

STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

NOVEMBER 2019 REPORT

Summary. This report reviews the November 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

During November, the Bangladesh coast guard rescued 122 Rohingya refugees from the Bay of Bengal. Fishermen alerted the coast guard when the boat carrying refugees illegally fleeing to Malaysia started sinking due to a mechanical problem. The coast guard rescued 58 women, 47 men, and 17 children, bringing the number of Rohingya refugees that have been prevented from reaching Malaysia this year to over 500.¹ The rescued refugees risked the dangerous journey to seek a better life than they had in the refugee camps along the Bangladesh border.² One boat passenger, Mohammed Ayas, said that he could not find employment in Bangladesh.³ Poor quality of life in the Bangladesh refugee camps has led to many falling prey to human traffickers promising to bring refugees to Malaysia.⁴ A coast guard lieutenant stated that the refugees will be sent back to the camps in Bangladesh.⁵

At the end of November, Bangladesh Army Chief General Aziz Ahmed reported that a plan to surround the Rohingya refugee camps in Cox's Bazar with barbed wire fences and guard towers was "in full swing."⁶ This plan, in addition to an internet blackout in the refugee camps that has lasted for over 75 days, is part of a series of policies that is effectively separating more than 900,000 Rohingya refugees from the outside world.⁷ These policies are the result of Bangladesh's struggle to handle the massive influx of refugees and to address the grievances from local communities surrounding the refugee camps.⁸ Humanitarian aid workers have complained that the internet shutdown has seriously impacted their ability to provide assistance within the camps, in particular when it comes to responding to emergencies.⁹ The fencing will lead to further risk should refugees need to urgently evacuate or obtain medical aid. In addition, refugees told Human Rights Watch that such fencing will hinder their ability to reach relatives spread throughout the camps, and that the fencing reminds them of the restrictions on movement and abuses from which they fled in Myanmar.¹⁰

B. Corruption

The Anti-Corruption Commission charged San Maung Oo with violating Article 45 of the Anti-Corruption Act, alleging that he accepted bribes totaling about 4.4 million Thai baht while serving as a labor attaché representing migrants in Thailand.¹¹ San Maung Oo is alleged to have accepted bribes from recruitment agencies in exchange for "approving labor demand letters and for sending workers to recruitment agencies."¹²

Newspaper *Frontier Myanmar* reported that six Department of Fisheries workers were fired in April for inciting protest after reporting "that team leaders were extorting illegal placement fees from newly recruited workers."¹³ Yangon Region Chief Minister Phyo Min Thein told the workers that "it was not possible for [the workers] to have [their] original jobs" back.¹⁴ The administrator who received the workers' corruption complaint has stated that the case is "solved" because the workers have been offered jobs at another work site.¹⁵

C. International Community / Sanctions

The International Criminal Court (“ICC”) approved a full investigative probe into Myanmar’s alleged crimes against the Rohingya on November 14, 2019.¹⁶ The alleged crimes include “systemic acts of violence,” deportations as a crime against humanity, and persecution on the grounds of ethnicity or religion against the Rohingya.¹⁷ Although Myanmar has not accepted the jurisdiction of the ICC, the ICC ruled that it has jurisdiction over the alleged crimes because the Rohingya are refugees in Bangladesh, which has acknowledged the ICC’s jurisdiction.¹⁸ Myanmar, however, continues to reject the ICC’s authority stating that the ICC investigation is “not in accordance with international law.”¹⁹

