

TO:

The Defence Ministers of
Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, China,
India, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines,
Republic of Korea, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam,

CC:

The Defence Ministers of
Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand,
United States

15 August 2023

Subject: Request to cancel or refuse to attend ADMM-Plus military training exercises involving the Myanmar military junta

Dear Defence Ministers,

We, the undersigned 551 Myanmar regional and international organisations and allies are writing this open letter to urge ASEAN Member State governments to:

1. cancel the upcoming ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting-Plus Experts' Working Group on Counter Terrorism (ADMM-Plus EWG) training exercises under the co-chairmanship of the Myanmar military junta and Russia;
2. exclude Myanmar military junta members from all ADMM-Plus meetings and activities.

If the Myanmar military is not excluded from ADMM-Plus activities, we appeal to ASEAN Member State governments and Dialogue Partners to:

3. publicly refuse to attend all ADMM-Plus activities with the Myanmar military.

As you know, the ADMM-Plus EWG is currently being co-chaired by the Myanmar military junta and Russia, who are organising a field training exercise in Russia in September and have already held a tabletop exercise in Myanmar in August. The planned training exercise in Russia appears to include a simulation that involves trying to defeat 'terrorists' from a border area. This would provide direct support to the Myanmar military junta to improve its capacity to wage war against the people of Myanmar and its attempts to control them by force, while simultaneously also providing support to the Russian military to continue its atrocities against the people of Ukraine. This contradicts the ASEAN Charter, which states adherence to the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes, democracy, respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.¹ The fact that ASEAN is providing military support to the Myanmar military junta while the junta is waging a campaign of terror against the people of Myanmar further damages the bloc's credibility.

We underline the fact that the Myanmar military junta is not, by any definition, a government and therefore has no legitimacy to represent the people of Myanmar in ASEAN or ADMM-Plus meetings and activities. For decades, the Myanmar military has committed international crimes against democratic forces and civilians under the pretext of 'counter terrorism'. Since the failed coup attempt, the junta has deceitfully and arbitrarily designated the democratically elected

National Unity Government (NUG), Committee Representing Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH), and the People's Defence Forces (PDFs) as "terrorists".ⁱⁱ The junta itself, however, meets the criteria for a terrorist organization under both domestic and international law,ⁱⁱⁱ and does not have any legitimacy to chair a counter terrorism platform or host counter terrorism exercises.

Over the past 30 months, the military junta has engaged in a campaign of extreme violence against the people of Myanmar. To date, the military has killed 3,897 people and imprisoned 19,740 more.^{iv} The military has committed indiscriminate airstrikes, shelling, mass torture, sexual violence and other horrific acts of violence. Their war crimes and crimes against humanity have forced 1.6 million people to flee their homes^v since the attempted coup began. Thus, it must also be understood that the military junta is not a professional armed force under civilian control that defends the people of Myanmar from external threats.

The junta's ability to gain and retain power depends on violence, coercion, access to funds, arms and other resources, and importantly, the complicity of international governments. Through ADMM and ADMM-Plus, ASEAN Member States and Dialogue Partners are falsely lending legitimacy to the junta's 'defence ministry' and emboldening both the Myanmar junta and Russia to commit further international crimes with blanket impunity.

We welcome the decisions of Australia, New Zealand and the United States to not participate in the recent tabletop training in Myanmar or the upcoming training in Russia.^{vi} We also note that Japan, Singapore and South Korea are not present in photographs of the training in Myanmar published by those involved.^{vii viii} ADMM has also previously excluded the junta's defence minister, Mya Tun Oo, from participation in ministerial meetings in November 2022.^{ix} We call on all **ASEAN Member States and Dialogue Partners to take responsibility in responding to the crisis in Myanmar** by taking the actions described at the beginning of this letter.

