

STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

OCTOBER 2018 REPORT

Summary. This report reviews the October 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.

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I. Political Developments

A. Rohingya Refugee Crisis

On October 30, 2018, Bangladesh and Myanmar agreed to begin the repatriation of Rohingya Muslims by mid-November of this year.¹ Beginning in August 2017, over 700,000 Rohingya have sought refuge in Bangladesh after Rohingya insurgent attacks on the Myanmar security forces triggered a Myanmar army crackdown.² The news that the two countries would commence repatriation in mid-November came following a meeting in Dhaka between Bangladesh's Foreign Secretary Shahidul Haque and Myanmar's Senior Foreign Ministry official Myint Thu. Myint Thu told reporters that Myanmar has put in place a number of measures to ensure that the returnees will have a secure environment.³

Bangladesh and Myanmar officials announced that they have developed a "very concrete plan" to begin repatriations, with the first round to include 2,260 Rohingya from 485 families.⁴ In mid-October, Bangladesh's foreign minister said that Myanmar had completed the clearance of 8,000 Rohingya sent to Dhaka for verification.⁵ According to Myanmar officials, beginning on November 15, 150 refugees will be sent each week to the Nga Khu Ya reception center before being transferred to the Hla Poe Kaung transit camp.⁶

Recently, the United Nations refugee agency, UNHCR, has begun limited assessments of the refugees in Rakhine State. Bangladesh and Myanmar officials did not consult with UNHCR on the list of names being presented for repatriation before making their announcement. In response to these developments, the UNHCR said that conditions in Rakhine State were not yet conducive for returns, that the agency was not involved in the preparation or clearing of this list, and that it would not facilitate any refugee returns to Rakhine State at this time.⁷ In addition, the UNHCR observed that necessary safeguards are absent in the region, where the United Nations has only been afforded limited access amid continuing restrictions for media and other independent observers.⁸ A spokesman for the UNHCR stressed that the repatriation must be voluntary, and that it is critical that returns are not rushed or premature. The agency advised against imposing any timetable or target figures for repatriation.⁹

Human Rights Watch ("HRW"), an international non-governmental organization, has also opined on the repatriation plans. The organization said that the Myanmar and Bangladesh governments should immediately suspend the proposed repatriation of Rohingya refugees set for mid-November because the expedited plan would return refugees to dire conditions in Myanmar where their lives and liberty are at risk.¹⁰ Rohingya leaders currently living in Bangladesh have said that they will not return without various demands being met, including the right to Myanmar citizenship.¹¹ According to HRW, Bangladesh selected the names of the returnees at random from its registration rolls, without consulting the refugees to confirm their willingness to return or to have their names and other details shared with Myanmar officials.¹² Bill Frelick, refugee rights director of HRW, argues that while Myanmar's government keeps talking about returns, it has done nothing to allay the Rohingya's fears of being returned to the same violence and oppression that they fled.¹³ Furthermore, Frelick warned that if Bangladesh moves forward with repatriations without the United Nations, it will squander the international goodwill it has accrued over the past year as host to the refugees.¹⁴

B. Corruption

Under pressure, the Yangon Eastern District Court ruled that the suspects in the murder of Yell Htwe Aung, a Facebook comedian who was beaten to death in January, will receive a retrial.¹⁵ Last month, the Anti-Corruption Commission (“ACC”) filed a lawsuit against the former Yangon attorney general, a judge and law officers, alleging that they took bribes from a suspect’s father.¹⁶

A former lawmaker has asked the ACC to look into incidents cited in the Yangon auditor general’s report that point to billions of kyats of losses in public funds in the Yangon Region.¹⁷ The ACC declined to investigate, explaining that they are still going through the proper procedures for following up on an audit report. The ACC additionally said that some of the events in the report occurred before the enactment of Article 3(a)(2) of the Anti-Corruption Law, which gave the ACC jurisdiction over these sorts of incidents.¹⁸ On October 29, the President’s Office affirmed that the Yangon Regional Government, however, must respond to the report’s claims.¹⁹

