



Human Rights Now

7F Creative One Akihabara Bldg. 5-3-4 Ueno

Taito-ku, Tokyo, JAPAN 110-0005

<http://hrn.or.jp/eng/>

Phone: +81-3-3835-2110 Fax: +81-3-3834-1025

Email info@hrn.or.jp

Status of Human Rights and Sanctions in Myanmar

SEPTEMBER 2012 REPORT

This report seeks to provide an overview of the developments in September 2012 that relate to the status of human rights in Myanmar. It also reviews the response of the international community to Myanmar's efforts, with a particular focus on the country's progress toward meeting the requirements for termination of U.S. sanctions. Additionally, this report highlights recent changes to the U.S. sanctions regime.

I.	International Community and Sanctions	2
A.	Targeted Easing by the U.S.	2
B.	Developments in the Broader Sanctions Community	3
II.	Economic Development	3
A.	Investment Reform Agenda.....	3
B.	Land Reform Agenda.....	4
C.	Land Seizures.....	5
III.	Political Prisoners	6
IV.	Ethnic Violence.....	7
A.	Rakhine State.....	7
B.	Kachin State.....	8
C.	Karen State	9
V.	Governance and Rule of Law.....	9

I. International Community and Sanctions

Extraordinary democratic reforms have swept across Myanmar since President Thein Sein came to power in March 2011. In response to Myanmar's reform efforts, a wave of nations have relaxed or eliminated sanctions against the impoverished Southeast Asian nation, providing Myanmar an opportunity for greater diplomatic and economic engagement. While the Myanmar government has taken promising steps towards democracy, including the initiation of ceasefire talks with ethnic militias, the release of hundreds of jailed political prisoners, and a dialogue with the National League for Democracy (NLD), recent events demonstrate the fragility of Myanmar's reform process.

A. U.S. Sanctions: Targeted Easing

On September 26th, the U.S. Treasury's repository of financial data, the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, repealed an April 2004 rule that required certain U.S. financial institutions to take special measures directed at Myanmar Mayflower Bank and Asia Wealth Bank, which were Myanmar's largest banks at the time.¹ However, as these financial institutions no longer exist, the move to pull such sanctions was largely symbolic.

On September 19, the U.S. Treasury Department announced that it has removed sanctions on two top Myanmar officials. The removal gives President Thein Sein and Speaker Thura Shwe Mann of the lower house of parliament access to once-blocked property and assets and allows Americans to do business with them. Treasury said the removals acknowledge the efforts of the pair on behalf of reform. "Thein Sein and Thura Shwe Mann have taken concrete steps to promote political reforms and human rights, and to move Myanmar away from repression and dictatorship toward democracy and freedom, warranting today's delisting action," said David Cohen, undersecretary of the Treasury for terrorism and financial intelligence, in a statement.²

Washington continues to maintain an import ban on products from Myanmar, against which Myanmar officials are pressing hard. Lifting the ban would help jumpstart Myanmar's economy, its leaders say, but Washington has held back in the hopes of seeing more political and economic reforms. Washington also has kept a number of other top Myanmar businessmen on its list of targeted sanctions, meaning U.S. companies still can't work with many of the country's most-established business leaders. However, there have been some indications from the U.S. government that it will soon ease the ban on imports,³ including U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's announcement on September 26th that the U.S. will begin the process of easing restrictions on imports of Burmese goods into the U.S.⁴ Lifting the import restrictions would bring new life into large parts of the Myanmar economy, especially the country's textile industry, which was once a major exporter to the West before trade sanctions were imposed in the 1990s.⁵

President Thein Sein has granted amnesty to hundreds of political prisoners over the past year and oversaw elections that saw Ms. Suu Kyi and other members of her opposition party win seats in parliament, while Speaker Shwe Mann has supported the President's reforms. In a statement, Treasury said: "Going forward, additional listings or delistings will be pursued as appropriate to meet changing conditions in Myanmar."⁶

B. Developments in the Broader Sanctions Community

The European Commission on September 17th proposed to reinstate trade preferences with Myanmar to help support the country's political reforms. The "Everything but Arms" preferential trade initiative would give Myanmar duty-free and quota-free access to the European market for all products except arms and ammunition, the commission statement said. The September 17th proposal will be submitted to EU member states and the European Parliament for agreement.

