

February 2, 2023

- Cost of the Coup

THE BRICKS HAVE FALLEN

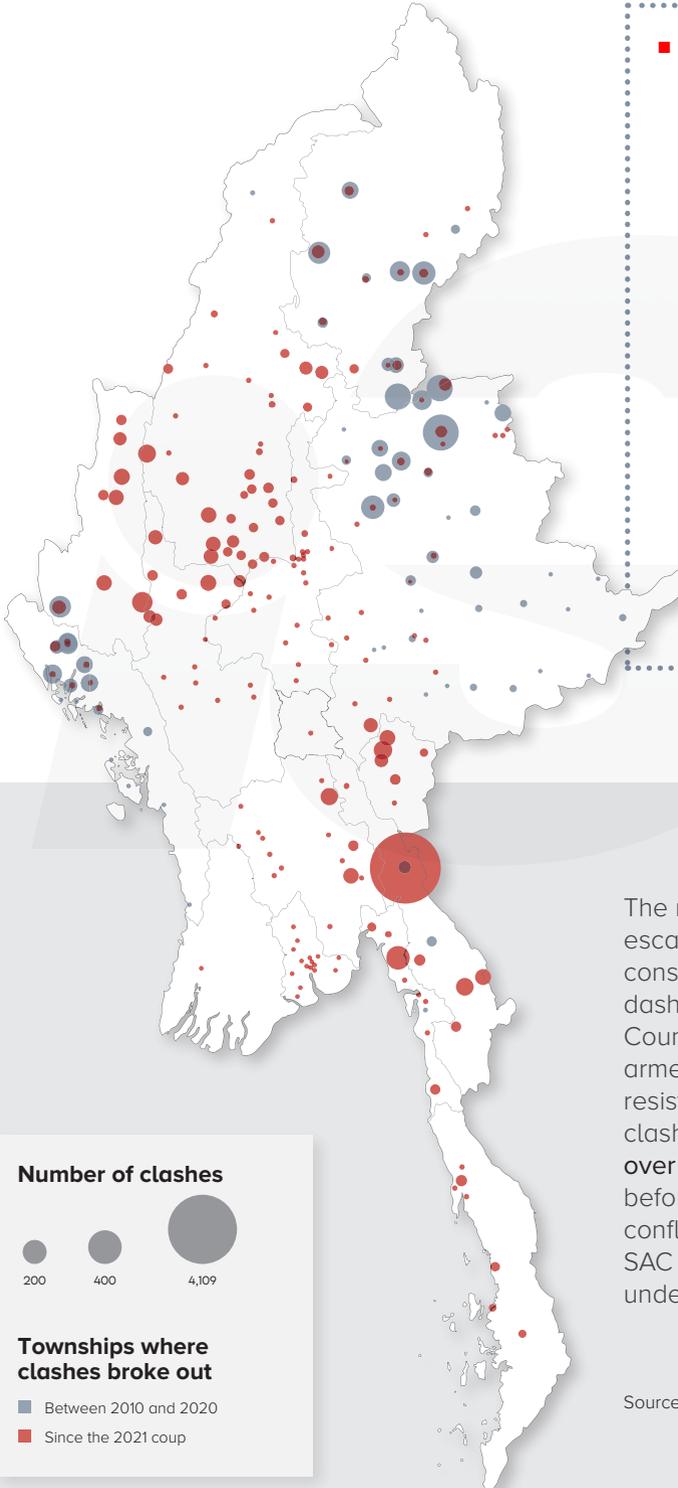
Seven Setbacks since the Military Coup, and Rays of Hope for the Society

On the occasion of the second anniversary of the military coup in Myanmar, ISP-Myanmar analyses seven setbacks in chapters, on the negative consequences of the military coup. These chapters are political, economic, human security, health, education, foreign relation, and cross-border threats. ISP-Myanmar determines the most important setback in each chapter as pieces of evidence are presented in the data display. In conclusion, the ISP-Myanmar highlights rays of hope for the future of the society as a consequence. There could be different interpretations in determining the importance of the facts and other protruding setbacks which could be hardly displayed by data.

