

STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

SEPTEMBER 2018 REPORT

Summary. This report reviews the September 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.

- I. Political Developments.....2**
 - A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis.....2**
 - B. Corruption.....3**
 - C. International Community / Sanctions.....3**
- II. Civil and Political Rights.....4**
 - A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association.....4**
 - B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship.....5**
- III. Economic Development.....6**
 - A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment.....6**
 - B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects.....6**
- IV. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence.....8**
 - A. Ethnic Violence.....8**
 - B. Peace Talks.....9**

I. Political Developments

A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis

Beginning in August of 2017, approximately 700,000 Rohingya fled from Rakhine State in western Myanmar across the border to Bangladesh, making the ongoing Rohingya refugee crisis the fastest-growing refugee crisis in the world.¹ The Rohingya, a Muslim ethnic minority in Buddhist-majority Myanmar, were fleeing a military campaign of slaughter, rape and the burning of their villages that some United Nations officials have said may amount to genocide.² Recently, the Myanmar government has coordinated with the United Nations on repatriation efforts, even though conditions are not yet conducive to voluntary return. In June and July of 2018, the government of Bangladesh and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (“UNHCR”) launched a joint verification exercise for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.

UN Assessments in Rakhine

Three months after the signing of a memorandum of understanding (the “MoU”) with the Myanmar government, the United Nations Development Programme (“UNDP”) and the UNHCR are ready to commence initial assessment activities in twenty-three villages in Rakhine State.³ The two UN agencies agreed to help return and reintegrate the Rohingya refugees by first assessing conditions in Rakhine for those who are considering returning, then by supporting programs that benefit communities of all ethnicities in Rakhine. These initial assessments are understood to be only the first step. Following the initial assessments, access will be expanded to facilitate larger-scale comprehensive assessments.⁴ The parties are still in discussions regarding access to all areas in Rakhine State covered by the MoU, including the three townships of Maungdaw, Buthidaung, and Rathedaung.⁵

When the UN agencies receive staff authorizations, they will begin their assessments of the first locations. Through the initial assessments, the agencies hope to identify and resolve quick-impact problems, with the intention of increasing measures aimed at rebuilding trust and social cohesion in these communities over time.⁶

Update from Cox’s Bazar, Bangladesh

As repatriation efforts are commencing, hundreds of thousands of Rohingya continue to take refuge in Cox’s Bazar, Bangladesh. As of September 2018, over 13,000 people have been registered by the UNHCR as new arrivals in 2018. Refugees have reported concerns about violent attacks in the camps, including abductions and kidnappings.⁷ In response, many camp authorities have introduced curfews and increased law enforcement patrols at night. Additionally, October brings the beginning of cyclone season, and most buildings in the camps are extremely vulnerable to cyclone damage. Cyclones will bring heavy rains that could cause further flooding and landslides as well.⁸

Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar Report

On September 18, 2018, the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar released a 440-page account detailing the findings of its fifteen-month examination of the state of affairs in Myanmar’s Rakhine, Kachin, and Shan States.⁹ The report reiterates the

Fact-Finding Mission's call for the investigation and prosecution of Myanmar's Commander-in-Chief, Senior General Min Aung Hlaing, as well as his top military leaders, for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.¹⁰ The report draws upon 875 detailed interviews that describe the violence of the Tatmadaw against its own people.

