

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

**JANUARY 2020 REPORT**

**Summary.** This report reviews the January 2020 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**

Bangladesh announced that Bhasan Char, a Bangladeshi island that is regularly submerged by monsoon rains, is ready to accommodate 100,000 Rohingya refugees (out of approximately 700,000 currently in Bangladesh). However, the Bangladesh government has not yet announced a relocation date. Government officials reported that flood protection embankments, houses, hospitals and mosques have been built on Bhasan Char, and the Bangladesh refugee, relief and repatriation commissioner, Mahbub Alam Talukder, claims that Bhasan Char is ready for habitation.<sup>1</sup> Foreign media have not been permitted to visit the island.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees has not endorsed the relocation and has requested to visit the island. Both the United Nations and international aid agencies have vehemently opposed the relocation plan since it was first proposed in 2015 due to concerns that a large storm could overwhelm the island and endanger thousands of lives.<sup>2</sup> Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has repeatedly assured the United Nations and other international organizations that her administration will consult them prior to making a final decision on the relocation of the refugees, and that no refugees would be forced to move.<sup>3</sup> Most Rohingya are currently unwilling to return to Myanmar due to safety concerns, as evidenced by two failed repatriation attempts thus far.<sup>4</sup> Bangladeshi officials have stated that they have identified 350 families willing to move to Bhasan Char, but the advocacy group Fortify Rights found that at least 14 of those families were not aware that they were on the list and opposed moving, which raises questions as to the transparency of the process.<sup>5</sup>

Bangladesh will allow 10,000 Rohingya refugee children to receive education through a formal school curriculum for the first time through a recently approved pilot program.<sup>6</sup> There are nearly 400,000 school-age Rohingya children living in Bangladesh's refugee camps. After two years in exile without formal education, the pilot program will allow the children to be taught a version of the Myanmar national curriculum under the supervision of humanitarian agencies in the refugee camps. For the past two years, Bangladesh had only approved an informal learning program designed by humanitarian groups and taught in temporary camp "learning centers" at the beginning primary level, leaving Rohingya children without access to secondary-level education.<sup>7</sup>

The pilot program will use unofficial schools set up by Rohingya refugee teachers in the camps, which until now have been largely ignored. These schools have been teaching the Myanmar national curriculum to about 10,000 children, but operate without humanitarian aid due to the lack of government approval. Some have been forced to shut down due to lack of support.<sup>8</sup> The pilot program will only reach 1 in every 40 Rohingya children by the end of 2020, and it will stop at class 9 as opposed to class 12 in Myanmar. In addition, the pilot program is not accredited.<sup>9</sup>

### **B. Corruption**

Yangon Watch, an independent watchdog, cautioned that the Yangon government's decision to block all Yangon lawmakers from reading the 2017-2018 Yangon Auditor General's

report on Yangon’s spending could present a violation of anti-corruption law.<sup>10</sup> In previous years, every lawmaker received copies of the report to review. Last June, however, Yangon’s chief minister and regional parliament speaker distributed the report only to the Public Accounts Committee.<sup>11</sup> *The Irrawaddy* notes that some have speculated that “the restriction reflects the government’s desire to avoid a repeat of regional lawmakers’ fiery debate over irregularities in government spending found in the fiscal 2016-17 report.”<sup>12</sup> In a statement, Yangon Watch warned that “any failure to follow procedures by misusing one’s power to favor someone else’s interests fits the definition of corruption.”<sup>13</sup>

Although it is not clear whether the Yangon parliament as a whole received the 2017-2018 Yangon Auditor General’s report, the parliament began debating the report on January 21.<sup>14</sup> In debates, the Finance, Planning, and Economy Committee raised the report’s findings of financial irregularities.<sup>15</sup> Included in the report were findings that the regional government: (1) failed to impose a fine on a business group for overdue payments; (2) failed to hold an open tender process for the purchase of a 30 billion kyat (\$20.4 million) generator; and (3) invested cash into New Yangon Development Company without parliamentary knowledge.<sup>16</sup>

Following the Anti-Corruption Commission’s (“ACC”) filing of charges in March 2019, the Tanintharyi Region Court decided to take up bribery and corruption charges against Lei Lei Maw—former Tanintharyi chief minister—and three directors of the Global Grand Services company.<sup>17</sup> The ACC alleged that Lei Lei Maw accepted bribes in connection with construction and landscaping projects.<sup>18</sup> Lei Lei Maw will appear in court on February 3.<sup>19</sup>