A lawyer from Myitkyina called upon the ACC to investigate a regional government–led construction project slated to upgrade a 23-mile highway between Bhamo and Myitkyina.²⁰ The lawyer alleges that there is no record of bids for the 11-billion-kyat project and that the regional government never pursued Parliament’s approval.²¹ In a statement to *The Irrawaddy*, the Regional Planning and Finance Minister, Wai Lin, refuted charges of wrongdoing, explaining that the project was approved by Parliament and that “[s]ince there are many rumors in the region concerning the project and the budget, the inspection team from Naypyitaw is here to check the quality of the road-improvement process. We have all the necessary documentation regarding the budget; anyone can check it at any time.”²²

At a visit to the grand opening of Shwethaungyan Bridge, President Win Myint issued a warning that those responsible for the misappropriation of public funds would suffer legal action.²³ He also spoke about the nature of public service, stating, “You are appointed to this position to demonstrate your capacity, not to enjoy and indulge in the entitlements and emoluments that accompany it and do nothing else. You are appointed to display your caliber. You must bear this in mind.”²⁴

On October 31, corruption charges were filed against two members of the Rural Development Department for bribery. The two members “demanded more than 10.278 million kyats in ‘office expenses’” from companies that had won contracts to build rural roads.²⁵

The ACC started a new anti-corruption campaign for schools.²⁶ The program—geared toward primary-level students—will use teachers’ handbooks to teach students about integrity.²⁷

C. International Community / Sanctions

On October 5, 2018, the EU imposed sanctions on Cambodia, which will lose its special access to the EU trading block, and at the same time announced that the EU is considering similar trade sanctions on Myanmar. The EU’s trade chief, Cecilia Malmstrom, said the bloc is ready to punish abuses in both countries by removing trade preferences. She accused Myanmar

of “the blatant violation of human rights” for its treatment of the Rohingya population. However, according to *Channel News Asia*, the European Commission, which handles EU trade policy, is “torn between supporting the development of Myanmar's oil-and-textile economy and sanctioning the country.” Government spokesman, Zaw Htay, said that removing the trade preference would lead to job losses in the country’s garment sector. He also said Myanmar had established a commission to probe allegations of human rights abuses and that the EU should give the country time to report its findings. “If a country is willing to do an investigation and if the process is not finished yet, the international community shouldn't intervene,” Zaw Htay said.²⁸

Also in October, Switzerland tightened sanctions against Myanmar over the same human rights concerns. The measures include individual sanctions on members of Myanmar’s military and the strengthening of an embargo on military equipment and goods that could be used for repression. An asset freeze and travel ban (entering and transiting through Switzerland) have been imposed on “seven high-ranking members of Myanmar’s military and security forces who are accused of serious human rights violations,” the economics ministry (“SECO”) said in a press release.²⁹

Similarly, on October 23, 2018, Australian foreign minister, Marise Payne, announced that the country was imposing sanctions and travel bans on five Myanmar military generals who were accused of leading the violent crackdown against the Rohingya population in 2017. Australia has been slower to impose sanctions than the EU, UK and the U.S. in the wake of last year's Rohingya crisis that saw 700,000 members of the Muslim minority flee to Bangladesh. Two of the men targeted by Australia's sanctions are no longer members of Myanmar's military. Maung Maung Soe was fired from his post as commander of the Bureau of Special Operations in June after the EU imposed sanctions on him, while Aung Kyaw Zaw, the head of the Western Command, was allowed to resign in May. Diana Sayed, Amnesty International Australia crisis campaigner, welcomed Payne’s announcement but called on the Government to withdraw financial support for the Tatmadaw and consider expanding sanctions to several other individuals who have been implicated. Australia allocated nearly \$400,000 to train Myanmar’s military in its last budget, which Sayed said put Australia “out of step with the rest of the world.”³⁰

In contrast, Japan’s Ambassador to Myanmar, Ichiro Maruyama, has called international sanctions against Myanmar “utter nonsense.” Speaking to *The Irrawaddy*, Maruyama echoed the views of other nations in the region, by saying that supporting Myanmar is the best way to solve the situation in Rakhine. He said that most international pressure has come from outside the region and would only destabilize Myanmar both economically and politically and hurt ordinary people, while doing nothing to resolve the crisis. Maruyama said, “We believe it’s very important for Myanmar, which now has a democratically elected government after more than 50 years, to solve the issues it faces. We engage with Myanmar based on this belief.”³¹

