

COMMENTARY

PROTRACTED CONFLICT IN MYANMAR AND ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS ©Σ

MD. MAHBUBUL HAQUE *

ABSTRACT

Myanmar, one of Southeast Asia's most ethnically diverse nations, continues to grapple with profound challenges in nation-building despite achieving independence 76 years ago. Protracted tensions between the military and ethnic minorities have significantly hindered progress. On 1 February 2021, the military staged a coup, detaining key political figures, including State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi. The aftermath has been devastating, with nearly 6,000 fatalities, over 3.3 million people displaced, and more than half the population now living below the poverty line, predominantly due to violence perpetrated by the military. This study examines the ongoing conflict in Myanmar through the lens of international relations, focusing on the role of international actors in addressing the crisis. Employing a qualitative approach, the research analyses secondary data, including reports, policy documents, and scholarly articles, to explore the geopolitical implications of Myanmar's unrest. The findings highlight the strategic importance of Myanmar's location, which shapes its interactions with neighbouring countries and global powers. The protracted conflict has exacerbated domestic instability and generated security concerns for bordering nations, threatening regional peace and stability. This research underscores the critical role of international actors in mediating the crisis and fostering long-term solutions. It calls for a coordinated global response to address the humanitarian crisis, mitigate regional risks, and promote sustainable peace in Myanmar.

Keywords: geopolitical significance; international actors; Myanmar; protracted conflict; regional stability

© The Author(s). 2024. Published by UKM Press on behalf of SPHEA, FSSH, UKM, and MAFDC. This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted reuse, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Σ **Article Info:** Submission date: 30 December 2024; Acceptance date: 30 December 2024; Publication date: 31 December 2024.

* **First Author:** Md Mahbubul Haque, PhD, is a Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Law and International Relations, Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin (UnisZA), Kuala Terengganu, Malaysia. Email: mahbubh@unisza.edu.my

KOMENTAR

KONFLIK BERLARUTAN DI MYANMAR DAN PERANAN AKTOR ANTARABANGSA

MD. MAHBUBUL HAQUE

ABSTRAK

Myanmar, salah sebuah negara yang paling mempunyai kepelbagaian etnik di Asia Tenggara, terus berhadapan dengan cabaran besar dalam proses pembinaan negara, meskipun telah mencapai kemerdekaan 76 tahun yang lalu. Ketegangan berpanjangan antara pihak tentera dan etnik minoriti secara signifikan telah menghalang kemajuan. Pada 1 Februari 2021, pihak tentera merampas kerajaan melalui satu rampasan kuasa, menahan pemimpin politik utama termasuk Penasihat Negara Aung San Suu Kyi. Kesannya amat dahsyat, dengan hampir 6,000 kematian, lebih 3.3 juta orang kehilangan tempat tinggal, dan lebih separuh populasi kini hidup di bawah garis kemiskinan, terutamanya akibat keganasan yang dilakukan oleh pihak tentera. Kajian ini meneliti konflik berpanjangan di Myanmar melalui perspektif hubungan antarabangsa, dengan memberi tumpuan kepada peranan aktor antarabangsa dalam menangani krisis ini. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, kajian ini menganalisis data sekunder, termasuk laporan, dokumen dasar, dan artikel ilmiah, untuk meneroka implikasi geopolitik akibat ketidakstabilan Myanmar. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan kepentingan strategik lokasi Myanmar, yang membentuk interaksi negara ini dengan negara jiran serta kuasa-kuasa global. Konflik berpanjangan ini bukan sahaja memperburukkan ketidakstabilan domestik tetapi juga menimbulkan kebimbangan keselamatan bagi negara-negara jiran, sekali gus mengancam keamanan dan kestabilan serantau. Kajian ini menekankan peranan kritikal aktor antarabangsa dalam mendamaikan krisis ini dan memupuk penyelesaian jangka panjang. Ia menyarankan respon global yang diselaraskan untuk menangani krisis kemanusiaan, mengurangkan risiko serantau, dan membantu mempromosikan keamanan mampan di Myanmar.

