

# STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

## APRIL 2018 REPORT

**Summary.** This report reviews the April 2018 developments relating to human rights in Myanmar. Relatedly, it addresses the interchange between Myanmar’s reform efforts and the responses of the international community.

<b>I.</b>	<b>Political Developments.....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Rohingya Refugee Crisis.....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Corruption.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>C.</b>	<b>International Community / Sanctions.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>II.</b>	<b>Civil and Political Rights.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Freedom of the Press and Censorship.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>III.</b>	<b>Economic Development.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>IV.</b>	<b>Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Ethnic Violence.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>Peace Talks.....</b>	<b>10</b>

## **I. Political Developments**

### **A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis**

#### ***Repatriation Efforts***

Under an agreement signed between the governments of Bangladesh and Myanmar, Rohingya refugees were supposed to have started to return to Myanmar in January 2018. However, repatriation efforts have not yet begun, and human rights groups have warned that Myanmar is still not prepared to repatriate Rohingya refugees. In a statement on April 14, Myanmar said it had repatriated the first Rohingya family from refugees who have fled to Bangladesh. However, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (“UNHCR”) responded the next day with a statement that it had no direct knowledge of any such repatriations and was not consulted or involved in the reported efforts. Bangladesh’s Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commissioner, Abul Kalam, also disputed the claim.

The UNHCR and the Government of Bangladesh finalized a Memorandum of Understanding (“MOU”) on April 13 relating to voluntary returns of Rohingya refugees once conditions in Myanmar are conducive.<sup>1</sup> The MOU established a framework of cooperation between UNHCR and Bangladesh on the safe, voluntary, and dignified returns of refugees in line with international standards. Together with the UN Development Programme, the UNHCR is also in ongoing discussions with the Myanmar government on a tripartite agreement to outline the scope of cooperation between the UN and the Myanmar Government in Rakhine State. The agreement would aim to set forth a framework for refugees’ voluntary repatriation in line with international standards, aim to create conditions that are conducive to eventual voluntary repatriation, and provide humanitarian and development assistance for all people of Rakhine State.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the UNHCR stated that it does not yet consider conditions in Myanmar to be conducive for returns to be safe, dignified, and sustainable, noting that the responsibility for creating such conditions remains with the Myanmar authorities, and that such conditions must go beyond the preparation of physical infrastructure to facilitate logistical arrangements.<sup>3</sup>

Refugees in Bangladesh have said that before considering return to Myanmar, they would need to see concrete progress in relation to their legal status and citizenship, security, and their ability to enjoy basic rights at home in Rakhine State. UNHCR has continued to call on the Government of Myanmar to take concrete measures to address the root causes of displacement, in line with the recommendations of the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State.<sup>4</sup>

The UNHCR called on the government of Myanmar to take certain practical measures towards repatriation, including to provide full and unhindered access to refugees’ places of origin in Rakhine State (which would enable UNHCR to assess the situation and provide information to refugees about conditions in the places of origin, as well as to monitor any possible future return and reintegration of refugees) and to ease restrictions on movement for the internally displaced persons encamped in the central townships of Rakhine State (which would also help to build confidence among refugees in Bangladesh).<sup>5</sup>

### ***Refugee Camp Conditions***

Ursula Mueller, assistant secretary-general for humanitarian affairs and deputy emergency relief coordinator of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (“OCHA”), met with Rohingya and ethnic Rakhine leaders in the Rakhine state capital Sittwe. She also visited local internally displaced person (“IDP”) camps that house Muslims who fled communal violence in 2012. “She talked with people who temporarily live near the [Dar Paing Muslim] refugee camp, not with refugees who live in the camp,” said camp official Thein Aung.<sup>6</sup>

Mueller’s visit coincided with one by Scot Marciel, US ambassador to Myanmar, who met at the Sittwe Hotel with seven Muslim administrative officials from the Thetkaibyin IDP camp. “We told him about our hardships in the camp, suffering for six years,” said Kyaw Hla Aung, who spoke with Marciel.<sup>7</sup> “We told the envoy how badly we need health care and schools in the camp,” he said. “And we told him to ask the government to let some 500 students who had completed the matriculation exams to attend colleges in other states and regions because they are not permitted to attend Sittwe University.” The seven camp leaders prepared to meet Marciel in a teahouse inside the camp, but they were informed that the ambassador and his team would not be allowed in Thetkaibyin camp. Instead they were invited to meet the American delegation at a Sittwe hotel.<sup>8</sup>

