokang base, MNDAA says

In **Namhsan Township**, the regime launched a series of aerial and ground attacks against a TNLA base near Kone Thar village on 7 Dec, forcing over 2,000 civilians to flee. In the week-long fighting, junta troops bombed and shelled Kone Thar, destroying over 50 of the village's 60 houses. On 12 Dec, a junta airstrike killed two civilians and injured a further two. On 17 Dec, junta-controlled media said the two sides had reached a truce after the regime claimed it was targeting PDF fighters, adding that recent clashes with the TNLA resulted from a 'misunderstanding.'⁷³

In **Mongmit Township**, five junta jets bombed Moe Lo Mountain on 7 Dec, likely in retaliation for the loss of over 80 soldiers in clashes with the KIA/PDF there in November. The attack reportedly damaged houses in Moe Lo village. The Shan State Progress Party (SSPP) said the junta had sent reinforcements, weapons, and rations to Mongmit, and warned fighting was expected to intensify in the area.⁷⁴ UNHCR said there were around 17,300 IDPs in Northern Shan State as of 26 Dec, including 8,300 who were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.⁷⁵

Sagaing and Magway Regions

Junta forces continued their raids in Sagaing Region amid clashes with local resistance forces. On 8 Dec, it was reported that regime troops were launching daily attacks in Shwebo, Ye-U, Khin-U, Tabayin, and Taze Townships.⁷⁶ UNHCR said there were around 624,000 IDPs in Sagaing Region as of 26 Dec. All were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.⁷⁷ On 8 Dec, soldiers killed and stole MMK 450,000 from an elderly IDP who was transporting supplies for other IDPs in **Htityaing Township**.⁷⁸

On 6 Dec, it was reported that the regime was **stepping up arson attacks** in the region. In **Myaung Township**, junta forces burned around 1,004 houses in 10 villages in November, up from 48 houses in five villages in October.⁷⁹ In **Salingyi Township**, junta troops torched 400 houses during 1-5 Dec, and burned two elderly women alive on 1 Dec.⁸⁰ On 10-12 Dec, regime forces killed a disabled man and burned 122 houses in **Ye-U Township**.⁸¹ On 18 Dec, regime forces set fire to Pain In village, **Indaw Township**, before shooting dead four locals who had come to inspect the damage.⁸² On 23 Dec, soldiers torched over 90 houses and killed two civilians in **Sadaung Township**.⁸³

Junta troops continued to commit scores of war crimes. On 3 Dec, regime artillery fire killed a 14-year-old and injured three residents in **Indaw Township**.⁸⁴ On 9 Dec, junta forces killed three civilians in **Tabayin Township**.⁸⁵ On 22 Dec, soldiers shelled a local village, injuring three children.⁸⁶ On 9 Dec, regime troops shot dead two civilians following a PDF raid in **Monywa**.⁸⁷ On 11 Dec, they detained, tortured, and executed five people, including two guerrilla fighters in **Ayadaw Township**.⁸⁸ On 12 Dec, junta forces killed two civilians in **Kawlin Township**. Soldiers also captured and murdered four members of a local defense force.⁸⁹ On 19 Dec, regime troops shot dead a 13-year-old boy in **Kanbalu**

⁷³ DVB (15 Dec 2022) Daily Briefing: Thursday, December 15, 2022; Myanmar Now (12 Dec 2022) Myanmar military launches air and ground strikes against TNLA; Shan Herald (16 Dec 2022) Namhsan Village Destroyed By Shelling; DVB (16 Dec 2022) Daily Briefing: Friday, December 16, 2022; Irrawaddy (19 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta Calls Ta'ang Army Battle a 'Misunderstanding'; Network Media Group (20 Dec 2022) Ta'ang Groups Condemn Regime's War Crimes In Namhsan

⁷⁴ Shan Herald (11 Dec 2022) Regime Attacks KIA With Airships In Mongmit

⁷⁵ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

⁷⁶ Than Lwin Times (8 Dec 2022) Junta steps up military operations to hold elections nationwide

⁷⁷ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

⁷⁸ Myanmar Now (15 Dec 2022) Myanmar junta troops kill and rob 87-year-old IDP in Sagaing

⁷⁹ Irrawaddy (6 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta Increases Arson Attacks in Sagaing

⁸⁰ DVB (7 Dec 2022) Burma Army kills two and torches 400 homes in Salingyi Township

⁸¹ Irrawaddy (14 Dec 2022) Scores of Myanmar Junta Forces Killed in Week of Resistance Attacks

⁸² Mizzima (22 Dec 2022) Myanmar junta kills four villagers inspecting fire damaged village in Sagaing

⁸³ Mizzima (28 Dec 2022) Junta troops burn down three villages in Sagaing's Sadaung Township

⁸⁴ Eleven Media (5 Dec 2022) Heavy weapon explosion kills a child, injuries three in Sagaing's Indaw

⁸⁵ Myanmar Now (13 Dec 2022) More communities in Myanmar's heartland persecuted for supporting resistance

⁸⁶ Kachin News (26 Dec 2022) Junta Artillery Strike Injures Children In Sagaing

⁸⁷ Irrawaddy (7 Dec 2022) Nearly 30 Myanmar Junta Forces Killed in Two Days of Resistance Attacks

⁸⁸ Myanmar Now (15 Dec 2022) Myanmar junta troops murder five in Sagaing's Ayadaw Township

⁸⁹ Myanmar Now (16 Dec 2022) Myanmar military rampage leaves six dead in Sagaing's Kawlin Township

Township. A resident speculated that soldiers targeted his village after it refused to form a Pyu Saw Htee militia.⁹⁰ On 27 Dec, junta forces killed an elderly woman in **Sagaing Township**.⁹¹

In **Magway Region**, junta soldiers continued to target civilians amid clashes with local resistance forces. On 26 Dec, a regime airstrike killed four civilians and injured five in **Saw Township**. There had been no previous fighting or activity by anti-junta forces in the area before the attack.⁹² UNHCR said there were around 124,400 IDPs in the region as of 26 Dec. All were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.⁹³

Chin State

On 8 Dec, it was reported that junta forces had killed over 350 Chin people in **Chin State** since the attempted coup, including 169 civilians.⁹⁴ UNHCR said there were around 53,700 IDPs in Chin State as of 26 Dec, including 47,200 who were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.⁹⁵ On 16 Dec, it was reported that a regime attack on Myet Pyin Kyel village, Kanpetlet Township had injured four IDPs, including a woman. Soldiers also captured six residents before eventually releasing two.⁹⁶

On 14 Dec, it was reported that the regime was still restricting the transportation of medicine, rice, and fuel from Kyauktaw (Rakhine State) to Paletwa Township, driving up prices for residents.⁹⁷ On 19 Dec, it was reported that the nearly 10,000 IDPs in southern Chin State were struggling to survive due to a drop in the number of donors. Local sources reported that only the World Food Programme (WFP) was now providing rations to the 8,000 IDPs in Sami and Paletwa, adding that Paletwa IDPs did not receive food in December due to fighting between the Arakan Army (AA) and the regime.⁹⁸

Rakhine State

On 9 Dec, it was reported that fighting between AA and regime forces had killed 51 civilians and injured 143 others in Rakhine State and Chin State's Paletwa Township during Aug-late Nov.⁹⁹ Junta artillery strikes and arson attacks also destroyed at least 23 houses in Rakhine State over the same period.¹⁰⁰ On 7 Dec, it was reported that the junta was using the informal ceasefire it reached with the AA on 26 Nov to replenish its forces and send large quantities of soldiers, weapons, and rations throughout Rakhine State.¹⁰¹ The regime also kept in place the nighttime curfew it imposed in Mrauk-U, Minbya, Kyauktaw, Maungdaw, Ponnagayun, and Myebon Townships (Rakhine State) earlier this year.¹⁰²