The report provides detail on the extreme ongoing violence perpetrated against the Rohingya in Rakhine State since August 24, 2017, in what the Tatmadaw referred to as "clearance operations."¹¹ It documents how the Tatmadaw led the killing of thousands of Rohingya civilians, as well as forced disappearances, mass gang rape and the burning of hundreds of villages.¹² The report contains first-hand testimony from hundreds of victims and witnesses, describing planned and deliberately executed mass killings in which up to hundreds of men, women, and children were killed. The report also depicts a pattern of rape and other forms of sexual violence committed on a shocking scale as hundreds, and possibly thousands, of Rohingya women and girls were brutally raped, including in public gang rapes.¹³ The Fact-Finding Mission concludes that rape and sexual violence are part of a deliberate strategy to intimidate and terrorize the civilian population and is used as a tactic of war.¹⁴

B. Corruption

The Yangon Attorney General and five others, including a judge, police officer and three law officers, were accused of accepting a large bribe and gifts to drop the case against three suspects accused in the murder of a Facebook comedian.¹⁵ The alleged briber is the father of one of the suspects.¹⁶ The High Court has opened cases against the Yangon Attorney General and the five co-conspirators, who each face up to 10 to 15 years in prison plus substantial fines if convicted.¹⁷ The judge allegedly received the largest bribe, followed by the Attorney General.¹⁸ The case is the second largest case opened by the Anti-Corruption Commission since it was founded in 2017.¹⁹ The largest case, against Myanmar's finance minister, was dropped earlier this year.²⁰

The global rule of law index was published this month, and Myanmar dropped two places.²¹ Myanmar is now the second worst country for rule of law in the East Asia and Pacific region and 100th of the 113 countries measured.²² The report cited corruption as one of the key reasons for the weakness of the criminal justice system.²³

C. International Community / Sanctions

On September 8, 2018, Politico reported that several EU countries are considering expanding sanctions against Myanmar in the wake of a UN report released at the end of August which called for senior military officials from the country to be investigated for genocide against the Rohingya population. The EU has already placed sanctions on seven senior officials for human rights violations against the Rohingya, but new sanctions could be enforced against businesses operating under the umbrella of The Union of Myanmar Economic Holdings Ltd. and Myanmar Economic Corp., two large holding companies with investments in precious gems, copper, gold, clothing, cement and MyTel, one of the country's largest telecom companies. Countries such as the UK, Germany and the Netherlands have so far held back from applying sanctions of this nature against Myanmar for fear of undermining the economy, two EU officials briefed on the discussions said.²⁴

Similarly in light of the UN report on Myanmar, Australia is considering sanctions on Myanmar, according to the Herald. “The full report of the fact-finding mission adds to a large body of evidence indicating the commission of the most serious crimes under international law, particularly against the Rohingya,” Foreign Minister Marise Payne said on September 19, 2018. “The Australian government is considering options in response to the fact-finding mission's report, including targeted sanctions.” The United States, UK and European Union have all taken steps to suspend military cooperation with the Myanmar military. Australia maintains an arms embargo, but rights groups are concerned the government continues to offer the Myanmar military support through humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping and English-language training.²⁵

On September 18, 2018, it was reported that the International Criminal Court (“ICC”) has launched a preliminary investigation into the Rohingya crisis to determine whether the mass deportation of Muslims from Myanmar into Bangladesh was a crime against humanity. Chief prosecutor Fatou Bensouda said if the evidence collected in the initial probe was sufficient, it would pave the way for a full-blown investigation. Bensouda said she will look at reports of “a number of alleged coercive acts having resulted in the forced displacement of the Rohingya people, including deprivation of fundamental rights, killing, sexual violence, enforced disappearance, destruction and looting.” Although Myanmar is not a member of the ICC, Bangladesh is a member of the international court. In the landmark ruling, the ICC judges ruled that because of the cross-border nature of the deportation, Bensouda has jurisdiction to conduct the investigation.²⁶ Since Myanmar is not a member of the ICC, it had previously seemed as though any potential prosecution would depend on a referral from the UN Security Council, where Russia and China could block the motion with a veto. Effectively, the decision means that just because “Myanmar is not a Party to the Rome Statute does not prevent an investigation and possible prosecution of any persons, including Myanmar nationals, for perpetrating crimes where one element—or part of the crime—occurred on the territory of Bangladesh,” according to Kingsley Abbott, senior legal adviser at the International Commission of Jurists. He added that ultimately the process could lead to “arrest warrants, indictments and trials if an accused is brought before the Court.” However, the scope of the investigation would not cover Kachin or Shan States, where the UN has also found evidence of war crimes. It would also not encompass the full array of charges Myanmar could theoretically face if referred by the Security Council.²⁷