When hundreds of thousands of Rohingya flooded into south-east Bangladesh last year they told of systematic rape and other sexual violence by Myanmar soldiers and militiamen.<sup>9</sup> May will mark nine months since that exodus started. Aid agencies, especially those who work with women and children, have been bracing for the date. Over the next weeks, babies conceived as a result of sexual assaults committed during the crackdown will be born. Save the Children says it is expecting the number of babies who are abandoned by their mothers to increase next month in line with the milestone. Médecins Sans Frontières (“MSF”), which runs hospitals in the sprawling Cox’s Bazar camps, is preparing to counsel affected mothers. MSF reports that it had treated 224 victims of sexual violence in Rohingya refugee camps through February 2018, but acknowledges there are many more who do not seek help.

### ***Continuing Violence Against Rohingya***

Violence continued to affect northern Rakhine state in early April, with an attack on ethnic Mro villagers that killed a woman in northern Rakhine’s Maungdaw township, according to Tun Shwe, chief of Thit Tone Khwa Sone village. The Mro are a small ethnic group living on Myanmar’s borders with Bangladesh and India. Three Mro men and five women from Laymyo Kaydi village of the larger Thit Tone Khwa Sone village tract were reportedly attacked while they were fishing. Those who escaped informed authorities, who summoned police and soldiers. After the police and troops discovered the dead woman’s body, they had it transported to Maungdaw Hospital.<sup>10</sup>

Though there was a buildup of police and soldiers in northern Rakhine during and after the crackdown on the Rohingya population, there are now indications that officials are starting to scale back on security personnel stationed in the region. Thirty police officers currently on patrol in troubled Rakhine will be transferred out of the state, according to a local policeman who declined to be named.<sup>11</sup>

An April report by UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres to the UN Security Council for the first time put Myanmar's armed forces on a UN blacklist of government and rebel groups "credibly suspected" of carrying out rapes and other acts of sexual violence in conflict.<sup>12</sup> According to the report, international medical staff and others in Bangladesh have documented that many of the almost 7,00,000 Rohingya Muslims who fled from Myanmar "bear the physical and psychological scars of brutal sexual assault." The assaults were allegedly perpetrated by the Myanmar Armed Forces, known as the Tatmadaw "at times acting in concert with local militias, in the course of military 'clearance' operations in October 2016 and August 2017."<sup>13</sup> The report, which was the focus of an April meeting of the UN Security Council on preventing sexual violence in conflict, puts 51 government, rebel and extremist groups on the list.<sup>14</sup>

## **B. Corruption**

Myanmar's Anti-Corruption Commission ("Commission") has levied charges of corruption against the head of the country's Food and Drug Administration ("FDA"), Dr. Than Htut, the first of the nation's high-ranking government officials to be charged by the Commission since it was reformed in November 2017.<sup>15</sup> The charges allege that Dr. Than Htut used his position to solicit a bribe of over 150 million kyat (approximately US\$115,000) from a company that was awarded an FDA contract for construction of department projects, which he allegedly spent on upgrades to two of his personal properties.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Than Htut was detained and charged under Section 56 of the Anti-Corruption Law. If convicted, he faces up to 10 years' imprisonment and a fine.<sup>17</sup> The Commission's investigation was prompted by complaints received alleging misuse of public budgets by department heads and irregularities with construction projects.<sup>18</sup> On a more local level, the Commission also charged a township judge and lawyer under the Anti-Corruption Law for allegedly soliciting bribes from a plaintiff in a complaint overseen by the judge.<sup>19</sup> Kyaikto township judge Oo Thein Tun was alleged to have solicited six million kyat (approximately US\$4,500) from the plaintiff, and lawyer Khin Cho Win was alleged to have sought over 47 million kyat (approximately US\$35,000) to be given to the judge.<sup>20</sup> The bribe paid was not sufficient to secure a favorable judgment for the plaintiff: the judge ultimately ruled in favor of the accused, after allegedly receiving more money from that party.<sup>21</sup>

According to a government spokesperson, the Commission receives approximately 600 letters per month alleging mismanagement of state funds, which it then must categorize, transfer to the appropriate departments or regional governments, and in certain cases, conduct factual investigations into the allegations or grievances contained therein.<sup>22</sup> According to the Commission, it follows up on the disposition of each letter following its transfer in order to ensure that each complaint receives proper attention, and that it plans to release its findings relating to each letter.<sup>23</sup> The Ministry of Home Affairs appears to be the most frequent subject of the letters, with over 500 of the letters received in the first quarter of the year relating to conduct by Ministry officials, closely followed by the country's judiciary and the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Irrigation. Private companies were the target of 100 letters.<sup>24</sup> Despite the large volume of letters received, only 15 have led to charges by the Commission, while another eight are currently being investigated.<sup>25</sup>