On 28 Dec, it was reported that junta forces were continuing to arrest civilians over alleged AA ties, with over 100 residents taken into custody over the month prior.¹⁰³ On 9 Dec, it was reported that the regime had brought incitement and unlawful association charges against at least 46 residents over alleged AA ties since August.¹⁰⁴ As of 14 Dec, this figure included at least six administrators.¹⁰⁵ As of late December, regime troops were **still banning the transport of humanitarian aid, medicine, fuel, and construction materials** in Rakhine State despite the cease-fire.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁰ Myanmar Now (22 Dec 2022) Boy shot dead by junta troops in Sagaing's Kanbalu Township

⁹¹ Myanmar Now (29 Dec 2022) Junta troops raid villages in southern Sagaing, clash with resistance forces in the north

⁹² Myanmar Now (27 Dec 2022) Surprise junta air attack kills four civilians in northwestern Myanmar

⁹³ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

⁹⁴ Khonumthung Media Group (8 Dec 2022) Hundreds Killed, Thousands Of Properties Destroyed In Chin State

⁹⁵ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

⁹⁶ Khonumthung Media Group (16 Dec 2022) Regime Attacks Village In Southern Chin State

⁹⁷ DMG (14 Dec 2022) Regime still restricting supply of medicines, commodities into Chin State's Paletwa

⁹⁸ Khonumthung Media Group (19 Dec 2022) Paletwa IDPs Struggle With Food Reductions

⁹⁹ DMG (9 Dec 2022) DMG tally finds dozens killed or injured, many more anxiously eyeing aftermath of latest ceasefire in Arakan State

¹⁰⁰ DMG (9 Dec 2022) Owners of homes in Arakan State destroyed by junta artillery strikes, arson attacks yet to receive govt assistance

¹⁰¹ Narinjara News (7 Dec 2022) Junta Replenishes Armed Forces in Rakhine State

¹⁰² DMG (10 Dec 2022) Locals call for lifting curfew in Arakan State

¹⁰³ RFA (28 Dec 2022) Despite Rakhine cease-fire, Myanmar military blocks shipments of aid, fuel and goods

¹⁰⁴ DMG (9 Dec 2022) Two men detained at Maungdaw security checkpoint charged under Unlawful Associations Act

¹⁰⁵ DMG (14 Dec 2022) Minbya Twsp village administrator charged with unlawful association over alleged AA links

¹⁰⁶ RFA (28 Dec 2022) Despite Rakhine cease-fire, Myanmar military blocks shipments of aid, fuel and goods

UNHCR said there were around 231,000 IDPs in Rakhine State as of 26 Dec, including 12,000 who were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.¹⁰⁷ On 13 Dec, it was reported that most IDP camps in the state were facing dire shortages, including lack of rice, warm clothes, and blankets.¹⁰⁸ On 23 Dec, it was reported that the regime was pushing for the closure of temporary IDP camps in Rakhine State, and offering MMK 500,000 and one month of food to displaced households agreeing to return home.¹⁰⁹

Karenni and Southern Shan States

The Karenni Nationalities Defence Force (KNDF) said 28 clashes had killed 43 regime soldiers and injured three in **Karenni State** in November. Junta artillery fire also killed two civilians, injured 34, and destroyed 57 buildings.¹¹⁰ Fighting centered around **Demoso Township** in December. On 3 Dec, junta troops backed by fighter jets launched a major attack on Dawkamee village. The ensuing clashes with resistance forces killed over 20 soldiers.¹¹¹ Fighting was still ongoing as of 12 Dec.¹¹²

On 29 Dec, it was reported that the junta was sending reinforcements and military vehicles to the villages surrounding the resistance-controlled town of Demoso; presumably ahead of a major attack. The regime also deployed tanks on the Loikaw-Demoso and Demoso-Mobye roads.¹¹³ UNHCR said there were around 85,900 IDPs in Karenni State as of 26 Dec. All were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.¹¹⁴ This is likely a gross underestimate: the Karenni Civil Society Network said there were some 146,115 IDPs statewide as of 18 Dec.¹¹⁵

Conflict threatened to escalate in **Southern Shan State**. On 19 Dec, the regime ordered the Shan State Progress Party (SSPP) to abandon its camp in Panglong Township, saying its presence was disrupting an ongoing anti-narcotics campaign.¹¹⁶ The SSPP did not respond to the junta's orders, and vowed to fight back should it invade their territory.¹¹⁷ The group had already rejected an ultimatum to withdraw from Monghsu Township in July.¹¹⁸ According to UNHCR, there were around 61,900 IDPs in Southern Shan State as of 26 Dec. All were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.¹¹⁹

Karen, Bago, and Mon States/Region

In **Karen State**, 290 clashes between Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA)-led resistance forces and the regime killed 333 soldiers and injured a further 237 in November.¹²⁰ In **Hpapun Township**, 78 clashes between KNLA and regime forces killed 21 junta personnel during 1-15 Dec, according to the Karen National Union (KNU). Regime jets dropped 64 bombs on both resistance forces and civilian targets, and indiscriminate junta artillery fire killed a civilian and injured another.¹²¹ Clashes continued during 15-17 Dec, killing at least four junta soldiers.¹²² According to UNHCR, there were around 94,900 IDPs in Karen State as of 26 Dec, including 91,700 who were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.¹²³

¹⁰⁷ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

¹⁰⁸ Narinjara News (13 Dec 2022) Refugee camps in Rakhine in urgent need

¹⁰⁹ DMG (24 Dec 2022) Despite military council pressure, Arakan IDPs reluctant to return home

¹¹⁰ Irrawaddy (5 Dec 2022) Around 20 Myanmar Junta Troops Killed in Kayah: Resistance; Myanmar Now (6 Dec 2022)

Karenni forces capture soldiers linked to last year's Christmas Eve massacre

¹¹¹ Than Lwin Times (6 Dec 2022) KNDF warns fighting may intensify in Kayah State

¹¹² Mizzima (12 Dec 2022) Karenni Revolution Union battles Myanmar junta troops in Karenni State's Demoso Township

¹¹³ Than Lwin Times (29 Dec 2022) Junta's tanks preparing to crawl into Demoso

¹¹⁴ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

¹¹⁵ Karenni Civil Society Network (4 Jan 2023) Dec 19, 2022 to Jan 1, 2023 Summary of SAC human rights violations in Karenni State and Pehkon Township

¹¹⁶ RFA (21 Dec 2022) ပင်လုံမြို့နယ်က SSPP တပ်တွေပြန်ဆုတ်ဖို့ စစ်ကောင်စီတပ် ဖိအားပေး

¹¹⁷ Shan Herald (25 Dec 2022) SSPP Won't Leave Panglong

¹¹⁸ BNI (23 Dec 2022) Regime Orders SSPP Out Of Panglong

¹¹⁹ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

¹²⁰ Mizzima (8 Dec 2022) KNU claims 333 Myanmar junta soldiers killed in Karen State during November

¹²¹ Irrawaddy (21 Dec 2022) Myanmar Regime Troops Take Heavy Casualties in Karen State

¹²² Than Lwin Times (21 Dec 2022) Junta steps up aerial attacks in KNU's Hpapun District