Kata kunci: *kepentingan geopolitik; aktor antarabangsa; Myanmar; konflik berpanjangan; kestabilan serantau*

Introduction

Myanmar occupies a unique position at the intersection of South and Southeast Asia, serving as a bridge between Muslim-Hindu Asia and Muslim-Buddhist Asia and between Indo-Aryan and Mongoloid ethnic groups. Historically, Myanmar became a province of British India following the Third Anglo-Burmese War in 1824. It was later separated from India in 1937 and renamed British Burma. Myanmar eventually gained independence on January 4, 1948. Geographically, modern Myanmar holds a strategic position, linking South, Southeast, and East Asia. Throughout history, China and India have sought to influence Myanmar. Following British colonization, significant migration from South Asia shaped its demographic composition. Additionally, China's cultural and political influence on Myanmar has been notable since its early periods, partly driven by ethno-religious similarities.

Since gaining independence, Myanmar has faced persistent challenges in its nation-building process. The country neither adopted a federal system with multi-party democracy nor established a one-party system under the guise of "people's democracy." Instead, post-independence leadership sought to centralise power through a Burman-dominated, Rangoon-based authority. During the decolonisation period, it became evident that the broader society did not identify as part of the Union of Burma but rather as members of their respective ethnic groups. From the outset, the central government implemented policies of assimilation, Burmanisation, Buddhization, and exclusion, often marginalising and persecuting non-Burman communities. These strategies have been the foundational causes of Myanmar's protracted ethnic conflicts.

The dominance of the Burman ethnic group has been a significant challenge in Myanmar's post-independence nation-building process. The Burmans are the only politically influential group concentrated within the country's borders, representing approximately two-thirds of the population. Consequently, the ethnically diverse state of Myanmar has become a Union dominated by the majority Burman population. Efforts to establish a federal system have been largely unsuccessful. As Robert Taylor observed, "ethnic politics, as the opposite of national unity politics, was the starting point for understanding Burma's complex ethnic issues." Since independence, racial identity has remained an exceedingly sensitive and contentious issue in the country (Guan, 2018). No central government in Myanmar has ever managed to assert full control over the entire country, nor has a unified national identity emerged among its diverse ethnic groups. Over the past 76 years, the intensity of conflicts and the degree of central government authority have fluctuated. However, the military coup against Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi's government in February 2021 marked the beginning of a new phase of fragmentation. It is worth noting that the National League for Democracy (NLD) government, under Aung San Suu Kyi's leadership, demonstrated a lack of resolve in protecting minority groups and achieving genuine peace through negotiated solutions to ethnic conflicts, particularly those affecting the persecuted Rohingya Muslim community. Instead, her administration has been accused of downplaying and defending the military's grave human rights violations against the Rohingya people (Haque, 2017).

Before the military coup in 2021, Myanmar was home to approximately 24 armed ethnic groups and numerous militias (Ebbighausen, 2024). In recent years, opposition forces have achieved significant advancements, particularly in regions under the control of ethnic armed organisations (EAOs). Since the 1960s, the military has been engaged in prolonged conflicts with a smaller number of larger and more established EAOs, which also function as political entities. These groups initially took up arms following the failure of political negotiations with the Burmese government and military over power-

sharing and autonomy. EAOs primarily operate within Myanmar's ethnic states, which are administrative regions named after various ethnic groups and share international borders with countries such as Bangladesh, Thailand, India, and China (Mon, 2024). Additionally, the People's Defense Forces (PDFs) have emerged as larger, organized armed units formed or supported by the National Unity Government (NUG), a shadow civilian government established by democratically elected lawmakers. The PDFs function under joint command systems in collaboration with several EAOs (Hein, 2022). Over the past three years, the PDFs have expanded in size, organization, and operational capacity, posing a significant threat to the viability of Myanmar's military junta.

