## STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS & SANCTIONS IN MYANMAR

### **MAY 2020 REPORT**

**Summary.** This report reviews the May 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

On May 14, Bangladesh reported the first two confirmed COVID-19 cases within the refugee camps in Cox's Bazar (in which approximately one million Rohingyas live). One of the cases is a Rohingya refugee.¹ The cases were reported in Kutupalong, the largest refugee camp in Cox's Bazar.² The two people were quickly moved to dedicated isolation and treatment centers within the camps, and soon afterwards, 5,000 people who might have been in contact with the two people who tested positive were placed into complete lockdown.³ The next day, three more Rohingyas tested positive for the virus.⁴ As the Rohingya refugees are particularly vulnerable to a coronavirus outbreak given the density and lack of sanitation in the camps, aid agencies have been preparing for an outbreak of the virus for months.⁵ According to the World Health Organization, as of the end of March, 18 treatment and isolation centers had been constructed in the camps to treat coronavirus patients, with 72 beds immediately available to patients and a further 257 beds available upon notice.⁶ Given that the Bangladeshi authorities have continued the mobile phone and internet blackout of the camps that were instituted last year, aid agencies have been moving through the refugee camps with megaphones to spread the message regarding the need for social distancing, handwashing and hygiene.

Trust in Bangladeshi authorities by the Rohingya refugees is low, especially as the camps have become increasingly isolated from the local Bangladeshi population, surrounded by more and more barbed wire and police posts. Some refugees believe that the virus is a ploy by the Bangladeshi authorities to kill them or remove them from the country. Hearsay and disinformation about the virus has been making it more difficult for health workers to carry out contact tracing. Additionally, the Bangladeshi Navy has moved approximately 300 refugees to Bhasan Char, adding to the challenge. These refugees were rescued after fleeing from Cox's Bazar in pursuit of a better life in Malaysia, only to drift in the Bay of Bengal for weeks before returning to Bangladesh. The Bangladeshi government claims that the rescued refugees can quarantine in Bhasan Char and is pushing to relocate more refugees there, as the Bangladeshi government has built shelters on Bhasan Char for some 100,000 refugees. The United Nations, rights groups and aid agencies have unanimously protested the proposed relocation of refugees to the island, arguing that it is a tiny, flood-prone island that is unfit for habitation.

### B. Corruption

Following a trial that lasted more than a year, the Tanintharyi Region Court sentenced former Tanintharyi Chief Minister Lei Lei Maw to 30 years in prison for bribery. Lei Lei Maw will become the most senior official to face imprisonment under the Anti-Corruption Law and she is also the first chief minister to be charged under the Anti-Corruption Law. The court found that Lei Lei Maw engaged in numerous corrupt acts since shortly after she assumed power in April 2016.

A Facebook user has been sued for posting an accusation that the Mandalay chief minister asked for 100 million kyats in exchange for settling a land ownership case more quickly.<sup>13</sup> A Mandalay regional government assistant director filed the case, and a government source told *The Irrawaddy* that the complaint was filed at the behest of the chief minister.<sup>14</sup> The

complaint alleges violation of Article 66(d) of the Telecommunications Act, which government staff and party members—among others—have used to sue individuals for statements made online.<sup>15</sup>

The 2019 Asia Barometer Survey Report—a report authored by individuals at the Center for East Asia Democratic Studies at National Taiwan University—found that "[m]ore than half of Myanmar citizens believe their national and state governments are corrupt, the highest among the Southeast Asian countries surveyed. In contrast, Myanmar citizens do not see their leaders as abusing power in office, the lowest in the region. The finding suggests that Myanmar citizens see corruption as systemic, rather than focused on elites in office." The report also found that "[t]his indicates that corruption is perceived as a serious problem in Myanmar." The survey included interviews with 1,620 respondents.<sup>18</sup>

## C. International Community / Sanctions

On May 14, the UN Security Council held a videoconference to discuss the escalation of violence in Rakhine State and the effect of the coronavirus pandemic in the country—including the death of a World Health Organization worker transporting COVID-19 test samples in April. The United Kingdom and UN Security Council European Union member states denounced violence in Myanmar and expressed concerns over the coronavirus pandemic in the country. In a statement, the United Kingdom expressed concern about the "the heavy toll" an escalation of violence was "taking on civilians at the time of a global COVID-19 crisis." Belgium, Estonia, France and Germany echoed this concern, calling for "an immediate, comprehensive and nationwide ceasefire."