UN investigators announced on October 24, 2018 that they believe genocide continues to take place against Rohingya Muslims remaining in Myanmar and that the government is increasingly demonstrating it has no interest in establishing a fully functioning democracy. Marzuki Darusman, chair of the UN fact-finding mission on Myanmar, said thousands of Rohingya are still fleeing to Bangladesh, and the estimated 250,000 to 400,000 that have stayed following last year's brutal military campaign “continue to suffer the most severe” restrictions

and repression. Darusman said that all of the requirements for genocide, except for ongoing killings, “continue to hold” for the Rohingya in Rakhine state. These factors include causing serious bodily harm, inflicting conditions designed to destroy the Rohingya, and imposing measures to prevent births. Myanmar’s UN ambassador, Hau Do Suan, called the fact-finding mission “flawed, biased and politically motivated” and said the government “categorically rejects” its inference of “genocidal intent.” Russian Ambassador, Vassily Nebenzia, supported the Myanmar ambassador and accused the UN briefing of “torpedoing consensus” in the Security Council and forcing Council members “to engage in loud-speaker diplomacy.” Chinese Ambassador, Ma Zhaoxu, later echoed Nebenzia, calling the report’s conclusions “lopsided” and “not credible” and saying the international community should work on returning the refugees.³²

Meanwhile, on October 31, 2018, Danish Minister for Development Cooperation, Ulla Tørnæs, announced that Denmark is providing \$4.6 million in humanitarian assistance to meet the urgent food needs of Rohingya refugees and their host communities. The announcement came after the minister’s visit to refugee camps in Kutupalong-Balukhali, Cox’s Bazar, Bangladesh with the Executive Director of the United Nations World Food Programme (“WFP”), David Beasley. Tørnæs also said her government will do whatever necessary to pressure the Myanmar government to ensure the safe repatriation of the displaced Rohingya.³³

II. Civil and Political Rights

A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association

In late October, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar presented a report to the UN General Assembly criticizing Myanmar’s languishing path to a democratic transition.³⁴ Special Rapporteur Lee Yanghee criticized the government’s record and ongoing efforts to restrict the freedom of the press and freedom of speech, calling such restrictions an “arbitrary, biased and opaque application of laws, many of which are vague, overly broad, incompatible with international standards and in contravention of constitutional rights.”³⁵

B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

On October 9, three senior journalists at Myanmar’s largest private newspaper were remanded in custody after handing themselves over to police on October 3, facing accusations of causing “fear or alarm” following a complaint from the Yangon regional government.³⁶ One of the men, the editor-in-chief, told Reuters that the police had raided the paper’s offices while the journalists were away, and that the police came because of an article the journal had published.³⁷ Defense lawyer Kyi Myint told reporters that the Yangon regional government had filed a complaint over the article by the paper’s chief reporter, which had included quotes from regional lawmakers raising questions about public spending, including an overhaul of transport in the country’s commercial hub.³⁸ While the chief minister’s assistant declined to comment on the complaint, police said that a case had been opened against the three reporters under Section 505(b) of the country’s colonial-era penal code, which prohibits publishing information that may “cause fear or alarm” that could cause someone to commit an offense or disrupt “public tranquility.” This charge carries a maximum penalty of two years in prison. The Foreign

Correspondents Club of Myanmar said it was “deeply shocked and disturbed” by the arrests, while Amnesty International’s director called for the immediate release of the three journalists.³⁹

III. Economic Development

A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment

A high-level, emergency EU mission is currently in Myanmar to explore the possibility of revoking the country’s preferential trade status due to the Rohingya crisis.⁴⁰ Myanmar’s exports to the European Union were worth \$1.81 billion in 2017, making the EU Myanmar’s sixth-largest trading partner and an important source of foreign direct investment. Additionally, sanctions, under discussion at the European Commission, would include Myanmar’s lucrative textile industry and potentially risk thousands of jobs.⁴¹ EU officials believe the formal threat of losing tariff-free access would decrease foreign investment in the apparel industry, where European manufacturers (including Adidas, C&A, H&M, Inditex, Next and Primark) enjoy the relatively low labor costs in Myanmar.