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

On January 23, the International Court of Justice (“ICJ”) ordered Myanmar to implement a number of provisional measures to protect Rohingya from killings and other atrocities, to deter its military from committing genocide against the Rohingya, and to prevent the destruction and ensure preservation of evidence relating to allegations of crimes against the Rohingya.<sup>20</sup> The ICJ ordered Myanmar to report on its compliance with the provisional measures in four months and then every six months thereafter.<sup>21</sup> The presiding judge added that the ICJ “was of the opinion that the Rohingya in Myanmar remain extremely vulnerable.”<sup>22</sup> Although the preliminary measures are legally binding, the ICJ does not have an enforcement mechanism to ensure that Myanmar complies with them.<sup>23</sup> Any enforcement measures by the UN Security Council would require a vote by all of its members.<sup>24</sup>

Aung San Suu Kyi criticized the international condemnation of Myanmar, saying that it had a negative effect on Myanmar’s endeavors to bring stability and progress to Rakhine State.<sup>25</sup> The Myanmar Foreign Ministry acknowledged the ICJ ruling and repeated its denial of genocide against the Rohingya, as did a recent report by Myanmar government-backed Independent Commission of Enquiry (“ICOE”).<sup>26</sup> However, the ICOE report did admit that “war crimes, serious human rights violations and violations of domestic law took place.”<sup>27</sup>

The Japanese government welcomed the ICOE report and stated that it strongly hopes that both the Myanmar government and military will promptly take necessary legal measures based upon the ICOE recommendations.<sup>28</sup> The European Union called on the Myanmar government to conduct “adequate follow-up investigations, in line with international standards”

of the abuses in Rakhine State detailed in the ICOE report.<sup>29</sup> The EU also urged the Myanmar government to comply with the provisional measures issued by the ICJ.<sup>30</sup> The UN Secretary General issued a statement welcoming the ICJ's order instituting provisional measures.<sup>31</sup>

The case against Myanmar was brought by The Gambia. In January, the ICJ issued submission deadlines for both parties—The Gambia must submit its initial pleading in the genocide case against Myanmar by July 23, 2020, while Myanmar has until January 25, 2021 to respond.<sup>32</sup> The ICJ gave both parties six months to prepare and file their submissions, shorter than the nine months both parties requested during preliminary hearings.<sup>33</sup>

U.S. President Donald Trump's administration announced on January 31 that Myanmar would be added to the controversial list of countries subject to travel bans.<sup>34</sup> Immigrant visas will no longer be issued to persons from Myanmar; however, visas for students, other temporary visitors, and refugee processing are not impacted.<sup>35</sup> It is expected that the travel restrictions will go into effect on February 22.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, U.S. Ambassador Scot Marciel stressed that Washington is continuing its strong engagement with Myanmar, despite the fallout over the Rohingya crisis and the imposition of targeted sanctions against military personnel.<sup>37</sup>

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

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

A recent report from Athan, a free expression advocacy group, states that since the National League for Democracy (“NLD”) took office in April 2016, the military has brought 47 lawsuits against 96 people, including 51 activists, 19 individual citizens, 14 journalists, five religious affiliates, four artists and three political party members.<sup>38</sup> Although ten of the 47 lawsuits have been dismissed or thrown out, the advocacy group reported that 18 cases have reached a verdict, with 13 more ongoing. According to Athan, most of the lawsuits were in response to criticism surrounding human rights violations by the military and demands for amending the 2008 “military-drafted” Constitution.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, the NLD has also sued over 30 civilians for criticizing members of parliament.<sup>40</sup> Ko Ye Wai Phyo Aung, a representative of Athan, said, “We urge the military to drop all charges and release all detainees concerning criticism cases.”<sup>41</sup>

A ruling is soon expected for 13 people charged under Section 17(1) and 17(2) of the Unlawful Associations Act. Major Naing Aung Phyo of the Tatmadaw's Light Infantry Battalion No. 375 filed the lawsuit alleging ties to the Arakan Army and providing food for the ethnic armed group.<sup>42</sup> 21 residents of Shin Let Wa village had been arrested originally; those not released have been on trial for more than nine months.<sup>43</sup>

The Supreme Court of Myanmar has rejected Dr. Aye Maung and Wai Hin Aung's special appeal.<sup>44</sup> The two men were charged for high treason under Section 122 and Section 505(b) of the Penal Code, as well as Section 17(1) of the Unlawful Associations Act, for speeches given at a public gathering in January 2018 marking the 122<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the fall of the Rakhine kingdom.<sup>45</sup> Dr. Aye Maung and Wai Hin Aung will serve 20 years in the “infamous” Insein prison unless they successfully appeal to the President.<sup>46</sup>