### **C. International Community / Sanctions**

In early April, Myanmar agreed to a visit by the United Nations Security Council after months of resistance to such a visit, but it remains unclear whether UN ambassadors will be allowed to go to Rakhine state.<sup>26</sup> The decision to permit the delegation came after Myanmar's months-long refusal to allow an independent UN-mandated mission into the country to investigate reports of major atrocities committed against Rohingya Muslims during a crackdown by the military in Rakhine state. Peruvian Ambassador Gustavo Meza-Cuadra, who holds the Security Council's rotating presidency, said that details of the itinerary had yet to be finalized, including whether the government would allow the council to visit Rakhine state. "Obviously, we are interested in Rakhine state," said Meza-Cuadra. "There is nothing better than a visit on the ground to see how it is."<sup>27</sup> Britain, Kuwait and Peru are organizing the council's visit, which is expected to include a tour of Rohingya refugee camps in Cox's Bazar. No date for the trip has been announced.<sup>28</sup> Myanmar political analyst Yan Myo Thein called the Myanmar government's decision to allow in the Security Council an important step forward in the country's international relationship with the UN. Leaders from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations have reportedly been invited to observe the visit by the UN delegation.

In early April, Aung San Suu Kyi met with Ursula Mueller, assistant secretary-general for OCHA, who was on a week-long visit to the country.<sup>29</sup> During their meeting in Naypyidaw, they reportedly discussed humanitarian programs to be linked with development, capacity building, education, the empowerment of women, and ways to enhance cooperation between Myanmar and the UN.<sup>30</sup> Mueller is observing the humanitarian needs that have been caused by conflict not only in Rakhine state, but also in Shan and Kachin states in the north, where fighting between the Myanmar military and ethnic armed groups has displaced tens of thousands of residents.<sup>31</sup>

On April 26, the European Union extended its arms embargo against Myanmar, following human rights violations in the country, and was preparing sanctions against individual army officials.<sup>32</sup> The embargo includes arms, other equipment that could be used for repression, the provision of military training and products used to monitor communications, the Council of the European Union said. The Council added it had agreed on a framework for personal sanctions against officials of the Myanmar Armed Forces and the border guard police, should human rights violations in the country continue.<sup>33</sup> These personal sanctions could include travel bans and asset freezes, the Council said. The move follows similar measures by the United States and Canada.<sup>34</sup>

## **II. Civil and Political Rights**

### **A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association**

On April 17, newly elected President Win Myint followed the tradition of releasing prisoners on the first day of the Myanmar New Year by announcing the release of more than 8,500 prisoners, including 36 political prisoners.<sup>35</sup> These releases are commonly referred to as "amnesties" but are, in reality, pardons, which do not absolve those released of their crimes or the legal consequences. Among those released were Lahpai Gam, an ethnic Kachin farmer, and two religious leaders from Kachin State, Dumdaw Nawng Latt and Langjaw Gam Seng. All of

them faced a number of charges, including under the Unlawful Associations Act, a broadly worded law that has been routinely used for decades to imprison those suspected of having any contact with opposition armed groups.

Human Rights Watch called the release of prisoners “a welcome step that still leaves scores in detention or on trial on politically motivated charges,” and said that “real reform in Myanmar will require stripping away the architecture of repression and ending prosecutions of the government’s critics.”

A consortium of civil society, human rights and monitoring groups in Myanmar have criticized Mark Zuckerberg’s response to the spread of hate speech on Facebook and accused the social media giant of failing to act quickly enough to curtail dangerous messages that incited violence inside the country.<sup>36</sup>

In early April, Zuckerberg stated that Facebook’s systems had detected a pair of chain letters spreading around Myanmar on Facebook Messenger last year. One warned of an imminent attack by Rohingya Muslims on September 11.<sup>37</sup> “That’s the kind of thing where I think it is clear that people were trying to use our tools in order to incite real harm,” Zuckerberg said. “Now, in that case, our systems detect that that’s going on. We stop those messages from going through.”<sup>38</sup> However, the groups, which have worked with Facebook to flag dangerous content, have revealed it took more than four days for the company to respond when the messages started circulating online during the Rohingya crisis. In an open letter addressed to Zuckerberg, the groups accused Facebook of being ill-equipped to deal with the risks posed to Burmese society by the network.<sup>39</sup>