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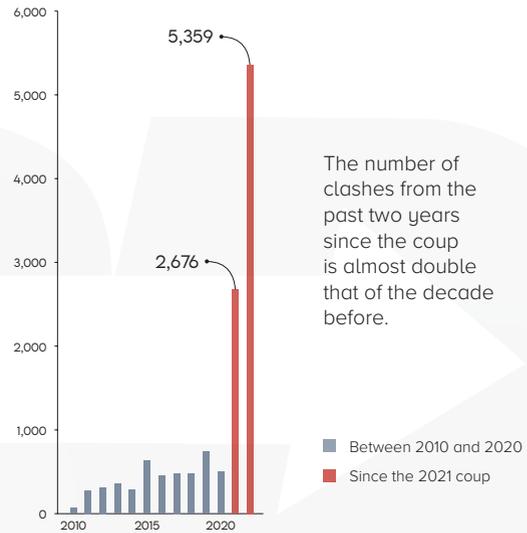
Seven Setbacks since the Military Coup, and Rays of Hope for the Society

■ Shrinking Political Space and Escalating Militarization



■ Over 8,100 armed clashes have broken out since the coup

(As of Jan 23, 2023)



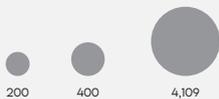
The number of clashes from the past two years since the coup is almost double that of the decade before.



The most significant political setback since the coup is escalating militarization. Political dialogue, which the past two consecutive governments have loudly promoted has been dashed. Violent crackdowns by the State Administration Council (SAC) has left many areas with “no option but the armed revolution”. As a consequence, at least **577** armed resistance groups have emerged. Moreover, the number of clashes only within two years after the coup has already been **over 8,000** while the total number within the whole decade before the coup was just **over 4,600**. Such escalating armed conflicts evidently shrinks political spaces in the country. The SAC reports that only **198** out of **330** townships are pacified and under control.

Source: Data presented here is collected by ISP-Myanmar and has been counterchecked with reports by other independent organisations. It should be noted that the data coverage is within ISP-Myanmar’s reach, and actual figures may be higher.

