

## A study on the life and security conditions of CDM soldiers

Author: Hlaing Gyi



### Introduction

After the coup in February 2021, a significant number of security personnel who opposed to the junta's actions left the army. Despite facing severe restrictions, challenges, and punishment, punishment might be better here verbose; defections persist, particularly at the Thai-Myanmar and Indian-Myanmar borders and areas controlled by ethnic-armed militias. These former soldiers became IDPs, migrant workers, refugees, or joined the revolutionary forces.

In doing so, they take on different lives and face many challenges. Coming from a restricted, regimented military environment, they have limited interactions with civilians and face hurdles due to a lack of vocational training and often lack resources to start a new life. Language barriers further compound their difficulties. This research aims to explore the hurdles and hardships encountered by the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) soldiers, shedding light on their broader societal challenges. Identifying these obstacles and implementing tailored policies and support mechanisms is crucial for bolstering the Defection Movement.

### Background

In 2021, the military's seizure of state power faced nonviolent civil disobedience, with the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) emerging as a crucial component. Military and security personnel actively participated in the CDM Movement, opposing the military council's power grab. These individuals, called CDM soldiers, have received a warm welcome from the people. CDM soldiers established associations during this period, and organized lobbying to join the CDM with more soldiers. Similar to CDM soldiers serving in the People Embrace Committee of the National Unity Government, various organizations contribute to strengthening the CDM Movement through their respective associations.

In this situation, CDM soldiers have been helped and supported by other CDM groups such as People's Goals, The Spouses of People's Soldiers, Mother's Embrace, People Heroes, Blooming Padauk (all of these CDM groups were formed to help CDM soldiers). Stakeholders including the NUG have also been providing support to CDM soldiers through support policies and forming of People's Embrace committee which is designed to help CDM soldiers in various aspects of their lives.

The CDM Committee was formed under the leadership of NUG on April 27, 2021, to support the CDMers in different divisions and states. One of the committee's objectives is to provide effective protection and honor to CDMers. In the announcement of June 8, 2021, the NUG officially pledged to systematically record all of the nonviolent Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) and the perpetrators who have bullied and threatened CDMers. This information will be used for adjudication after the abolition of military dictatorship and the establishment of a new federal democratic union.[1]

The defection of military personnel was an essential process during the revolution, and revolutionary forces, including the NUG, campaigned for more soldiers to join the CDM.

The National Unity Government's People Embrace Committee is structured around five fundamental Task Forces:

1. Task Force for Awareness and Morale Warfare
2. Information Management Workgroup (responsible for screening and logging contacts)
3. Communication and Transportation Support Team (facilitates transportation for individuals connecting to relevant areas)
4. Humanitarian Assistance Group
5. Inquiry Team for Experiences and Actions (responsible for documenting military information and experiences)[2]

The National Unity Consultative Council has endorsed four state-sponsored CDM policies approved by the Joint Coordination Committee (JCC-CDM). Policy number 2 emphasizes recognition and documentation, focusing on the transitional justice process for CDM national employees, truth-seeking, justice, and remedies for damages.

The CDM national staff policy document drafted by JCC-CDM addresses the CDM activities of military and security personnel in Chapter 1, Clause 3 (e), defining "Army and police CDM state employees" as military and police personnel engaged in the CDM campaign.[3]

According to a CDM captain overseeing an organization supporting CDM soldiers, the collaboration between National Unity Government Ministries and JCC-CDM members is underway to draft legislation for CDM participants, encompassing both CDMers and CDM Soldiers. Representatives designated by the National Unity Government primarily execute Task Forces 3 and 4 within the People's Community Development Committee, two key components of the ongoing efforts.

In the dynamic CDM Movement, troop inflow under the Military Council has fluctuated. Operation 1027 [4] and operation 1111 [5] resulted in attacks by the Northern Alliance forces and the acceleration of revolutionary forces in various states. This led to battalion-sized defectors and arrests as prisoners of war. The conditions are categorized into CDM individually or in groups, surrender exposure, and being captured as a prisoner of war, each with

varying permits and recognition based on circumstances.

