

**STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR**

**JANUARY 2019 REPORT**

**Summary.** This report reviews the January 2019 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**

#### ***Repatriation Delayed***

The Bangladesh and Myanmar governments' plans to commence repatriating Rohingya, originally scheduled to begin on November 15, 2018, were stalled because officials were unable to find any Rohingya who were willing to return to Myanmar.<sup>1</sup> As of the end of January 2019, the repatriation of refugees living in Bangladeshi border camps has not commenced, nor does it seem likely to begin soon.<sup>2</sup> The Bangladesh government and international humanitarian organizations share the view that it is not yet safe for the refugees to return to Myanmar, despite the Myanmar government's insistence that it has provided sufficient safeguards for the refugees.<sup>3</sup> Yanghee Lee, the United Nations special rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar, said that there appears to be no chance of Rohingya repatriation in the near future, as Myanmar has failed to create a situation conducive for the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees. She urged Bangladesh to be prepared for the reality that it would remain host to hundreds of thousands of Rohingya for the foreseeable future, noting that this refugee crisis will affect not only Bangladesh, but also the region, with global implications.<sup>4</sup> She also ruled out any possibility of relocation of the Rohingya to any other country, as no other nation is currently willing to accept them. She additionally urged the international community to continue applying pressure to Myanmar.<sup>5</sup>

#### ***Bhashan Char***

Yanghee Lee, who has been banned from entering Myanmar since 2017, and who has been accused by Myanmar's government of being biased and unfair in her evaluation of the situation in Rakhine State, visited both Cox's Bazar and Bhashan Char during a late-January visit to Bangladesh.<sup>6</sup> Last year, the government of Bangladesh announced plans to relocate a hundred thousands of refugees currently camped in Cox's Bazar to the remote island of Bhashan Char.<sup>7</sup> During her visit, Lee urged Bangladesh to slow its plans to relocate refugees from the mainland to Bhashan Char. After seeing government efforts to construct housing and other necessary developments on the island, Lee insisted that Bangladeshi officials conduct thorough assessments and hold talks to determine whether refugees would be safe if moved to the offshore site.<sup>8</sup> She further stated that no relocation plan should be finalized until full technical, humanitarian and security assessments are done and protection discussions are made.<sup>9</sup>

### **B. Corruption**

Following complaints filed by citizens of the Sapp Thwar and Kan Tharyar villages, the Anti-Corruption Commission ("ACC") arrested four Gwa Township land registration officials "for allegedly taking bribes to facilitate land transactions."<sup>10</sup> Those detained included the head of the township's Settlement and Land Records Department, the head's deputy, a clerk, and a retired officer.<sup>11</sup>

Nay Yan Oo, an Oxford scholar, called for an investigation of the Union Civil Service Board ("UCSB") after revealing on social media that the UCSB used two unaccredited foreign

universities to provide training and a master's degree program to government officials.<sup>12</sup> Following online pressure, the UCSB announced that they have stopped working with the universities.<sup>13</sup> However, some—including Nay Yan Oo—called for further explanation and a probe into the public funding for the program and into conflicts of interest between UCSB and the two universities.<sup>14</sup>

San Min Aung, the deputy speaker of the Irrawaddy regional parliament, was expelled by the National League for Democracy (“NLD”) for alleged embezzlement of government funds that had been set aside to purchase five vehicles for the regional parliament.<sup>15</sup> The NLD began an internal investigation in December following a complaint by a Patheingyi resident.<sup>16</sup> As a result of the investigation, the NLD dismissed San Min Aung and gave “serious warnings” to three other lawmakers involved in the vehicle purchases.<sup>17</sup> The NLD plans to refer San Min Aung to the ACC.<sup>18</sup>

The Kachin chief minister ordered three Kachin ministers—Minister of Agriculture, Livestock and Irrigation Mya Thein; Minister of State Environment and Natural Resources H La Aung; and Minister for Social Affairs Dr. Thin Lwin—to resign, citing orders from State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi.<sup>19</sup> Mya Thein, who is also a chairman of the NLD, filed a complaint with the NLD, citing his good performance and lack of complaints of corruption.<sup>20</sup> The resignations spurred over three dozen Kachin community-based organizations to call for transparency, asking the chief minister for an explanation of the dismissals and the reason why the ministers were dismissed without following the proper procedures.<sup>21</sup>