A government-sanctioned internet blackout is still in effect for four townships in Rakhine State after six months.<sup>47</sup> Athan, a free expression advocacy group, is collecting petition signatures to demand immediate restoration of the internet and is organizing protests.<sup>48</sup> The group hopes to collect 1,000 signatures, which it plans to submit to the President and Union Parliament. The government maintains that the internet blackout is necessary for the security of the country. The four affected townships have seen continued conflict in recent weeks between the Tatmadaw and the Arakan Army, with many civilians forced out of their homes.<sup>49</sup>

Seng Nu Pan and Paw Lu, two Kachin youth activists, have been awarded the PEN Myanmar Freedom of Expression Award for their work in 2019.<sup>50</sup> The two activists received the award for their support of freedom of expression. They served 15 days in prison for leading a street performance to mark the eighth anniversary of the renewed war in Kachin State.<sup>51</sup> Paw Lu served an additional three months in prison for handing a judge a set of broken scales in criticism of the flawed justice system.<sup>52</sup> Seng Nu Pan stated, “If a government wants to be a good government, they must accept the voice of the people...If the government doesn’t want to accept any criticism, it’s impossible to be a good government.”<sup>53</sup>

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

There have been no major updates for this section in January.

## **III. Economic Development**

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

Singapore’s sovereign wealth fund, GIC Pvt Ltd (“GIC”) and Norway’s private equity firm, Norfund, have bought a substantial stake in Yoma Bank, led by Serge Pun.<sup>54</sup> GIC and Norfund will buy a 30% stake in Yoma Bank for \$89 million.

Myanmar has attracted investment capital of over \$1.83 billion from permitted foreign enterprises during the first quarter of the current fiscal year for 2019-2020, which began in October 2019, according to the Directorate of Investment and Company Administration.<sup>55</sup> At a recent meeting of the Myanmar Investment Commission (“MIC”) in January 2020, a total of 23 foreign enterprises with investment capital of over \$433.8 million were approved by the commission, creating over 11,000 local employment opportunities. Among the top investors in Myanmar are Singapore, China and Thailand.

China and Myanmar have agreed to accelerate several joint infrastructure deals and projects during President Xi Jinping’s historic visit to Myanmar on January 17 and 18, signaling a revival of relations between Myanmar’s leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, and China.<sup>56</sup> President Xi Jinping’s visit marked the first time a Chinese leader traveled to Myanmar in nearly two decades, and the two governments signed 33 agreements involving key infrastructure projects while also agreeing to accelerate the implementation of the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor scheme, part of Beijing’s Belt and Road Initiative. Notably, the two sides agreed to concession and shareholder agreements for the China-backed port project at Kyaukphyu in central Rakhine State. There are five agreements which have yet to be signed on the project.

The deals between Myanmar and China are controversial, however, and could potentially expose China to future political risks, as local villagers were not consulted during the negotiation of the two new agreements and local support for the projects has not been forthcoming. Among the other agreements signed during the trip were an agreement to speed up negotiations on the proposed Ruili-Muse Cross Border Economic Cooperation Zone and an agreement to build a large natural gas power plant project in Mee Laung Gyaing, Ayeyarwaddy region. China's railway scheme which aims to link southwestern China to the Indian Ocean moved ahead with the formal submission of the Muse-Mandalay Railway Feasibility Study Report. A letter of intent was also signed for the Yangon "New City" project, led by Yangon Chief Minister Phyo Min Thein and Myanmar tycoon Serge Pun. There was no mention of the controversial Myitsone dam, a China-funded mega-dam project suspended by Myanmar in 2011. China remains by far the biggest source of foreign direct investment in Myanmar.

The Mandalay Region Investment Committee has endorsed 70 foreign projects from more than 16 countries since its establishment through December 2019, drawing in nearly \$4 billion in foreign direct investment, according to Thant Sin Lwin, Director-General of the Directorate of Investment and Company Administration.<sup>57</sup> The rise in investment is partially attributed to the ability of regional and state authorities to promote business and endorse investment projects valued below \$5 million under the 2017 Myanmar Investment Law.