In the case initiated by the Gambia alleging violations of the Genocide Convention, the International Court of Justice ("ICJ") announced the postponement of the deadlines for Gambia's initial pleading to October 23, 2020 and Myanmar's reply to July 23, 2021 as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.<sup>23</sup> In advance of the May 23 deadline for Myanmar to submit an initial required report on preventive measures, the ICJ issued a press release calling for Myanmar to take additional measures to protect the Rohingya population.<sup>24</sup> The Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists, Sam Zarifi, stated, "Myanmar has not taken 'all measures within its power' to prevent acts of genocide until it implements comprehensive legal and constitutional reforms."

Myanmar submitted its first required report about measures it is taking to protect Rohingya from killings and other atrocities to the ICJ on May 23, as required by the court's January provisional measures order. Former UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of Human Rights in Myanmar, Yanghee Lee, commented that "[s]adly, no progress at all" was made to improve the plight of northern Rakhine Muslims." She also called for an investigation into the Myanmar military for possible "war crimes and crimes against humanity." Commenting on the lack of any clear guidelines for implementation and monitoring the response, the president of the Global Justice Center stated, "Unfortunately, the response since [the issuance of presidential directives] from Myanmar's government has been deeply flawed at worst, and superficial at best."

Human Rights Watch has called for "a credible and impartial investigation" into the destruction by fire of over two hundred houses and other buildings in Let Kar village in Rakhine State. Additionally, more than twenty human rights nongovernmental organizations criticized the Myanmar National Human Rights Commission, saying that it is failing to address widespread human rights violations committed amid the COVID-19 pandemic, especially in Rakhine, Kachin and Shan States. Kachin and Shan States.

The European Union added Myanmar to the EU's money laundering blacklist—a list of countries that pose a high risk to the EU's financial system because of anti-money laundering and terrorism financing deficiencies.<sup>32</sup> As a result, Myanmar will be subject to additional restrictions beginning October 1, 2020.<sup>33</sup>

The UN Development Programme, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Myanmar government have agreed to extend the Memorandum of Understanding ("MoU") for activities in Rakhine State through June 2021.<sup>34</sup> The MoU is a framework for cooperation between the UN and the Myanmar government to help create a conducive environment for the repatriation of Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh as well as supporting communities living in northern Rakhine State.<sup>35</sup>

The first flight bringing medical supplies and laboratory equipment donated by the World Health Organization to support Myanmar's COVID-19 response arrived on May  $31.^{36}$  The EU also provided humanitarian support to Myanmar, providing food and personal hygiene and household products to nurses and doctors.  $^{37}$ 

# II. <u>Civil and Political Rights</u>

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

As of May 2, internet services have been restored in Maungdaw Township, Rakhine State, according to local residents.<sup>38</sup> One resident remarked, "In the past, when the internet ban was in place in Maungdaw, government departments could use Wi-Fi but as for everyone else, they couldn't get any information, it was like they were blind… I am happy to have the internet back."<sup>39</sup> Nonetheless, the government-sanctioned internet ban has continued in various Rakhine State townships and one Chin State township for over 11 months, affecting more than 3 million residents of western Myanmar.<sup>40</sup> The internet ban began as fighting between the Tatmadaw and Arakan Army ("AA") intensified in certain townships; the government has maintained that such hostilities justify the ban.<sup>41</sup> As fighting and the COVID-19 pandemic continue to spread, there is serious concern that the affected townships will not have access to vital information to protect themselves from harm. Additionally, several townships in Kachin State have also been unable to implement the new online education curriculum as a result of the ban.<sup>42</sup>

At the order of the military, the government has also continued blocking websites alleged to have "terrorist" links. <sup>43</sup> Additionally, websites, domains and IP addresses have been blocked for alleged association with cybercrimes, viruses, fake news and child pornography, although the government has not provided hard evidence of these affiliations. <sup>44</sup>

Kayah State has instituted a region-wide ban on protests, including speeches, writing, posters, placards, pamphlets and anything deemed to be defamatory to the government.<sup>45</sup> Khun Thomas, joint secretary of the Union of Karenni State Youth, noted "[The state government] abused its power to prohibit freedom of expression... [W]e oppose them and would like to ask the government to revoke these orders that violate human rights."<sup>46</sup> The governmental order also includes a ban on trespassing upon government property.