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

Against the backdrop of Myanmar's increasing isolation from the West due to its treatment of the Rohingya population, China is seeking to revive its controversial dam project in Myanmar's Kachin State as part of a larger effort to increase Chinese economic involvement in the country. However, political and ethnic leaders in the region are seeking to halt the project. In a joint statement released on January 14, three ethnic Kachin political parties said they were seeking the “permanent suspension” of the \$3.6 billion Myitsone Dam project, which has been on hold since 2011 but had been slated for completion this year. “This is the people's desire. We won't change our policy on the Myitsone hydropower dam,” Gumgrawng Awng Hkam, chairman of the Kachin Democratic Party, told Myanmar's Network Media Group. “Construction of the Myitsone dam should never be allowed.” The backlash from community leaders came after the Chinese embassy in Myanmar said local people in Kachin, as well as political and religious leaders there, had a “positive attitude” towards the dam. China's ambassador to Myanmar Hong Liang said, “If this issue fails to be resolved ... it will seriously hurt the confidence of Chinese entrepreneurs to invest in Myanmar,” adding that the two sides should “find an acceptable solution as soon as possible.”<sup>22</sup>

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

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

On January 11, Myanmar's High Court denied the appeal of Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo, the two Reuters journalists who were jailed last year after reporting on the situation of

Myanmar's Rohingya Muslim minority.<sup>23</sup> The denial can be appealed before the Supreme Court of Myanmar. The decision was made against a background of international pressure in favor of the journalists. The spokesman from the U.S. Embassy in Yangon said that a "free and independent press should be protected in any democracy" and the EU spokesperson for foreign affairs said that the decision was a "setback to media freedom."<sup>24</sup> Amnesty International issued a statement saying that "The decision to keep these two brave and innocent Reuters journalists behind bars plays into the hands of the Myanmar authorities' attempt to hide the truth about the atrocities committed in Rakhine."<sup>25</sup>

On January 17, Human Rights Watch issued its World Report 2019, which noted that "The [Myanmar] government in 2018 increased its use of overly broad and vaguely worded laws to arrest and imprison individuals for peaceful expression deemed critical of the government or military" and that the government also increased prosecutions for criminal defamation, mainly targeted against journalists, activists or others addressing matters of public interest.<sup>26</sup>

On January 25, the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner issued a Mission Statement by the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar.<sup>27</sup> The Special Rapporteur noted that the government of Myanmar has not allowed her to access the country and that "Democratic space, including the freedoms of speech and association, is ever fragile."<sup>28</sup> He also noted that there is a repressive environment discouraging people from speaking out against violations of human rights and that journalists and human rights activists, such as the peace activists Zau Jat, Nang Pu and Lum Zawng, and the journalists Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo "continue to be targeted for exercising their right to freedom of expression."<sup>29</sup>

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

A Myanmar judge dismissed an appeal on January 11 by the two Reuters reporters jailed for reporting on the Rohingya crisis.<sup>30</sup> The reporters were arrested in December 2017 and later jailed for violating the state secrets act. Prosecutors say the two had classified information regarding security operations in Rakhine State, where hundreds of thousands of Rohingya fled during a Tatmadaw-led crackdown. The judge said the original verdict was "not wrong according to the law" and was a "reasonable decision." The European Union's foreign affairs spokesperson said the dismissal is "a missed opportunity to right a wrong," and "another setback to media freedom, the public's right to information and the rule of law in Myanmar."<sup>31</sup> The reporters can now appeal to the Myanmar Supreme Court, a process that could take an estimated six months.

A former police captain, who was jailed after testifying that his colleagues entrapped the two Reuters reporters, was not released on time as expected because staff at the Insein prison miscounted the number of days he had been jailed.<sup>32</sup> Insein prison's warden, Zaw Zaw, said he mistakenly told Moe Yan Naing's family he would be released in January when in fact he is due to be freed in February. He added that the mistake came about because Moe Yan Naing was given a reduced sentence. Last year, Moe Yan Naing testified that Reuters reporters Kyaw Soe Oo and Wa Lone were set up by police while reporting on the massacre of ten Rohingya men and boys. After testifying, Moe Yan Naing was sentenced under the Police Disciplinary Act in April last year.

The Tatmadaw has threatened legal action against media organizations that report unverified stories involving security issues and armed conflicts.<sup>33</sup> The Tatmadaw said that news about the military should only be published after being verified with the ministers for Security and Border Affairs and General Staff colonels of military commands. The Tatmadaw said that false reports have included alleged fighting between the Ta'ang National Liberation Army ("TNLA") and the Tatmadaw near Shwe Maw village in Shan State's Kutkai township on December 24. It said that the reports came from unreliable sources and could harm the peace process.