The division into three types includes:

1. CDM Soldiers: These individuals desire to join the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) and often establish contact with organizations supporting CDM soldiers beforehand.
2. Defected Soldiers: This group of soldiers defected to the side of resistance fighters shortly before the combat engagement, either using the white flag as a symbol of defection or surrender.
3. Prisoners of War: This group comprises military soldiers captured or surrendered during clashes.

The National Unity Government has endeavored to support approximately 14,900 CDM Soldiers and Police personnel. However, the demand for assistance surged following operations like 1027 and 1127. Despite efforts, the National Unity Government encounters challenges in adequately providing for the increasing number of individuals seeking support. A spokesperson for the National Unity Government stated, "We are confronted with budgetary constraints and a lack of international support for military defection. Consequently, we have relied on the resources provided by the Myanmar people. Moving forward, it's imperative that we foster collaboration and actively seek international donations to address this pressing issue." [6]

[1] Maw Maw (2023) From Resistance to Reparation: Ensuring the Rights of CDM Civil Servants in Myanmar, School of Public Policy, Chiang Mai University

[2] Forum on Defection and Defiance Movement, Day Three, July 7, 2023

[3] A Paper on the Civil Disobedience Movement Policy, January 20, 2023

[4] Operation 1027 was launched in northern Shan State on Oct. 27 by the ethnic Brotherhood Alliance, comprising the Ta'ang National Liberation Army (TNLA), Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA), and Arakan Army (AA)

[5] Operation 1111 was launched in Kayah (Karenni) State on Nov. 11 by the Karenni Nationalities Defense Force (KNDF), Karenni Army (KA), Karenni National People's Liberation Front (KNPLF), and People's Defense Forces (PDF)

[6] 2nd Forum on Defection and Defiance, Day Three, January 31, 2024



## Research Problem

In 2021, the Myanmar military took control of the state power, citing irregularities in the November 2020 election. After that, political leaders and famous pro-democracy figures were arrested by the junta. Activists and civilians in Myanmar opposed the junta's actions, staging a range of nonviolent protests. The Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM), consisting of civil servants who refused to serve under the military regime, played a crucial role in the revolution. Sadly, many people were killed by junta soldiers.

Some soldiers, disagreeing with the junta, resisted and joined revolutionary groups and became known as defectors or CDM soldiers. They left the military barracks and found refuge in liberated areas (under the control of Ethnic Resistance Organizations (EROs) or People's Defense Forces), where they faced numerous challenges in terms of everyday survival and security. The State Administration Council (SAC) is actively disseminating propaganda aimed at undermining trust between CDM Soldiers and resistance forces. False claims circulating on Telegram channels and Facebook pages affiliated with the military council allege that revolutionary forces are targeting and eliminating CDM soldiers based on information provided by them. Furthermore, within military circles, these narratives are regularly reinforced through speeches and discussions. Additionally, they propagate the false notion that successful attacks on revolutionary forces are enabled by information obtained from CDM soldiers who have managed to evade surveillance. This concerted effort is intended to sow seeds of distrust between CDM soldiers and revolutionary forces.[7]

On April 1, 2023, Thai immigration authorities detained Ko Thiha, a member of the Lion Battalion who provided medical assistance to patients in Mae Sot. According to the Human Rights Watch (HRW) group, three individuals, including Ko Thiha, were apprehended and subsequently transferred to the border guards of the Myanmar Military Council. "Thai authorities have disregarded the risks faced by these individuals in Myanmar by collaborating with the Burmese military council, despite the peril to the lives and freedom of the three opposition activists," stated Elaine Pearson, HRW's Asia director.[8] There are concerns that refugees,

including CDM soldiers residing along the Thai-Myanmar border, may face extradition to the military council.

The revolutionary National Unity Government (NUG) and its Joint Consultative Committee on CDM (JCC-CDM) have some CDM policies in place. Since there are differences between CDM civil servants and CDM Soldiers, a separate analysis is required when developing CDM policies. Nevertheless, soldiers continue to join in defection to revolutionary groups. Currently, the Myanmar Army soldiers continue to join CDM, and due to the intensification of armed conflicts, some of the battalion's defections by troops Surrenders are also increasing. Therefore, the security sectors still need policies and assistance that can absorb defectors and CDM soldiers.