## **B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship**

On April 11, the Myanmar judge overseeing the trial of Reuters reporters Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo ruled to allow the prosecution of the journalists to proceed. The decision was denounced by the journalist group PEN America as “a miscarriage of justice.”<sup>40</sup>

A Myanmar police officer who said two Reuters reporters accused of breaching the country’s official secrets act were framed by authorities will continue to testify in their trial. Moe Yan Naing had shocked the Yangon court last month by saying he had been ordered to “trap” Reuters reporter Wa Lone by asking to meet him and give him “secret documents.” Judge Ye Lwin rejected a request from prosecutors to classify the police captain as a hostile and unreliable witness, which would have barred him from testifying.<sup>41</sup>

Instead, Judge Ye Lwin ruled that the police captain’s testimony did not contradict earlier statements made to the investigators at the time of his own arrest. Moe Yan Naing was arrested on December 12, the same day Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo were detained by police.<sup>42</sup> The judge said Moe Yan Naing was a member of the police force so “it is not suitable to consider him as an unreliable witness.”<sup>43</sup>

“Today, the court has proved itself as a court of justice,” Khin Maung Zaw, the defense lawyer for the two Reuters reporters said at the end of the hearing. He added that the ruling was “a big step” because Moe Yan Naing’s testimony supported the accounts given by the reporters.<sup>44</sup> Lead prosecutor Kyaw Min Aung did not respond to a request for comment after the

hearing. Myanmar's civilian government spokesman Zaw Htay declined to comment, citing the ongoing proceedings. Police spokesman Colonel Myo Thu Soe said he was not aware of the events in the court and declined to comment. As he left court, Wa Lone told reporters: "The injustice that they did to us will be revealed soon."<sup>45</sup>

The judge demanded that Moe Yan Naing, who was sentenced last month to an undisclosed prison term for violating a law governing police actions, attend next week's pre-trial hearing.

Recent survey results show that local journalists think media freedom is declining in Myanmar, and increasingly believe the government and military pose the main threat to an independent press.<sup>46</sup> Free Expression Myanmar, an advocacy group campaigning for freedom of expression and legal reform, surveyed 200 working journalists across the country between December 2017 and April 2018.<sup>47</sup> A report summarizing the findings of the survey states that journalists' initial optimism that the National League for Democracy-led government would take significant steps to increase media freedom has been replaced by the belief that not only have there been no reforms, but overall media freedom has actually deteriorated.<sup>48</sup> Some 49% of the surveyed journalists believed they had less freedom of expression compared to a year ago, while 41% believed they had the same freedom. Only 11% thought that they had more freedom.<sup>49</sup>

### **III. Economic Development**

#### **A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment**

President Win Myint announced that Myanmar will launch its first credit bureau within the next month.<sup>50</sup> According to the President, the credit bureau will help a number of small and medium enterprises ("SMEs") in the country gain access to financial assistance.<sup>51</sup> It will do this by collecting credit information on local SMEs which can be used by lenders when deciding whether to extend credit to the companies.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, the credit bureau will assist non-banking institutions extend credit to companies, allowing SMEs to have increased options when trying to find a loan.<sup>53</sup>

While most observers do not dispute that the credit bureau will assist SMEs, it may take time for SMEs to begin seeing the benefits of these proposals. Due to a general lack of sound internal bookkeeping practices amongst the country's SMEs, potential lenders may continue to be reluctant to loan money to the SMEs. The government of Myanmar noted that if businesses begin getting their books in order and cooperating with the credit bureau as soon as possible, it will be easier for them to qualify for loans as quickly as possible.