"Since Myanmar started to open up earlier this year I saw the need to underpin such deep and important changes with real economic support once key improvements for the workforce had been met," said EU Trade Commissioner Karel De Gucht. "Trade is fundamental to supporting political stability and the EU's trade preferences mean we will give this reform-minded country priority access to the world's largest market," he added in a statement.⁷

Myanmar was suspended from the "Everything but Arms" regime in 1997 due to its serious and systematic violations of international conventions on forced labor. In June, however, the International Labour Organisation concluded that, while some problems with forced labor persisted, significant progress had been made.⁸

U Myat Thinn Aung, the chairman of AA Group of Companies, said if the European Union reinstated trade preferences for Myanmar as part of the Global System of Preferences in place for Least Developed Countries (LDCs), it would make Myanmar's exports highly competitive in European markets. "The EU normally charges zero tax from imports from LDCs such as Myanmar," he said. "For example, Bangladeshi exports to the EU are not taxed, which makes those goods much cheaper and attractive in those markets."⁹

II. Economic Development

A. Investment Reform Agenda

Myanmar's parliament finally passed a new foreign investment law this month, but President Thein Sein decided to return the legislation to parliament for further amendment when it reconvenes in late October. U Soe Thane, chairman of the Myanmar Investment Commission and overseer of 11 ministries, acknowledged growing impatience among would-be investors for clarity on investment rules but said the president was "more concerned about getting the law right" than rushing through an imperfect code.¹⁰

The latest version of the law reduces from 13 to 11 the number of "restricted" or "forbidden" areas for foreign investors, but also gives the Myanmar Investment Commission the power to restrict any manufacturing or service business that, by its determination, can be done by Myanmar nationals, according to a copy of the legislation obtained by the Associated Press. Farming, livestock breeding, and fishing activities that can be undertaken by Myanmar nationals are singled out for restrictions in the new legislation. The remaining restrictions apply to ill-

defined businesses that might harm people's health, traditional cultures or the environment; deal in toxic waste or dangerous chemicals; import technology, medicine or equipment that has not been approved for use outside the country; and businesses that lie within 10 miles of the border.¹¹

In restricted sectors, the legislation permits foreign investors to propose 50-50 joint ventures. This is up from 49 percent foreign ownership in a prior version, but the new wording has left some wondering whether a foreign investor could also apply for a majority stake in a restricted joint venture. In unrestricted sectors, the law permits wholly-owned foreign businesses or joint ventures with a minimum 35 percent foreign stake.¹²

According to Mr. Soe Thane, the existing 1988 foreign investment law will be "quite adequate" to satisfy foreign investors until Myanmar's new law is amended. Some foreign investors and legal experts have even said the existing code is "better than the new draft with its amendments", although some noted this month that the new legislation contains some favorable incentives including better terms on land leases and tax exemptions.¹³ Even these incentives, however, are not firmly understood because the new law gives the Myanmar Investment Commission sweeping powers over licensing and regulating foreign business, including approving which bank a company does business with and empowering it to blacklist foreign companies or withdraw their tax incentives.¹⁴

As a result, many investors, particularly from the United States and Europe, are waiting for the investment law to be further amended and passed before putting money into a country that until recently was considered a pariah by the West. "It's important to have a good understanding of this investment law," said Pierre Trouilhat, a senior projects manager at Nestle who is overseeing the company's efforts to set up in Myanmar. "It's the first thing our lawyer is going to ask us."¹⁵

B. Land Reform Agenda

Land is a politically and economically sensitive issue in a country where 70 percent of the country's 60 million population depends on agriculture. The sector accounts for 43 percent of the economy and farming is the only livelihood for millions of households in Myanmar. All land is owned by the government but farmers are given land use or tillage rights.¹⁶

Two laws passed by the parliament in March, the Farmland Law and the Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Lands Management Law, provide little protection to current land owners. Despite the government's focus on agriculture to reduce poverty, many activists and experts believe the new laws, if ultimately enacted, could make more farmers landless. Win Myo Thu, managing director of ECODEV, a local NGO, sees the laws as "helping the cronies," i.e., the businessmen who got rich due to their cozy links with the former junta. "Businesses would be the winners and the farmers would be losers," he said.¹⁷

"Far from reducing the prospects of land grabbing, the Farmland Law opens the door to confiscation of agricultural land on any pretext associated with a state project or the 'national interest'," a recent report by the Asian Legal Resource Centre said.¹⁸ The report warned of a land

grab epidemic in Myanmar and added that people who refuse to move risk prosecution and jail time.