[7] Military Propaganda Monitoring Report, May 2023, Available at [https://www.mediafire.com/file/hyus87cz9zsfq5q/Propaganda+Monitoring+Report\\_May\\_2023.pdf/file](https://www.mediafire.com/file/hyus87cz9zsfq5q/Propaganda+Monitoring+Report_May_2023.pdf/file)

[8] HRW accuses Thailand of collaborating with the military council to suppress the opposition on April 13, 2023. Available at: <https://burmese.voanews.com/a/thailand-myanmar-activists-forcibly-returned/7048822.html>

## Research Objective

1. To understand the daily life and living conditions of CDM soldiers in the Thailand-Myanmar border area.
2. To examine the security conditions of CDM soldiers from the perspective of human security.
3. To support the development of relevant NUG and JCC-CMD policies that improve the life and security of CDM soldiers.

## Key concepts:

**Life story** – Taking a life history approach, this study aims to portray the life of soldiers participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement through narrative interviews conducted with a selected number of soldiers about their experiences. A life history portrays an individual's entire life, while a personal experience story is a narrative study of an individual's personal experience found in single or multiple episodes, private situations, or communal folklore. [1](Denzin 1989 cited in Creswell 2007: 75).



**Security** – Following the UNDP's definition of human security that goes beyond freedom from war and violence to include access to basic needs and rights to livelihood, food security, health care, environmental security, community security, and political security [2](Barile, 2013), this study aims to investigate the concerns of CDM soldiers, focusing on understanding the security challenges they encounter in their daily lives and exploring their aspirations for the future.

**CDM soldier/Defector** – CDM soldiers are defined as individuals who departed the Myanmar Army after the military junta seized power and joined the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM).

[1] Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches. London: SAGE Publications.

[2] Globalization and Human Security Challenges in Nigeria, Journal of Humanities and Social Science

## Methodology

I conducted in-depth interviews using a semi-structured questionnaire for data collection. Seven CDM soldiers and three supporters actively involved in the movement participated in these interviews. Additionally, I attended the 2nd Defection Forum, gathering insights from various stakeholders, including CDM soldiers, NUG representatives, EAO members, activists, and leaders of CDM support organizations.[1]

## Limitation

This research primarily focuses on CDM soldiers situated in specific regions, such as the Thai-Myanmar and India-Myanmar borders, and areas controlled by Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) in southern Myanmar. Consequently, it does not provide a comprehensive overview of all CDM soldiers across the country.

## Leaving the army and starting a new life

Many soldiers are choosing to depart from the Myanmar Army, even amid perilous circumstances. A soldier who recently left a frontline camp in Karen State to join the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) shared his experience: "I sought counsel from three comrades and we decided to leave the army without informing our superiors. Communication was challenging in the camps due to the absence of phone lines, leaving us unable to coordinate in advance. Moreover, our route was riddled with numerous landmines, necessitating careful removal as we navigated our way out. Upon encountering troops from the Karen National Union (KNU) Brigade 5, I expressed my desire to participate in the CDM. I conveyed my aspiration to contribute to the movement as an enlightened individual. To my delight, they extended a warm welcome and embraced my decision wholeheartedly."

Soldiers stationed in rear camps faced various hurdles when attempting to reach areas controlled by ethnic revolutionary forces and the Thai-Myanmar border. One soldier recounted encountering numerous challenges during these journeys, often resorting to paying bribes to navigate through particularly difficult situations.

The Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) emerged amidst formidable challenges, particularly the oppression and constraints experienced within the military, including unfair assignments and acts of violence. Responding CDM soldiers cited these as primary reasons for their decision to leave. A soldier from the Defense Equipment Department stated "I was previously a soldier at the Defense Equipment Factory. However, I made the decision to leave the army and join the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) due to my inability to reconcile with the fact that the weapons we were manufacturing were being used to harm and kill civilians.."





Despite their brave choice to depart, CDM soldiers are now grappling with the daunting task of resettling and forging a new life in their current circumstances. Soldiers residing in regions governed by ethnic revolutionary forces, as well as those situated along the Thai-Myanmar and Indian-Myanmar borders, face manifold challenges as they endeavor to establish themselves anew.