II. Civil and Political Rights

A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association

In September, a former columnist for state media, Ngar Min Swe, was sentenced to jail for seven years for “abusive” Facebook posts about Aung San Suu Kyi.²⁸ According to Yangon Western District court spokesperson Htay Aung, the columnist was convicted “for writing abusive posts on Facebook [about Aung San Suu Kyi] ... making people get the wrong impression of her.”²⁹ Ngar Min Swe was arrested on July 12, the same day he posted about Aung San Suu Kyi receiving a kiss on the cheek from Barack Obama during his visit to Myanmar in 2013.³⁰ Independent analyst David Mathieson said the sentence was just another example of “the strangulation of free speech” in Myanmar.³¹

B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

On September 3, 2018, a Myanmar court found two Reuters journalists guilty of violating a law on state secrets during their reporting of a massacre of Rohingya and sentenced them to seven years in prison, sparking an international outcry. The US and British ambassadors who were present at the sentencing of Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo called the verdict a blow for Myanmar's transition to democracy. Scot Marciel, US ambassador to Myanmar, said he was "sad for Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo and their families, but also for Myanmar." He continued, "It's deeply troubling ... one has to ask will this process increase or decrease the confidence the people of Myanmar have in their justice system." Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo had pleaded not guilty to violating the colonial-era Official Secrets Act, punishable by up to 14 years in prison. They contend that they were framed by police. The Reuters reporters were arrested on December 12 while investigating the killing of 10 Rohingya and other abuses involving soldiers and police in Inn Din, a village in Rakhine State.

Wa Lone, calling the decision "unfair" and "one-sided," said it "directly threatens" Myanmar's democracy and freedom of the press. Speaking to reporters on the court steps after the sentencing, Wa Lone gave a defiant "thumbs up" and said, "We will face [the verdict] with stability and courage." Phil Robertson, deputy Asia director for Human Rights Watch, called the sentence an "outrageous injustice" and said the Tatmadaw wanted a guilty verdict against the two reporters in order to "intimidate" other journalists to avoid reporting on human rights violations.³² Speaking at a press freedom event at the UN, prominent human rights lawyer Amal Clooney appealed on September 29, 2018 for Myanmar leader Aung San Suu Kyi to pardon the two Reuters journalists imprisoned in Myanmar, saying that Aung San Suu Kyi held the key to their release. Clooney said the reporters were arrested in an attempt by Myanmar to keep Reuters from publishing a story on the extrajudicial killings of 10 Rohingya men and boys. She noted that Aung San Suu Kyi had once "allowed young people to hope for a free Myanmar that respected the rule of law." "She knows that mass murder is not a state secret and that exposing it doesn't turn a journalist into a spy," Clooney said of Aung San Suu Kyi.³³

Many nations, including the US, UK, Denmark and Bangladesh, and international organizations, including the United Nations, have called for the reporters' immediate release.³⁴ On September 28, Canadian MPs voted unanimously to revoke Aung San Suu Kyi's honorary Canadian citizenship over her handling of the Rohingya crisis. This decision came just a week after Canadian MPs approved a motion recognizing the crimes committed against the Rohingya as genocide. Aung San Suu Kyi received the honor from Ottawa in 2007, when she was a democracy advocate under long house arrest. The Canadian parliament's decision to revoke the symbolic honor was due to a "persistent refusal to denounce the Rohingya genocide," said Adam Austen, spokesman for Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland.³⁵