Ethnic conflicts continue to persist in Myanmar, even as much of the current focus is on resistance against the military. As one Yangon-based expert notes, "the conflict is not merely one against many but many against many. It is not solely the military against others." Richard Horsey, an analyst from Crisis Group International and a seasoned Myanmar observer, has stated that the country's political and social fragmentation is undoubtedly increasing (Ebbighausen, 2024). Despite this, experts on Myanmar generally do not foresee a complete collapse into widespread violent chaos akin to Libya. Addressing Myanmar's protracted conflict requires a nuanced understanding of the role of international and regional actors. Throughout Myanmar's post-independence history, China has directly supported groups such as the Communist Party of Burma, Wa, and Shan insurgents. Following the 1988 uprising, China established close ties with Myanmar's new military government during a period of global isolation. In contrast, India, while formally maintaining diplomatic relations, largely distanced itself by supporting pro-democracy forces, particularly Aung San Suu Kyi, and cutting off most economic and political engagement (Maizland, 2022). Since 2010, however, India has sought to strengthen its relations with Myanmar. China and India are now engaged in strategic competition to expand their influence over Myanmar's economy and political landscape.

Regional and International Actors

China's Role

As previously mentioned, China has historically maintained strong ties with Myanmar. Following Myanmar's democratization, China successfully cultivated relations with both the civilian government and the military. However, the dynamic shifted after the military coup in 2021, when most nations condemned the takeover. China, in contrast, was among the first to recognize the military regime. The sanctions imposed by Western countries and others in response to the junta's violent suppression of civilians further deepened Myanmar's reliance on China (Yumlembam, 2024). It is now evident that China has been a key supporter of Myanmar's current military regime. China has become the junta's largest foreign trading partner and a primary arms supplier. According to the UN Special Rapporteur, Chinese state-owned and private companies sold defence equipment—including aircraft, ammunition, fighter jets, and tanks—as well as raw materials like copper, aluminium, and steel, valued at over USD 260 million, to Myanmar's military government between February 2021 and December 2022 (Besheer, 2023). Speculation about China potentially increasing its involvement in Myanmar's civil war has been circulating for some time. However, these discussions have largely remained within expert circles and have not attracted significant mainstream attention, especially compared to China's highly publicized actions in the South China Sea.

Recent reports suggest that China has proposed establishing a "joint security company" with Myanmar, although the specifics of its structure and implementation remain uncertain. The involvement of armed Chinese personnel within Myanmar could increase the likelihood of Beijing directly intervening in the country's ongoing civil war, raising concerns about the potential for escalating involvement. China's motivations for enhancing its security presence in Myanmar are multifaceted. A key priority is safeguarding its investments under the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC). This proposal appears to have been prompted by the bombing of China's consulate in Mandalay on 18 October. Over the past year, threats to Chinese assets and personnel have intensified, coinciding with a significant decline in the Myanmar military's capacity to ensure basic security. While China has previously employed private military companies to secure Belt and Road Initiative projects in other regions, Myanmar's escalating civil war now poses a direct challenge to the military junta's grip on power. China's interests in Myanmar are deeply intertwined with the region's dynamics, given the porous nature of their shared border and Beijing's history of supporting both state and non-state actors.

India's Role

India enjoyed close relations with Myanmar during the first decade following their independence in the 1950s. The two nations formalised their ties through the Treaty of Friendship in 1951, which pledged "everlasting peace and unalterable friendship." India's relationship with Myanmar is complex and multifaceted, rooted in shared historical connections, cooperation during anti-colonial struggles against British rule, and evolving challenges since the 1950s. In the 1990s, India introduced its Look East Policy, prioritising regional connectivity, developmental aid, and military cooperation. In return, New Delhi sought Myanmar's support in addressing security issues, particularly in its landlocked northeastern states.

Scholars have noted that the junta's hold on Myanmar has weakened in recent years due to escalating conflicts with ethnic insurgent groups, particularly the Three Brotherhood Alliance (Banerjee, 2024). Myanmar's geographical proximity has made it critical to India's strategic interests, particularly in Rakhine and Chin States, where key development projects are underway. Among these is the Kaladan Multi-Modal Transit Transport Project (KMTTP), a vital initiative to link India's eastern coastline with its northeastern states via Myanmar. This project is integral to India's Act East Policy, intended to address logistical challenges, enhance regional integration, and provide an alternative route to the Siliguri Corridor. However, the intensifying conflict in Myanmar, particularly in Rakhine State, poses significant risks to Indian investments and the future of its projects. Political stability in Myanmar is essential for India, not only to ensure the progress of initiatives like the KMTTP but also to support its broader strategic goals. The project represents more than a connectivity endeavour—it is a cornerstone of India's strategy to counterbalance China's regional influence and secure stability in its northeastern territories.