¹²³ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

Fighting centered around **Kawkareik Township**, where indiscriminate junta artillery fire injured three locals, including an eight-year-old schoolboy during 1-10 Dec.¹²⁴ On 16 Dec, a KNLA-led resistance attack killed six junta soldiers in Kyondoe.¹²⁵ On 17 Dec, both sides started clashing near Kawne village.¹²⁶ On 27 Dec, it was reported that regime airstrikes and shells had killed at least three residents and injured ten since 16 Dec, and that fighting had forced nearly 2,000 to flee.¹²⁷ Clashes were still ongoing as of 28 Dec, with junta troops deploying armored vehicles in a push to retake the township.¹²⁸

Fighting also continued in **Bago Region**. On 5 Dec, regime jets bombed three villages in Shwegyin and Kyaukkyi Townships, according to the KNU.¹²⁹ On 15 Dec, KNLA-led resistance forces clashed with junta troops near Leinpinwel village, Shwegyin Township. Regime soldiers reportedly entered the village by boats during the skirmish, arresting villagers and forcing 2,000 residents to flee.¹³⁰ According to UNHCR, there were around 55,600 IDPs in Bago Region as of 26 Dec, including 54,400 who were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.¹³¹

Conflict continued to impact civilians in **Mon State**. On 17 Dec, it was reported that regime and PDF forces had clashed 53 times in Northern **Ye Township** (Mon State) during Nov-16 Dec. The Human Rights Foundation of Monland warned that fighting was depriving more than 5,000 local children of education.¹³² In **Kyaikto Township**, the regime started deploying heavy artillery and extended its military presence along the Kyaikto-Kinmonchaung and Yangon-Mawlamyine roads.¹³³ On 3 Dec, junta forces shelled Kyauk Phayar and Zee Pyaung villages, forcing over 4,000 residents to flee according to the KNU.¹³⁴ On 21 Dec, soldiers shelled Thone Khwa and Ye Kyaw villages.¹³⁵ UNHCR said there were around 24,000 IDPs in Mon State as of 26 Dec. All were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.¹³⁶

On 14 Dec, clashes between KNLA-led resistance forces and regime troops resumed in **Bilin Township**; a first in nearly two months.¹³⁷ On 29 Dec, indiscriminate regime artillery fire injured at least four people in Taunggalay village. There was no fighting at the time. On 30 Dec, soldiers shelled Zee Gone village. Exact damage and casualties were unknown.¹³⁸ On 18 Dec, it was reported that junta-appointed administrators were refusing to serve or had resigned in about 30 of Bilin's 58 villages due to resistance threats; leaving those villages to the KNU's administration. At least 10 junta administrators or community elders were killed in the township since the attempted coup.¹³⁹

On 21 Dec, it was reported that at least 40 anti-junta armed groups had emerged in Mon State since the attempted coup.¹⁴⁰ On 5 Dec, an explosion targeted an administrative office in **Mudon Township**, injuring four people, including a female clerk.¹⁴¹ On 10 Dec, gunmen shot dead two police officers in **Paung Township**. Regime forces responded by arresting around 20 people.¹⁴² Resistance forces also shot dead a ward administrator in **Ye Township** (21 Dec)¹⁴³ and a village administrator in **Bilin Township** (29 Dec).¹⁴⁴ On 13 Dec, a KNLA mine attack on a train transporting weapons and

¹²⁴ Than Lwin Times (10 Dec 2022) Junta fires mortar shells into Kawkayeik's villages

¹²⁵ Mizzima (19 Dec 2022) Myanmar troops killed in battles in Kawkareik in Karen State

¹²⁶ Than Lwin Times (22 Dec 2022) Fighting remains intense in Kawkayeik; Karen News (21 Dec 2022) Junta Army's random shelling injures 90 year-old and child Kawkareik, Karen state; DMG (26 Dec 2022) Thousands of vehicles trapped by fighting in Kayin State

¹²⁷ Than Lwin Times (27 Dec 2022) Nearly 2,000 residents fleeing conflict in Kawkayeik

¹²⁸ Irrawaddy (28 Dec 2022) Karen Resistance Groups Report Heavy Fighting With Myanmar Junta

¹²⁹ Than Lwin Times (6 Dec 2022) Junta plane bombs villages in KNU's Nyaungglaybin District

¹³⁰ DMG (15 Dec 2022) Up to 2,000 locals flee as KNLA clashes with junta troops in Bago Region's Shwegyin Twsp

¹³¹ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

¹³² DMG (17 Dec 2022) Thousands of children in Mon State's Ye Twsp struggle to access schooling amid conflict

¹³³ Than Lwin Times (22 Dec 2022) Kyaikto' junta bases equipped with more weapons

¹³⁴ Mon News (6 Dec 2022) Thousands of Local Residents Fleeing the Junta Indiscriminate Artillery attacks in Kyaik Hto Township

¹³⁵ Than Lwin Times (23 Dec 2022) Junta's artillery attacks force returnees to flee again in Kyaikto

¹³⁶ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

¹³⁷ Than Lwin Times (16 Dec 2022) Both sides suffer casualties in Belin battle

¹³⁸ Than Lwin Times (31 Dec 2022) At least 4 civilians injured by artillery strike in Belin

¹³⁹ Than Lwin Times (18 Dec 2022) No one willing to serve as administrators in about 30 villages, Belin Township

¹⁴⁰ Than Lwin Times (21 Dec 2022) Mon new armed forces join eradication of military dictatorship

¹⁴¹ Eleven Media (6 Dec 2022) Blast occurs at Ward Administration Office in Mudon leaving four injuries

¹⁴² Myanmar Now (13 Dec 2022) Junta indiscriminately arrests Mon State villagers after shooting death of two police officers

¹⁴³ Than Lwin Times (23 Dec 2022) Ward administrator assassinated in Ye, Mon State

¹⁴⁴ Than Lwin Times (30 Dec 2022) Village administrator assassinated in Belin

ammunition killed 24 regime soldiers in **Thaton District**, according to the KNU.¹⁴⁵ The junta responded by suspending the Mawlamyine-Yangon night train starting on 18 Dec.¹⁴⁶

Tanintharyi Region

On 2 Dec, it was reported that the junta had set up more security checkpoints and further restricted the transportation of food and medicine in **Tanintharyi Region**. The Dawna-Tanintharyi Refugee Support Group warned that these restrictions were putting local IDPs at risk of facing shortages.¹⁴⁷ UNHCR said there were around 27,900 IDPs in the region as of 26 Dec. All were displaced after 1 Feb 2021.¹⁴⁸ On 8 Dec, Southern Monitor reported that fighting in Tanintharyi had killed 371 civilians during Feb 21-Nov 22, including 89 in **Launglon**, 58 in **Yebyu**, and 42 in **Thayetchaung Townships**.¹⁴⁹

On 9 Dec, regime artillery fire injured four people in **Palaw Township**.¹⁵⁰ On 12 Dec, regime troops forced about 800 people in **Bokpyin Township** to relocate so they could build a military outpost.¹⁵¹ On 21 Dec, regime artillery fire injured five civilians and forced 300 residents to flee in **Pala**. Unconfirmed reports suggested that two of the injured died.¹⁵² On 25 Dec, it was reported that fighting had killed nine civilians and injured at least 11 in **Launglon, Palaw, Dawei, and Tanintharyi Townships** during 17-23 Dec.¹⁵³ On 29 Dec, a regime convoy ran over and killed a 20-year-old woman on a motorcycle following a resistance attack in Yebyu Township.¹⁵⁴