### **III. Economic Development**

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

According to the Asian Development Bank, Myanmar's economy is set to grow 7% in 2019, up from an estimated 6.6% in 2018. Foreign direct investment ("FDI") approvals peaked at \$9.5 billion in 2015-16, as Aung San Suu Kyi's government was coming to power, but slowed to \$5.7 billion in 2017-18.<sup>34</sup>

The Myanmar government recently held a two-day investment summit aimed at increasing interest in the country and showcasing some 120 projects worth more than \$3 billion combined. The Invest Myanmar Summit 2019, the country's first, is part of the government's efforts to counteract a significant decline in FDI in Myanmar over the last two fiscal years. In her opening address, State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi said she was confident the summit would highlight the opportunities available to both local and foreign investors.<sup>35</sup> The summit is an important part of the Myanmar Investment Promotion Plan ("MIPP"), which aims to attract more than \$200 billion in investment from responsible and quality businesses over the next 20 years. The countries and territories that were targeted during the summit include China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Thailand, Singapore, India, Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom. The industries that were targeted include manufacturing, garments, electricity and energy, tourism, education, food processing and fisheries, health care, infrastructure and property.<sup>36</sup>

Myanmar's financial regulator will begin granting licenses to foreign-owned insurance companies, allowing them to operate in the market by April 2019. There are currently 31 representative offices of insurers from 14 countries in Myanmar. Foreign insurers will need to pay \$14 million for a license to provide general insurance. Once the insurance company is given the license, 30% of their required capital will be slated for the purchase of government bonds.<sup>37</sup>

Myanmar has officially permitted the use of the Chinese and Japanese currencies in cross-border payments. The directive means that the yuan and yen join the euro, the US dollar and the Singaporean dollar as designated currencies for settling international trade in Myanmar.<sup>38</sup>

According to observers, the upcoming Rakhine State Investment Fair-2019, scheduled for February 21-23, 2019 in Thandwe, Rakhine State, will help to realize the State's growth potential. Noting that Rakhine State lies near the Bay of Bengal, making it an economic proxy between China, India and countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations ("ASEAN"),

Rakhine State Chief Minister Nyi Pu told a press conference that Rakhine State already has a long-term socio-economic development strategy in readiness, designed with the aid of international diplomats and experts. Myanmar is also scheduled to hold a regional investment forum in Chin state, aimed at seeking investment for development in the region.<sup>39</sup>

The Myanmar government has announced the launch of an online “project bank” which is intended to change the way infrastructure programs are planned, determined and funded. The project bank will contain priority infrastructure initiatives which have been screened and approved by Nay Pyi Taw. The initiative aims to align projects with the development objectives of line ministries, and will provide a new framework for public-private partnerships and enable the private sector to invest in state assets.<sup>40</sup>

The Myanmar Investment Commission (“MIC”) permitted and endorsed 40 foreign and 10 domestic investment projects during a meeting held on January 11, 2019. The enterprises will be engaged in the manufacturing, electricity, livestock and fishery, real estate development, and other sectors, creating 31,695 jobs for local residents. The majority of the investment will flow to the manufacturing sector. The MIC also approved ten domestic enterprises to execute projects in manufacturing, hotels and tourism, and other sectors. These projects will help create 863 jobs.<sup>41</sup>

A Real Estate Services Bill, aiming to increase tax revenues and to build confidence in the industry, has been submitted to the Pyithu Hluttaw on January 29, 2019. It is hoped that the bill will help bring about a more systematic real estate industry with professional bodies and licenses, which will provide more confidence in transactions for both sellers and buyers.<sup>42</sup>

The long-awaited Yangon City Development Law, which now forms part of the legal back-bone of the Yangon City Development Committee (“YCDC”) and which sets the future of the commercial capital’s development planning, came into effect on October 1, 2018. The approved version of the law contains some unknown provisions. Some rules governing committee member elections, for example, are not public knowledge. Legal experts have been quick to point out that many provisions are copies or amalgamations of other, older laws, but serious questions remain as to how interpretations may be changed in the new iteration and why clear explanations have not been forthcoming.<sup>43</sup>