Foreign direct investment (“FDI”) in Myanmar declined from \$9.5 billion in the 2015-2016 fiscal year to \$6.6 billion in 2016-2017. The government’s Myanmar Investment Commission (“MIC”) said the slow-down in investment was caused by ongoing concerns about political instability, weak macroeconomics, residual investment restrictions and uncertain investment approval procedures. According to the MIC, contributing factors include a lack of investment promotion, underdeveloped financial sector and business regulations and a dearth of skilled human resources.⁴² In an effort to counteract the significant decline in FDI over the last two fiscal years, the MIC has launched a major investment promotion plan which aims to attract more than \$200 billion over the next 20 years. In addition to its ASEAN neighbors, Myanmar will also target FDI from East Asia, which includes South Korea, Japan and Greater China.⁴³ The Myanmar Investment Promotion Plan 2018 (“MIPP”), which was jointly formed by the MIC and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (“JICA”), outlines three strategic periods to attract FDI. The MIPP projects Myanmar will receive \$8.5 billion per year from 2021 to 2026, \$12.3 billion per year from 2026 to 2031 and \$17.6 billion per year from 2031 to 2036. According to the Director General of the Directorate of Investment and Company Administration, Aung Naing Oo, the government expects to receive \$5.8 billion during the 2018-2019 fiscal year, which began on October 1.⁴⁴ The government projects GDP to reach 152,174 trillion kyats during the 2021-2026 phase—up from 105,998 trillion kyats in the 2016-2021 phase. GDP is also expected to increase from 218,466 trillion kyats in 2026-2031 to 313,636 trillion kyats in 2031-2036.⁴⁵ The MIC and the Union of Myanmar Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry also expect to hold an investment summit targeting China, Hong Kong, Macau, Japan and South Korea later this year.⁴⁶

Japan announced that it will finance the development of key Myanmar infrastructure projects, including a rail line between Yangon and Mandalay, for which it has committed around \$500 million in low-interest loans this year. It is expanding a special economic zone it operates jointly with Myanmar’s government, which has become a hub for investment from Japanese manufacturers, including Suzuki Motor Corp. Japan has invested \$441 million in the zone since 2014 according to Myanmar’s finance ministry.⁴⁷

Economic forecasts by the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (“ADB”) and the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office (“AMRO”) paint a mixed picture of Myanmar’s economic health. In its 2018 Annual Consultation Report, AMRO said the economy was on a gradual recovery path, forecasting growth of 7.4 percent and inflation at around 5 percent in fiscal year 2018-19. In contrast, the World Bank’s recent East Asia and Pacific Economic Update forecast that growth would weaken to 6.2 percent and inflation would accelerate to 8.5 percent in the same year, amid what it said were rising macroeconomic vulnerabilities. The ADB predicts that growth in 2018-19 is likely to come in “slightly lower” than the 7.2 percent forecast earlier this year, while inflation should stabilize at 6 percent.⁴⁸

Pursuant to the Myanmar Ministry of Commerce Notification No. 25/2018 dated May 9, 2018, wholly foreign-owned companies and joint ventures with foreign shareholdings are permitted to engage in retail and wholesale trading (of domestically produced and/or imported goods) in Myanmar, subject to compliance with certain requirements and investment criteria. These requirements can include, among others, minimum capital requirements, registration with the Ministry of Commerce, land use requirements, import permits and others.⁴⁹

A new rule requires imports to have Myanmar language labels. According to the Consumer Affairs Department, imported goods must have labels and instruction manuals in the Myanmar language within six months or they could be taken off the market.⁵⁰