Gambia filed a case accusing Myanmar of genocide in its campaign against Rakhine State’s Muslim minority at the International Court of Justice (“ICJ”) on November 11, 2019 on behalf of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation.²⁰ Specifically, the case alleges that the campaign against Rohingya, which includes “killing, causing serious bodily and mental harm, inflicting conditions that are calculated to bring about physical destruction, imposing measures to prevent births, and forcible transfers, are genocidal in character because they are intended to destroy the Rohingya group in whole or in part.”²¹ The Myanmar government has stated that it will respond to all accusations contained within the ICJ lawsuit.²² State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi will personally head up a delegation to defend the ICJ case; Myanmar has also retained “prominent international lawyers.”²³ The military and civilian governments of Myanmar support Aung San Suu Kyi’s decision to personally head the defense.²⁴ Various reports claim that various ethnic armed groups, including the United Wa State Army and National Democratic Alliance Army, support Aung San Suu Kyi at the ICJ,²⁵ however a senior Karen National Union official has rejected these reports.²⁶ The ICJ will hold public hearings in the case from December 10 to December 12, 2019.²⁷

Various human rights groups filed a criminal lawsuit in Argentinian courts for crimes committed against the Rohingya.²⁸ The lawsuit names several top civil and military Myanmar officials, including State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi and Commander-in-chief Senior General Min Aung Hlaing.²⁹ Civil rights groups in Argentina are demanding that civilian leadership also be investigated for complicity in the crimes against the Rohingya; they accuse the government of a failure to condemn operations, assistance in the cover-up and a role in confining Rohingya communities to ghettos.³⁰ This marks the first time Aung San Suu Kyi has been legally implicated over the Rohingya crisis.³¹ The Myanmar government has stated that it will not respond to the Argentinian lawsuit.³²

Myanmar government spokesman Zaw Htay has acknowledged that Myanmar’s image has been “severely damaged internationally” by the various lawsuits and investigations relating to the treatment of the Rohingya.³³ He reiterated that Myanmar is investigating the allegations and stated that the investigations and lawsuits “have disturbed Myanmar’s own efforts on the investigation.”³⁴

The Office of the State Counselor formed a Special Unit on International Criminal Justice in response to the various lawsuits brought against Myanmar.³⁵ The unit is designed to strengthen legal expertise and provide an opinion to government ministries in relation to international criminal law.³⁶ The unit will be led by the Attorney General’s Office with support

from legal experts from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Office of the Judge Advocate General.³⁷

Myanmar applied for Indian Ocean Rim Association (“IORA”) membership again this year, but Bangladesh opposed its membership application.³⁸ Myanmar was ultimately denied IORA membership as a result of its non-fulfillment of commitment over the Rohingya repatriation.³⁹ Discussing repatriation, a Myanmar government spokesperson, Zaw Htay, blamed the Bangladeshi government for the stalled repatriation process of Muslim refugees, stating that “[a]s long as Bangladesh doesn’t cooperate, this problem will continue to exist.”⁴⁰

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs David Stilwell visited Myanmar at the end of October.⁴¹ The Assistant Secretary pledged continued cooperation from the U.S. during his visit.⁴² During his visit to Rakhine State, the Assistant Secretary “offered U.S. support to address the root causes of conflict, insecurity and discrimination,” reiterating that “U.S. assistance reaches all communities, in all parts of Rakhine State, to promote peace and improve lives.”⁴³ The U.S. Ambassador to Myanmar continues to express concern over the Rakhine crisis and other conflicts in Myanmar, stating that “there has not been accountability and justice [in Myanmar] for those human rights abuses [against the Rohingya].”⁴⁴

II. Civil and Political Rights

A. Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Association

Six Karenni youths were sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labor by a court in Kayah State for calling the state’s chief minister a traitor and political criminal.⁴⁵ The youths’ statements were made in response to the erection in the state capital of a statue of General Aung San, a controversial Myanmar independence leader. The statue was secretly raised overnight in the face of vehement opposition from the Karenni youths and other ethnic activists, who believe the statue reinforces the majority ethnic Bamar cultural and political domination at the expense of minority representation.⁴⁶ The activists’ lawyer argues that Article 354(a) of the Kayah State Constitution protects the right to criticize state officials in a peaceful manner.⁴⁷ However, the verdict emphasized that while every person has the right to speak freely, the activists hurt the dignity of the state officials and the institutions they represent.⁴⁸ Because the activists were denied bail and therefore have already spent five months in prison, they will be released in approximately four weeks.