On July 28, Defend Myanmar Democracy – a civil society campaign to defend Myanmar people's right to democratic representation internationally – wrote to ASEAN and ADMM leaders urging them to cancel the counter-terrorism training sessions hosted by the military junta and Russia this year. To date, no response has been received and preparation for the training appears to be continuing. Consequently, **we urge you, as the defence ministers of ASEAN Member States and Dialogue Partners, to exert your strong influence in support of Myanmar people's human rights and fundamental safety.**

This letter reiterates similar appeals from Myanmar civil society organisations^{x xi xii} and regional parliamentarians^{xiii} calling on ASEAN leaders to exclude Myanmar military junta representatives from ASEAN's meetings at all levels and to take other actions to effectively address the Myanmar crisis, as well as calling on ASEAN Dialogue Partners to boycott ADMM-Plus defence meetings. This request also echoes the concerns raised recently by the United Nations Special Rapporteur for the situation of human rights in Myanmar, Mr Thomas Andrews, in his oral update to the UN Human Rights Council^{xiv} and in his statement on his mission to Indonesia^{xv}. The Special Rapporteur recommends that ASEAN must not allow Myanmar military junta personnel to participate in any ASEAN meetings, especially defence-related ones. He also calls on ASEAN Member States to: "not attend if the invitations to the junta military personnel are not rescinded."^{xvi}

We look forward to your positive response and hope to see ASEAN Member States and Dialogue Partners take immediate action.

Sincerely,

This letter is endorsed by **551** organisations representing Myanmar regional and international civil society, including the 298 organisations listed below and 253 organisations which have chosen not to disclose their names below.

List of organisations:

- 1 5/ of Zaya State Strike
- 2 8888 Generation (New Zealand)
- 3 Action Against Myanmar Military Coup (AAMMC)
- 4 Action Committee for Democracy Development
- 5 Action Committee of Basic Education Students (ACBES)
- 6 Ah Nah Podcast - Conversations with Myanmar
- 7 All Arakan Youth Organization
- 8 All Aung Myay Thar San Schools Strike Force
- 9 All Burma Democratic Face in New Zealand
- 10 All Burma Federation of Student Unions (Monywa District)
- 11 All Burma Indigenous Peoples' Alliance
- 12 All Burma Student Democratic Front (ABSDF) - Australia Branch
- 13 All Young Burmese League (AYBL)
- 14 Alliance of Students' Union – Yangon (ASU-Yangon)
- 15 ALTSEAN-Burma
- 16 Anti-coup Forces Coordination Committee (ACFCC -Mandalay)
- 17 Anti-Junta Alliance Yangon-AJAY
- 18 Anti-Myanmar Military Dictatorship Network (Australia)
- 19 Arakan CSO Network
- 20 ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR)
- 21 ASEAN Regional Coalition to #StopDigitalDictatorship
- 22 Asia Democracy Network
- 23 Asia Pacific Solidarity Coalition (APSOC)
- 24 Assistance Association for Political Prisoners
- 25 Association of Human Rights Defenders and Promoters
- 26 Association Suisse - Birmanie
- 27 Associazione per l'amicizia Italia Birmania "Giuseppe Malpeli"
- 28 Athan - Freedom of Expression Activist Organization
- 29 Auckland Kachin Community NZ
- 30 Auckland Zomi Community
- 31 Aung San Suu Kyi Park Norway
- 32 Australian Karen Organisation (AKO)
- 33 Awaz Foundation Pakistan: Centre for Development Services (AwazCDS)
- 34 AWDO (Nagphe)
- 35 A-Yar-Taw People Strike
- 36 Ayeyarwaddy West Development Organisation. AWDO (Magway)

- 37 BAHAN Scout & News Channel
- 38 Basic Education Branch High School (Maharaungmyay) Students' Union
- 39 Basic Education General Strike Committee (BEGSC)
- 40 Basic Education Students & Youths Association (BESYA)
- 41 Basic Education Worker Unions - Steering Committee (BEWU-SC)
- 42 Bir Duino -Kyrgyzstan
- 43 Blood Money Campaign
- 44 Botahtaung Scout Channel
- 45 Burma Action Ireland
- 46 Burma Campaign UK
- 47 Burma Civil War Museum (BCM)
- 48 Burma Environmental Working Group
- 49 Burma Lawyer Council (BLC)
- 50 Burmese Community Development Collaboration (BCDC)
- 51 Burmese Community Group (Manawatu, NZ)
- 52 Burmese Community Support Group (BCSG)
- 53 Burmese Medical Association Australia (BMAA)
- 54 Burmese Rohingya Welfare Organisation New Zealand
- 55 Burmese Women's Union
- 56 CDM Medical Network (CDMMN)
- 57 Central European Institute of Asian Studies
- 58 Chanmyatharzi Township People's Strike
- 59 Chaung Oo Township Youth Strike Committee
- 60 Chin Community in Norway
- 61 Chin Community of Auckland
- 62 Chindwin (West) Villages Women Strike
- 63 Citizen of Burma Award - New Zealand
- 64 Civil Information Network (CIN)
- 65 Civil Society Organizations Coordination Committee (Monywa)
- 66 Coalition Strike Committee – Dawei
- 67 Connect {コネクト}
- 68 Co-operative University Mandalay Students' Strike
- 69 Creative Home
- 70 CRPH Funding Ireland
- 71 CRPH Support Group
- 72 CRPH, NUG Support Team Germany- Deutschland
- 73 Dagon Seikkan News
- 74 Daung Sitthe Strike
- 75 Dawei (Ashaetaw) Women Strike
- 76 Dawei Youths in Japan
- 77 Dawei Youths Revolutionary Movement Strike Committee
- 78 Defence of Human Rights (Pakistan)
- 79 Democracy, Peace and Women's Organization
- 80 Democratic Party for a New Society, Norway
- 81 Depayin Township Revolution Steering Committee
- 82 Depayin Women Strike