## **The life and security challenges of CDM soldiers living on the Thailand-Myanmar border.**

Many soldiers who have left the Myanmar Army to join the CDM Movement have sought refuge along the Thai-Myanmar border, particularly in areas like Mae Sot, Mae Sai, and Mae Hong Son. Some CDM soldiers who were carrying weapons and dedicated received rewards from revolutionary forces. They relocated to urban cities, in search of greater job opportunities.

### **Employment opportunities challenges**

The majority of CDM soldiers are employed in manual labor sectors like construction, agriculture, and fruit picking. Typically, those with steady employment earn between 200 to 300 baht per day. For example, one CDM soldier with four years of military service described, "I work as a farm laborer, earning 300 baht a day for spraying tasks. On days other than spraying, I get 200 baht a day. Our meals consist of rice curry, which is cooked at the workplace. We work eight hours daily and receive payment every two months." Another soldier, with ten years of military service, expressed concerns about the lack of steady employment, stating, "I do not currently have a regular income-generating job. Instead, I take sporadic jobs whenever they come up. The uncertainty of not having stable employment worries me." Interviews revealed that many CDM soldiers face challenges finding consistent and secure long-term job opportunities, often working extended hours in precarious conditions. Consequently, they rely on financial support from the National Unity Government (NUG) and occasional donations from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to sustain themselves.

### **Accommodation challenges**

Accommodation remains a pressing challenge for CDM soldiers, especially those lacking steady income and wages. Upon arrival in Mae Sot, CDM soldiers are offered temporary shelter in Safe Houses managed by the People's Goal group for a duration of three months. However, following this period, they must secure alternative housing arrangements. An official from People's Goal stated, "Residents may extend their stay if there are no new arrivals of CDM soldiers or if the Safe Houses' population remains within acceptable limits." Currently, Safe Houses can accommodate up to 10 families and 20 single individuals." I currently reside in the People's Goal Safe House. Since leaving the army, I have lost contact with my family. If I am required to vacate the Safe House and secure accommodation as a tenant, it would pose significant challenges," shared a CDM soldier who recently left a frontline camp in Karen State, where they were earning a monthly salary of 4,800 baht. The higher cost of living in Thailand exacerbates the difficulty of finding suitable housing for CDM soldiers, further compounding their challenges.

### **Challenges of CDM Soldiers residing in Thailand without legal Document**

Most CDM soldiers face the difficulty of not having legal residency. Only one of the eight respondents is in the process of applying for a legal residence permit. He also faced financial difficulties while working to obtain legal identification." We gave 14,000 THB to make a legal residency document for me and my wife. We don't even have money left to pay the house rent," said a CDM soldier with ten years of military service.

While they are relatively safe from arrest by local police while within Myanmar-Thailand border cities, such as Mae Sot, they remain vulnerable to detention by Immigration Police. Fearful of severe repercussions if returned to Myanmar, they often resort to paying bribes to evade arrest. "When I attempted to return to the ethnic revolutionary area in Mae Sot, I was arrested by Thai authorities and I faced a lot of difficulties to escape ." recounted



a CDM soldier currently assisting comrades. Obtaining official recognition remains a distant prospect for CDM Soldiers, further complicating their legal status. Lacking legal residency and no solid identity, CDM soldiers face life and safety concerns.

## Health and emergency challenges

Health and emergency challenges pose significant hurdles for CDM soldiers in Mae Sot. Reports from interviews highlighted accidents at construction sites and the ensuing financial strain caused by emergency medical procedures. A CDM captain expressed frustration, stating, "CDM supporting organizations used to have plans to provide emergency health support for us, but I don't think there are any now. When we need urgent assistance, they can't help. Their focus seems to be solely on providing regular support to cover the monthly allowance."

The challenge of accessing emergency healthcare compounds the difficulties faced by CDM soldiers. Despite prioritizing accommodation and travel expenses, healthcare support remains inadequate, leaving basic medical needs unmet.

## Challenges and Uncertainty Faced by CDM Soldiers

Among CDM soldiers who have sought refuge in Thailand, there exists a diversity of aspirations regarding their future paths. While some intend to settle within Thailand, others harbor aspirations of relocating to third countries. However, the journey toward resettlement is fraught with obstacles. A CDM captain involved in supporting operations explained, "While some soldiers express interest in relocating to a third country such as Australia, many encounter hurdles, including rejections at the interview stage, I think it was rejected because of those who came from the armed forces. The Australian government has accepted defectors seeking asylum down under since January 2022.[1] Although CDM soldiers have sought refuge moving to Australia, only a handful of soldiers and families actually migrated, and most applicants were rejected in the process. This makes the expectations of many CDM soldiers unfulfilled.