Demonstrations protesting the arrest and sentencing of the two journalists continued throughout September. On September 16, for example, over 100 people, including high school students, gathered in Yangon holding signs such as "Murder is not a state secret" and "Revealing the truth is not a crime."³⁶ One journalist involved in organizing the protest said that "losing press freedom means our democratic transition is going backwards."³⁷ At a September 28 press freedom event at the United Nations, sponsored by the Committee to Protect Journalists, prominent human rights lawyer Amal Clooney appealed to Aung San Suu Kyi to pardon the two

journalists. Clooney emphasized Aung San Suu Kyi's former status as a human rights champion and stated that "we're hopeful that since these are the principles that she herself has espoused, she will step in and try to correct an injustice in this case."³⁸

III. Economic Development

A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment

The Director General of the Directorate of Investment and Company Administration, Aung Naing Oo, said that he "totally underestimated" the economic damage of the Rohingya crisis, adding that the outcry over the jailing of two Reuters reporters would also impact Myanmar's reputation.³⁹ The official had previously said the government had been able to control outbreaks of communal tension. He noted that foreign direct investment in Myanmar is declining, although he expressed confidence that the government could stabilize the situation.

Myanmar signed a memorandum of understanding ("MoU") with China to establish the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor ("CMEC") as part of Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative.⁴⁰ The agreement aims to construct basic infrastructure across economic centers in Myanmar. The estimated 1,700-kilometer-long corridor will connect Kunming, the capital of China's Yunnan Province, to Myanmar's major economic checkpoints, including Mandalay in central Myanmar, Yangon and the Kyaukphyu Special Economic Zone.

Myanmar received its first foreign investments in the power supply sector in the transitional six-month fiscal period, which started on April 1.⁴¹ A gas-fired power plant will be built in Mandalay Region's Singaing Township as part of a joint venture between China's Power Gen Kyaukse and two Myanmar companies. Construction of the \$92.7 million, 145-megawatt plant is expected to begin next year. The Investment Commission also approved a power project in Myeik, Tanintharyi Region. Min Zaw Ni Fisheries Co, a local company, will invest more than 9.5 billion kyat (\$6.1 million) to produce electricity with generators and distribute it in the township.

B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects

Lawmaker Tin Tun Naing questioned the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Irrigation about a fatal dam burst in Bago Region in late August.⁴² The lawmaker expressed doubts that the Ministry had conducted the proper annual maintenance work on the dam. Agriculture Ministry Deputy Permanent Secretary Myo Tint Tun said the Ministry conducts regular maintenance on the dam, but the spillway had been unable to withstand "unusual" rainfall. "Unlike previous years, it was submerged under nearly 2 feet of water this year. The spillway could not bear the weight and burst," he said. At least seven people were killed, three people are still missing and more than 5,000 residents of surrounding townships were affected by the dam breach and subsequent flooding.⁴³ Union Minister for Agriculture, Livestock and Irrigation, Aung Thu, warned that the spillways of 57 dams across Myanmar are submerged, increasing the likelihood of further dam breaks like the one in Bago Region.⁴⁴

The state-owned Chinese company behind the controversial Myitsone hydropower dam in Kachin State is increasing efforts to convince local residents and officials to back the stalled

project.⁴⁵ China's State Power Investment Corporation ("SPIC") told residents that the project is safe and will bring electricity to the surrounding villages. At an estimated cost of \$3.6 billion, the 6,000-megawatt dam would send 90% of its electricity to southern China's Yunnan Province, according to the investment agreement. In 2010, authorities forcibly resettled more than 2,100 people to Aung Myin Thar from five villages to allow for the dam's construction. According to a government newspaper, the Chinese company spent about \$25 million on the resettlement plan. In 2011, then-President Thein Sein suspended the project amid widespread public concern about the dam's social and environmental impacts.

The CEO of the New Yangon City project said he believes the controversial project on the western bank of the Yangon River will be a "success" if Myanmar is able to take advantage of the trade tensions between the US and China and lure more foreign investors.⁴⁶ The New Yangon City project is currently in the initial stage of development. During a roundtable discussion on the project with local engineers, Serge Pun said nine out of every 10 factories in China were thinking about leaving to avoid the impact of US tariffs, which impose a 25% tax on goods made in the country.