United States of America's Role

Since the military coup in Myanmar in 2021, the United States has consistently condemned the actions of the Myanmar military regime, citing widespread human rights violations and the subsequent decline in the country's economy and human development. As part of its commitment to supporting democracy, the U.S. has imposed sanctions on 80 individuals and 32 entities, aiming to deprive the regime of resources necessary for

perpetuating its oppressive policies while advancing the democratic aspirations of Myanmar's citizens (Acharya, 2023). The United States has also pledged to hold Myanmar's military accountable for its actions, particularly the atrocities committed against the Rohingya population. In this regard, the U.S. has supported a case at the International Court of Justice under the Genocide Convention and backed a United Nations General Assembly resolution seeking to prohibit arms imports into Myanmar. In 2022, the U.S. Congress enacted the Burma United for Rigorous Military Accountability (BURMA) Act, reinforcing the nation's commitment to supporting the people of Myanmar during the ongoing political crisis and civil conflict. USAID plays a central role in implementing the BURMA Act, working to help Myanmar return to a path of inclusive and representative federal democracy. Additionally, USAID continues to collaborate with international and local partners to alleviate human suffering and empower communities amidst the turmoil.

The Burma Act has been the subject of considerable speculation. It outlines a broad U.S. policy commitment to "support the people of Burma in their struggle for democracy, freedom, human rights, and justice." The act explicitly endorses support for groups opposing the military junta, particularly the National Unity Government (NUG). However, it does not extend this support to ethnic armed organisations (EAOs) or the People's Defence Forces (PDFs). Additionally, the act emphasises the importance of establishing a "credible process" for restoring civilian rule, reforming the Burmese military, and safeguarding the rights of minority groups. It mandates accountability for those responsible for human rights violations in Myanmar and highlights the need to hold China and Russia accountable for their alleged support of Myanmar's military regime (Martin, 2023). The act also demands the unconditional release of all political prisoners in Myanmar. Security scholars have argued that the U.S. enacted the Burma Act not only to support democratic movements but also to counterbalance China and Russia's influence, suggesting it may serve as a proxy strategy against these powers.

Japan's Role

Since the military coup in Myanmar, Japan has consistently called on the Myanmar military to take decisive actions, including (1) an immediate cessation of violence, (2) the release of detained individuals, and (3) the swift restoration of Myanmar's democratic political system. Japan has also extended its full support to ASEAN's efforts to address the crisis (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2023). However, Japan regrets the lack of tangible progress over the past three years. Japan strongly urges the Myanmar military to halt airstrikes and other violent actions immediately and to take meaningful steps towards a peaceful resolution. These steps include releasing National League for Democracy (NLD) leaders, such as State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi, and initiating dialogue among all stakeholders. Japan remains hopeful that all relevant parties in Myanmar will cooperate to achieve a peaceful resolution. The situation in Myanmar has deteriorated significantly since the coup, leading to a severe humanitarian crisis with approximately 2.3 million civilians displaced across the country (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2024). To address this crisis, Japan is committed to ensuring that humanitarian assistance reaches those in need. It will continue collaborating closely with international organizations, NGOs, and other partners to provide aid. Additionally, Japan will enhance its coordination with ASEAN to improve the situation and contribute to a resolution.

European Union's Role

Since the military coup in 2021, the European Parliament has adopted three resolutions addressing the situation in Myanmar, with a fourth expected to focus on the junta's suppression of media freedom. In response to the crisis, the European Commission has implemented multiple rounds of sanctions targeting the military regime and its affiliated businesses (DW, 2021). The EU announced its fourth round of sanctions in February 2022, and activist groups have recently urged European governments to impose further measures by submitting lists of military officials to be sanctioned. The likelihood of a fifth round of sanctions has grown since late September when Aung San Suu Kyi—the ousted democratically elected leader—along with three former ministers and Australian economist Sean Turnell, was sentenced to three years in prison for allegedly violating the colonial-era Official Secrets Act (DW, 2022).