Myanmar and Vietnam have agreed to raise bilateral trade and have set a target of exceeding \$1 billion in trading value by 2020.<sup>54</sup> Currently, Vietnam is Myanmar's ninth largest trading partner.<sup>55</sup> Myanmar mainly imports machinery and semi-finished goods from Vietnam, and primarily exports agriculture.<sup>56</sup> Myanmar is aiming to export more agricultural products to Vietnam to narrow the current trade deficit. The government in Myanmar has already signed a memorandum of understanding with the Vietnam Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation to raise agricultural exports to Vietnam.<sup>57</sup>

According to Aung Naing Oo, director general of the Directorate of Investment and Company Administration, casinos will be allowed to operate in Myanmar after amendments are made to the Gambling Law by the Ministry of Home Affairs.<sup>58</sup> The expected change comes after five regional and state chief ministers from Mandalay, Tanintharyi, Shan, Kayin and Mon in January asked Vice President Henry Van Thio to grant permission for casinos to operate in hotels in their respective areas. Aung Naing Oo added that casino investors have shown interest in expanding in Myanmar for four years now. Casino operators from Macao and East Asia are among those who have expressed interest, he said.<sup>59</sup>

Currently, casinos are banned in Myanmar under the 1986 Gambling Law. However, under former President Thein Sein's term, the Myanmar Investment Commission had released a statement which allowed casinos for foreigners in certain restricted areas. Two casinos are already operating in Myeik, Tanintharyi Region, together with two hotels on Tha Htay island and Yadana Island.<sup>60</sup>

Although the government of Aung San Suu Kyi is opening Myanmar's economy and growth is rebounding in Myanmar, the possibility of broader Western sanctions over the Rohingya refugee crisis has nevertheless given some foreign investors pause, according to a senior International Monetary Fund ("IMF") official. Shanaka Jay Peiris, the IMF's mission chief to Myanmar, said in a recent interview that initial data reviewed by the IMF indicated that some foreign investors were delaying final approval of projects until there was clarity about how the situation may unfold.<sup>61</sup>

## **B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects**

The tourism industry in Myanmar has been experiencing increased investments in certain areas of the country, but has been experiencing a downturn elsewhere. For example, the International Finance Corporation has proposed to make a \$6 million long-term investment for a luxury resort in Inle Lake, Shan State.<sup>62</sup> The long-term capital for the project will replace the short-term loans the luxury hotel currently has and is intended to optimize the balance sheet of the hotel.<sup>63</sup> However, in other regions of the country, tourism has been slow, putting a strain on the local economy. Specifically, occupancy rates in several hotels in Ngapali dropped, due to political upheaval associated with the Rakhine State.<sup>64</sup>

Plans are underway to build a new road that will connect Myanmar's main deep-sea port in Dawei with Ban Phu Ron in Thailand.<sup>65</sup> The construction of the new route is still seeking approval from the Neighboring Countries Economic Development Cooperation Agency in Thailand. The project is expected to cost \$144.2 million and the road will be around 100 kilometers long.<sup>66</sup> The project is still seeking loans to begin construction. The project was previously put on hold, but government officials in Myanmar and Thailand reinitiated communications about a month ago and agreed to continue the project and begin construction this month.<sup>67</sup>

## IV. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence

### A. Ethnic Violence

On April 2, a 73-year-old woman was reportedly raped by a government soldier in Monghpyak town of Shan state.<sup>68</sup> The Shan Human Rights Foundation said the presence of Myanmar Army (or Tatmadaw) troops in Shan State to protect a mining project has led to human rights abuses against civilians, as there have been similar cases in the past few years.<sup>69</sup> The militarization of Shan State has increased and in Monghpyak town alone, there are about 1,000 Tatmadaw troops stationed, while the town has a civilian population of about 6,000.<sup>70</sup>

A clash between the Kachin Independence Army (“KIA”) and the Myanmar Army began on April 10 in the Indawgyi area of northern Myanmar’s Kachin state.<sup>71</sup> Six local residents were allegedly detained (although it is unclear whether these residents were detained by the Myanmar Army or by the KIA).<sup>72</sup> Accordingly to local sources, the fight forced an unspecified number of residents from Aytulay village to flee their homes.<sup>73</sup> The KIA warned local villagers about the action and told them to flee the area in early April.<sup>74</sup>

There has also been fighting since early April in Kachin state’s Tanai township—an area known for amber and gold mining—with the Myanmar Army reportedly shelling and conducting airstrikes in the area in response to efforts by the KIA to retake lost territory.<sup>75</sup> Community leaders from Kachin state have called for urgent medical attention for approximately 2,000 civilians, including pregnant women and elderly residents, as many remain trapped in the jungle after fleeing to escape clashes between the Myanmar Army and the KIA.<sup>76</sup> Human rights groups have requested permission from the government to rescue people who are trapped in the jungle, but were told they need the military to grant them access.<sup>77</sup>