Residents of Thibaw and Kyaukme townships in northern Shan State have renewed their calls for the government to cancel the Upper Yeywa Dam project amid concerns about its stability.⁴⁷ Residents say in 2015 the dam's foundations were washed away by heaving flooding and this year, a concrete slop reinforcement beside the dam collapsed. But Deputy Energy Minister Htun Naing said the dam construction must go on, as it would alleviate flooding in the Ayeyarwady River basin downstream. Parliament subsequently approved an additional budget to continue the construction of the dam.

The government is being urged again to weigh the necessity of a coal plant in Tigyt, Shan State.⁴⁸ Approved in 2002, the 120-megawatt Tigyt power plant is Myanmar's first coal-fired power plant. The plant, which is managed by Chinese company Wuxi Hua Guang Electric Power Energy, was closed in 2014. It ignored a waste management request issued by the Ministry of Electricity and Energy after the ministry received complaints about the impact of waste from the plant on the surrounding environment. In 2015, Wuxi Hua Guang was granted a 22-year license by the former government to recommence operations after it pledged to upgrade the plant and conduct the necessary waste management procedures. However, the company has not conducted an environment impact assessment (EIA), which is required by law. The plant is now selling electricity to the national grid at 3.5 US cents per unit, or around K40. Residents continue to protest against the project. Villages were forced to relocate while 5,000 acres of farmland was confiscated to accommodate the Tigyt plant and a nearby coal mine. The Tigyt coal mine supplies coal to the power plant, which is about 1.5 miles away. Due to gunpowder explosions in the mine, locals claim that several religious pagodas in the region have been damaged and some 12,000 residents within a five mile radius of the mine face health issues as a result of air and water pollution. The power plant is allegedly discarding hazardous waste into the Tigyt stream, which is connected to sources of drinking water. Meanwhile, greenhouse gas emissions from the coal plant have also had an impact on the environment residents said.

A Japanese company will upgrade the Bago-Nyaunglebin section of the Yangon-Mandalay railway line – the most important route in the country – over the next four years.⁴⁹

The rehabilitation work is the first phase of the project to upgrade the entire 386-mile Yangon-Mandalay line.

C. Land Seizures

The Yangon Region government stated that it will take legal action under the Highways Law against persons found squatting or doing business on main roads in Yangon and the surrounding townships.⁵⁰ They have already sued seventeen squatters who reportedly “opened shops or extended their housing into the boundaries of the main roads” in townships on the outskirts of Yangon.⁵¹ The regional government has identified at least seven other cases that it plans to bring against alleged squatters.⁵²

Mandalay has also cracked down on illegal squatters after concerns that they have caused a spike in crime.⁵³ 90% of the squatters reportedly own land and houses in villages but opt to squat on vacant land in the towns to engage in business.⁵⁴ Law enforcement has demolished the huts allegedly used by drug sellers and other squatters, noting that the judicial process to evict them from the land can be lengthy.⁵⁵ Concerns about squatters in the area has caused house prices in the local area to decrease as potential residents are concerned about possible crime resulting from the slums.⁵⁶ As with other areas of the country, there is concern that some of the squatters may be selling the land which they are illegally occupying to unsuspecting buyers.⁵⁷ Regional government officials are reportedly working on a “master plan” to address some of the city’s issues, including squatters.⁵⁸