In an encouraging nod to the emerging democratic government, many in power realize that the land issue could be decisive in the 2015 general election. Members of parliament routinely raise the issue of farmers' welfare or land confiscation on behalf of their constituents. Last month, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture had argued that land claims predating the reformist Thein Sein government should not be assessed as they fall under the laws of the old military regime. The parliament ignored the Ministry of Agriculture and voted by a wide margin to establish a committee to investigate land disputes.¹⁹

C. Land Seizures

Myanmar's political and economic opening has led to a flood of foreign investment over the last year. China is the largest investor with \$13 billion in Myanmar, followed by Thailand with \$9 billion. Japan is also planning to strengthen investments, while major U.S. corporations such as Coca-Cola and MasterCard have indicated that they are planning to invest in Myanmar following the U.S. government's decision earlier this summer to lift an investment ban.²⁰

Phil Robertson, Deputy Asia Director for Human Rights Watch, says a key concern for the moment is the issue of land seizures. "One of the things that we're seeing coming up all over Myanmar is land problems, seizures of land – unauthorized taking of land by well-connected wealthy people," he said. "Myanmar is starting to see similar areas that previously were not considered very important all of a sudden are starting to look valuable and people with connections are displacing farmers and others."²¹

Economic liberalization has inevitably led to the privatization of former state-owned enterprises, and political reforms have permitted those harmed by development projects to make their voices heard. This month, students from Mandalay joined about 1,500 farmers and other citizens to protest the seizure of land for a copper mining project in northwestern Myanmar jointly owned by the military and a Chinese company.

The Monywa copper mine project, about 25 kilometers (15 miles) west of Monywa, is jointly operated by China's Wan Bao Mining and the military-owned Union of Myanmar Economic Holdings Ltd. Wan Bao Mining, a subsidiary of China North Industrial Corp., an arms manufacturer, bought its 50-percent stake from the Canadian mining company Ivanhoe. The deal was concluded while Myanmar was still under military rule, however, and as such was not subject to any legislative oversight.

To expand the mine, which now covers over 8,000 acres (3,250 hectares), 26 villages, and several mountains, Wan Bao offered to relocate families to better houses and pay \$600 per acre in compensation. Many villagers agreed to the company's terms, but others resisted, saying the \$600 offer was too low – many of their farms yield that much or more in revenue each year.²²

Several villages banded together to launch protests in June after bulldozers and mine waste began appearing on their land. In response, officials closed down Wethmay's monastery in

an apparent attempt to force village residents to leave. Groups of villagers – sometimes more than a thousand – have gathered in tense rallies in recent weeks and challenged police who held weapons in firing positions, according to residents and local media reports.²³

The protest in Monywa in Sagaing region escalated further on September 12 after a dozen of the protest's leaders were arrested the day before. Land rights activist Win Cho in Yangon reported that nine people have since been released but three female protest leaders remain in custody. The Monywa Open Society activist said members of the "88 Generation" group – activists from a failed 1988 student uprising who have formed an independent political pressure group – came to Monywa to help mediate.²⁴

President Thein Sein last year suspended construction of the \$3.6 billion Myitsone hydroelectric dam project in northern Myanmar led in part by China Power Investment Corp., which would have flooded an area the size of Singapore if completed. Activists hailed the move as a breakthrough for popular democracy at a time when Chinese investment in the country was stirring increasing resentment. Activists, however, are less optimistic about the current dispute. The Myitsone dam involved a river system vital to Myanmar's history and culture, whereas the Monywa mine project would affect a smaller number of people.²⁵

III. Political Prisoners

This month Myanmar pardoned more than 500 prisoners in an amnesty that included at least 80 political detainees. It was the fourth amnesty declared in the past 12 months.²⁶ The announcement on state television did not make clear if any of the 514 were political prisoners or so-called prisoners of conscience, but activist groups who monitor dissidents jailed in Myanmar said more than 80 to 90 were given presidential pardons.