Number of clashes



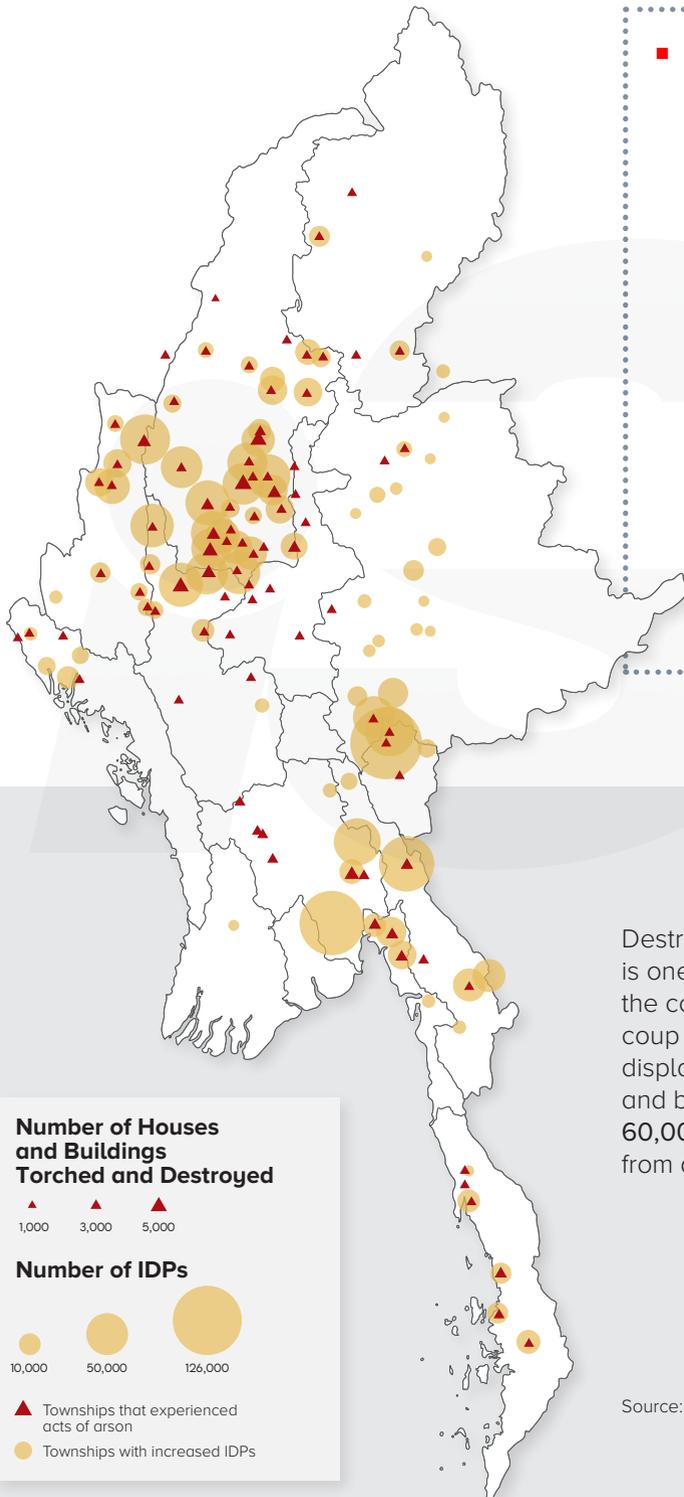
Townships where clashes broke out



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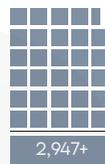
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■ 2 Million Displaced and Over 57,000 Houses and Buildings Torched

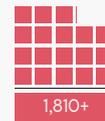


■ Over 7,900 Civilian Deaths Since the Coup

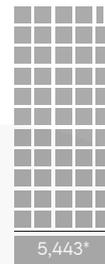
(From Feb 1, 2021 to Dec 31, 2022)



According to the AAPP, at least 2,689 civilians were killed by the SAC during anti-coup protests and during detention by the SAC.



According to the data compiled by ISP-Myanmar, at least 1,706 civilians were killed during post-coup armed conflicts.



According to a report in a SAC-controlled media on Sep 19, 2022, 3,542 civilians were killed after being accused of collaboration with the military as informants.

■ 100 civilians

* No independent verification has been made for the numbers published by the SAC.



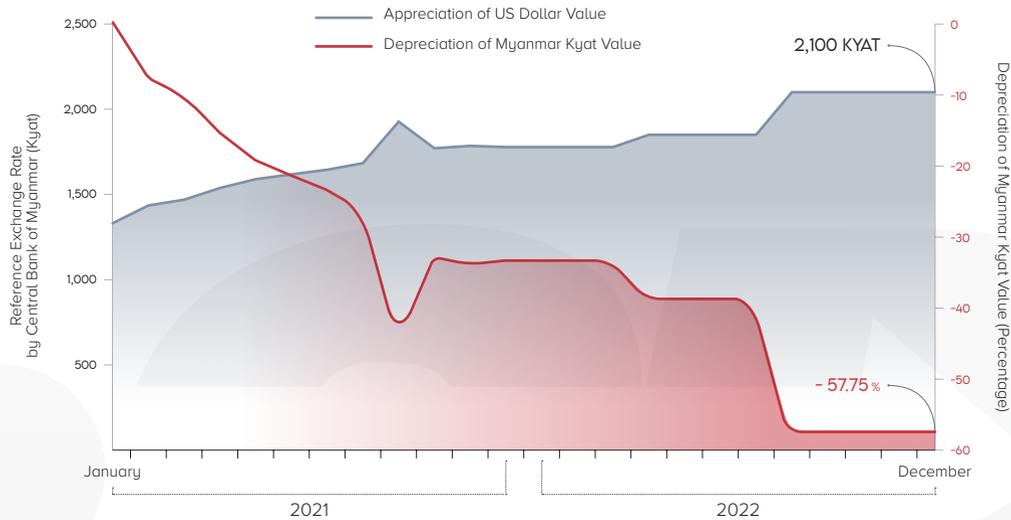
Destruction and Loss of citizens' properties across the country is one of the hardest setbacks within the past two years since the coup. At least **2,006,245** people fled homes during post-coup armed conflicts. These townships with the internally displaced persons (IDPs) also experienced arson, with houses and buildings torched and destroyed - numerically, at least 60,000 houses and buildings (including religious buildings) from at least 93 townships.