- 83 Doh Atu - Ensemble pour le Myanmar
- 84 Dragon Dawn
- 85 Dunedin Myanmar Community New Zealand
- 86 Educational Initiatives Prague
- 87 Enemy Air Route Channel
- 88 Equality Myanmar
- 89 Ethnic Youth General Strike Committee (Mandalay)
- 90 Federal Myanmar Benevolence Group (NZ)
- 91 Federal Myanmar-Japan
- 92 Federation of Workers' Union of the Burmese Citizen in Japan (FWUBC)
- 93 Former Political Prisoners and New Generation Group – Monywa
- 94 Free Rohingya Coalition
- 95 Freedom and Labor Action Group (FLAG)
- 96 Future Light Center
- 97 Future Thanlwin
- 98 Gangaw Women Strike
- 99 General Strike Collaboration Committee (GSCC)
- 100 General Strike Committee of Basic and Higher Education (GSCBHE)
- 101 General Strike Committee of Nationalities - GSCN
- 102 Generation Wave
- 103 GenY For Revolution Japan
- 104 Global Myanmar Spring Revolution
- 105 Global Myanmar Spring Revolution (Japan)
- 106 Global Myanmar Spring Revolution (Korea)
- 107 Grass-root People
- 108 HSC (Hlaing Scout Channel)
- 109 Human Rights Educators Network
- 110 Human Rights Foundation of Monland
- 111 India For Myanmar
- 112 Industrial Training Centre (ITC) Family Sydney
- 113 Industries Strike
- 114 Info Birmanie
- 115 Initiatives for International Dialogue (IID)
- 116 Integria, z.u. (Czech Republic)
- 117 International Association, Myanmar - Switzerland (IAMS)
- 118 International Society of Myanmar Scholars and Professionals (ISMSP)
- 119 Japan Myanmar Future Creative Association
- 120 Japan Myanmar Help Network - JMHN (comprising over 40 youth groups in Japan)
- 121 Justice for Myanmar
- 122 Kachin Association Australia (KAA)
- 123 Kachin Association Norway
- 124 Kachin State Civilian Movement_KSCM
- 125 Kachin Student Union
- 126 Kachin Women's Association Thailand
- 127 Kalay Township Strike Force
- 128 Kalay Women Strike

- 129 Kamayut Information - KMYINFO/ Kamayut Information Scout Channel - KISC
- 130 Karen Human Rights Group
- 131 Karen Peace Support Network
- 132 Karen Swedish Community (KSC)
- 133 Karen Women's Organization
- 134 Karenni Association - Norway
- 135 Karenni Civil Society Network
- 136 Karenni National Women's Organization
- 137 Karenni Society New Zealand
- 138 Karnali Integrated Rural Development and Research Centre
- 139 Kazakhstan International Bureau for Human Rights and Rule of Law
- 140 K'cho Ethnic Association
- 141 Keng Tung Youth
- 142 Kyain Seikgyi Spring Revolution Leading Committee
- 143 Kyauktada Strike Committee
- 144 Latha/Lanmadaw Scout Channel
- 145 Latpadaung Region Strike Committee
- 146 LGBT Alliance
- 147 LGBT Alliance Myanmar (Kalay Region)
- 148 LGBT Alliance Myanmar (Kyaukse Region)
- 149 LGBT Community Yangon
- 150 LGBT Union – Mandalay
- 151 Madaripur Legal Aid Association (MLAA), Bangladesh
- 152 MAGGA Initiative
- 153 Magway People's Revolution Committee
- 154 Maharaungmyay Township People's Strike
- 155 Maldivian Democracy Network (MDN)
- 156 Mandalay University Students' Strike
- 157 Mandalay Alliance Coalition Strike
- 158 Mandalay Medical Family (MFM)
- 159 Mandalay Strike Force (MSF)
- 160 Mandalay Women Strike
- 161 Mandalay Youth Strike
- 162 Mandalay-based People's Strike
- 163 Mandalay-Based University Students' Unions (MDY_SUs)
- 164 Manushya Foundation
- 165 Matu Chin Community - NSW/UPU Chin Association
- 166 MayMyo Strike Force
- 167 Metta Campaign
- 168 Min Hla farmers Group
- 169 Minbu farmers Group
- 170 Mindat Chin Community NSW
- 171 Mon National Council (MNC)
- 172 Mon Youth For Federal Democracy
- 173 Monywa LGBT Strike
- 174 Monywa People's Strike Steering Committee