Despite the substantial number of soldiers within the CDM, recent data indicates that only a few have been granted permission to settle in third countries. At the 2nd Forum on Defection and Defiance, a spokesperson for the National Unity Government addressed this issue, highlighting the potential for resettlement support with a CDM Code Number, contingent upon information sharing with the NUG.

For those residing in Thailand, obtaining robust proof of residency is crucial for future endeavors, especially for those considering resettlement as refugees. Individuals contemplating relocation to third countries while seeking refuge in Thailand seek security assurances from UNHCR[2].

Moreover, some CDM soldiers harbor concerns about returning to Myanmar, even during the transition period following the cessation of the civil war. A veteran CDM soldier expressed doubts about the new government's ability to ensure their safety and well-being upon return.

Additionally, some CDM soldiers have chosen to collaborate with revolutionary forces and attack the Military Council. Despite the grave dangers of such actions, they persist in their attack, demonstrating their unwavering resolve. Despite these challenges, the lives and future of CDM soldiers remain precarious, underscoring the need for unwavering determination in navigating adversity.

## Status of Assistance Provision

The National Unity Government (NUG) extends support to CDM soldiers through its 1+3 policy, which offers financial aid of up to 1,000 baht per person per month, with a maximum cap of 4,000 baht for households comprising more than four members. However, challenges arise in registering family members for support, as CDM soldiers are registered individually. According to a CDM captain overseeing an organization supporting CDM soldiers, delays and difficulties are encountered during the registration process for family members. In addition to financial aid, essential provisions such as rice, oil, salt, potatoes, onions, and garlic are provided monthly. Upon arrival, newly enlisted CDM soldiers are equipped with the necessary supplies. Furthermore, CDM receives periodic support from organizations that are aligned with its objectives.



## **The life and security challenges of CDM soldiers living on the India-Myanmar border.**

Approximately 2,000 CDM Soldiers and their family members who defected from the Myanmar Army to join the Civil Disobedience Movement are currently residing in refugee camps. Some have chosen to settle in cities within the state of Mizoram. On February 28, 2024, the Mizoram State Assembly unanimously opposed the central government's decision to erect a fence along the India-Myanmar border and suspend free movement across the border. The outcome of the border fence remains uncertain. They have to live in a precarious situation if they wait for such changes in the policies of the central and state governments of India. "CDM soldiers are facing a difficult situation due to lack of adequate supplies, lack of jobs, and high prices," said a CDM officer working to support CDM soldiers in India.

### **Employment opportunities challenges**

The majority of CDM soldiers work as construction laborers, engaging in agricultural labor and fruit picking. However, their employment prospects are hindered by language barriers and skill mismatches, making it challenging for them to compete with other migrant workers. Laborers working in India usually earn between 400 and 500 rupees (between 170 and 220 THB) per day. However, it is still difficult to get a job even though the wages are lower than those of the workers who have moved from other areas, said a CDM officer who is supporting the CDM soldiers. Consequently, they face significant hurdles in securing steady employment.

### **Health and emergency challenges**

Tragically, some CDM Soldiers have succumbed to illness or injury due to the lack of access to adequate medical care. "There were deaths after the outbreak of malaria because they had to work in hard jobs such as logging," said a CDM officer assisting the CDM soldiers. While they can seek treatment at hospitals designated for war refugees, they often struggle to cover transportation and living expenses.

## **Challenges and Uncertainty Faced by CDM Soldiers**

To establish residency, CDM Soldiers obtain an IDP ID card issued by the Mizoram state government. However, their prospects of resettling in third countries are limited by India's stringent travel policies. Moreover, concerns persist regarding potential policy shifts following the Mizoram state election. They face not only physical security but also emotional hopelessness due to an uncertain future.