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■ Myanmar Kyat Lost its Value: from 30% to 60% down



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Within two years since the coup, Myanmar economy has had devastating impacts as Myanmar Kyat value hitting a record low as the most significant shock. According to the reference exchange rate by the Central Bank of Myanmar, Myanmar Kyat value depreciated by **60%** within the past two years, while parallel market rates showed a drop of **110%**. For example, a person with a savings of **10 millions** in Kyat has lost **3 to 6 millions** from their savings within the past two years. Another example is that an imported product worth **100,000 Kyats** has risen to at least **130,000 up to 210,000 Kyats** in the post-coup. Difficult economic situation – by inflation and higher commodity prices – is severely affecting Myanmar people’s welfare and increased vulnerability.

Note: To show the depreciation in Myanmar Kyat value, the calculations were made upon monthly exchange rate changes in the past two years by putting the exchange rate in January 2021 as a baseline.

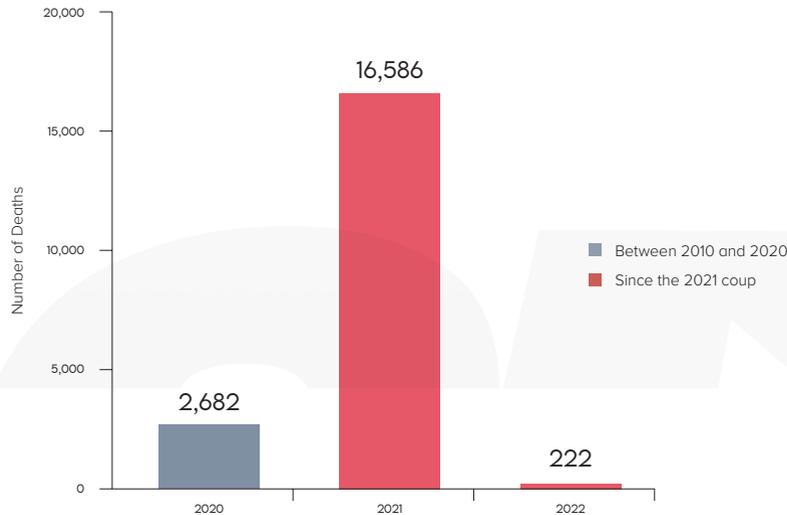


People waiting to withdraw cash at the military’s Myawaddy bank on 23 Feb 2021. (Photo: Kyodo)

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■ Drastic Covid Death Toll



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Among the post-coup setbacks in the healthcare sector, the highest covid death toll is the most significant. While the number of deaths from Covid-19 was only **2,600** before the coup, **over 16,000** people died in the post-coup period, increasing over six-fold. However, it is notable that this post-coup death toll is officially reported by the SAC, and the actual number is believed to be higher. For example, within three months of the severe Covid-19 third wave (from June to August 2021), **over 44,000** dead bodies were cremated at Yangon's cemeteries. Typically, the monthly average number of cremations at Yangon's cemeteries is about **4000**. On the other hand, **47,254 healthcare workers (45.7% of the whole healthcare industry)** joined Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM), and the SAC continues to arrest and oppress them.