Bo Kyi, secretary-general of the Thai-based Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (AAPP), said on Tuesday 88 political prisoners were freed, possibly more. Ba Myo Thein, from the Group for Freedom of Political Prisoners, put the number at 84 dissidents, including 24 Buddhist monks.²⁷ A prison department official in Myanmar, who requested anonymity because he was not authorized to speak to the media, said 399 of the 514 pardoned were foreigners, including 84 from Thailand and 18 from China.²⁸

The United States has repeatedly called for all remaining dissidents to be freed as a precondition for further economic rewards, including a relaxation of the ban on imports of Myanmar-made products. In Washington, the U.S. State Department reacted cautiously to news of the amnesty. "We are watching developments of the prisoner release closely and will work carefully to verify if any political prisoners are released," said a spokeswoman on condition of anonymity. "The United States continues to call for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners."²⁹

Fearing that much of the leverage on the Myanmar government may already have been lost due to easing of sanctions in the West, human rights groups including Human Rights Watch, Burma Campaign UK and Amnesty International have been criticizing the slow pace of releases

and are calling for the final release of hundreds of political prisoners still being held in Myanmar.³⁰

Human rights groups are also calling for the creation of an independent commission under the auspices of the UN, which can identify all those in prison for political reasons, and ensure they are released immediately.³¹ As has been stressed in previous reports, accurate reporting on this issue is still missing and there is a lack of transparency from the Government about who is a political prisoner and how many are left.

U.N. Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Myanmar, Tomás Ojea Quintana, welcomed the latest presidential amnesty and called on authorities to continue “this systematic liberation” without conditions. However, he expressed concerns that conditions may again be attached to this latest release, such as the imposition of the remaining sentence if a crime were committed in the future. According to Amnesty International the presidential amnesty was granted under section 204(a) of the Constitution and section 401(1) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, a form of conditional release which allows the authorities to re-imprison individuals without warrant to serve the remainder of their sentence if the authorities believe they have not fulfilled the conditions of their release.³²

Looking forward beyond the amnesty measures, Mr. Ojea Quintana stressed that “adequate medical and psycho-social services should be provided to those released, particularly those who suffered ill-treatment or were subject to prolonged periods of solitary confinement” and that the Government should take positive steps such as providing reparations to prisoners, removing restriction on applications for passports and removing obstacles to continue their education or regaining professional licenses.³³

IV. Ethnic Violence

A. Rakhine State

Violence in Rakhine State between Muslim Rohingyas and Buddhist Rakhines continued this month. Myanmar's government considers the estimated 800,000 Rohingyas to be foreigners while many ordinary Myanmar people say they are illegal immigrants from neighbouring Bangladesh.³⁴ As we reported last month, the violence stems from attacks in May against Buddhists that were attributed to Muslim Rohingyas. The attacks since then have been “primarily one-sided,” with Buddhist Rakhines and police forces attacking Muslim Rohingyas, according Amnesty International researchers.³⁵ While the exact figures are uncertain, reports suggest that the attacks have left dozens dead and resulted in the displacement of nearly 90,000 Rohingyas.³⁶

At the United Nations General Assembly this month, leaders of Muslim countries called for action to deal with the unrest in Rakhine state. U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon told President Thein Sein that the ethnic unrest in Rakhine could threaten the country's recent progress in democratic reforms and also spill across international borders.³⁷ Ban made his

comment during a meeting with Thein Sein and the head the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which has established a special committee to deal with the Rohingya issue.

Also this month, the United States urged Bangladesh to keep its border open to Rohingya refugees fleeing Myanmar in the wake of this summer's violence, but advocated their safe repatriation as a long-term solution. A delegation of the U.S. State Department recently visited the troubled region, including Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh's southern Cox's Bazar district.³⁸

The government of Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina earlier this year asked international aid organizations to stop providing services to undocumented Rohingya to discourage the flow of refugees from Myanmar. The government says it needs to take precautions because it has intelligence reports that some Islamic militant groups have targeted the Rohingya refugees for recruitment.³⁹

U.S. officials at a news conference in Dhaka urged both Myanmar and Bangladesh to work out a long-term solution while stressing the need for providing food and basic healthcare to stateless Rohingya. Some 28,000 Rohingya refugees live in two official camps in Cox's Bazar district, but tens of thousands of others languish outside without proper care or facilities.⁴⁰

B. Kachin State

The Kachin Independence Army has been at war with Myanmar's Army since June 2011 when fighting erupted near a hydropower dam in Kachin State, ending a 17-year cease-fire between the two sides and displacing more than 75,000 Kachin civilians, many of them seeking refuge across the border in China.