B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects

On October 6, 2018, Myanmar Pharmaceutical Industrial Enterprise (“MPIE”) and a consortium of two local Myanmar companies and a Japanese company signed an agreement to build a high-rise structure on the land owned by MPIE in Tamway, Yangon. The consortium, named NSKRE Residence (Myanmar), includes a Japanese company, Nippon Steel Kowa Real Estate, and two local Myanmar companies, Mann Myanmar Family Ltd and Asia Business Solution Co Ltd. Under a 50-year land lease agreement, a 12-story structural building will be constructed and will include include 230 apartments, a fitness center, a mini-mart, restaurants, business offices and a car parking lot.⁵¹

The Myanmar military shut down a Chinese-contracted \$500 million high-rise project, after the developer breached the memorandum of understanding between the two sides.⁵² The Myayeik Nyo high-rise project was to be built on land owned by the Myanmar military. The company chairman said that the project, scheduled for completion in 2020, was a landmark investment for Yangon and would feature both hotel space and serviced apartments. The secretary of the Yangon Cantonment Board, which manages military-owned land in the city, said Zaykabar Company didn’t follow the agreement signed in January 2014 with the Quartermaster’s Office. He explained that in spite of its agreement with the military to pay the land use premium, the developer had only made two payments. The secretary also added that the developer had demolished two heritage buildings on the project site, a breach of the memorandum of understanding.

Myanmar has agreed to scale down a Chinese-led port project in the western state of Rakhine, slashing the initial price tag to \$1.3 billion from \$7.2 billion over concerns about excessive debt. The development is located in the special economic zone of Kyaukpyu, a natural

harbor facing the Indian Ocean that is suitable for large ships.⁵³ Myanmar will hold a 30 percent stake in the seaport project, giving Beijing a 70 percent interest.⁵⁴

Myanmar signed a Memorandum of Understanding (“MoU”) early this week with India to appoint a private operator for the Sittwe Port. According to the MoU, the private operator will manage the operation and maintenance of a deep-water port in Sittwe, the capital of Rakhine State on the Bay of Bengal, as well as the Paletwa Inland Water Terminal in Chin State and associated facilities that are part of the transport project.⁵⁵

China and Myanmar are looking into the feasibility of building a railway line from China’s border to the city of Mandalay, four years after a high-speed project was shelved. Two state-owned companies, China Railway Eryuan Engineering Group and Myanmar Railways, signed an agreement to begin the study on a proposed rail line from Muse in the northeastern part of the country to Mandalay. According to the agreement, the study will be carried out within two years and will assess the environmental and social impact of the proposed rail line.⁵⁶

The 225-megawatt gas-fired Sembcorp Myingyan Independent Power Plant (“IPP”) of Sembcorp Industries in Mandalay has successfully commenced full commercial operation following its first phase operation in May 2018. The approximately \$300 million power plant uses advanced combined-cycle gas turbine technology that maximizes power output while minimizing emissions. With the successful completion, the facility will generate around 1,500 gigawatt hours of power for supply to Myanmar’s Electric Power Generation Enterprise (“EPGE”), helping to meet the power needs of around 5.3 million people. The project’s completion follows the signing of a long-term power purchase agreement as well as a build-operate-transfer agreement with Myanmar’s Ministry of Electricity and Energy. Under these agreements, Sembcorp Myingyan Power Company will operate the power plant for 22 years, after which the facility will be transferred to the Myanmar government.⁵⁷

C. Land Seizures

The Second Vice President recently argued that Myanmar needs to enact a national land law to address the land use management challenges facing Myanmar.⁵⁸ In particular, he indicated that the new law should address the problem of people settling on land managed by the government.⁵⁹ Commentators noted that “[a]mong the main challenges the government faces today in relation to land use are land disputes, the inability of the government to give permission to invest in vast land areas, outdated laws and procedures, no connection and compatibility between laws that are enacted in different sectors.”⁶⁰ It is hoped that a new land law could address some of these concerns and challenges.