On 29 Dec, a bomb explosion at a wedding ceremony injured seven people in **Launglon Township**, including a child. Local sources speculated that the local Pyu Saw Htee militia might have been behind the incident. The Launglon PDF denied any involvement and condemned the bombing.¹⁵⁵

Mandalay Region

On 5 Dec, resistance forces shot dead a village administrator and his son in **Natogyi Township**. The regime retaliated by killing six local NLD supporters on 6 Dec.¹⁵⁶ On 14 Dec, junta forces dumped the mutilated bodies of six civilians in **Myingyan Township**. Locals said soldiers had arrested the victims on 29 Nov in Ywar Thit village.¹⁵⁷ On 21 Dec, Mandalay-based resistance groups launched the 'Mya Nandar Operation,' saying they would step up attacks against the junta.¹⁵⁸

On 23 Dec, the resistance killed a village administrator in **Ngazun Township**. In response, junta troops executed seven residents on 24 Dec.¹⁵⁹ On the same day, the resistance killed a junta-appointed village tract administrator and his son in **Wundwin Township**.¹⁶⁰ The junta responded by raiding five local villages, killing a 60-year-old man, and arresting 26 residents on 25 Dec.¹⁶¹ Resistance fighters attacked or bombed a bar that sells military-affiliated products in **Chanayethazan Township** (13 Dec);¹⁶² a

¹⁴⁵ Karen News (16 Dec 2022) Military Council's train loaded with weapons hit by landmine explosion wrecking four carriages and killing 24 soldiers in Mon State

¹⁴⁶ Mon News (20 Dec 2022) Mawlamyine-Yangon Night Train Trip Canceled Due to Security Concerns

¹⁴⁷ Than Lwin Times (2 Dec 2022) Tanintharyi IDPs likely to run out of food, medicine over junta's restrictions

¹⁴⁸ UNHCR (27 Dec 2022) Myanmar Emergency Overview Map: Number of people displaced since Feb 2021 and remain displaced (as of 26 Dec 2022)

¹⁴⁹ Than Lwin Times (10 Dec 2022) Nearly 320 civilian deaths in Tanintharyi since coup

¹⁵⁰ DMG (10 Dec 2022) Mortar shells injure four civilians, damage two homes in Tanintharyi Region's Palaw Twsp

¹⁵¹ DMG (13 Dec 2022) Tanintharyi Region village forced to relocate by military regime

¹⁵² Than Lwin Times (22 Dec 2022) 5 civilians injured in junta's artillery attack in Pala Town

¹⁵³ Than Lwin Times (25 Dec 2022) Civilian deaths on the increase in Tanintahryi

¹⁵⁴ Than Lwin Times (29 Dec 2022) A woman dies after being run over by landmine-hit military convoy

¹⁵⁵ Than Lwin Times (30 Dec 2022) Bomb blast at wedding venue injures 7 including child

¹⁵⁶ Myanmar Now (8 Dec 2022) More NLD supporters arrested, killed by junta forces in Mandalay Region

¹⁵⁷ RFA (15 Dec 2022) Grisly discovery: Six civilians brutally slaughtered in Myanmar's Mandalay region; Myanmar Now (16 Dec 2022) Bodies of six men found dumped a week after their arrest by junta soldiers

¹⁵⁸ Mizzima (21 Dec 2022) မြန်မာ့စစ်ဆင်ရေးအောက် မန္တလေးတွင် စစ်ဘက်ပစ်မှတ်များတိုက်ခိုက်

¹⁵⁹ Irrawaddy (27 Dec 2022) ရေဇင်းရွာခံ ၇ ဦးအား စစ်ကောင်စီ သတ်ဖြတ်၊ ရွာကိုလည်း စီးနင်းထား

¹⁶⁰ DVB (26 Dec 2022) မန္တလေးတိုင်းတွင် မြန်မာ့စစ်ဆင်ရေးစတင်၊ စစ်ကောင်စီတပ်ကားများ တိုက်ခိုက်ခံရ

¹⁶¹ Irrawaddy (27 Dec 2022) ဝမ်းတွင်းတွင် ပျူစောထီးခေါင်းဆောင် အသတ်ခံရပြီးနောက် ရွာများ ဝင်ရောက်စီးနင်းခံရ; Irrawaddy (28 Dec 2022) Myanmar Regime Troops Raid Mandalay Villages

¹⁶² DVB (13 Dec 2022) မန္တလေးရှိ Zeus ဘားတွင် ဗုံးပေါက်ကွဲ

Desperate Rohingya face death at sea in exodus from Burma, Bangladesh

On 2 Dec, UNHCR estimated that 1,920 people, mostly Rohingya, had fled Burma and Bangladesh by sea during Jan-Nov 2022, compared to only 287 in 2021. Some 119 people have been reported dead or missing on these journeys in 2022 alone.¹⁸⁵ On 6 Dec, UNHCR urged Southeast Asian countries to rescue some 200 Rohingya refugees stranded at sea off Thailand, warning that they had been without food and water for days and were suffering from extreme dehydration.¹⁸⁶

On 5 Dec, the dead bodies of 13 Rohingya men were found dumped by a roadside in Yangon. The regime said they were brought by traffickers, and claimed that they suffocated to death during transport.¹⁸⁷ Rohingya activist Nay San Lwin alleged, based on witness accounts, that junta forces had tortured them to death.¹⁸⁸ On 7 Dec, the regime's Navy detained over 150 Rohingya bound for Indonesia who had been adrift off Thailand for a week. NUG human rights advisor Aung Kyaw Moe said six of them had died due to food and water shortages.¹⁸⁹ On 23 Dec, the junta arrested 112 Rohingya including 12 children en route to Malaysia, in Ayeyarwady Region's Bogale Township.¹⁹⁰

On 18 Dec, the Sri Lankan Navy rescued 104 Rohingya adrift off the country's shores and handed them over to local police.¹⁹¹ On 25 Dec, the UN said about 180 Rohingya refugees were feared dead after their boat went missing in the Andaman Sea. This would bring the number of Rohingya refugees killed during sea crossings in 2022 close to 400, one of the highest in years.¹⁹² On 25-26 Dec, two boats carrying 242 'weak and exhausted' Rohingya refugees landed in Aceh Province (Indonesia) after weeks at sea. NGOs said 20 passengers in one of the boats had died during the journey.¹⁹³

On 7 Dec, it was reported that 62 Rohingya had been listed for resettlement in the **United States**, and that the country planned to welcome some 300 to 800 more annually. Bangladeshi Foreign Minister AK Abdul Momen had initially requested the US resettle at least 100,000 Rohingya.¹⁹⁴ On 13 Dec, the US Department of State announced the establishment of a resettlement program for vulnerable Rohingya refugees in collaboration with Bangladesh and the UNHCR. It added that it will consider resettlement referrals submitted by the UNHCR, but did not provide further details.¹⁹⁵

On 13 Dec, a **Malaysian** court lifted a stay on the deportation of 114 Burma nationals, including children and suspected asylum seekers, at the request of the government. It was unclear whether they would be deported immediately.¹⁹⁶ Asylum Access Malaysia and Amnesty International strongly urged the new Malaysian government not to report them, saying it 'should end its dishonest approach of criticizing the [regime] while continuing to quietly subject people to refolement.'¹⁹⁷

Women (more details at [women tracker](#))

On 1 Dec, the Burmese Women's Union (BWU) said the regime had arrested over 2,600 women as of late November, sentenced nine to death, and 11 to life in prison. BWU added that junta airstrikes and artillery fire had killed 352 women, and that regime forces were subjecting women to torture, sexual abuse, and human rights violations in custody.¹⁹⁸ On 16 Dec, it was reported that junta troops in Pakokku Township (Magway Region) were forcing women in trousers or black clothes to do sit-ups at