In a speech before the UN General Assembly in New York this month, President Thein Sein said the government placed a high priority on ending armed conflicts with ethnic minorities, but made no specific mention of the situation in Kachin state. Later, at the Asia Society, President Thein Sein said he had ordered government troops to stop fighting with the KIA, adding "but our Kachin colleagues have not reciprocated".⁴¹ Despite the President's comments, the reality on the ground suggests that if he has in fact ordered his troops to halt attacks on Kachin positions, his orders are not being carried out.

Ceasefire negotiations are currently at a standstill. After several meetings, both sides seem to be unable to find common ground. The parties now cannot even agree to the venue for the next round of talks.⁴² Sumlut Gam, the chief of the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) negotiating team maintains that the main stumbling block in the negotiations is that the Myanmar government wants to sign a ceasefire before initiating any kind of political dialogue while the KIO wants the opposite.⁴³

Meanwhile, the U.N.'s refugee agency (UNHCR) is seriously concerned over reports that China has sent back some 5,000 ethnic Kachins, many of them children, to makeshift camps in insecure parts of Kachin state. Local groups and partners say they expect more people to be sent back from China. UNHCR is urging the government of China to offer temporary protection to

those who fled the fighting, to respect their humanitarian needs and not to send them back to a situation where their safety and livelihood could be at risk.⁴⁴

Refugees say Chinese officials strong-armed the KIO into taking the refugees back into Kachin. According to Seng Li of the KIO relief committee, government leaders in China's Yunnan Province began pressuring the KIO to retrieve the refugees beginning in January.⁴⁵ After pushing back for months, KIO officials conceded to China's demands. Kachin refugees in China were left with three options: find a way to pay for housing in China, move to camps on the Kachin side, or risk returning to their villages.

Chinese authorities have denied forcing Kachin people to leave. After the New York Times reported on the returns, the Chinese foreign ministry stated publicly that the conflict was subsiding and the Kachin people were choosing to go home of their own accord.⁴⁶

C. Karen State

Since the 1940s the Karen National Union (KNU) and the Myanmar government have been engaged in what many describe as the world's longest running civil war. The on-again, off-again jungle conflict has driven hundreds of thousands of people from their homes, left thousands killed or maimed, and made it a struggle for families to make ends meet. This month, however, the government and the KNU met for another round of peace talks to discuss troop positions.⁴⁷ Like Myanmar's other large ethnic minorities, the Karen ultimately seek a substantial devolution of central control to their regions, something the Myanmar authorities have resisted. "Overall we can say things are improving as this is the third time the government and KNU meet, and publicly the government praises the KNU," says Susanna Hla Hla Soe of the Karen Women's Action Group, an observer at negotiations held last week in Hpa'an.⁴⁸

The current ceasefire between the parties is promising for future economic growth in mineral-rich Karen state, but a full settlement remains elusive. Locals anxiously await the passage of the new foreign investment law in hopes that it will draw foreign money and technology into the local mining industry. "We need outside investment, outside technology," says Shar Phaung, a local entrepreneur. "We can only mine by hand right now, we don't have machines to do this properly yet."⁴⁹ Many also cite the current mining law, which requires 30 to 70 percent profit sharing between investors and the Myanmar government, plus royalties and taxes, as a significant sticking point for potential investment.⁵⁰ The government has promised to reform this legislation as well.

In the meantime, the residents of Karen state are dealing with the lingering effects of decades of civil war. Many villagers also lack access to electricity and running water, while landmines, a constant danger, significantly limit their ability to travel and find work.