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

Myanmar’s government said that it had no plans to resume work on a Chinese-backed hydropower dam in Myitsone, which is currently halted, despite intensifying pressure from Beijing to complete the project. Myanmar’s minister of investment and foreign relations said that, while Myanmar considered relations with its powerful neighbor “important” and was working to devise an alternative power project, the Myitsone dam in the northern Kachin State would have “enormous impact on the environment and on the people and villages in the area.” Myanmar’s former government suspended work on Myitsone in 2011 in response to intense local opposition from Kachin groups.<sup>44</sup>

In a meeting with Yangon lawmakers, China Railway Eryuan Engineering Group Co., Ltd (“CREEC”) presented a planned project to develop a 37.9km-long elevated railroad with 24

stations over 2-3 years.<sup>45</sup> The company said it would fund the project, which is estimated to cost approximately \$1.5 billion, but the company requested a 50-year contract to operate the service. Lawmakers reportedly raised concerns with ongoing problems with land seizures and confiscations and questioned the company's plan to develop an alternative route instead of connecting with the Yangon's existing circular railway. The Ministry of Transport and Communications is upgrading Yangon's circular railway line with the help of Japan International Cooperation Agency. The upgrade includes modernizing the line's stations, tracks and trains. Management expects to finish the project in 2023. Some 73,000 commuters ride the line daily.

Residents, civil society groups, and a local political party have submitted their objections with the Land Management and Statistics Department of Dawei Township to proposals by four companies for the development of three islands and a huge stretch of beach in Dawei.<sup>46</sup> The three islands, which the companies applied to develop under the Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Lands Management Law, are Pae Zin Island, Pa Nyit Island, and San Hlan Island. The beach, which is also being proposed for development, is the Sin Htaung Aw Beach. Maung Aye, a Dawei resident and vice chair of the Dawei Nationalities Party, said that the development, if permitted, would adversely affect the livelihoods of the fishermen and residents in the area. He added it is the responsibility of the government to protect and conserve the islands and the beach.

### **C. Land Seizures**

The government reportedly approved the seizure of over 950,000 acres of unused vacant, fallow and virgin land.<sup>47</sup> The land had previously been leased to private entities for a range of projects, including agriculture, breeding and mining.<sup>48</sup> At the time the land was leased, an agreement was put in place that the land would be put into use within four years.<sup>49</sup> This condition was reportedly not met, which led to the approval of the seizure. There are claims that some businessmen originally leased the land with the hope that if new development came to the area then they would be able to sublease the land for profit.<sup>50</sup> Some of the land is reportedly occupied by squatters, which will complicate the planned seizure.<sup>51</sup>

The government's announcement that they would seize unused vacant, fallow and virgin land has produced a number of critiques, including that in certain parts of the country, land ownership is governed by historic customary laws and is not typically registered in a government database to a particular individual. This can lead to land erroneously being classified as unused vacant, fallow or virgin land. To combat this erroneous classification, in Kayin State, the Salween Peace Park Steering Committee announced plans to establish a new park on land at risk of being classified as unused vacant, fallow or virgin land. The park will be approximately 5,485 square kilometers.<sup>52</sup> Certain areas in the new park will be designated for wildlife, and in other areas locals will be able to cut small amounts of timber for their cooking needs.<sup>53</sup> The proposed park will encompass approximately 300 villages, with over 6,000 residents. These residents will take an active role in caring for the land.<sup>54</sup>

In Dagon Seikkan Township, a dispute is brewing over housing organized by an NGO called Pyomay Eain (Lady's Home).<sup>55</sup> The NGO has organized 11 community-led housing projects, which allow residents to buy homes in the development by making monthly payments over the course of several years.<sup>56</sup> The homes are inexpensive and the NGO offers low interest rates.<sup>57</sup> However, local officials have now told some occupants that the land on which their

houses sit is state-owned and that they therefore have no right to live there.<sup>58</sup> Ten households with houses in the project are refusing to make any additional payments and are demanding a return of their payments made to date.<sup>59</sup> The NGO claims that the residents chose the area in which to build homes, but has stated that they will provide support if attempts are made to evict them from the land.<sup>60</sup>

#### **IV. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence**

##### **A. Ethnic Violence**

In late January, the Tatmadaw warned ethnic armed groups to end hostilities in five of its command regions around the country and to stop attempts to expand their territory during the temporary unilateral cease-fire that the armed forces imposed in December, or risk damaging the nation's teetering peace process.<sup>61</sup> The Tatmadaw said in a statement that "while the [ethnic armed organizations] should be putting their efforts into peace negotiations during the truce, they have focused on building up strength, recruitment and boundary expansions," that have impacted civilian livelihoods, increased the number of people displaced by fighting, disrupted road transportation security, and affected the country's peace process.<sup>62</sup>