The President has “instructed state and regional chief ministers to complete their investigations into land confiscation cases by the end of the year.”⁵⁹ The chairman of the Ayeyarwady Region Committee tasked with addressing land confiscation cases spoke about the President’s instruction, noting that his Committee is working to comply with the President’s order.⁶⁰ Earlier this month the Central Committee issued 52 guidelines to be followed in the investigation of land-grab cases.⁶¹ The Regional Committee has been tasked with 600 cases to investigate, of which it has finalized investigations in 102 cases and has opened investigations in a further 256 cases.⁶² According to regional records, over 200,000 acres of farmland have been seized in Irrawaddy Region.⁶³ The Irrawaddy Region Committee only investigates cases that arose after 1988, and does not investigate cases already under investigation by another government body.⁶⁴ The regional farmers’ union has complained that many of the officials tasked with investigating the cases have themselves benefited from the seizures and so they are unlikely to be impartial.⁶⁵

IV. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence

A. Ethnic Violence

Early in September, Fortify Rights, a human rights organization based in Bangkok, claimed in a 68-page report that the government of Myanmar has systematically denied civilians in Kachin State humanitarian aid.⁶⁶ According to Fortify Rights, the military is “weaponizing the denial of humanitarian aid” by deliberately denying displaced peoples of essential resources such as food, water, healthcare and shelter and imposing unnecessary travel restrictions on humanitarian aid organizations.⁶⁷ The report revealed that from June 2017 to June 2018, the

government approved only five percent of applications submitted by international humanitarian agencies seeking travel authorization to assist the displaced communities.⁶⁸ Requests for access to areas under the control of the KIA were even harder to obtain. Due to the difficulties in accessing such areas, many aid organizations have stopped submitting requests to the government, further limiting aid to the victims of the civil war.⁶⁹ Some other groups have also said that they were forced to evade government restrictions to reach the displaced community there, which put aid workers in extreme danger.⁷⁰

Myanmar's largest non-state army, the United Wa State Army ("UWSA"), is detaining several Christian clergy members for questioning and destroying churches in its self-proclaimed autonomous areas bordering China and Thailand in Shan State, according to a statement issued by the group.⁷¹ The UWSA issued a six-point statement dated September 6, which says that all churches, missionaries, school teachers, and clergy members must be investigated and that a list of all churches in Wa-controlled areas must be drawn up.⁷² According to UWSA, churches built after 1989 — except for one built in 1992 with the government's permission — must be destroyed, and new ones cannot be built in a measure to prevent people from converting to Christianity.⁷³ The statement also prohibits ethnic Wa organizations or committees from joining support groups at churches, bans the teaching of religious lessons or beliefs at government schools and requires all religious leaders to be local residents of the Wa region and to conduct their work activities only with the permission of the Wa government under the rules and regulations of UWSA headquarters.⁷⁴ A UWSA communications official says that Wa military leaders believe there are religious extremists in Wa territory, and UWSA soldiers have apprehended "suspects" and are questioning them.⁷⁵ The UWSA is believed to be one of the largest drug trafficking groups in Southeast Asia. However, the ethnic army maintains that it is not involved in the drug trade.⁷⁶ The China-backed UWSA leads a political coalition called the Federal Political Negotiation and Consultative Committee ("FPNCC") with six other non-signatory groups, in order to hold political negotiations and discuss peace-building.⁷⁷

B. Peace Talks

The ten armed ethnic groups that signed the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement ("NCA") held four days of talks in Thailand to review the results of the third session of the 21st Century Panglong Conference held in July and to come to a united stand on building a federal union to move the peace process forward.⁷⁸ The ethnic leaders in attendance said they could not guarantee that they will not secede from the Union.⁷⁹ The armed ethnic groups said their former leaders had made written agreements that they refuse to overturn by making such a promise. Additionally they cite the lack of certainty of what type of federalism the government will establish and it is not clear what rights ethnic peoples will have. The Tatmadaw has not allowed discussion on political issues at the peace conferences because the ethnic leaders refuse to make the promise never to secede from the Union and, according to the ethnic leaders, this is why the peace talks are in a deadlock.