ASEAN's Role

In April 2021, ASEAN leaders-initiated mediation efforts that resulted in a Five-Point Consensus with Myanmar's junta leader. This agreement aimed to halt violence, appoint an ASEAN special envoy, facilitate dialogue among all parties, and ensure humanitarian aid access. However, junta leader Min Aung Hlaing later rejected the consensus, claiming to follow his own "five-point" plan to address the crisis. This rejection has embarrassed ASEAN, exposing its inability to develop a unified and effective policy. As ASEAN's rotating Chair in 2023, Indonesia has been striving to address this challenge, though the task remains formidable. ASEAN's decision to exclude Myanmar from sending political representatives to high-level meetings has undermined its core principles of centrality and non-interference, leaving the group in a "10-minus-1" configuration (Alexandra and Adhikari, 2023). Meanwhile, the military regime's brutal campaign has displaced over 1.3 million people and caused more than 30,000 deaths, deepening divisions within ASEAN. Countries in the Mekong region, including Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos, advocate continued engagement with the junta, officially known as the State Administration Council. Conversely, Indonesia and Malaysia, outraged by the junta's violence and still critical of the military's 2016-17 expulsion of nearly one million Rohingya Muslims, support greater isolation of Myanmar. They are joined by Singapore, with more limited support from the Philippines and Brunei. As ASEAN Chair, Indonesia adopted a more cautious and discreet approach in early 2023, initiating quiet negotiations with various stakeholders, including the National Unity Government (NUG) and the junta. While such behind-the-scenes diplomacy may be necessary, its progress is difficult to assess due to the lack of publicly available information.

Malaysia is set to assume the rotating chairmanship of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in January 2025. Among the key challenges it will face is addressing the growing cyber-scramming industry that has proliferated in parts of the region. Additionally, tensions between several Southeast Asian nations and China continue to escalate over territorial disputes in the South China Sea. Meanwhile, Myanmar remains mired in a civil war, posing another significant concern for ASEAN. Discussions with various Myanmar ethnic groups reveal high expectations, particularly among the Rohingya community, who hope for progress on refugee repatriation and the opportunity to live with equal rights and dignity alongside other citizens of Myanmar.

Bangladesh-Thailand

As neighbouring countries, Bangladesh and Thailand have hosted large numbers of refugees from Myanmar since the 1970s. The recent escalation of violence in Myanmar has triggered a new wave of refugees in both countries. On the eve of an informal ASEAN meeting, Thailand organised the Six-Country Informal Consultation, which included ministers from Bangladesh, China, India, Laos, and Myanmar. The meeting focused on addressing shared challenges such as border security and transnational crimes, including drug smuggling, human trafficking, and the proliferation of scam operations. While no significant outcomes were achieved, the participants pledged to enhance cooperation, particularly in information sharing and law enforcement coordination (Thai PBS, 2024).

Conclusion

Myanmar's 2021 military coup and resulting violent conflict prompted an unprecedented and multilayered crisis for the whole region. It is not a matter of the internal problem of Myanmar and now going beyond the border. Due to the refugee crisis, neighbouring states such as Bangladesh, Thailand, and Malaysia are now facing various human security threats. In parallel, the country's political unrest also imposed a staggering humanitarian toll, with more than 1.6 million internally displaced civilians, 17.6 million citizens in dire need of assistance, and nearly half of the population below the poverty line, due to an economic meltdown that resulted in an 18 per cent gross domestic product contraction in 2021 alone (World Bank, 2021; Linn, 2024). This research report briefly tried to explore the interests of regional and international actors. Throughout the discussion, it can be assumed that there is no short pathway to resolve the protracted conflict in Myanmar. All actors played roles from their standpoints of view. The U.S. and the European Union (EU) de facto severed their ties with the military junta and imposed several rounds of sanctions against its top echelons and revenue-generating economic conglomerates. At the same time, the Southeast Asian regional bloc barred the Tatmadaw-appointed political representatives from its summits. On the other hand, China maintains ties with the junta as well as a few ethnic armed groups. India is concerned about its development project and security threat after recent changes in Rakhine State. The present scenario suggests that until now no hope for peace initiatives between armed groups and military regimes. The United Nations also failed to take the comprehensive initiative to solve the protracted conflict in Myanmar.