- 175 Monywa Women Strike
- 176 Monywa-Amyint Road Strike Leading Committee
- 177 Monywa-Amyint Road Women Strike
- 178 Multi-Religions Strike
- 179 Muslim Youth Network
- 180 Mya Taung Strike
- 181 Myanmar Action Group Denmark
- 182 Myanmar Campaign Network
- 183 Myanmar Catholic Community in Norway
- 184 Myanmar Community Christchurch New Zealand
- 185 Myanmar Community Coffs Harbour (MCC)
- 186 Myanmar Community in Norway
- 187 Myanmar Cultural Research Society (MCRS)
- 188 Myanmar Diaspora Group Finland
- 189 Myanmar Engineers - New Zealand
- 190 Myanmar Global Support Foundation (MGSF)
- 191 Myanmar Gonye (New Zealand)
- 192 Myanmar Hindu Community - Norway
- 193 Myanmar Institute of Information Technology Students' Strike
- 194 Myanmar Labor Alliance (MLA)
- 195 Myanmar People Alliance (Shan State)
- 196 Myanmar Refugee Policy Group (MRPG)
- 197 Myanmar Students' Union in New Zealand
- 198 Myanmar Teachers' Federation
- 199 Myaung Youth Network
- 200 Myingyan Civillian Movement Committee
- 201 National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP), Pakistan
- 202 National League for Democracy (Monywa Township)
- 203 Nelson Myanmar Community New Zealand
- 204 Netherlands Myanmar Solidarity Platform
- 205 Network for Human Rights Documentation - Burma (ND-Burma)
- 206 Network of University Student Unions – Monywa
- 207 New Zealand Doctors for NUG
- 208 New Zealand Karen Association
- 209 New Zealand Zo Community Inc.
- 210 NLD Organization Committee (International) Norway
- 211 NLD Solidarity Association (NSW chapter)
- 212 Norway Falam Community
- 213 Norway Matu Community
- 214 Norway Rvwang Community
- 215 NRFF - New Rehmonnya Federated Force
- 216 NSW Karenni (Kayah) Communities
- 217 NUG and CRPH Supporters Ireland
- 218 Nyan Lynn Thit Analytica
- 219 Overseas Mon Association. New Zealand
- 220 Padauk Finland-Myanmar Association