Sayadaw Arriyawuntha—a Buddhist monk living in Mandalay—has been sued under Article 500 of the penal code for criticizing the military in an interview with Yangon’s Khit Thit website.⁴⁹ The monk’s comments were directed toward a 30-million kyat (nearly USD \$20,000) donation by a military commander to the Buddha-Dhamma Parahita Foundation, an ultranationalist religious group. The monk claimed that the group had violated religious rules by receiving financial support from the military, which has been allegedly attempting to block democratic reforms.⁵⁰ Sayadaw Arriyawuntha has been released on bail.

A court in Naypyidaw fined five comedians each 100,000 kyat for a performance that portrayed a Tatmadaw soldier abusing a civilian.⁵¹ The performance—in which a soldier put his foot on a woman’s shoulder—was meant to depict the love between the soldier and the civilian

and not intended as a criticism, according to the group. Lieutenant Colonel Myint Oo charged the group with defamation under Section 500 of the penal code. If found guilty, the performers could face up to two years in prison.⁵² These charges come after a different performance group was imprisoned for a satirical performance that allegedly aimed to cause officers “to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in their duties.”⁵³ Rights groups report that in the first six months of 2019, more than 250 people have been criminally charged under laws restricting freedom of expression.⁵⁴

Plaintiffs have increasingly turned to a new privacy law for harsher sentencing in defamation cases, according to reports. While Article 500 of the penal code carries a maximum two-year sentence for defamation, Article 8(f) of the Privacy Law allows for three year sentences without bail.⁵⁵ Although only eight lawsuits were filed under the Privacy Law in its first year of its existence, 36 such lawsuits—with charges against 132 people—have been brought in the past year.⁵⁶ Lower house bill committee secretary Kyaw Soe Lin has acknowledged the law’s potential misuse, and the bill committee announced a plan to amend the Privacy Law in February to remove Article 8(f), which criminalizes defamation.⁵⁷

New curfews in southern Chin State’s Paletwa Township have forced various churches to hold community meetings in the morning rather than the evening.⁵⁸ The curfew prevents residents of Paletwa from being outside between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. and outlaws gatherings of five people or more.⁵⁹ Southern Chin State is currently considered a war zone; the curfew was enacted pursuant to security concerns after the Arakan Army took parliamentarian Huay Ting into custody.⁶⁰ There is concern among locals that the curfew will make it difficult for them to observe and celebrate upcoming Christian holidays, including Christmas.

B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

According to Freedom House, a U.S.-based non-governmental organization that has monitored the global internet since 2009, internet freedom in Myanmar is shackled by restrictive laws. Freedom House has given Myanmar a ranking of 36 points out of 100 in its internet freedom category.⁶¹ Based on an evaluation from June 2018 to May 2019, Freedom House said that Myanmar’s “military and ruling party continued manipulating online content,” and repressive laws like the Telecommunications Law deter criticism of the government.⁶² According to the evaluation report, nearly 700 military officials used a systemic campaign of misinformation and the National League for Democracy (“NLD”) has failed to deliver media freedom since it took power in 2016.⁶³ The report also noted the internet was shutdown in eight townships by the Myanmar government citing Section 77 of the Telecommunications Law.⁶⁴