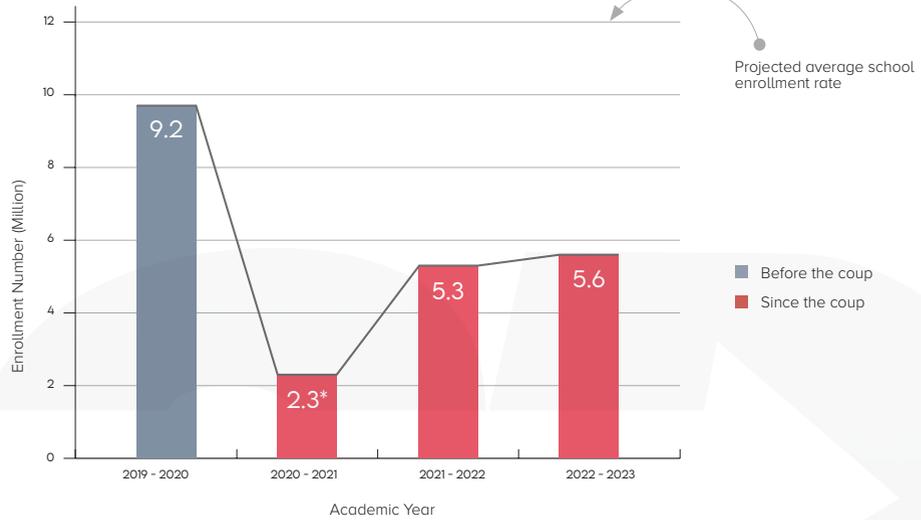


People waiting in line to get oxygen for covid patients in July 2021.

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■ Education Access Loss: At least 8 or 10 million



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In the educational sector, another setback is the significantly declined school enrollment. While the enrollment rate was **over 9.2 million** in the 2019-2020 academic year, it dramatically dropped to **2.3 million** in the 2020-2021 academic year (although schools reopened in November 2021). Later, the number has risen to only **5.6 million**. The enrollment rate from primary to higher education could be **around 12 million annually** (depending on the population growth rate). It can, therefore, be drawn from the inference that at least **8 to 10 million** students have lost educational access in the past three academic years since the coup. In addition, out of **430,000 teachers**, over **125,000** have joined the civil disobedience movement (CDM) and later who have been dismissed by the SAC.

Note: The data presented here are taken from the SAC's reports. A news report by SAC's Ministry of Education on Nov 30, 2022, stated that over 7.23 students are attending schools for the 2022-2023 academic year.