The Union Peace Commission and representatives of the Northern Alliance armed ethnic groups met in China to discuss the resumption of peace talks and to stop ongoing fighting.⁸⁰ The Northern Alliance includes the Ta'ang National Liberation Army ("TNLA"), Arakan Army ("AA") and Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army ("MNDA"). The United Wa State Army ("UWSA") and Kachin Independent Army ("KIA") were present at the meeting as

observers. The TNLA, AA and MNDAA have not signed the NCA. The Tatmadaw has accused them of not wanting to disarm before joining the peace process.

Ethnic armed groups held a two-day meeting in Laiza, Kachin State, at the headquarters of the Kachin Independence Army (“KIA”), to discuss how to cooperate for participation in the country’s peace process.⁸¹ At least 12 ethnic armed groups participated, including 10 signatories to the NCA and other non-signatories, including the KIO and Karenni National Progressive Party (“KNPP”).

A leader of the KNPP said the government will allow it to transport 5,000 tons of logged timber currently stuck in the jungle if it signs the NCA.⁸² A member of KNPP’s central committee said the group rejected the offer. According to the member, the KNPP told the government it did not want to mix business with politics. The government’s National Reconciliation and Peace Center (“NRPC”) denies offering the KNPP a guaranteed quid pro quo. However, it said that when the NRPC met with the group in May it did say that if it signed the NCA it could enter separate negotiations with the government for a deal to move the logs, and that permission was possible.

- 1 Xchange, May 23, 2018: <http://xchange.org/rohingya-repatriation-survey/>.
- 2 New York Times, May 31, 2018: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/31/world/asia/myanmar-rohingya-refugees-return.html>.
- 3 UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing/2018/9/5b9241dc4/unhcr-undp-say-ready-initial-village-assessments-myanmars-rakhine-state.html>
- 4 *Id.*
- 5 *Id.*
- 6 *Id.*
- 7 Medecins Sans Frontieres: <https://www.msf.org/bangladesh-rohingya-crisis-update-september-2018>
- 8 *Id.*
- 9 OHCHR: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=23575%20&LangID=E>
- 10 *Id.*
- 11 *Id.*
- 12 *Id.*
- 13 *Id.*
- 14 *Id.*
- 15 The Irrawaddy, September 25, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/high-court-takes-corruption-case-yangon-attorney-general-others.html>
- 16 *Id.*
- 17 *Id.*
- 18 *Id.*
- 19 The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/breaking-yangon-attorney-general-five-others-arrested-corruption-comedians-murder-case.html>
- 20 *Id.*
- 21 The Irrawaddy, September 4, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-slides-global-rule-law-index.html>
- 22 *Id.*
- 23 *Id.*
- 24 Politico, September 8, 2018, <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-weighs-new-sanctions-against-myanmar-over-rohingya/>
- 25 The Herald, September 19, 2018, <https://www.theherald.com.au/story/5654626/australia-considering-myanmar-sanctions/>
- 26 The Independent, September 18, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/un-myanmar-rohingya-genocide-united-nations-a8543701.html>
- 27 Time, September 7, 2018, <http://time.com/5389574/icc-jurisdiction-ruling-myanmar-rohingya/>
- 28 Chiang Rai Times, September 20, 2018: <https://www.chiangraitimes.com/former-myanmar-columnist-jailed-for-7-years-for-negatively-criticizing-aung-san-suu-kyi-on-facebook.html>.
- 29 FirstPost, Agence France-Presse, September 19, 2018: <https://www.firstpost.com/world/strangulation-of-free-speech-in-myanmar-former-columnist-jailed-for-abusive-facebook-posts-on-aung-san-suu-kyi-5218051.html>.
- 30 FirstPost, Agence France-Presse, September 19, 2018: <https://www.firstpost.com/world/strangulation-of-free-speech-in-myanmar-former-columnist-jailed-for-abusive-facebook-posts-on-aung-san-suu-kyi-5218051.html>.
- 31 FirstPost, Agence France-Presse, September 19, 2018: <https://www.firstpost.com/world/strangulation-of-free-speech-in-myanmar-former-columnist-jailed-for-abusive-facebook-posts-on-aung-san-suu-kyi-5218051.html>.
- 32 Aljazeera, September 3, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/world-reacts-sentencing-reuters-journalists-myanmar-180903052605150.html>
- 33 The Guardian, September 29, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/29/amal-clooney-urges-aung-san-suu-kyi-to-pardon-reuters-journalists>
- 34 Al Jazeera, September 3, 2018: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/myanmar-court-sentences-reuters-reporters-years-jail-180903043257163.html>.
- 35 Aljazeera, September 28, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/canada-strips-myanmar-aung-san-suu-kyi-honorary-citizenship-180928060228361.html>
- 36 Al Jazeera, September 16, 2018: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/protests-grow-jailing-reuters-journalists-myanmar-180916134542050.html>.
- 37 Al Jazeera, September 16, 2018: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/protests-grow-jailing-reuters-journalists-myanmar-180916134542050.html>.
- 38 The Guardian, September 29, 2018: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/29/amal-clooney-urges-aung-san-suu-kyi-to-pardon-reuters-journalists>.
- 39 Reuters, September 6, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/myanmar-official-says-totally-underestimated-economic-impact-rohingya-crisis.html>.
- 40 The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/govt-signs-mou-beijing-build-china-myanmar-economic-corridor.html>.
- 41 The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-gets-first-foreign-investments-power-projects-fiscal-year-transition.html>.
- 42 The Irrawaddy, September 4, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/lawmaker-demands-accounting-dam-maintenance-funds-bago-flood.html>.
- 43 AFP, September 1, 2018: <http://www.mizzima.com/news-domestic/four-dead-three-missing-after-myanmar-dam-overflow>.
- 44 The Irrawaddy, September 6, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/minister-warns-many-dams-risk-bursting.html>.
- 45 The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/chinese-company-lobbies-locals-reboot-suspended-myitsone-dam-project.html>.
- 46 The Irrawaddy, September 24, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/new-yangon-city-ceo-urges-govt-act-quickly-secure-chinese-investment.html>.