¹⁸⁵ UNHCR Asia Pacific (2 Dec 2022) UNHCR calls for support, solidarity amid rise in risky Andaman Sea crossings

¹⁸⁶ Al Jazeera (9 Dec 2022) UN urges Southeast Asia governments to rescue stranded Rohingya

¹⁸⁷ Irrawaddy (21 Dec 2022) Myanmar Regime Arrests Traffickers After Bodies of Rohingya Dumped

¹⁸⁸ Irrawaddy (7 Dec 2022) Rohingya Activists Accuse Myanmar Regime of Killing 13 Rohingya

¹⁸⁹ Irrawaddy (8 Dec 2022) 154 Rohingya Migrants Seized Off Coast: Myanmar Junta

¹⁹⁰ GNLM (23 December 2022) 112 Bengalis including 12 children without official documents arrested

¹⁹¹ Reuters (19 Dec 2022) Sri Lankan navy rescues over 100 Rohingya refugees adrift in rough seas

¹⁹² Guardian (27 Dec 2022) About 180 Rohingya refugees feared dead after boat goes missing

¹⁹³ Benar News (25 Dec 2022) Boat with 'dehydrated and exhausted' Rohingya refugees lands in Aceh; Al Jazeera (27 Dec 2022) Second boat with 185 Rohingya arrives in Indonesia's Aceh; RFA (26 Dec 2022) Second boatload of Rohingya arrives in Indonesia in as many days

¹⁹⁴ Irrawaddy (7 Dec 2022) US Agrees to Resettle 62 Rohingya Refugees from Bangladesh

¹⁹⁵ US Department of State (13 Dec 2022) Resettlement Initiative for Vulnerable Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh

¹⁹⁶ Reuters (13 Dec 2022) Malaysia court lifts stay on deportation of 114 Myanmar nationals

¹⁹⁷ Mizzima (14 Dec 2022) Rights groups slam Malaysia court decision on Myanmar deportation

¹⁹⁸ Than Lwin Times (2 Dec 2022) More than 2,600 women detained across Myanmar

checkpoints. Those who refuse face an MMK 50,000 fine. Soldiers imposed these punishments after local female resistance fighters killed a ward administrator and a retired colonel in November.¹⁹⁹

Junta forces continued to target high-profile women activists. On 12 Dec, a junta-controlled court sentenced Mandalay-based LGBT+ activist Sue Sha Shinn Thant to an additional 22 years in prison for allegedly financing terrorist activities, bringing her total sentence to 25 years.²⁰⁰ On 23 Dec, it was reported that the regime had sentenced actress and model Thinzar Wint Kyaw to five years in prison under the Electronic Transactions Law for allegedly posting sexually explicit content on social networks.²⁰¹ Still on 23 Dec, the junta sentenced 88 Generation Peace and Open Society members Nu Nu Aung and Khet Khet Aung to 15 years in prison each for terrorism.²⁰²

On 29 Dec, the Kim Geun Tae Foundation (South Korea) awarded its annual Democracy Award to Burmese author and pro-democracy activist Ei Pencilo; a first for a non-South Korean.²⁰³ After fleeing Burma in the aftermath of the attempted coup, she wrote ‘Burma Spring Revolution: 100 Days of Darkness,’ a memoir that documents how she evaded arrest and sought refuge in the US.²⁰⁴

COVID-19, Health, Education (more details at [COVID-19, healthcare, and education tracker](#))

Regime numbers showed few daily COVID-19 infections throughout the month: 16 on 1 Dec,²⁰⁵ 13 on 15 Dec,²⁰⁶ and 8 on 29 Dec.²⁰⁷ Vaccination rates remained low. Only 37,634,648 people had received shots as of 24 Dec,²⁰⁸ from a population of 55.8 million.²⁰⁹ It is unclear how many had been fully vaccinated, or boosted. On 1 Dec, the junta started exempting fully vaccinated international travelers from showing proof of a negative COVID-19 test result upon arrival at international airports.²¹⁰

On 1 Dec, UNOCHA said Burma’s health sector was facing interruptions due to conflict, attacks on health structures and staff, poor funding, lack of availability of medical supplies, and social pressure not to use public services. It pointed out that this situation was contributing to the worsening of maternal and child health outcomes, missed routine immunizations, and poor emergency care for pregnant women.²¹¹ On 30 Dec, it was reported that the lack of medicine and prenatal care had caused the deaths of five newborn babies over the three months prior in a Demoso Township IDP camp (Karenni State).²¹²

On 1 Dec, UNOCHA reported that more than four million children—half of Burma’s school-aged children—had been deprived of formal education for two full academic years. It warned that this situation placed them at much higher risk of negative coping mechanisms, such as child labor, trafficking, and early marriage.²¹³

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

Thousands leave Burma as economy, food security deteriorate

On 6 Dec, the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) reported a deterioration in food security and nutrition in 2022, with 4% of households facing moderate to severe hunger in Jul/Aug. Hunger was higher in Karenni (9.8% of households), Chin (9.9%), and Tanintharyi States/Region (12.6%). Households with low food consumption also increased from 9.4% in Dec 21/Jan 22 to 17.2% in Jul/Aug. The numbers in Jul/Aug were highest in Karenni (27.5%), Chin (46.1%), and Magway (25.5%) States/Region. Inadequate diet diversity among adults rose from 20.6 to 27.6% over the same

¹⁹⁹ Irrawaddy (16 Dec 2022) Myanmar Regime Troops Punishing Women for Wearing Trousers

²⁰⁰ Myanmar Now (14 Dec 2022) Myanmar regime hands LGBT activist another 22 years behind bars

²⁰¹ Eleven Media (24 Dec 2022) Insein court sentences actress Thinzar Wint Kyaw to five-year prison term

²⁰² Mizzima (27 Dec 2022) Three 88 Generation members sentenced to 15 years in prison

²⁰³ DVB (29 Dec 2022) Pencilo wins South Korea’s Kim Geun Tae Foundation Democracy Award

²⁰⁴ DVB (12 Dec 2022) DVB Reads: Ei Pencilo on “Burma Spring Revolution: 100 Days Of Darkness”

²⁰⁵ GNLM (2 Dec 2022) 16 new cases of COVID-19 reported on 1 December, total figure rises to 633,261

²⁰⁶ GNLM (16 Dec 2022) 13 new cases of COVID-19 reported on 15 December, total figure rises to 633,521

²⁰⁷ GNLM (30 Dec 2022) 8 new cases of COVID-19 reported on 29 December, total figure rises to 633,647

²⁰⁸ GNLM (26 Dec 2022) 5 new cases of COVID-19 reported on 25 December, total figure rises to 633,612

²⁰⁹ GNLM (4 Oct 2022) Population of Myanmar estimated at 55.8 million on 1 October 2022

²¹⁰ Mizzima (2 Dec 2022) Rules on COVID-19 tests relaxed for international flight arrivals

²¹¹ UNOCHA (1 Dec 2021) Global Humanitarian Overview 2023

²¹² Kantarawaddy Times (30 Dec 2022) Five infants died in 3 months in a “Batai Tawchay” war refugee camp

²¹³ UNOCHA (1 Dec 2021) Global Humanitarian Overview 2023

period with rates higher for women, especially in rural areas. IFPRI added more than a third of all children aged 6-23 months and 15.8% of all children aged 24-59 months had inadequate diet quality.²¹⁴