According to the Tatmadaw, fighting between ethnic armed groups occurred 13 times from December 21 to January 24 between the Restoration Council of Shan State/Shan State Army-South ("RCSS/SSA-S") and TNLA and Shan State Progressive Party/Shan State Army-North ("SSPP/SSA-N") forces, as well as between the RCSS/SSA-S and Pa-Oh National Liberation Organization ("PNLO").<sup>63</sup>

The Myanmar military also cautioned the TNLA, Arakan Army ("AA"), and the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army ("MNDAA"), whose troops all operate in northern Shan State, to adhere to a joint statement they issued on December 12 to halt military operations and support the government's efforts for national reconciliation and nationwide peace.<sup>64</sup>

A Tatmadaw spokesman said that ethnic armed groups that enter territory controlled by the military or by other rebel forces should withdraw by February 12, the country's Union Day, and if the ethnic armies fail to stop intruding into others' territory, then the Tatmadaw will take measures as necessary.<sup>65</sup>

##### **B. Peace Talks**

The Karen National Union ("KNU") urged all members of the ethnic group to participate in the political process to help secure their rights.<sup>66</sup> "We want to send a message to our people that we need to take control our own fate [by securing political and ethnic rights]. We have to fight either politically or militarily for our rights. We should show unity and fight together," KNU vice chairman Padoh Kwe Htoo Win said. "We can't leave our fate in the hands of others," he added, referring to the Tatmadaw and Myanmar government. The KNU has suspended its participation in peace negotiations with the government but will continue to hold informal meetings with the government, which it sees as the best way to negotiate its disagreements with the government over the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement ("NCA"). On



January 3, the KNU expressed further frustration with the peace process, saying that it is proceeding in the “wrong way” in its aim to create a federal republic.<sup>67</sup>

The Karenni National Progressive Party (“KNPP”) raised the issue of the Tatmadaw’s recent deployment of troops in areas under the KNPP’s control in Kayah State with the Myanmar government’s Peace Commission during informal talks in Chaing Mai, Thailand on January 14.<sup>68</sup> The KNPP expressed concern that the troops are a threat to the security of the public.