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

According to Yangon Chief Minister Phyo Min Thein, the Yangon government has begun a project to supply more water to the region's fast growing population by tapping the Toe River, which is one of the eastern-most tributaries in the Ayeyarwady Delta.<sup>58</sup>

According to *Myanmar Times*, solar mini-grids in Myanmar are expected to take off as the private sector sees solar energy as a potentially commercially viable solution in Myanmar's journey towards full electrification.<sup>59</sup> With the installation of \$1.6 million worth of mini-grids, more than a thousand households on the island of Yesagyo in Magway Region were connected to electricity for the first time in December 2019.<sup>60</sup> The project was partly funded by the World Bank and Myanmar firm Parami Energy.<sup>61</sup>

On January 21, Japan announced that it is providing loans totaling ¥120.9 billion (\$1.1 billion) to Myanmar for four infrastructure projects.<sup>62</sup> The loans will be used for Yangon sewerage system development, urban development for the reduction of traffic congestion and the damage caused by flooding in Yangon, power distribution improvement in Yangon and Mandalay, and regional infrastructure improvement in Chin, Rakhine, Mon, Kayin states and Tanintharyi region.<sup>63</sup>

On January 18, Yangon Mayor Maung Maung Soe and Song Hailiang, President of state-owned China Communications Construction Co., signed a letter of intent for the New Urban Development of Yangon City project during the Chinese leader's visit.<sup>64</sup> The first phase will include the construction of five village townships, two bridges, 26km of artery roads, 10 square kilometres of industrial estate, power plant, transmission and distribution facilities, as well as fresh water supply and wastewater treatment plants.<sup>65</sup>

In January, Chin State opened its first elephant foot yam processing plant in a major investment for Myanmar's poorest area, with plans to export to China and other parts of Asia.<sup>66</sup> The \$320,000 factory is operated by Chin Hills Treasure Company, an agricultural enterprise owned and run by farmer groups from Mindat, Matupi and Kanpetlet townships.<sup>67</sup> The 6.7 acre factory is the first major investment to be realized in the poorest of Myanmar's 14 states and regions.<sup>68</sup>

### **C. Land Seizure**

Activists working to increase awareness of land issues in Kayan State were jailed in January.<sup>69</sup> The protestors called on the military to return confiscated farmland and to drop charges of trespassing and farming on military-owned land against 41 farmers.<sup>70</sup> The accused farmers claim to have been using the land for 50 years.<sup>71</sup>

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

### **A. Ethnic Violence**

On January 9, the Tatmadaw attacked a Kachin Independence Army ("KIA") training base in northern Shan State's Hseni Township.<sup>72</sup> *Kachin News Group* reports that the Tatmadaw fired four large artillery shells at the KIA training base in addition to lighter weapons.<sup>73</sup> The KIA claims that the Tatmadaw has deployed troops in the territory of KIA Brigade 10 and has been searching for the KIA army base.<sup>74</sup> The KIA reported that no one was killed and their forces were not conducting training at the base at the time.<sup>75</sup>

The Tatmadaw seized a haul of weapons and other military hardware near Namkhaik Village in northern Shan State's Hsenwi Township in mid-January.<sup>76</sup> According to the Tatmadaw, among the items seized were one 107-mm launcher tripod, six 107-mm rockets, 12 107-mm rocket shells, one 107-mm remote control, 22 107-mm projectiles, 108 rocket-propelled grenades ("RPGs"), 108 RPG rocket shells, 299 40-mm grenades, 12 60-mm grenades and 60 packs of explosives for grenades.<sup>77</sup> The arms cache was found inside a small cave around 4,000 meters southwest of Namkhaik Village.<sup>78</sup> The Tatmadaw is still investigating to determine which group stored the weapons.<sup>79</sup>

According to local sources, at least 10 people have been injured by landmines in northern Shan State in January.<sup>80</sup> A Lashio Township man from Kyaukphyu village, who was forced by the Tatmadaw to work as a guide and porter, stepped on a landmine while carrying supplies for the military on January 28.<sup>81</sup> He reportedly lost his right leg.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, a mother and daughter were injured in a landmine blast while searching for firewood in Mong Ngaw sub-township.<sup>83</sup> The daughter was critically wounded, with injuries to her legs, knees, thigh and ribs.<sup>84</sup> The mother also suffered injuries.<sup>85</sup> Due to frequent landmine blasts, locals in northern Shan State have been afraid to tend to their tea farms.<sup>86</sup> They have demanded that armed organizations not plant landmines on or near roads or near or in villages or farms.<sup>87</sup>