On 1 Dec, UNOCHA reported that the economic situation in Burma remained fragile and had been further undermined by inflation. It warned that livelihoods and coping mechanisms will continue to be severely strained as prices for basic goods continue to outstrip incomes.²¹⁵ On 13 Dec, it was reported that continuing instability and high unemployment were pushing people in Rakhine State to emigrate, with Thailand, Malaysia, and China being the top destinations. Labor rights organizations reported that over 30,000 residents had left for overseas jobs through official channels in 2022.²¹⁶ On 14 Dec, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated that, as of Oct 2022, around 40,000 Burma nationals were leaving the country for conflict-related, economic, and other reasons every month through a range of regular and irregular pathways, with the majority migrating to Thailand.²¹⁷

Conflict and regime restrictions further hinder economy, border trade

On 1 Dec, it was reported that regime forces had maintained a blockade of the Agnumaw-Maungdaw road (**Rakhine State**) despite the latest ceasefire with the AA. The Maungdaw Border Traders Association said border trade with Bangladesh had declined by a total of 95% as of late November due to the regime's restrictions.²¹⁸ On 3 Dec, it was reported that Sittwe (Rakhine State) was still facing fuel shortages due to the junta's failure to reopen the Yangon-Sittwe road.²¹⁹ On 9 Dec, it was reported that several construction sites in Rakhine State were forced to suspend operations after the junta's travel restrictions caused the price of building materials to skyrocket. The situation resulted in job scarcity for local construction workers.²²⁰

On 2 Dec, it was reported that the regime's requirement to convert 65% of export earnings into MMK within one working day from 21 Nov onwards had threatened the viability of the rubber sector in **Mon State**. The directive brought rubber exports to China and Thailand to a near halt, and caused prices to decrease from MMK 1,800 to 1,100/pound. Local farmers warned that the sector could collapse if prices fall below MMK 900/pound.²²¹

On 8 Dec, it was reported that fighting between regime and resistance forces in **Tanintharyi Region**, as well as the junta's arrests of civilians and indiscriminate artillery fire had resulted in labor shortages in the region's palm oil sector. Local farmers reported that an estimated 224,000 tons of palm oil for export could eventually be lost.²²² In Kawkareik Township (**Karen State**), fighting between KNLA-led resistance and regime forces from mid-December onwards severely hindered travel along a key section of the Asian Highway, blocking hundreds of cargo trucks bound for Thailand and bringing border trade to a near halt.²²³

Business as usual for unscrupulous companies

On 1 Dec, Singaporean law firm Kelvin Chia Partnership published a legal compliance review outlining steps for investment holding company Emerging Towns & Cities Singapore (ETC) to continue doing business with the Burma army's Quarter Master General Office (QMGO) despite international sanctions. ETC commissioned the review after a Feb 2021 investigation into its payments to QMGO prompted the Singapore Exchange Regulation (SGX RegCo) to subject it to regulatory actions. On 6 Dec, Justice for Myanmar (JfM) criticized the review for encouraging the evasion of sanctions, excluding ETC's potential liability under international criminal law from its scope, and ignoring the

²¹⁴ IFPRI (6 Dec 2022) The state of food security and nutrition in Myanmar: Findings from the Myanmar Household Welfare Survey 2021-2022

²¹⁵ UNOCHA (1 Dec 2021) Global Humanitarian Overview 2023

²¹⁶ DMG (13 Dec 2022) With local economic prospects dim, overseas jobs continue to draw Arakan workers

²¹⁷ IOM (28 Dec 2022) Myanmar Crisis Response Plan 2023

²¹⁸ DMG (1 Dec 2022) Maungdaw border trade still suffers from junta road and water blockades

²¹⁹ Narinjara News (3 Dec 2022) Gas stations in Sittwe Running Dry

²²⁰ DMG (9 Dec 2022) Rising prices force some Arakan construction sites to suspend operations

²²¹ Than Lwin Times (2 Dec 2022) Rubber farms in Mon State likely to stop operations

²²² DMG (8 Dec 2022) Conflict in Tanintharyi Region leaves oil palm farmers facing labour shortage

²²³ Than Lwin Times (27 Dec 2022) Nearly 2,000 residents fleeing conflict in Kawkayeik; Than Lwin Times (27 Dec 2022) Thai-Myanmar border trade nearly halts amid intense fighting; Myanmar Now (29 Dec 2022) Fighting continues near Karen State road to Thai border, cutting off trade

NUG's designation of the military as a terrorist organization. It urged SGX RegCo and the Singaporean government to delist ETC unless it ends all business links with the junta.²²⁴

On 12 Dec, the Irrawaddy reported that the junta was planning to restart operations at the controversial Nayputaung marble quarry in Taungup Township (Rakhine State), under a joint venture with Vietnam's Simco Song Da Joint Stock Co. The NLD government had previously suspended the project in 2018 after locals expressed concerns over its environmental impacts. Rakhine environmentalists said that, although residents were against the resumption of the project, they could not hold protests out of fear of a regime crackdown.²²⁵

World Bank, Norway dump two firms doing business with the junta

On 15 Dec, Norway's USD 1.3 trillion sovereign wealth fund, the world's largest, excluded Thai energy conglomerate PTT and its PTT Oil and Retail Business (PTTOR) unit from its portfolio, saying their partnerships with regime-controlled companies were providing the junta 'with substantial revenue streams that can finance [...] abuses.'²²⁶ On 22 Dec, PTTOR said it would suspend oil transport and storage operations in Burma, citing 'violence and unrest,' while PTT expressed deep concern 'about the atrocities committed in Myanmar.' The move did not affect the operations of PTT Exploration and Production (PTTEP), which controls interests in multiple gas fields in Burma.²²⁷ On 26 Dec, JfM called on PTTOR to exit responsibly and urged PTTEP to immediately suspend all payments to the regime.²²⁸

On 20 Dec, JfM reported that the World Bank's International Finance Corporation planned to sell its 4.5% stake in the Burma-based Yoma Bank to First Myanmar Investment; less than a month after JfM exposed Yoma's financial dealings with the regime. JfM urged IFC to responsibly disengage in consultation with the NUG, and called on Singapore's sovereign wealth fund GIC (19.7% stake in Yoma) and the Norwegian development finance institution Norfund (10.6%) to follow suit.²²⁹

Russia, India further assert their economic influence

On 5 Dec, the junta-controlled Central Bank of Myanmar signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) on banking cooperation with Russia's Central Bank.²³⁰ On 8 Dec, the regime's Electric Power Ministry met with representatives from Russia's State Atomic Energy Corporation (ROSATOM) to discuss ROSATOM's investment in Burma's energy sector, including the construction of a factory to produce lithium batteries. The regime said it had also conducted studies to implement solar and hydropower projects with ROSATOM.²³¹ On 13 Dec, both sides signed terms of reference for a pre-feasibility study of a thermal power project, and a joint communication plan to increase public acceptance of atomic energy in Burma. On 15 Dec, Eleven Media reported that the junta wanted to step up the implementation of a bilateral wind power project after studies showed it could generate more than 8,100 megawatts.²³²

On 5 Dec, it was reported that India was using the informal ceasefire between the junta and the AA to move forward with the stalled Kaladan Multi Modal Transit Transport Project, a transport route connecting Kolkata, Sittwe, and Mizoram that is widely viewed as New Delhi's response to China's Belt and Road Initiative. On 2 Dec, Indian Consul Jay Krishna met junta-appointed Rakhine State Chief Minister Aung Kyaw Min to discuss the opening of Sittwe's seaport and the Kyauktaw-Paletwa river route, as well as the Paletwa-Zorinpui highway, the incomplete section of the project that passes through a conflict zone. India has been escalating its engagement with the regime since the coup, going as far as offering to help it organize its sham 'election.'²³³