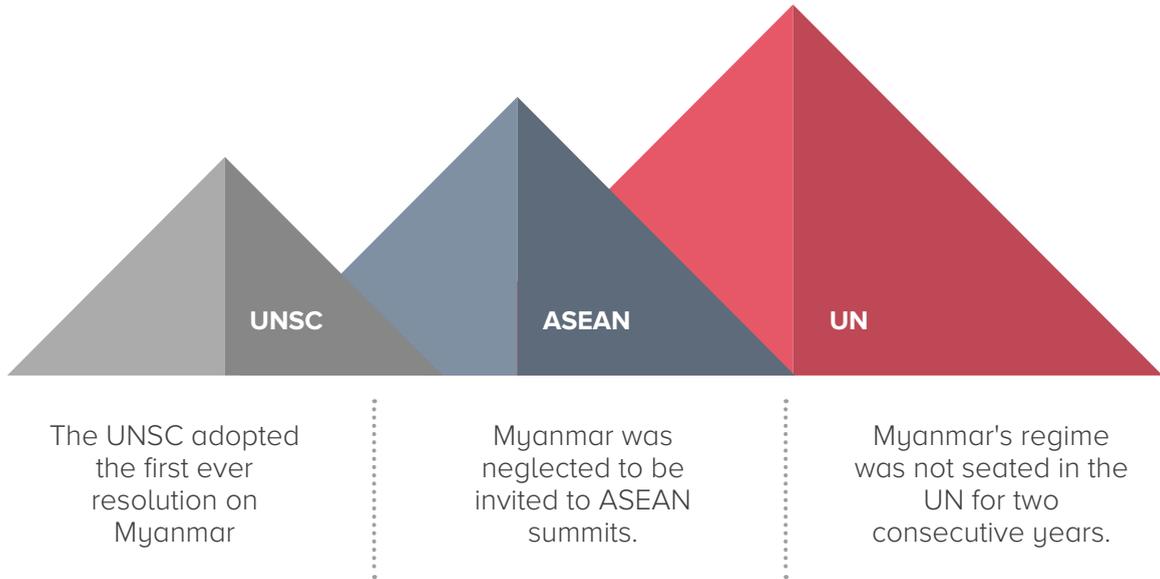


Teachers protesting in Mandalay on Feb 28, 2021.

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■ Perished in diplomacy



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Among many setbacks in international relations, the SAC regime failed in three cases remarkably. The first event is the regime's representative failed to seat at the UN despite their attempts in the past two years. Secondly, the SAC's chairman was not invited to the ASEAN leadership summits, keeping the ASEAN consensual decision. The third case concerns the first ever resolution on Myanmar adopted by the UNSC in the past 70 years. This diplomatic pressure forces the SAC to rely more on Russia and China; significantly, the regime promotes closer ties to Russia. **The SAC chairman has visited Russia three times in the past two years and met Vladimir Putin once.**