Also in early April, clashes between the Myanmar Army and two ethnic armed groups—the Restoration Council of Shan State/Shan State Army-South (“RCSS/SSA-S”) and the Ta’ang National Liberation Army (“TNLA”)—in the Myanmar Army have forced villagers to leave their home.<sup>78</sup> The TNLA began to fight with the Myanmar Army in March 2018 and later began fighting with the RCSS when the latter entered TNLA-controlled territory.<sup>79</sup> There were approximately 170 internally displaced persons in March due to the clashes, and more than 140 people fled their homes by mid-April.<sup>80</sup>

In late April, it was reported that ten civilians had allegedly been killed and several more had been injured in Kachin State during the week of April 27, amid intensified fighting between the Myanmar Army and the KIA.<sup>81</sup> The President of the Kachin Alliance advocacy group, Gum San Nsang, said that in the latest incident on April 24, government soldiers fired at eight civilians who were fleeing from Awng Lawt in Tanai, killing two and injuring three.<sup>82</sup> According to Gum San Nsang, approximately 2,000 civilians from Awng Lawt remain displaced, while around 160 people from Lai Nawng Hku in Hpakant Township have been “forced to tag along and [stay in the village]” with the government army.<sup>83</sup> Another 1,000 civilians from 11 villages in Injangyang Township are reportedly seeking shelter from air strikes in another village in the same township.<sup>84</sup> A group of 32 Kachin organizations urged the United Nations Security Council to refer Myanmar to the International Criminal Court, citing recent and historical atrocities.<sup>85</sup>

Accordingly to the UN, more than 4,000 people have been displaced in Kachin state since early April.<sup>86</sup> As well as the thousands displaced, there are fears that many people remain trapped in conflict-stricken areas.<sup>87</sup> The UN, however, has been unable to verify reports civilians have been killed in the fighting.<sup>88</sup>

## **B. Peace Talks**

The Peace Process Steering Team, composed of the leaders of the signatories of the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (“NCA”), formed two separate teams to hold informal talks in April with the government on political and security issues.<sup>89</sup> Items of concern include the Tatmadaw’s ongoing clashes with ethnic armed organization signatories and the inability of such organizations to hold national-level dialogues.

The government and the Karenni National Progressive Party (“KNPP”) held formal talks with government officials to improve relations in April in Loikaw, the capital of Karenni State.<sup>90</sup> The two sides agreed to create a mechanism for further negotiations and discussed military affairs.<sup>91</sup> In particular, the parties agreed to the creation of a local monitoring team, reestablishing liaison offices at both the state and Union levels, and regular negotiations at the state level on troop movements of both armed forces. The KNPP is not currently a signatory to the NCA.

The government and the New Mon State Party (“NMSP”) met to discuss resuming the national-level political talks, which were suspended due to restrictions on the size of the public meetings.<sup>92</sup> The government proposed holding the national-level meetings in early May. Mon civil society organizations, political parties and community leaders urged the NMSP to refuse to hold the public meetings to protest the restrictions.<sup>93</sup> The NMSP is an NCA signatory.

The Shan State Progressive Party (“SSPP”) and the government’s Peace Commission will hold bilateral talks in late April or early May.<sup>94</sup> A Peace Commission representative declined to disclose the topics of discussion.

Myanmar’s new President, Win Myint, unveiled his reform agenda for the country on April 17.<sup>95</sup> The agenda does not include any mention of the peace process.

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4 *Id.*

5 *Id.*

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9 The Guardian, April 30, 2018: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/01/nine-months-after-myanmar-assaults-rohingya-camps-ready-for-spate-of-births>.

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32 Reuters, April 26, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-eu/eu-extends-myanmar-arms-embargo-prepares-individual-sanctions-idUSKBN1HX1SP>.

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34 *Id.*

35 Human Rights Watch, April 17, 2018: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/04/18/pardons-no-substitute-reform-myanmar>

36 The Guardian, April 5, 2018: <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/apr/06/myanmar-facebook-criticise-mark-zuckerberg-response-hate-speech-spread>.

37 *Id.*

38 *Id.*

39 *Id.*

40 PEN America, April 11, 2018: <https://pen.org/press-release/decision-prosecution-wa-lone-kyaw-soe-oo-miscarriage-justice/>.

41 Reuters, May 2, 2018: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-journalists/myanmar-court-accepts-testimony-of-policeman-who-said-reuters-reporters-framed-idUSKBN1I30XI>.

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43 *Id.*

44 *Id.*

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46 The Irrawaddy, May 2, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/journalists-say-press-freedom-declining-myanmar.html>

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