- 221 Pale Township People's Strike Steering Committee
- 222 PAZUNDAUNG Tsp [Scout & News]
- 223 People's Hope Spring Revolution
- 224 People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD)
- 225 Perhimpunan Bantuan Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia Indonesia (PBHI) / Indonesia Legal Aid and Human Rights Association
- 226 Progressive Voice
- 227 Psychological Responsiveness NGO, Mongolia
- 228 Public Association "Dignity"
- 229 Pwintphyu Development Organisation
- 230 Pyi Gyi Tagon Strike Force
- 231 Representative Committee of University Teacher Associations (RC of UTAs)
- 232 Research Center (KIRDARC) Nepal
- 233 Rohingya Action Ireland
- 234 Rohingya Community in Norway
- 235 Rvwang Community Association New Zealand
- 236 Samgha Sammaga-Mandalay
- 237 Sanchaung Scout Channel
- 238 Save and Care Organization for Women at Border Areas
- 239 Save Myanmar Fundraising Group (New Zealand)
- 240 Seinpann Strike
- 241 Shan Communities Network
- 242 Shan Community (New Zealand)
- 243 Shan MATA
- 244 Shizuyouth For Myanmar
- 245 Shwe Pan Kone People's Strike Steering Committee
- 246 Sitt Nyein Pann Foundation
- 247 South Okkala Area Channel
- 248 Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network (SAFEnet)
- 249 Southern Dragon Myanmar
- 250 Southern Youth Development Organization
- 251 Spring Friends
- 252 Swedish Burma Committee
- 253 Sydney Friends For Myanmar Unity
- 254 Ta'ang Women's Organization
- 255 Tanintharyi MATA
- 256 Tanintharyi Nationalities Congress – TNC
- 257 Taze Strike Committee
- 258 Taze Women Strike
- 259 Tenasserim Student Union's Network -TSUN
- 260 TGK Bulletin Channel
- 261 Thakhin Kodaw Mhine Peace Network (Monywa)
- 262 Thayat Chaung Women Strike
- 263 The 88 Generation Peace and Open Society (Monywa)
- 264 The Korean Civil Society in Support of Democracy in Myanmar (106 CSOs)
- 265 Think Centre (Singapore)

- 266 Thint Myat Lo Thu Myar Organization
- 267 Twitter Team for Revolution (TTFR)
- 268 U.S. Campaign for Burma
- 269 Unitarian Universalist Service Committee
- 270 Universities Kachin Literature and Culture Association- Yangon
- 271 University Students' Unions Alumni Force
- 272 Voice For Justice
- 273 Volunteers in Myanmar
- 274 We For All
- 275 We Pledge CDM (Australia)
- 276 Wellington Chin Community (New Zealand)
- 277 Wetlet Revolution Leading Committee
- 278 Wetlet Twonship Women Strike
- 279 White Coat Society Yangon (WCSY)
- 280 Women Activists Myanmar
- 281 Women Alliance Burma (WAB)
- 282 Women's League of Burma
- 283 WOREC, Nepal
- 284 Yadanabon University Students' Union (YDNBUSU)
- 285 Yangon Women Strike
- 286 Yasakyo Township People's Strike Steering Committee
- 287 Yaw Funding Japan
- 288 Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (YLBHI) / Indonesia Legal Aid Foundation
- 289 Yinmarpin and Salingyi All Villages Strike Committee
- 290 Yokohama Pamphlet Campaign - Myanmar
- 291 Youth for Democratization of Myanmar (UDM)
- 292 Youth Heart Beams
- 293 Zomi Association Australia Inc.
- 294 Zomi Christian Fellowship of Norway
- 295 Zomi Community Norway
- 296 ဒို့မြေကွန်ရက် - LIOH
- 297 ဒီမိုကရက်တစ်လူငယ်ကောင်စီ
- 298 ပွင့်ဖြူလယ်ယာမြေကွန်ရက်

This letter is addressed to the following Defence Ministers:

- His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Haji Omar 'Ali Saifuddien Sa'adul Khairi Waddien, Prime Minister / Minister of Defence / Minister of Finance and Economy / Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brunei Darussalam
- General Samdech Pichey Sena Tea Banh, Deputy Prime Minister & Minister of National Defence, Cambodia
- H.E. General Li Shangfu, State Councilor and Minister of National Defence, China
- H.E. Shri Rajnath Singh, Minister of Defence, Republic of India

- H.E. Hamada Yasukazu, Minister of Defence, Japan
- H.E. Gen. Chansamone Chanyalath, Minister of Defence, Laos
- The Hon. Dato' Seri Utama Haji Mohamad bin Haji Hasan, Minister of Defence, Malaysia
- Atty. Gilberto C. Teodoro, Jr., The Honorable Secretary of National Defense, Philippines
- H.E. Lee Jong-sup, Minister of National Defense, Republic of Korea
- H.E. Dr. Ng Eng Hen, Minister for Defence, Singapore
- H.E. Gen. (Ret.) Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister / Minister of Defence, Thailand
- H.E. Gen. Phan Văn Giang, Minister of National Defence, Vietnam

Copies of this letter have also been sent to the following Defence Ministers:

- H.E. Lieutenant General (Ret.) Prabowo Subianto, Chairman of ADMM & ADMM-Plus / Minister of Defence, Indonesia
- The Hon. Richard Marles MP, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence, Australia
- Hon. Andrew Little, Minister of Defence, New Zealand
- Hon. Lloyd J. Austin III, Secretary of Defense, United States