V. Governance and Rule of Law

On the heels of a major cabinet reshuffle last month, all nine judges on Myanmar's presidentially appointed Constitution Tribunal abruptly resigned on September 6 after two thirds

of the lower house of parliament voted to impeach them.⁵¹ The duties of the Tribunal, which was formed on February 11, 2011, and whose members were nominated by the president and two speakers of parliament, are to interpret the provisions of Myanmar's Constitution, determine whether laws promulgated by the Parliament are in conformity with the Constitution, decide constitutional disputes between the Lower and Upper Houses of Parliament and with local assemblies, and make decisions on the rights and functions of state, regional, or self-administered divisions or zones.⁵²

The dispute between the Government and the Parliament over the Tribunal began in March but gained momentum after the formation in August 2012 of a Rule of Law Committee, headed by Aung San Suu Kyi. The basis for the disagreement, and ultimately the impeachment, was the MPs' objection to a March decision of the Tribunal that denied parliamentary committees the status of national-level organizations, thereby limiting the power of such committees, meaning, for example, that the committees would not be able to summon government ministers for questioning.⁵³ President Thein Sein had submitted a request for the Tribunal to define the powers of parliamentary committees and other bodies and, according to academia at the Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), the Tribunal was well within its rights to take up the case and issue a decision. In the view of outraged MPs, the Tribunal had essentially undermined Parliament's ability to oversee the actions of the executive branch and had thus tilted the balance of power in the executive's favor.⁵⁴

There are many who view the dispute as demonstrating the maturation of Myanmar's democracy, as it was members of President Thein Sein's own ruling Union Solidarity and Development Party who led the effort against the tribunal he had appointed. The opposition was spearheaded by his former army colleague Thura Shwe Mann, speaker of the lower house. Thura Shwe Mann had said the decision not to designate parliamentary bodies as state-level entities affected the ability of the lawmakers to carry out their work and harmed their reputations. Some 301 lower house MPs, including opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi, signed a petition to impeach the tribunal because of its alleged incompetence in discharging its duties.⁵⁵ CSIS however warns that, though it is partially correct that the legislature is stretching its wings and that political reforms are taking place, the legislature's victory is not an unqualified good for Myanmar. The decision to impeach the entire court sets a dangerous precedent for judicial independence, in a country where the judicial branch is the weakest, with extremely limited capacity. The legislature has no right to overrule the Tribunal's rulings that the Constitution declares to be "final and conclusive." The requirements for impeachment of the Tribunal include "inefficient discharge of duties" and "breach of any of the provisions under the Constitution" but it appears to have done neither. Given the legal murkiness surrounding the crisis, a central recommendation made by CSIS is the overhaul of the country's Constitution.⁵⁶

The new Constitutional Tribunal will be formed during the next session of Parliament, according to MPs. However, it is not yet clear how the ongoing dispute regarding the status of parliamentary committees will be resolved.⁵⁷

The Rule of Law Committee formed in August 2012 and headed by Aung San Suu Kyi ended its first three-day fact-finding trip to investigate the Yangon courts. Members of the committee said that they will hold a meeting with Suu Kyi after she returns from her trip in the

United States to discuss what they have seen before proposing solutions to Parliament. The Committee aims to produce a draft bill at the end of October, which will then be proposed at Parliament and debated before new legislation can be enacted to reform the judicial system.⁵⁸

The NLD legal advice team, which was started on August 15, 2012, reports that around 300 people have already sought legal advice at their office in Naypyidaw. Ms. Suu Kyi had offered lawyers in the capital a room at her party office to conduct weekend consultations. The scheme consists of pro bono legal aid for indigent citizens and a grassroots movement providing education on citizens' rights and responsibilities. "Many of the cases were concerning land confiscations and we advised them to propose their case to the land confiscation investigation committee at Parliament. We showed the people how to write complaint letters and how to submit these to Parliament and the President's Office," said Khin Maung Zaw, a leading member of the lawyers network group.⁵⁹