## **B. Peace Talks**

State Counselor Aung San Suu Kyi and leaders of ten ethnic armed groups that signed the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (“NCA”) held the Joint-Ceasefire Implementation Coordinating Meeting (“JICM”) in Naypyitaw on January 8.<sup>88</sup> The meeting follows discussions between the government and representatives of the ethnic armed organizations in late December. General Yawd Serk, the chairman of the Restoration Council of Shan State (“RCSS”), urged his colleagues to try to work on achieving good results to move the peace process forward, saying that all those interested in the country’s politics, peace process and military affairs, are “waiting to see the results of the JICM.”<sup>89</sup> After being subjected to a travel ban in late October by the military, which caused the postponement of the JICM, General Yawd Serk’s presence in Naypyitaw this time was a sign that the informal negotiation process on logistics and discussions was proceeding smoothly.<sup>90</sup> The JICM is considered a gateway to resuming the formal peace process, which has been stalled for more than a year since two NCA signatories suspended their participation.<sup>91</sup> The Karen National Union decided to temporarily suspend its participation in formal peace negotiations in October 2018 and the RCSS withdrew from the Joint Monitoring Committee (“JMC”) on the NCA the following month.<sup>92</sup>

During the JICM, the State Counselor called on all signatories of the NCA to take responsibility and accountability in implementing the pact, saying its principles apply equally to all stakeholders. “If any of the groups take on what they like and ignore the things they don’t like, it will cause difficulties to other groups and would create continuous hurdles for the peace process,” she added.<sup>93</sup>

Both sides agreed on eight points to move the peace process forward, according to Zaw Htay, the government spokesman, who held a joint press briefing with Colonel Sai Ngern, the secretary of the RCSS, after the JICM.<sup>94</sup> Among the agreements made at the JICM were to convene the 21st-Century Panglong Union Peace Conference in the first quarter of this year; to form a working committee to ensure common understanding of the NCA terms and definitions; to make sure other ethnic armed organizations who haven’t signed the NCA are included in the peace process; and to start the Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee and JMC meetings.<sup>95</sup>

On January 17, the NCA signatories’ Peace Process Steering Team, currently led by General Yawd Serk, met in Chiang Mai to discuss the resumption of formal peace negotiations and future tasks in the peace process ahead of the implementation of the eight points agreement at the JICM.<sup>96</sup> General Yawd Serk reiterated that all sides need to work collectively to move the peace process forward. He said reaching “the goal of building a federal Union” depended on the groups’ constant engagement in the peace process and keeping “the affairs of the Union in the forefront, rather than the affairs of one group.”<sup>97</sup> Following the meeting in Chiang Mai, Sai Ngern, the head of the NCA signatories’ negotiation team on the political dialogue framework, said that every NCA signatory must organize a national-level political dialogue prior to the fourth 21<sup>st</sup> Century Panglong Union Peace Conference, as the recommendations from such consultations are passed to the Union Peace Conference for consideration when developing federal principles.<sup>98</sup> On January 27, a spokesman of one of the signatories to the NCA said that talks between government negotiators and representatives of the signatories have been postponed to February.<sup>99</sup>



The Ta'ang National Liberation Army (“TNLA”), Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (“MNDAA”) and Arakan Army (“AA”) have extended their unilateral ceasefire for another two months to aid the peace process and to ensure a peaceful 2020 general election.<sup>100</sup> The TNLA, MNDAA and AA, which are members of the Northern Alliance, said in a statement that the ceasefire will end on February 29, but warned that the group will defend itself if attacked.<sup>101</sup> Despite the ceasefire, fighting continues between government forces and the members of the Northern Alliance, especially in Rakhine State, where the AA is trying to establish a headquarters. There have also been sporadic clashes between government forces and the TNLA in Shan State since August 15, when the three ethnic armed groups launched surprise attacks on Pyin Oo Lwin in Mandalay Region and Nawnghcho in Shan State. The Northern Alliance also includes the Kachin Independence Army. None of the members of the Northern Alliance are signatories to the NCA.

The TNLA announced that it expects to sign a ceasefire accord with the government this year. “The fighting was fierce last year, and there was no progress in the peace negotiations so we need to consider the peace process, and we expect to end the fighting and sign a ceasefire in 2020,” the TNLA said in a statement to commemorate the 57th Ta'ang National Revolution Day.<sup>102</sup> The TNLA urged the Tatmadaw to reduce their offensive attacks in ethnic areas and follow the path for the peace process.