Bago Region Chief Minister Win Thein met local residents at a monastery in Zigon Township in western Bago on November 22. Journalists from private media were barred from the meeting and only staff from state-owned media were allowed to cover the event.⁶⁵ Reporter Wai Zin Kyi of Mandalay-based VOM News Agency told the Irrawaddy “we complained to Bago Region NLD Chairman Thein Dan by phone. He said he can’t take action if we file a complaint over the phone and asked me to file the complaint by letter. So, we will file a complaint by letter about discrimination between state-owned media and private media.”⁶⁶ According to a reporter from the Bago Weekly News Journal, NLD spokesperson Dr. Myo Nyunt said that the Bago Region Chief Minister did not give the order to ban the reporters and

that another official barred the reporters of his own volition. According to Thein Dan, party information officers at regional and state levels should ensure public access to accurate information. “In case of a complaint, the regional disciplinary committee has to conduct an investigation and report the findings to us. We can issue warnings to violators [of party rules and regulations] and the central level [NLD] handles suspension and dismissal [for serious violations],” Thein Dan told the Irrawaddy.⁶⁷

III. Economic Development

A. Economic Development—Legal Framework, Foreign Investment

The Pun corporate empire secured the support of Ayala Corp, signaling their confidence in the future of Myanmar despite ineffectual economic reforms and uncertain fallout from the Rohingya crisis.⁶⁸ Ayala Corp, a Philippine conglomerate active in real estate, telecommunications, energy and infrastructure, will take a 20% stake in each of Singapore-listed Yoma Strategic Holdings and Yangon-listed First Myanmar Investment, valued at a combined USD \$238 million. This marks the first major foreign investment in a company listed on the Yangon Stock Exchange, which is set to open the door to non-Myanmar buyers. Serge Pun noted that this “vote of confidence” was unrelated to polls or “which government we are supporting” when asked if the investment also indicates support for Aung San Suu Kyi and her government’s economic policies ahead of the 2020 elections. He said, instead, that “it’s about what we want to do for Myanmar and the Myanmar people,” further commenting that the partnership “signifies our ASEAN investors are a lot smarter than Western investors,” when asked if the deal simply reflects the fact that it is harder to attract investments from Western countries. The new capital raised from this partnership is important for Yoma Strategic’s real estate portfolio, especially its mobile money operator, Wave Money, which has the opportunity to be the mobile wallet of choice in Myanmar. Wave Money is one of Myanmar’s fastest-growing mobile money operators.

Myanmar held an investment forum attended by 96 foreigners in Taunggyi in northern Shan State on November 26 to promote investment in tourism and agriculture, according to the Ministry of Investment and Foreign Economic Relations.⁶⁹ Myanmar Minister of Investment and Foreign Economic Relations and Chairman of the Myanmar Investment Commission (“MIC”) considers agriculture to be important to achieve sustainable development, also noting that agricultural growth is critical for inclusive development and food security. Myanmar also plans to hold a similar event in the southern Tanintharyi region in early December in order to explore investment opportunities in tourism and fishery. According to the MIC, during the month and a half of the fiscal year ending 2019-20 which started in October, foreign direct investment of USD \$529.18 million has flowed into the country. The MIC has set a target of USD \$5.8 billion in foreign investment during the current fiscal year.

Foreign investment in Myanmar from the fiscal year ended 1988-89 through 2018-19 totaled over USD \$81 billion from fifty different countries, according to the MIC. Most of these investments flowed into the oil and natural gas sector as well as the electricity sector.⁷⁰ Myanmar has also approved eight additional investment projects in five different sectors, according to the MIC.⁷¹ The investment projects are worth a total of USD \$232.21 million, will

create over 1,700 job opportunities and are in the sectors of manufacturing, real estate, service, livestock and fishing. In Myanmar's mining sector, the country has allowed full foreign investment in large-scale mineral extraction, while small- and middle-scale extraction will be allowed only for Myanmar citizens, according to the MIC.⁷²

The Central Bank of Myanmar will start issuing the third round of foreign bank licenses from 2020 to allow overseas lenders to open subsidiaries in the Myanmar market, in an attempt to further liberalize the financial services sector.⁷³ Foreign banks will be allowed to apply for a license to set up either a branch or a subsidiary. To secure a subsidiary license, foreign lenders will be required to maintain a minimum paid-up capital of USD \$100 million. Banks will be allowed to operate both onshore wholesale and retail banking, with retail banking scheduled to start from January 2021. Subsidiaries will be able to set up ten entities, including branches or off-site ATMs. License requirements remain unchanged, however, with overseas banks required to maintain a minimum paid-up capital of USD \$75 million, with USD \$40 million locked up for two years with the Central Bank of Myanmar.