-
- ¹ The Wall Street Journal, September 26, 2012: <http://blogs.wsj.com/corruption-currents/2012/09/26/sanctions-pulled-against-defunct-myanmar-banks/?KEYWORDS=myanmar>
- ² U.S. Department of the Treasury, September 19, 2012: <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg1715.aspx>
- ³ The Wall Street Journal, September 26, 2012: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390443916104578021004109000488.html?KEYWORDS=myanmar>
- ⁴ The Financial Times, September 27, 2012: <http://www.cnn.com/2012/09/27/world/asia/us-myanmar-imports/index.html>
- ⁵ The Wall Street Journal, September 14, 2012: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444709004577651140257454200.html?KEYWORDS=myanmar>
- ⁶ U.S. Department of the Treasury, September 19, 2012: <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg1715.aspx>
- ⁷ European Commission Press Release, September 17, 2012: <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/12/971&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>
- ⁸ International Labour Organization: <http://www.ilo.org/yangon/lang--en/index.htm>
- ⁹ The Myanmar Times, September 24, 2012: <http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/business/1779-us-eases-sanctions-eu-mulls-trade-boost.html>
- ¹⁰ The Financial Times, September 17, 2012: <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/6245e878-00b3-11e2-8197-00144feabdc0.html#axzz27VBT8c8t>
- ¹¹ Associated Press, September 21, 2012: <http://www.mb.com.ph/articles/374332/myanmar-revamps-foreign-investments-law>
- ¹² The Financial Times, September 17, 2012: <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/6245e878-00b3-11e2-8197-00144feabdc0.html#axzz27VBT8c8t>
- ¹³ The Financial Times, September 17, 2012: <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/6245e878-00b3-11e2-8197-00144feabdc0.html#axzz27VBT8c8t>
- ¹⁴ Associated Press, September 21, 2012: <http://www.mb.com.ph/articles/374332/myanmar-revamps-foreign-investments-law>
- ¹⁵ Associated Press, September 21, 2012: <http://www.mb.com.ph/articles/374332/myanmar-revamps-foreign-investments-law>
- ¹⁶ TrustLaw.com, September 1, 2012: <http://www.trust.org/trustlaw/news/myanmar-farmers-lose-their-grip-on-land>
- ¹⁷ TrustLaw.com, September 1, 2012: <http://www.trust.org/trustlaw/news/myanmar-farmers-lose-their-grip-on-land>
- ¹⁸ Burma Partnership, “Myanmar at Risk of Land-Grabbing Epidemic”, June 6, 2012: <http://www.burmapartnership.org/2012/06/myanmar-myanmar-at-risk-of-land-grabbing-epidemic/>

-
- ¹⁹ Voice of America, September 27, 2012: <http://www.voanews.com/content/rights-groups-cautious-on-us-easing-burma-trade-sanctions/1515852.html>
- ²⁰ Voice of America, September 27, 2012: <http://www.voanews.com/content/rights-groups-cautious-on-us-easing-burma-trade-sanctions/1515852.html>
- ²¹ Voice of America, September 27, 2012: <http://www.voanews.com/content/rights-groups-cautious-on-us-easing-burma-trade-sanctions/1515852.html>
- ²² The Wall Street Journal, September 24, 2012: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444083304578016000561897778.html?KEYWORDS=myanmar>
- ²³ The Wall Street Journal, September 24, 2012: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444083304578016000561897778.html?KEYWORDS=myanmar>
- ²⁴ Business Week, September 12, 2012: <http://www.businessweek.com/ap/2012-09-12/myanmar-students-swell-ranks-of-land-grab-protest>
- ²⁵ The Wall Street Journal, September 24, 2012: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444083304578016000561897778.html?KEYWORDS=myanmar>
- ²⁶ Mizzima News, September 20, 2012: <http://www.mizzima.com/news/prisoner-watch/8061-burmas-latest-amnesty-not-good-enough-hrw.html>
- ²⁷ Reuters India, September 18, 2012: <http://in.reuters.com/article/2012/09/18/myanmar-prisoners-idINDEE88G0AM20120918>
- ²⁸ Reuters India, September 18, 2012: <http://in.reuters.com/article/2012/09/18/myanmar-prisoners-idINDEE88G0AM20120918>
- ²⁹ The Washington Post, September, 18, 2012: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/myanmar-activists-say-almost-90-political-prisoners-freed-hundreds-remain-jailed/2012/09/18/a9a0be2e-0170-11e2-bbf0-e33b4ee2f0e8_story.html
- ³⁰ IRIN Humanitarian News and Analysis, September 27, 2012: <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/96402/MYANMAR-Final-push-on-political-prisoners-needed>
- ³¹ IRIN Humanitarian News and Analysis, September 27, 2012: <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/96402/MYANMAR-Final-push-on-political-prisoners-needed>
- ³² Mizzima News, September 19, 2012: <http://www.mizzima.com/news/prisoner-watch/8051-burmas-freed-political-prisoners-must-have-full-rights-restored-ai.html>
- ³³ UN News Center, September 20, 2012: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42937&Cr=myanmar&Cr1=>
- ³⁴ AFP, September 30, 2012: <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5gkYZk65LJ00UDa0jsoVo84xhwv-A?docId=CNG.da73e9804244679498af59548a32c687.181>