Acknowledgement and Declaration

The authors would like to show their gratitude to SINERGI's anonymous reviewers and their constructive feedback in improving the quality of the manuscript. They both are also immensely grateful for their comments on earlier versions of the draft.

References

- Acharya, Anindita. 2023. "Radical Changes in U.S. Policy to Myanmar." *Modern Diplomacy*. <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2023/03/06/radical-changes-in-u-s-policy-to-myanmar/>.
- Alexandra, Lina, and Monalisa Adhikari. 2023. "The Role of ASEAN in Myanmar's Post-Coup Crisis: Breaking the Stalemate?" *PeaceRep: The Peace and Conflict*

Resolution Evidence Platform, School of Law, Old College, The University of Edinburgh. <https://peacerep.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/Myanmar-Policy-Brief-ASEAN-post-coup-crisis.pdf>.

Banerjee, Raisina. 2024. "Navigating Uncertainty: India's Strategic Dilemma in Myanmar." *Observer Research Foundation (ORF).* <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/navigating-uncertainty-indias-strategic-dilemma-in-myanmar>.

Besheer, Margaret. 2023. "UN Rights Expert: \$1 Billion in Arms Flowing to Myanmar Military." *Voice of America (VOA News).* <https://www.voanews.com/a/un-rights-expert-1-billion-in-arms-flowing-to-myanmar-military/7097798.html>.

DW. 2021. "Myanmar: Focus on Freedom of the Press." <https://akademie.dw.com/en/myanmar-focus-on-freedom-of-the-press-and-freedom-of-expression/a-56441046>.

DW. 2022. "Court Sentences Suu Kyi, Australian Economist to Three Years." <https://www.dw.com/en/myanmar-court-sentences-suu-kyi-australian-economist-to-three-years-in-prison/a-63274836>.

Ebbighausen, Rodion. 2024. "Myanmar: Civil War of 'Many against Many' Tearing Country Up." *DW.com. Deutsche Welle.* <https://www.dw.com/en/myanmar-civil-war-of-many-against-many-tearing-country-up/a-68938965>.

Guan, Ang Cheng. 2018. "Robert Taylor and Myanmar Studies." *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 33(3): 734–55. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26538291>.

Haque, Md. Mahbul. 2017. "Rohingya Ethnic Muslim Minority and the 1982 Citizenship Law in Burma." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 37(4): 454–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2017.1399600>.

Hein, Ye Myo. 2022. "Understanding the People's Defense Forces in Myanmar." *United States Institute of Peace (USIP).* <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/11/understanding-peoples-defense-forces-myanmar>.

Maizland, Lindsay. 2022. "Myanmar's Troubled History: Coups, Military Rule, and Ethnic Conflict." *Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).* <https://www.cfr.org/background/myanmar-history-coup-military-rule-ethnic-conflict-rohingya>.

Martin, Michael. 2023. "What the BURMA Act Does and Doesn't Mean for U.S. Policy in Myanmar." *Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS).* <https://www.csis.org/analysis/what-burma-act-does-and-doesnt-mean-us-policy-myanmar>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 2023. "The Situation in Myanmar Two Years after the Coup d'État." https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press1e_000366.html.

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 2024. "The Situation in Myanmar Three Years after the Coup d'État." https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/pressite_000001_00132.html#:~:text=Japan%20earnestly%20hopes%20that%20all,to%20live%20as%20displaced%20persons.
- Mon, Su. 2024. "Between Cooperation and Competition: The Struggle of Resistance Groups in Myanmar." *ACLEd*. <https://acleddata.com/2024/11/26/between-cooperation-and-competition-the-struggle-of-resistance-groups-in-myanmar/>.
- Thai PBS. 2024. "Thailand Must Act Decisively on Myanmar Crisis, Say Experts." *Thai PBS*. <https://world.thaipbs.or.th/detail/thailand-must-act-decisively-on-myanmar-crisis-say-experts/55915>.
- Yumlembam, Ophelia. 2024. "Decoding China's Multi-Stakeholder Strategy in Myanmar." *Observer Research Foundation (ORF)*. <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/decoding-china-s-multi-stakeholder-strategy-in-myanmar/>.