B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects

On November 5, a Myanmar state-owned enterprise inked a power purchase agreement with a Myanmar-China joint venture company that is developing a 135-megawatt power plant project in Kyaukphyu, in western Myanmar's Rakhine State.⁷⁴ This power plant is one of the strategic projects that make up the Myanmar section of Beijing's grand infrastructure plan, the Belt and Road Initiative ("BRI"). However, as it is funded by private investment, it is not listed in the government-to-government Myanmar-China Economic Corridor projects list.

According to an analysis by the Irrawaddy, many key government officials are of the view that China's grand infrastructure projects will bring economic development to Myanmar and economic benefits to local people, while boosting the country's strategic importance in the region. However, the officials failed to mention possible environmental and social impacts of the projects on host communities.⁷⁵ Win Myo Thu, the chairperson of the Green Motherland Development Association, argues that large infrastructure projects like the BRI often have an irreversible environmental impact and create unwanted social impacts.

According to government spokesman Zaw Htay, the government plans to file lawsuits against 138 mining companies, which allegedly failed to deliver gold to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environmental Conservation in accordance with their contracts with the government.⁷⁶ The government has already filed lawsuits against some other mining companies who owe tax payments, and rulings from the courts have already been issued in some cases.

During State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi's trip to Busan in the week of November 28, Myanmar signed four Memorandums of Understanding ("MOUs") with South Korea on various infrastructure construction projects.⁷⁷ Aung San Suu Kyi held a bilateral meeting with South Korean President Moon Jae-in during the ASEAN-ROK Commemorative Summit on November 26, and three MOUs were signed after the meeting between the two countries— "Cooperation in Fisheries", "Cooperation in the Field of Technical and Vocational Education and Training" and "Comprehensive Environmental Cooperation." Thereafter another MOU on development cooperation was signed between South Korea, Myanmar and four other ASEAN countries to

strengthen cooperation in the areas of digital economy, higher education, eliminating explosive remnants of war, smart cities and connectivity.

C. Land Seizure

In Kachin State, Chinese-backed banana plantations have led to disputes over land.⁷⁸ Disputes have arisen as farmers in the area typically have no formal registration showing their land ownership.⁷⁹ To date, the land disputes have been addressed “at the community level without using the courts.”⁸⁰ The Chinese companies have indicated that they expect to use the land for seven years and then will leave the soil to recover, although it is unclear if the land will ever be returned to the original farmers.⁸¹ Lawyers have argued that a system which measures the quality of the soil before and after the land lease to the Chinese tenants is necessary to “help protect the land from degradation.”⁸²

A committee will be set up in Kachin State to assist with resolving land issues in the area.⁸³ The goal is to “amend, rewrite and repeal laws related to land in Parliament” and to “work to resolve current disputes concerning land ownership and hold exchanges with civil society on land issues.”⁸⁴ Kachin State reportedly has the second most land conflicts of any state, largely due to the lack of local farmers’ knowledge about the registration process for land, language barriers and the risk that land will be illegally taken by Chinese agribusiness.⁸⁵

The Anti-Corruption Commission of Myanmar filed a suit this month against an agriculture and land management official for allegedly soliciting bribes.⁸⁶ The official allegedly required 14 farmers to pay a bribe to apply to regain possession of farmland that was taken and subsequently abandoned by the Myanmar military.⁸⁷