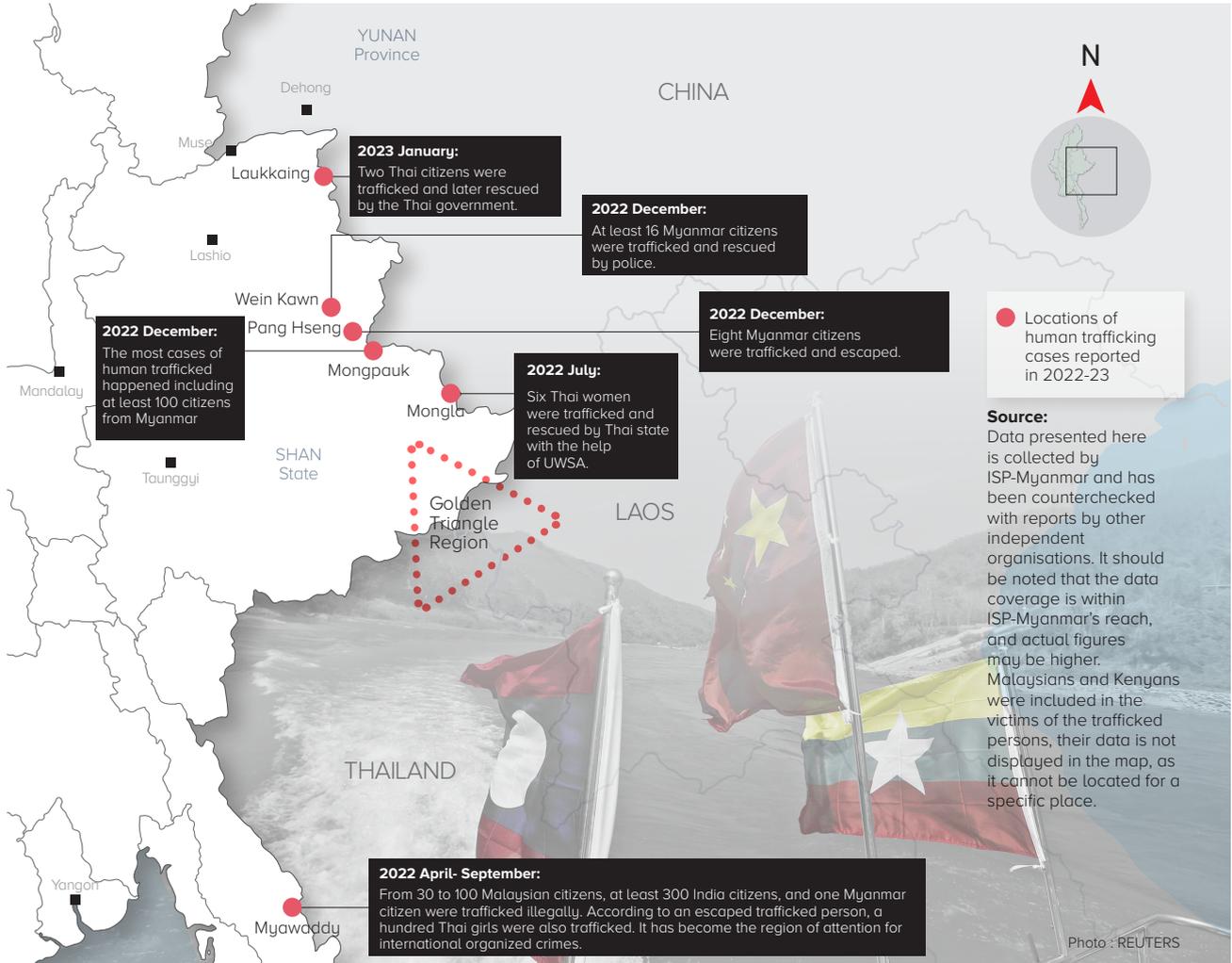


Empty seat for Myanmar at the ASEAN summit in November 2022

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■ Myanmar: A Hub of Transborder Crimes



In the post-coup period, lack of rule of law is prevailing countrywide. Local media and social media frequently report scores of crimes such as thefts, robberies and murders. Illicit drugs are easily available everywhere. Meanwhile, a major setback is Myanmar being watched as a region of transborder organized criminal activities. After the coup, at least three satellite towns emerged at the Thai-Myanmar border, including infamous Shwe Kokko, and became places for gangs of online scams, illegal casinos and gambling, and human trafficking. UWSA's controlled area near the Sino-Myanmar border, reported with more cases of human trafficking. More reports emerged from Myanmar's border regions, that not only local Myanmar, but also citizens from Malaysia, Thai, Kenya, and India are recruited, trafficked and forced to work in illegal activities in these regions.

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■ Four Strengths of the Young and A Ray of Hope

300,000 - 500,000



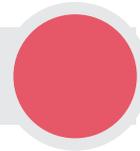
At least 1.3 to 1.5 million students are pursuing higher education at universities and colleges in Myanmar. 300,000 to 500,000 of them have joined the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) against the military dictatorship.

200,000+



Over 500 newly emerged armed forces, including People Defense Force (PDF), People Defense groups (PaKaPha), Local Defense Force (LDF), and underground and guerrilla forces, are estimated with approximately 200,000 personnel. Most of the personnel are the youth.

380,000+



There are around 1 million civil service personnel in Myanmar, and at least 380,000 of them have joined the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM). But these numbers need to be verified and the actual number may be higher.

While there have been many setbacks since the coup, rays of hope are still there for the society, with the significant aspect of active persistent pursuit of the young and their aspiration for a better future. Around **300,000 to 500,000** young people from higher education institutions chose not to go to school, and have been participating in the CDM. At the same time, many of the new **200,000** personnel have joined the armed resistance groups, mostly young people. Moreover, the youth are included in at least **380,000** civil service personnel who have joined the CDM. **Hence, the leadership from all sectors are responsible to ensure that the four strengths of the young - aspiration, sacrificing effort, strong determination, and skillful capacity for a better future do not go wasted.**