⁴⁷ Myanmar Times, September 13, 2018: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/shan-residents-urge-govt-cancel-dam-project-over-stability-issues.html>.

⁴⁸ Myanmar Times, September 11, 2018: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/residents-still-unhappy-over-tigyit-coal-project.html>.

⁴⁹ Myanmar Times, September 12, 2018: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/upgrade-mandalay-line-starts-october.html>.

⁵⁰ The Irrawaddy, September 26, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/yangon-govt-clear-squatters-main-roads.html>

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² *Id.*

⁵³ Myanmar Times, October 2, 2018: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/mandalay-toughens-campaign-get-rid-illegal-settlers.html>

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ The Irrawaddy, September 20, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/president-tells-state-regional-officials-wrap-land-grab-probes.html>

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ *Id.*

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ The ASEAN Post, September 6, 2018, <https://theaseanpost.com/article/myanmar-crisis-getting-out-hand>.

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ Radio Free Asia, September 17, 2018, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/ethnic-army-targets-christian-clergy-09172018155413.html>.

⁷² *Id.*

⁷³ *Id.*

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ *Id.*

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁸ Myanmar Times, September 7, 2018: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/nca-signers-seek-united-stand-federal-union.html>.

⁷⁹ The Irrawaddy, September 13, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/no-guarantee-not-secede-ethnic-armed-group-leaders.html>.

⁸⁰ Myanmar Times, September 6, 2018: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/government-meets-northern-alliance-groups-first-time.html>.

⁸¹ The Irrawaddy, September 20, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/ethnic-armed-groups-discuss-peace-process-participation.html>.

⁸² The Irrawaddy, September 25, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/ethnic-armed-group-claims-govt-offered-timber-deal-sign-nca.html>.