In Sagaing Region, after 23 years of fighting, a court ruling was issued that returns only a fraction of land seized by the military from farmers in Kyunhla township, and the rest will remain collective forest land.⁸⁸ A member of parliament for the township has “vowed to continue seeking compensation for farmers who lost their land,” given that many of them have received only substitute plots not suitable for farming.⁸⁹

IV. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence

A. Ethnic Violence

Three northern Shan State village chairmen were shot dead on November 3 in a restaurant in the town of Kyaukme by two unknown gunmen.⁹⁰ A source told the Irrawaddy that the three victims planned to ask for help from Shan community leaders in the town to prevent the Shan State Army - South (“SSA-S”) from seizing recruits.⁹¹ They reportedly came to the restaurant to meet community leaders.⁹² The source said that the SSA-S recruited 35 villagers in October in Mong Tin but released 32 of them after a request from Myanmar’s military and the SSA-S allegedly blamed the village authorities for the military request.⁹³ According to a state parliamentarian for Kyaukme Township, it is difficult to identify the killers but they probably came from armed groups as civilians do not have guns.⁹⁴ Armed groups in Kyaukme Township include the Tatmadaw, the Ta’ang National Liberation Army (“TNLA”), SSA-S and the Shan

State Army - North.⁹⁵ Fighting often breaks out between the Tatmadaw and the TNLA in the area and there is also fighting between the TNLA and SSA-S.⁹⁶

Fighting broke out in northern Shan State between the TNLA and the Tatmadaw on November 13 along the highway in Kutkai, stopping traffic for most of the day.⁹⁷ Fighting erupted in at least three places in the townships of Kutkai and Kyaukme, according to the TNLA.⁹⁸ According to local sources, TNLA troops withdrew from Kutkai Town after clashes in the morning.⁹⁹ A Kutkai resident said the Tatmadaw has significantly tightened security in the town and that 70 students have been evacuated from the town because their school was damaged in the fighting.¹⁰⁰ According to the TNLA, members of the armed group took positions on the highway and then fought against the Tatmadaw inside Kutkai Town because the Tatmadaw initiated attacks against the TNLA's military bases in the jungle.¹⁰¹

According to the Tatmadaw, a woman was injured and houses were damaged when the TNLA launched an attack on Lashio in northern Shan State in mid-November.¹⁰² The group reportedly fired six artillery shells from a mountain some 1,500 meters west of Lashio, while four of them exploded but two did not.¹⁰³ Two of the shells that exploded fell to the west of the Tatmadaw battalion in the area, said a military spokesperson.¹⁰⁴

B. Peace Talks

The Myanmar government and Northern Alliance, which includes the Arakan Army, Kachin Independence Army, Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army and Ta'ang National Liberation Army, once again postponed planned peace talks.¹⁰⁵ No members of the Northern Alliance have signed the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement ("NCA"). The two groups last met in September and were supposed to continue discussions in October.¹⁰⁶ They are divided over issues including whether talks should take place locally or in China.¹⁰⁷

Ethnic armed organizations that have signed the NCA met with the Myanmar government between November 19 and 22.¹⁰⁸ The parties hope to resume peace talks via the Joint Ceasefire Implementation Committee Meeting, though no date has been set.¹⁰⁹

The Chinese government gave USD \$1 million in support of peace talks, USD \$400,000 to the National Reconciliation and Peace Centre ("NRPC") and USD \$300,000 each to the Peace Commission and Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee ("JMC"), which monitors the NCA.¹¹⁰ The Chinese government has pledged to give USD \$3 million by 2020 in further aid to the peace talks.¹¹¹