²²⁴ Justice for Myanmar (6 Dec 2022) Singapore-listed ETC's legal review encourages Myanmar sanctions evasion

²²⁵ Irrawaddy (12 Dec 2022) Myanmar Junta to Restart Controversial Quarry at Rakhine's Marble Mountain

²²⁶ Bangkok Post (16 Dec 2022) Norwegian fund dumps PTT over rights concerns

²²⁷ Nikkei Asia (24 Dec 2022) Thailand's PTT halts fuel storage project in Myanmar, citing unrest

²²⁸ Justice for Myanmar, via Facebook (26 Dec 2022) <https://tinyurl.com/3efdcwjf>

²²⁹ Justice for Myanmar (20 Dec 2022) IFC divesting from Yoma Bank after its business with military companies exposed

²³⁰ Eleven Media (7 Dec 2022) CBM and Russian's central bank sign MOU on banking cooperation

²³¹ Eleven Media (10 Dec 2022) Officials from MEP and ROSATOM discuss to generate electricity from wind power, small hydropower and thermal energy, and to build a factory to produce lithium batteries for EVs

²³² Eleven Media (15 Dec 2022) Myanmar plans to generate over 8,100 megawatts of electricity from six sites of Myanmar and Russia's joint wind power project

²³³ Irrawaddy (5 Dec 2022) India and Myanmar Junta Using Rakhine Truce to Finalize Trade Corridor

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

Security Council adopts groundbreaking yet toothless resolution on Burma

On 16 Dec, the **UN General Assembly** approved by consensus a recommendation by its Credentials Committee to postpone a vote on the credentials of Burma to a future time in the current session, which ends in September 2023. The move left NUG Ambassador Kyaw Moe Tun as the country's sole representative to the UN in New York.²³⁴

On 22 Dec, the **UN Security Council** adopted its first resolution on Burma in 74 years, with abstentions from China, Russia, and India. The text urged the regime to 'immediately release all arbitrarily detained prisoners,' including Suu Kyi and Win Myint; demanded 'an immediate end to all forms of violence;' asked 'all parties to respect human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law;' and expressed support for ASEAN's Five-Point Consensus (FPC). **Russia** and **China** opposed giving the Council coercive powers under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, leaving it with few enforcement options should the regime fail to comply.²³⁵

Special Advisory Council for Myanmar member Chris Sidoti said the text remained 'far too weak' and 'should have included unequivocal condemnation of the military for its assault on the Myanmar people along with measures to end human rights atrocities and secure justice and peace, through an arms embargo, sanctions and referral to the ICC.'²³⁶ **UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Burma** Tom Andrews said the resolution lacked strength, adding that 'demanding that certain actions be taken without any use of the Security Council's Chapter VII authority, will not stop the [...] junta from [...] destroying the lives' of Burma's 54 million people.²³⁷

Thailand bypasses ASEAN to offer forum to the regime

On 12 Dec, **Cambodian** Prime Minister and outgoing ASEAN Chair Hun Sen predicted that it would take at least five more years to resolve the Burma crisis, and ruled out a third visit to the country by his Foreign Minister Prak Sokhonn in his capacity as ASEAN's Special Envoy to Burma.²³⁸ On 13 Dec, **Indonesian** Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi was quoted as urging regional powers to support ASEAN's FPC, adding that the bloc's ability to tackle the crisis will be hampered if other countries take a different approach.²³⁹

On 14 Dec, the **EU** reiterated its commitment to support ASEAN's leading role in helping Burma return to democracy during a summit with ASEAN leaders in Brussels. The two blocs also called for the release of all political detainees and the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance without discrimination. On 19 Dec, the NUG's Ministry of Foreign Affairs criticized both ASEAN and the EU for failing to take any new effective action to address the crisis, to support the NUG as Burma's legitimate government, and to condemn the junta's atrocities against civilians.²⁴⁰

On 22 Dec, **Thai** Foreign Minister Don Pramudwinai hosted an informal, 'non-ASEAN' meeting on Burma attended by three regime ministers, **Cambodia's** Foreign Minister Prak Sokhonn, **Laos'** Foreign Minister, and **Vietnam's** deputy Foreign Minister. **Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore did not attend** despite invitations. Discussions yielded no concrete results, but the junta used the occasion to urge ASEAN members to denounce the NUG and PDFs as 'terrorists.'²⁴¹ **Human Rights Watch's** deputy Asia director heavily criticized the move: 'All this shameful meeting managed

²³⁴ Al Jazeera (17 Dec 2022) UN postpones decision on ambassadors from Myanmar, Taliban, Libya

²³⁵ Irrawaddy (22 Dec 2022) UN Security Council Adopts First-Ever Resolution on Myanmar; Myanmar Now (22 Dec 2022) UNSC resolution calls for peace in Myanmar

²³⁶ Special Advisory Council for Myanmar (22 Dec 2022) UN Security Council Resolution on Myanmar Welcome but Weak

²³⁷ UN News (22 Dec 2022) UN expert on Myanmar: Security Council resolution not strong enough on 'systematic gross human rights violations'

²³⁸ Phnom Penh Post (13 Dec 2022) Myanmar conflict may take 5 more years to resolve: PM

²³⁹ Irrawaddy (13 Dec 2022) India Urged to Back ASEAN Peace Plan for Myanmar

²⁴⁰ Eleven Media (17 Dec 2022) EU backing ASEAN's Myanmar 5PC plans; Irrawaddy (20 Dec 2022) NUG Criticizes EU and ASEAN for Failing to Take Action Against Myanmar Regime

²⁴¹ RFA (23 Dec 2022) Myanmar's NUG, analysts criticize Thailand for hosting junta foreign minister

to accomplish is show the massive divide in ASEAN about Myanmar, give unwarranted limelight to [...] [the] junta's propaganda, and whitewash [its] atrocities.'²⁴²

US set to get tougher on junta, Beijing responds

On 8 Dec, it was reported that the **US** planned to downgrade its diplomatic relations with the regime by replacing its departing ambassador with a chargé d'affaires.²⁴³ On 23 Dec, President Joe Biden signed into law an amended version of the 2021 BURMA Act bill, which broadens the government's authority to provide 'non-lethal' assistance to resistance groups; commits it to sanction senior regime officials within 180 days; and enables it to sanction state-owned companies that fund the junta. Language identifying Myanma Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE) as a mandatory sanctions target and referencing the Rohingya, a prominent feature of the 2021 bill, was removed. National War College professor Zachary Abuza said **Thai** pressure had so far prevented the US from sanctioning MOGE.²⁴⁴

On 28 Dec, Deng Xijun, **China's** new Special Envoy to Burma, arrived in Naypyidaw to meet junta officials. Neither side commented on the meeting. On 29 Dec, it was reported that Deng had met with representatives from the United Wa State Army (UWSA), KIA, NDAA, SSPP, AA, TNLA, and MNDAA in Yunnan in late December. He reportedly told them that China did not support fighting and wanted stability at the border. A Burma-based political observer said Deng's appointment was a pre-emptive move by Beijing to prepare for the consequences of the entry into force of the BURMA Act.²⁴⁵

UK, Canada adopt new sanctions

On 9 Dec, the **UK** adopted sanctions against the junta's Office of the Chief of Military and Security Affairs, 33rd Light Infantry Division, and 99th Light Infantry Division over their involvement in atrocity crimes, including massacres, torture, and sexual violence during the 2017 Rohingya genocide.²⁴⁶ **Burma Campaign UK** criticized the 'big time-lag' between the crimes and the sanctions.²⁴⁷