### **Status of Assistance Provision**

Under the 1+3 policy implemented by the NUG, CDM Soldiers are entitled to receive financial support ranging from 70000 kyats to 280000 kyats. However, most recipients only receive 700,00 kyats per person. "Those of us living in India do not get support according to the 1+3 policy. We get food and living only from the Mizos," said a CDM soldier who took refuge in India at the 2nd Forum on Defection and Defiance. Many have voiced their grievances to NUG officials, expressing their need for regular monthly income and requesting equitable support similar to CDM Soldiers in other regions.

## **The life and security challenges of CDM soldiers in areas controlled by revolutionary forces.**

CDM Soldiers are residing within territories controlled by ethnic revolutionary forces, where the extent of freedom of movement varies depending on the location and governing authorities. Through the Defection Forum, CDM soldiers urged that there is a need for better policy and implementation on defection between the NUG and the National Revolutionary Forces.

### **Employment opportunities challenges**

In these areas, CDM Soldiers often engage in occasional jobs within the villages, earning between 100 and 200 baht per day. Some regions also involve agricultural activities to sustain livelihoods. A soldier who left the Defense Equipment Department and became a CDM said, "I don't have a steady job, so I'm having a hard time getting food."



## **Health emergency and Security challenges**

If there is a health problem, they receive treatment from medical personnel from the revolutionary forces. Living in areas influenced by ethnic revolutionaries, they harbor concerns about potential aerial bomb attacks, which pose a constant threat to their safety.

Many CDM Soldiers express a desire to lend support to the People's Defense Force and Ethnic Resistance Armed Forces wherever possible, reflecting their commitment to the cause.

## **Status of Assistance Provision**

Under the NUG's 1+3 policy, CDM Soldiers are eligible to receive support ranging from 280,000 kyats to 7,000,000 kyats. However, most rely heavily on NUG assistance to meet their basic needs.

## **Recommendation**

### **Recommendations for NUG and JCC (CDM):**

1. The NUG should transparently outline policies and procedures aimed at supporting individuals who have surrendered as part of a group.
2. Enhance coordination between the CDM movement and other revolutionary forces, including ethnic revolutionary groups nationwide. Prioritize contact initiatives regarding defection issues.
3. Ensure CDM soldiers are provided with the necessities to sustain themselves independently.
4. Extend adequate condolences to the families of CDM soldiers who have been arrested, killed, or injured while participating in the movement.
5. Document the experiences of CDM soldiers who have joined the People's Defense Forces while offering recognition and support to their affected family members.
6. Facilitate the acquisition of residency documentation for working CDM soldiers in Thailand to ensure legitimacy and security.

7. Explore opportunities for relocation to third countries and settlement for CDM soldiers desiring such options.

### **Recommendations for CDM Soldier Supporting Organizations:**

1. Establish a Coordination Body within CDM Soldiers Supporting Organizations to coordinate various aspects such as health, security, livelihoods, job opportunities, and children's education.
2. Address emergency healthcare and security concerns for CDM soldiers by collaborating with legal entities, such as law firms, to support migrant-supporting organizations in Thailand.



## References:

Bariledum, K. (2013). Globalization and human security challenges in Nigeria. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 17(5), 34-41.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. London: SAGE Publications.

HRW accuses Thailand of collaborating with the military council to suppress the opposition. (2023, April 13). Retrieved from <https://burmese.voanews.com/a/thailand-myanmar-activists-forcibly-returned/7048822.html>

Maw Maw. (2023). *From Resistance to Reparation: Ensuring the Rights of CDM Civil Servants in Myanmar*. School of Public Policy, Chaing Mai University.

The National Unity Consultative Council. (2023, January 20). *A Paper on the Civil Disobedience Movement Policy*.

Myanmar Military Propaganda Monitoring Report. (2023, May). Retrieved from [https://www.mediafire.com/file/hyus87cz9zsfq5q/Propaganda+Monitoring+Report\\_May\\_2023.pdf/file](https://www.mediafire.com/file/hyus87cz9zsfq5q/Propaganda+Monitoring+Report_May_2023.pdf/file)

2nd Forum on Defection and Defiance, Day Three, January 31, 2024.

Forum on Defection and Defiance Movement, Day Three, July 7, 2023.

Australia issues protection visas to Myanmar military defectors. (2022, March 18). Retrieved from <https://www.smh.com.au/world/asia/australia-issues-protection-visas-to-myanmar-military-defectors-20220316-p5a53v.html>