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- ² *Id.*
- ³ Radio Free Asia, November 15, 2019: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/bangladesh-rohingya-11152019093433.html>.
- ⁴ *Id.*
- ⁵ *Id.*
- ⁶ Human Rights Watch, November 26, 2019: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/11/26/bangladesh-turning-refugee-camps-open-air-prisons>.
- ⁷ *Id.*
- ⁸ *Id.*
- ⁹ *Id.*
- ¹⁰ *Id.*
- ¹¹ The Irrawaddy, November 7, 2019: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-labor-attache-thailand-charged-corruption.html>.
- ¹² *Id.*
- ¹³ Frontier Myanmar, November 22, 2019: <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/fishery-workers-hung-out-to-dry-after-reporting-alleged-corruption>.
- ¹⁴ *Id.*
- ¹⁵ *Id.*
- ¹⁶ Frontier Myanmar, November 15, 2019: <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/icc-approves-probe-into-alleged-myanmar-rohingya-abuse>.
- ¹⁷ *Id.*
- ¹⁸ *Id.*
- ¹⁹ Frontier Myanmar, November 16, 2019: <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/myanmar-rejects-icc-probe-over-rohingya-as-legal-pressure-mounts>.
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- ²² Myanmar Times, November 18, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/myanmar-respond-case-filed-un-court.html>.
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- ²⁴ Mizzima, November 22, 2019: <http://www.mizzima.com/article/military-government-cooperating-over-suu-kyi-going-icj>.
- ²⁵ Myanmar Times, December 2, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/wa-back-state-counsellors-plan-confront-icj-lawsuit.html>.
- ²⁶ Frontier Myanmar, November 26, 2019: <https://www.frontiermyanmar.net/en/knu-rejects-reports-armed-groups-will-support-govt-over-icj-case>.
- ²⁷ Mizzima, November 19, 2019: <http://www.mizzima.com/article/un-court-hear-myanmar-case-next-month>.
- ²⁸ Frontier Myanmar, November 14, 2019: <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/aung-san-suu-kyi-named-in-argentine-lawsuit-over-crimes-against-rohingya>.
- ²⁹ *Id.*
- ³⁰ *Id.*
- ³¹ *Id.*
- ³² The Irrawaddy, November 15, 2019: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmars-image-severely-damaged-intl-legal-cases-rohingya-govt.html>.
- ³³ *Id.*
- ³⁴ *Id.*
- ³⁵ Al Jazeera, November 27, 2019: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/11/myanmar-sets-special-legal-unit-rohingya-cases-loom-191128033109175.html>.
- ³⁶ *Id.*
- ³⁷ The Irrawaddy, November 27, 2019: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/two-myanmar-military-officers-joint-intl-criminal-justice-unit-icj-defense.html>.
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- ⁴² *Id.*
- ⁴³ *Id.*
- ⁴⁴ Mizzima, November 2, 2019: <https://www.mizzima.com/article/us-ambassador-concerned-over-abuses-myanmars-rakhine-other-states>.

- ⁴⁵ The Irrawaddy, November 7, 2019: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/karenni-youth-jailed-calling-govt-officials-criminals-enemies-ethnic-unity.html>.
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- ⁵¹ Myanmar Now, November 19, 2019: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/comedians-slapped-with-fines-for-offending-military>.
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- ⁵³ Myanmar Now, November 19, 2019: <http://mizzima.com/article/myanmar-artists-given-second-jail-term-insulting-military>.
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- ⁵⁵ Myanmar Now, November 26, 2019: <https://myanmar-now.org/en/news/leaders-find-new-tool-to-silence-critics-after-telecom-law-amendment>.
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- ⁵⁷ *Id.*
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- ⁶⁰ *Id.*
- ⁶¹ Myanmar Times, November 18, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/restrictive-laws-abuses-shackle-myanmars-internet-freedom-group.html>.
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- ⁶³ *Id.*
- ⁶⁴ *Id.*
- ⁶⁵ The Irrawaddy, November 29, 2019: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/nld-official-bans-myanmar-private-media-state-ministers-public-meeting-bago-journalists-file-complaint.html>.
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- ⁶⁷ *Id.*
- ⁶⁸ The Myanmar Times, November 27, 2019: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/corporate-dynasties-join-forces-defy-myanmar-market-gloom.html>.
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