- <sup>1</sup> Dhaka Tribune: <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/rohingya-crisis/2018/11/18/rohingya-repatriation-relocation-plans-pushed-back-to-2019>.
- <sup>2</sup> Myanmar Times: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/rakhine-refugee-repatriation-unlikely-start-soon-analysts.html>.
- <sup>3</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>4</sup> Dhaka Tribune: <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/rohingya-crisis/2019/01/26/un-expert-with-rohingyas-bangladesh-should-prepare-for-long-haul>.
- <sup>5</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>6</sup> Radio Free Asia: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/un-special-envoy-pays-third-visit-to-myanmar-01222019162737.html>.
- <sup>7</sup> Dhaka Tribune: <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/rohingya-crisis/2019/01/29/inside-the-bhashan-char-plan-for-rohingyas>.
- <sup>8</sup> Radio Free Asia: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/bangladesh-refugees-01252019152832.html>.
- <sup>9</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>10</sup> The Irrawaddy, Jan. 10, 2019, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/anti-corruption-commission-detains-4-land-officials-gwa-township.html>.
- <sup>11</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>12</sup> The Irrawaddy, Jan. 15, 2019, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/calls-grow-for-probe-of-civil-service-board-following-fake-universities-scandal.html>.
- <sup>13</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>14</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>15</sup> The Irrawaddy, Jan. 16, 2019, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/regional-parliament-deputy-speaker-expelled-embezzlement.html>.
- <sup>16</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>17</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>18</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>19</sup> The Irrawaddy, Jan. 21, 2019, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/three-kachin-state-ministers-told-quit-suu-kyis-orders.html>.
- <sup>20</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>21</sup> The Irrawaddy, Jan. 22, 2019, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/public-demands-transparency-forced-resignation-kachin-ministers.html>.
- <sup>22</sup> South China Morning Post, January 20, 2019 <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/2182825/china-faces-backlash-it-bids-rekindle-stalled-us36-billion>.
- <sup>23</sup> The Washington Post, January 11, 2019: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/reuters-journalists-challenge-conviction-under-myanmar-state-secrets-act/2019/01/11/0c09a4d8-14d7-11e9-ab79-30cd4f7926f2\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/reuters-journalists-challenge-conviction-under-myanmar-state-secrets-act/2019/01/11/0c09a4d8-14d7-11e9-ab79-30cd4f7926f2_story.html).
- <sup>24</sup> The Washington Post, January 11, 2019: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/reuters-journalists-challenge-conviction-under-myanmar-state-secrets-act/2019/01/11/0c09a4d8-14d7-11e9-ab79-30cd4f7926f2\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/reuters-journalists-challenge-conviction-under-myanmar-state-secrets-act/2019/01/11/0c09a4d8-14d7-11e9-ab79-30cd4f7926f2_story.html).
- <sup>25</sup> Amnesty International, January 11, 2019: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/01/myanmar-reuters-journalists-rejected-appeal-perpetuates-an-appalling-injustice/>.
- <sup>26</sup> Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/burma>.
- <sup>27</sup> United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, January 25, 2019: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=24114&LangID=E>.
- <sup>28</sup> United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, January 25, 2019: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=24114&LangID=E>.
- <sup>29</sup> United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, January 25, 2019: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=24114&LangID=E>.
- <sup>30</sup> Mizzima, January 11, 2019: <http://www.mizzima.com/article/myanmar-reuters-journalists-lose-appeal-against-7-year-sentence>.
- <sup>31</sup> Myanmar Times, January 11, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/justice-system-regressing-court-rejects-appeal-reuters-reporters.html>.
- <sup>32</sup> Mizzima, January 3, 2019: <http://www.mizzima.com/article/its-unacceptable-weve-been-waiting-whistleblowing-policemans-release-date-delayed-weeks>.
- <sup>33</sup> Myanmar Times, January 1, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/military-warns-media-outlets-about-reports-security-armed-conflicts.html>.
- <sup>34</sup> Financial Times, January 28, 2019: <https://www.ft.com/content/039183b2-22c3-11e9-8ce6-5db4543da632>.
- <sup>35</sup> The Irrawaddy, December 28, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/business/myanmar-opens-major-investment-summit-naypyitaw.html>.
- <sup>36</sup> The Irrawaddy, December 28, 2018: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/business/myanmar-opens-major-investment-summit-naypyitaw.html>.
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- <sup>38</sup> South China Morning Post, January 31, 2019: <https://www.scmp.com/economy/china-economy/article/2184541/next-stop-myanmar-china-japan-rivalry-frontier-market-opens>.
- <sup>39</sup> Xinhua, January 23, 2019: [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/23/c\\_137767730.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/23/c_137767730.htm).
- <sup>40</sup> Myanmar Times, January 31, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/govt-announces-project-bank-get-myanmar-building.html>.
- <sup>41</sup> Mizzima News, January 17, 2019: <http://mizzima.com/article/mic-allows-40-foreign-and-10-domestic-investment-projects>.
- <sup>42</sup> Myanmar Times, February 1, 2019 <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/real-estate-services-bill-submitted-parliament.html>.
- <sup>43</sup> Myanmar Times, January 9, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/experts-legislators-raise-concerns-over-new-yangon-city-development-law.html>.
- <sup>44</sup> Financial Times, January 29, 2019: <https://www.ft.com/content/4a898614-2392-11e9-8ce6-5db4543da632>.
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- <sup>46</sup> Myanmar Times, January 4, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/residents-object-development-dawei-beach-islands.html>.
- <sup>47</sup> Myanmar Times, January 24, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/government-approves-seizure-over-950000-acres-unused-land.html>.
- <sup>48</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>49</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>50</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>51</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>52</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 7, 2019: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/environment/salween-peace-park-keep-lands-local-hands.html>.
- <sup>53</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>54</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>55</sup> Frontier Myanmar, January 23, 2019: <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/dagon-seikkans-housing-blues>.
- <sup>56</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>57</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>58</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>59</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>60</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>61</sup> Radio Free Asia, January 25, 2019, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/myanmars-military-warns-ethnic-armies-01252019170538.html>.
- <sup>62</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>63</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>64</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>65</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>66</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 3, 2019: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/knu-urges-karen-participate-political-process-new-year-message.html>.
- <sup>67</sup> Mizzima, January 4, 2019: <http://www.mizzima.com/article/knu-slams-governments-peace-process>.
- <sup>68</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 15, 2019: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/knpp-raises-tatmadaw-troop-movements-karenni-state-peace-commission.html>.