A request to resume an investigation into land purchased by the former President and members of his cabinet, allegedly through improper channels, has been approved.⁶¹ An investigation on this matter was initiated in late August but soon stalled for “unexplained reasons.”⁶²

In Rakhine State, the Tatmadaw has returned over 300 acres of land to the government, which granted temporary farming permits to forty-one farmers claiming to be the original owners of the land.⁶³ If the farmers are able to present documents in support of their ownership of the

land, they will be given an ownership certificate.⁶⁴ While in the possession of the Tatmadaw, the land was not used for farming, so before the land can be used for farming again repairs need to be made to embankments, among other farming-related repairs.⁶⁵ A ceremony was held to commemorate the return – the first time such a ceremony has been held.⁶⁶

IV. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence

A. Ethnic Violence

The Restoration Council of Shan State (“RCSS”) fought with the combined troops of Palaung State Liberation Front (“PSLF”) and Shan State Progressive Party (“SSPP”) in the last week of October, causing more than 700 villagers to flee their homes in Namtu township of Shan State.⁶⁷ The clash erupted when RCSS forces came across a PSLF-SSPP encampment set up along the Mone Ying-Namtu road.⁶⁸ The Namtu relief committee for internally displaced persons, in cooperation with local and foreign donors, is providing food and shelter for the internally displaced persons.⁶⁹

The Karuna Charity Group said that during the past three months, at least nine people have been the victims of mines in northern Shan State.⁷⁰ It is unclear how many people have been injured or killed by landmines since the group was set up 10 years ago, but many people injured by landmines have died while travelling to a hospital because of bad roads and the lack of basic healthcare.⁷¹ Although the government clears mines they find, there has been no systematic large-scale mine-clearing operation.⁷² The government does not keep data on the number of civilian casualties from landmine explosions.⁷³ In Myanmar, nine states and regions are considered to be covered with landmines and other explosives.⁷⁴

A clash between the Tatmadaw and the Kachin Independence Army (“KIA”) occurred near a KIA post after the military sent troops to the area before seizing the post on October 18.⁷⁵ Five villagers were detained, and additional villagers were arrested on October 20, according to Di Hkaung, the head of Nat Khuk village.⁷⁶ He noted that three of the villagers have since been released.⁷⁷ It is said that the military held the villagers to serve as guides in the area.⁷⁸

Another brief armed clash broke out between the KIA and the Tatmadaw in KIA’s 9th Brigade controlled area, Tarmoeyne in northern Shan State, on October 31.⁷⁹ The armed clash lasted for just a brief while, and two KIA soldiers and one villager were injured, according to an unidentified KIA officer.⁸⁰

B. Peace Talks

At a meeting in Thailand on October 10, leaders of the ethnic armed groups that are signatories to the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (“NCA”) agreed to attend a summit with Myanmar’s State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi and Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services Senior General Min Aung Hlaing.⁸¹ The October 15 summit was called by the government, the Tatmadaw and ethnic armed groups to find a way to break the peace process deadlock, review the current structures of the peace process and make it more inclusive.⁸² The peace process has stalled over the Tatmadaw’s demand that armed groups promise not to secede from the Union as a precondition to any deal and that Myanmar have a single national army.

The Vice Chairman of the Karen National Union (“KNU”) described the summit as a “high-level informal talk” that “will not be a detailed discussion.” The summit was the first time the armed group leaders have sat at a table with both State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi and Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services Senior General Min Aung Hlaing.⁸³

On the first day of the two-day “peace summit” in Naypyitaw, Senior General Min Aung Hlaing insisted that the “non-separation” of ethnic minority states and regions must be part of any future peace deal.⁸⁴ However, the peace summit concluded with agreement between the government and the ethnic armed groups on a set of guidelines for continued discussion on two key issues.⁸⁵ The guidelines cover the process of forming a united military and the military’s insistence that ethnic groups vow never to seek secession from the Union. The government and the ethnic armed groups agreed to convene Union peace conferences before 2020 prioritizing democratic and federal principles; to break the deadlock on the peace negotiations; to simplify the current political dialogue; to implement any agreement made between the leaders; to begin discussion on security sector integration; to seek to include the remaining ethnic armed groups who have not yet signed the NCA; and to continue discussions on strengthening the ceasefire.

The KNU informed State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi that it would temporarily suspend participation in follow-on peace talks to the meeting in Naypyitaw earlier in the month.⁸⁶ The KNU said it is suspending its participation so that it can brief its members about what was agreed at the previous summit.