ⁱ Association of South East Asian Nations, *The ASEAN Charter*, 2008, <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/images/archive/publications/ASEAN-Charter.pdf>

ⁱⁱ Sebastian Strango, 'Myanmar Junta Labels Shadow Government 'Terrorists'', *The Diplomat*, 10 May 2021, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/05/myanmar-junta-labels-shadow-government-terrorists/>

ⁱⁱⁱ Special Advisory Council Myanmar, Briefing Paper: The Myanmar Military is a Terrorist Organization Under Law, 14 December 2021, <https://specialadvisorycouncil.org/2021/12/briefing-paper-the-myanmar-military-is-a-terrorist-organisation-under-law/>

^{iv} Assistance Association For Political Prisoners (Burma), *Daily briefing*, 7 August 2023, <https://aappb.org/?p=25868>

^v United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, *Myanmar Humanitarian Update No. 31*, 15 July 2023, https://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/myanmar-humanitarian-update-no-31-15-july-2023?_gl=1*m6gzo1*ga*NzAzODY5MTY2LjE2NzcxMzUxMzA.*_ga_E60ZNX2F68*MTY4OTgxNzE3OS4xMi4wLjE2ODk4MTcxNzkuNjAuMCAw

^{vi} Myanmar Now, 'Russia and Myanmar junta to host ASEAN counter-terrorism exercises despite boycott by dialogue partners', *Myanmar Now*, 22 June 2023, <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/russia-and-myanmar-junta-to-host-asean-counter-terrorism-exercises-despite-boycott-by-dialogue-partners/>

^{vii} Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, 'Counter-terrorism drills with the participation of ASEAN member countries and Dialogue Partners (ADMM plus) began in Myanmar', 3 August 2023, https://eng.mil.ru/en/news_page/country/more.htm?id=12474571@egNews

^{viii} Global New Light of Myanmar, 'Successful conclusion of ADMM-Plus Counter-Terrorism tabletop exercise bolstering regional security', 5 August 2023, <https://www.gnlm.com.mm/successful-conclusion-of-admm-plus-counter-terrorism-tabletop-exercise-bolstering-regional-security/>

^{ix} Tan Hui Lee, 'Myanmar junta snubbed at Asean defence chiefs' meet', *Straits Times*, 23 November 2022, <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/myanmar-junta-snubbed-at-asean-defence-chiefs-meet>

^x Progressive Voice, Forum Asia & ALTSEAN, 'ASEAN must stop enabling Myanmar junta's atrocities' [statement], 16 May 2023, <https://progressivevoicemyanmar.org/2023/05/16/asean-must-stop-enabling-myanmar-juntas-atrocities/>

^{xi} Progressive Voice & Forum Asia, 'Myanmar: ASEAN leaders must take decisive steps, stop aiding and abetting junta's atrocity crimes' [press release], 9 November 2022, <https://progressivevoicemyanmar.org/2022/11/09/myanmar-asean-leaders-must-take-decisive-steps-stop-aiding-and-abetting-juntas-atrocity-crimes/>

^{xii} 448 Myanmar regional and international organizations, 'United States: Open letter to ADMM dialogue partner' [open letter], 14 July 2022, <https://progressivevoicemyanmar.org/2022/07/14/open-letter-to-admm-dialogue-partner/>

^{xiii} ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights, 'ASEAN must exclude Myanmar junta from all joint military exercises, Southeast Asian MPs say' [statement], 28 July 2023, <https://aseanmp.org/2023/07/28/asean-must-exclude-myanmar-junta-from-all-joint-military-exercises-southeast-asian-mps-say/>

^{xiv} Thomas Andrews, *Oral update to the United Nations Human Rights Council – 53rd Session*, 6 July 2023, <https://www.bit.ly/44dIP2Z>

^{xv} Thomas Andrews, *End of Mission Statement*, 21 June 2023, <https://bangkok.ohchr.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/ENG-21.06.2023-UNSR-Myanmar-EoM-Statement-FINAL.pdf>

^{xvi} Thomas Andrews, *End of Mission Statement*, 21 June 2023, <https://bangkok.ohchr.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/ENG-21.06.2023-UNSR-Myanmar-EoM-Statement-FINAL.pdf>