- <sup>1</sup> Time Magazine, January 17, 2020: <https://time.com/5767085/bangladesh-bhsan-char-rohingya-refugees-relocation/>.
- <sup>2</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>3</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>4</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>6</sup> Human Rights Watch, January 29, 2020: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/01/29/step-forward-10000-rohingya-refugee-children>.
- <sup>7</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>8</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>9</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>10</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 7, 2020: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/blocking-access-spending-report-may-violate-myanmar-graft-law-watchdog-warns-yangon-govt.html>.
- <sup>11</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>12</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>13</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>14</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 22, 2020: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/lawmakers-blast-yangon-govt-misusing-public-funds.html>.
- <sup>15</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>16</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>17</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 21, 2020: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/ex-tanintharyi-region-chief-minister-face-corruption-charges.html>.
- <sup>18</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>19</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>20</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 23, 2020: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/top-un-court-orders-myanmar-protect-rohingya-rights-end-genocide.html>.
- <sup>21</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>22</sup> Mizzima, January 23, 2020: <http://mizzima.com/article/top-un-court-orders-myanmar-prevent-rohingya-genocide>.
- <sup>23</sup> Frontier Myanmar, January 23, 2020: <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/icj-rules-to-impose-provisional-measures-in-rohingya-genocide-trial>.
- <sup>24</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>25</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 23, 2020: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-state-counselor-says-intl-condemnation-country-rohingya-crisis-unfounded.html>.
- <sup>26</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 24, 2020: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-foreign-ministry-acknowledges-icj-ruling-repeats-denial-genocide-rohingya.html>.
- <sup>27</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>28</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 23, 2020: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/japan-welcomes-myanmar-govts-report-crimes-rohingya-promise-prosecute.html>.
- <sup>29</sup> The Myanmar Times, January 27, 2020: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/eu-asks-myanmar-act-rakhine-war-crimes.html>.
- <sup>30</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>31</sup> Mizzima, January 23, 2020: <http://mizzima.com/article/un-secretary-general-welcomes-decision-icj-genocide-decision-concerning-myanmar>.
- <sup>32</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 29, 2020: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/icj-gives-gambia-myanmar-just-six-months-prepare-pleadings-genocide-case.html>.
- <sup>33</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>34</sup> CNN, January 31, 2020: <https://www.cnn.com/2020/01/31/politics/trump-administration-travel-ban-six-new-countries/index.html>.
- <sup>35</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>36</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>37</sup> Mizzima, January 30, 2020: <http://mizzima.com/article/us-ambassador-stresses-close-ties-myanmar-despite-tension-over-rakhine-crisis>.
- <sup>38</sup> The Irrawaddy, January 8, 2020: <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-freedom-expression-advocates-call-military-stop-suing-critics.html>.
- <sup>39</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>40</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>41</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>42</sup> Burma News International, January 25, 2020: <https://www.bnionline.net/en/news/ruling-expected-13-people-facing-unlawful-associations-act-charges>.
- <sup>43</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>44</sup> Burma News International, January 25, 2020: <https://www.bnionline.net/en/news/myanmar-apex-court-rejects-dr-aye-maungs-appeal>.
- <sup>45</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>46</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>47</sup> Burma News International, January 11, 2020: <https://www.bnionline.net/en/news/petition-circulating-restore-internet-arakan-state>.
- <sup>48</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>49</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>50</sup> Burma News International, January 9, 2020: <https://www.bnionline.net/en/news/kachin-activists-given-freedom-expression-award>.
- <sup>51</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>52</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>53</sup> *Id.*

- <sup>54</sup> The Myanmar Times, January 30, 2020: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/gic-said-become-yoma-banks-second-foreign-shareholder.html>.
- <sup>55</sup> Xinhua News, January 28, 2020: [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-01/28/c\\_138739270.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2020-01/28/c_138739270.htm).
- <sup>56</sup> Asia Times, January 20, 2020: <https://www.asiatimes.com/2020/01/article/china-myanmar-tighten-their-belt-and-road-ties/>.
- <sup>57</sup> The Myanmar Times, January 15, 2020: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/mandalay-draws-fdi-totalling-us4-billion.html>.
- <sup>58</sup> Myanmar Times, January 13, 2020: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/yangon-starts-project-supply-water-growing-population.html>.
- <sup>59</sup> Myanmar Times, January 21, 2020: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/solar-mini-grids-take-myanmar-support-electrification-ambitions.html>.
- <sup>60</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>61</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>62</sup> Myanmar Times, January 22, 2020: <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/japan-provides-funding-four-infrastructure-projects.html>.
- <sup>63</sup> *Id.*
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