-
- ³⁵ Associated Press, July 25, 2012: <http://www.vancouversun.com/news/Amnesty+International+Myanmar+Muslim+Rohingyas+being+targeted/6967585/story.html>
- ³⁶ The Nation, August 22, 2012: <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/international/03-Aug-2012/local-bloodshed-global-headache>
- ³⁷ Mizzima, October 1, 2012: <http://www.mizzima.com/news/world/8134-thein-sein-meets-with-islamic-group-at-un.html>
- ³⁸ ABC News, September 13, 2012: <http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/us-safe-repatriation-rohingya-myanmar-17225174>
- ³⁹ ABC News, September 13, 2012: <http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/us-safe-repatriation-rohingya-myanmar-17225174>
- ⁴⁰ ABC News, September 13, 2012: <http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/us-safe-repatriation-rohingya-myanmar-17225174>
- ⁴¹ The Bangkok Post, September 30, 2012: <http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/investigation/314751/war-in-the-green-hell-of-myanmar>
- ⁴² The Bangkok Post, September 30, 2012: <http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/investigation/314751/war-in-the-green-hell-of-myanmar>
- ⁴³ The Bangkok Post, September 30, 2012: <http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/investigation/314751/war-in-the-green-hell-of-myanmar>
- ⁴⁴ AlertNet, September 12, 2012: <http://www.trust.org/alertnet/news/unhcr-reaches-kachins-sent-back-from-china>
- ⁴⁵ The Christian Science Monitor, September 21, 2012: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2012/0921/Myanmar-s-next-hurdle-Kachin-refugees-returning-from-China>
- ⁴⁶ The Los Angeles Times, September 7, 2012: http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world_now/2012/09/china-chastised-for-sending-kachin-people-back-to-myanmar.html
- ⁴⁷ The Christian Science Monitor, September 10, 2012: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2012/0910/Could-Myanmar-s-economic-reform-bring-business-to-war-torn-ethnic-regions>
- ⁴⁸ The Christian Science Monitor, September 10, 2012: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2012/0910/Could-Myanmar-s-economic-reform-bring-business-to-war-torn-ethnic-regions>
- ⁴⁹ The Christian Science Monitor, September 10, 2012: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2012/0910/Could-Myanmar-s-economic-reform-bring-business-to-war-torn-ethnic-regions>
- ⁵⁰ The Christian Science Monitor, September 10, 2012: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2012/0910/Could-Myanmar-s-economic-reform-bring-business-to-war-torn-ethnic-regions>
- ⁵¹ Associated Press, September 6, 2012: <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/9-judges-resign-after-myanmar-lawmakers-demand-it>

-
- ⁵² The Guardian, September 7, 2012: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/sep/07/burmas-tribunal-judges-resign-impeachment>; Library of Congress, September 12, 2012: http://www.loc.gov/lawweb/servlet/lloc_news?disp3_l205403323_text
- ⁵³ Library of Congress, September 12, 2012: http://www.loc.gov/lawweb/servlet/lloc_news?disp3_l205403323_text; BBC News, September 6, 2012: <http://m.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-19498968>
- ⁵⁴ Center for Strategic & International Studies, September 13, 2012: <http://csis.org/publication/southeast-asia-corner-18th-and-k-streets-myanmars-crisis-calls-constitutional-reform>
- ⁵⁵ Associated Press, September 6, 2012: <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/9-judges-resign-after-myanmar-lawmakers-demand-it>
- ⁵⁶ Center for Strategic & International Studies, September 13, 2012: <http://csis.org/publication/southeast-asia-corner-18th-and-k-streets-myanmars-crisis-calls-constitutional-reform>
- ⁵⁷ The Irrawaddy and Associated Press, September 7, 2012: <http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/13479>
- ⁵⁸ The Irrawaddy, September 28, 2012: <http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/15129>
- ⁵⁹ The Irrawaddy, September 12, 2012: <http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/13799>