On 9 Dec, **Canada** adopted new sanctions against 12 individuals and three entities linked to the regime, including jet fuel supplier Asia Sun Group and arm brokers Dynasty International Company Limited and International Gateways Group. JfM welcomed the sanctions, noting they were the first to target the military's aviation fuel supply chain. It called on the US, UK, EU, Australia, Japan, and South Korea to urgently follow suit and coordinate sanctions against Asia Sun Group.²⁴⁸

On 13 Dec, **Human Rights Watch** noted that the impacts of EU sanctions on military-controlled companies had been limited because other governments, notably the US and the UK, had not coordinated closely enough or matched the EU's stronger sanctions. It deplored, however, that some EU leaders were still placing primary responsibility on ASEAN to take the lead on Burma.²⁴⁹

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

On 1 Dec, acting President Duwa Lashi La said his administration would consider entering a dialogue with the regime only if it stopped killing civilians, guaranteed its withdrawal from politics, and agreed

²⁴² Reuters (22 Dec 2022) Thailand hosts Myanmar junta figures in talks, key ASEAN nations skip; AP (23 Dec 2022) Thailand hosts informal meeting on Myanmar political crisis; Myanmar Now (23 Dec 2022) Myanmar junta vilifies resistance at 'non-ASEAN' meeting

²⁴³ Nikkei Asia (8 Dec 2022) U.S. to downgrade Myanmar ties, decides not to send ambassador

²⁴⁴ Myanmar Now (9 Dec 2022) US House passes BURMA Act with new amendments; Irrawaddy (9 Dec 2022) US Approves new Myanmar Legislation to Support NUG and Resistance Forces; Igor Blazevic, via Facebook (9 Dec 2022) <https://tinyurl.com/bdzdxx6w>; VoA (16 Dec 2022) US Senate Passes Defense Authorization Bill, Including Myanmar Language; RFA (16 Dec 2022) Defense bill paves way for heftier US policy on Myanmar; Myanmar Now (16 Dec 2022) US Senate passes defence bill authorising sanctions against Myanmar military and aid for opposition; Pen America (23 Dec 2022) With President Biden's signature, 'BURMA Act' becomes law with aim of holding military accountable and supporting a democratic Myanmar

²⁴⁵ Irrawaddy (29 Dec 2022) China's new Special Envoy to Myanmar Meets Ethnic Armed Organizations

²⁴⁶ Gov.uk (9 Dec 2022) UK sanctions target 30 corrupt political figures, human rights violators and perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence around the world

²⁴⁷ Mizzima (11 Dec 2022) NGO Burma Campaign UK welcomes new UK Burma sanctions

²⁴⁸ Justice for Myanmar (10 Dec 2022) JfM welcomes Canadian sanctions on Myanmar military jet fuel supplier and arms brokers; Reuters (9 Dec 2022) Canada adds sanctions on Russia, Iran, Myanmar over human rights

²⁴⁹ Human Rights Watch (13 Dec 2022) Europe and ASEAN Should Work Together on Myanmar Crisis

to abolish the 2008 Constitution. He added that the international community would have to serve as a mediator to facilitate the implementation of these points.²⁵⁰

On 6 Dec, the NUG designed military conglomerates Myanmar Economic Corporation and Myanmar Economic Holdings Limited as ‘terrorist groups’ over their role in funding the regime, and announced their nationalization.²⁵¹ On 10 Dec, the NUG’s Kalay People’s Police Service (Sagaing Region) arrested two employees of the regime-controlled Myanmar Economic Bank and charged them under Counter-Terrorism Law section 52(a).²⁵²

On 7 Dec, Defense Minister Yee Mon said the NUG and its allied ethnic resistance organizations (EROs)²⁵³ had formed three military regional commands (Northern, Southern, and Central) headed by top ERO leaders. He added that, on 10 Oct, the NUG had established a PDF Military Headquarters. He also urged PDF fighters to adhere to the chain of command and the NUG’s military code of conduct.²⁵⁴ On 20 Dec, the NUG invited soldiers, police officers, and civil servants to join the revolution as undercover informants, promising them reward and protection.²⁵⁵

On 16 Dec, the NUG announced its ‘commitment to ratifying, fully and unreservedly,’ the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and its two Optional Protocols, and the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (UNCAT). It called on the UN to ‘recognize and acknowledge the NUG’s ratification of these treaties.’²⁵⁶ On 22 Dec, the NUG welcomed the UN Security Council’s Resolution on the situation in Burma and urged all relevant stakeholders to ensure its timely implementation.²⁵⁷

On 18 Dec, the NUG-affiliated Spring University Myanmar announced that it had signed an MoU with the Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand) to offer courses in Applied Science and Statistics to students from Burma.²⁵⁸

NUG investigates PDF killings in Sagaing Region

On 1 Dec, PDF fighters detained female lawyer San San Yi ‘for questioning’ before killing her in custody in Shwebo Township. The NUG confirmed it was investigating the murder after her family filed a complaint over her arrest. The commander of the PDF battalion involved said he would accept full responsibility for any wrongdoing by his troops. A Shwebo-based lawyer reported that San San Yi had worked on political cases and had no affiliations with the military.

On 3 Dec, a video showing PDF members beating and executing a non-CDM teacher they accused of being a military informant in Tamu Township started trending. The incident reportedly took place in June. On 5 Dec, the NUG said the killing was ‘an unacceptable situation’ and vowed to impose ‘a severe penalty on those found guilty.’ The Ministry of Defense ordered the detention of two men and one woman involved, although further details regarding the investigation were unclear.

Myanmar Now (9 Dec 2022) PDF battalion under investigation for death of Sagaing lawyer; NUG, via Facebook (5 Dec 2022): <https://tinyurl.com/yzxc2ef9>; Myanmar Now (6 Dec 2022) NUG opens probe into brutal killing of woman by members of its resistance force; Mizzima (8 Dec 2022) NLD investigating execution of alleged junta informer in Sagaing’s Tamu Township

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²⁵⁰ Irrawaddy (2 Dec 2022) Myanmar’s Civilian Govt Says No Talks With Junta Until It Stops Killing Civilians, Quits Politics

²⁵¹ DVB (8 Dec 2022) Thai ambassador presents credentials to junta leader, NUG “nationalizes” military-owned conglomerates

²⁵² Irrawaddy (12 Dec 2022) Myanmar Regime Bank Employees Charged With Terrorism by NUG

²⁵³ ALTSEAN-Burma uses the term ‘Ethnic Resistance Organizations’ (ERO) to refer to armed ethnic organizations that openly oppose the regime; and the term ‘Ethnic Armed Organizations’ (EAO) to refer to armed ethnic organizations that are either neutral, pro-regime, or whose affiliation is uncertain.

²⁵⁴ Mizzima (10 Dec 2022) NUG and EAOs establish three regional military commands in Myanmar

²⁵⁵ Irrawaddy (21 Dec 2022) NUG Issues Appeal for More Myanmar Junta Informants

²⁵⁶ NUG, Ministry of Human Rights (16 Dec 2022) National Unity Government Endorsement of the ICCPR and Convention Against Torture

²⁵⁷ NUG, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, via Facebook (22 Dec 2022) <https://tinyurl.com/yeymr46p>

²⁵⁸ Spring University Myanmar, via Facebook (18 Dec 2022) <https://tinyurl.com/y54k3htd>