The government’s Peace Commission and representatives of the Northern Alliance ethnic armed groups will meet in Kunming, China on November 7.⁸⁷ The Northern Alliance is composed of the TNLA, Arakan Army (“AA”) and Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (“MNDAA”). None of the Northern Alliance members have signed the NCA.

- ¹ Reuters, October 31, 2018: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya/bangladesh-myanmar-agree-to-begin-rohingya-repatriation-by-mid-november-idUSKCN1N414Q>
- ² *Id.*
- ³ *Id.*
- ⁴ Human Rights Watch, November 2, 2018: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/11/02/myanmar/bangladesh-plan-puts-rohingya-risk>
- ⁵ Dhaka Tribune, October 15, 2018: <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2018/10/15/myanmar-clears-list-of-8-000-rohingyas-sent-by-bangladesh>
- ⁶ *Id.*
- ⁷ Human Rights Watch, November 2, 2018: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/11/02/myanmar/bangladesh-plan-puts-rohingya-risk>
- ⁸ Reuters, October 31, 2018: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya/bangladesh-myanmar-agree-to-begin-rohingya-repatriation-by-mid-november-idUSKCN1N414Q>
- ⁹ *Id.*
- ¹⁰ Human Rights Watch, November 2, 2018: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/11/02/myanmar/bangladesh-plan-puts-rohingya-risk>
- ¹¹ Reuters, October 31, 2018: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya/bangladesh-myanmar-agree-to-begin-rohingya-repatriation-by-mid-november-idUSKCN1N414Q>
- ¹² Human Rights Watch, November 2, 2018: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/11/02/myanmar/bangladesh-plan-puts-rohingya-risk>
- ¹³ *Id.*
- ¹⁴ *Id.*
- ¹⁵ The Irrawaddy, October 9, 2018, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/yanmar-court-retry-suspects-murder-facebook-comedian.html>; see also Myanmar Times, January 4, 2018, <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/police-arrest-suspect-slaying-facebook-celebrity.html>.
- ¹⁶ *Id.*
- ¹⁷ The Irrawaddy, October 16, 2018, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/anti-corruption-commission-review-complaint-calling-investigation-losses-public-funds.html>.
- ¹⁸ The Irrawaddy, October 22, 2018, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/anti-corruption-commission-rejects-request-probe-yangon-govt-losses.html>.
- ¹⁹ The Irrawaddy, October 29, 2018, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/yangon-govt-must-answer-auditor-generals-claims-presidents-office.html>.
- ²⁰ The Irrawaddy, October 15, 2018, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/anti-corruption-commission-asked-probe-kachin-state-highway-project.html>.
- ²¹ *Id.*
- ²² *Id.*
- ²³ The Irrawaddy, October 29, 2018, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/president-warns-legal-action-loss-public-funds.html>.
- ²⁴ The Irrawaddy, October 29, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/president-warns-legal-action-loss-public-funds.html>
- ²⁵ The Irrawaddy, October 31, 2018, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/two-rural-development-dept-officials-charged-taking-bribes.html>.
- ²⁶ Myanmar Times, October 19, 2018, <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/anti-corruption-programme-launched-school-kids.html>.
- ²⁷ *Id.*
- ²⁸ Channel News Asia, October 6, 2018, <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/world/eu-to-hit-cambodia-with-trade-sanctions--says-myanmar-may-follow-10796264>
- ²⁹ Swiss Info, October 17, 2018, https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/rohingya-crisis_switzerland-tightens-sanctions-on-myanmar/44481006
- ³⁰ ABC News Australia, October 23, 2018, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-10-23/australia-sanctions-myanmar-military-generals-over-rohingya/10419574>
- ³¹ The Irrawaddy, October 19, 2018, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/wests-call-sanctions-utter-nonsense-japanese-ambassador.html>
- ³² PA Homepage, October 24, 2018, <https://www.pahomepage.com/news/un-investigator-genocide-still-taking-place-in-myanmar/1547747317>
- ³³ Dhaka Tribune, October 31, 2018, <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2018/10/31/denmark-to-give-additional-4-6-million-funding-to-rohingya-refugees>
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