Twelve Muslim men have been sentenced to three months in prison with labor after holding a prayer gathering in violation of COVID-19 quarantine rules in Mandalay.<sup>47</sup> The men were gathered at one of the defendants' homes before being arrested and sentenced under the Prevention and Control of Communicable Disease Law. Two boys were arrested with the twelve men and sent to a juvenile court but later released after agreeing not to break the law again.<sup>48</sup> A Christian preacher and three others were similarly charged for holding a religious gathering last month.<sup>49</sup>

Three painters face charges of "insulting religion" under Article 295(a) of the Penal Code after they painted a public mural in Kachin State to build awareness of COVID-19.<sup>50</sup> The painters were released on bail after paying 10 million kyats each (more than US\$7,000 per defendant). The mural—which included a message saying "stay at home, save lives"—featured a grim reaper carrying the virus and chasing members of the public.<sup>51</sup> Earlier in the month, a doctor was also charged with insulting religion after criticizing Buddhist monks for their opposition of a sex education program in school.<sup>52</sup>

A Facebook user has been sued by a Mandalay government employee under Article 66(d) of the Telecommunications Act after accusing the Mandalay chief minister of corruption back in March.<sup>53</sup> The post in question—among other satirical posts—accused the chief minister Zaw Myint Maung of asking for 100 million kyats (roughly \$US70,000) to clear up a lawsuit in one day. Sources indicate that the chief minister ordered the government employee to bring the lawsuit against the Facebook poster.<sup>54</sup>

## B. Freedom of the Press and Censorship\_

Zaw Ye Htet, a news editor, has been sentenced to prison for two years after mistakenly reporting a coronavirus death.<sup>55</sup> He was sentenced under Section 505(b) of the Penal Code for causing fear or alarm; this section of the code is often used to prosecute journalists.<sup>56</sup> Zaw Ye Htet faced trial almost immediately after his arrest, in contrast to most suspects who usually wait months before being tried. Zaw Ye Htet's wife has confirmed that he plans to appeal the decision in the coming months.

A coalition of journalists—more than 180 individuals in total—has petitioned President Win Myint to immediately end the oppression of journalists and violations of free expression in Myanmar.<sup>57</sup> The coalition has also demanded the end of the prosecution of journalists under the Telecommunications Law and Counter-Terrorism Law instead of the News Media Law. The former laws contain potentially stricter sentencing and can be applied more liberally than the News Media Law.<sup>58</sup> Over the last several months, journalists have been increasingly charged under the Counter-Terrorism Law for using the AA as a source in their reporting.<sup>59</sup> The coalition

also demanded that the government un-block certain ethnic media outlets in addition to restoring internet access in Rakhine and Chin States. The most recent index from Reporters Without Borders indicated that Myanmar ranks 139 out of 180 countries around the world in freedom of the press in 2020—the third consecutive year Myanmar has fallen in the rankings. <sup>60</sup>

## III. Economic Development

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

China's Ant Financial, a fintech affiliate of e-commerce giant Alibaba Group Holding, is set to acquire a minority stake in Wave Money, a Myanmar mobile payment firm. A joint venture between Norwegian Telenor Group and the Yoma Group, comprising Singapore-listed Yoma Strategic and Yoma Bank, Wave Money is the largest mobile payment services provider in Myanmar. After the acquisition, Yoma Strategic and Yoma Bank will hold 29.5% and 3.4% in the firm respectively, while the holdings of Telenor and Ant Financial have not been made public.

The Export-Import Bank of Korea will provide Myanmar with a US\$30 million COVID-19 Emergency Equipment loan from its Economic Development Cooperative Fund ("ECDF"). The funds will go towards implementing Myanmar's COVID-19 Economic Relief Plan, announced April 27. Both countries are cooperating to implement six major infrastructure projects in Myanmar, including the Dala Bridge connecting downtown Yangon to Dala township across the Yangon River. Myanmar and South Korea are also in discussions to carry out nine other projects with \$1 billion in funding from the ECDF.

The Ministry of Electricity and Energy will invite local and foreign investors to bid for a solar power plant project, said Soe Myint, Deputy Permanent Secretary at the ministry. <sup>63</sup> The Independent Power Plant will be able to generate 1000 megawatts of solar power, which the government would purchase based on a 20-year Build-Operate-Own system, he said. The project could include more than one plant. The US\$297 million plant will have the capacity to provide electricity to about 210,000 households when it is fully constructed.

Chinese President Xi Jinping expressed hope that Myanmar will speed up cooperation with China to implement its ambitious infrastructure projects in Myanmar during a recent call with Myanmar President Win Myint. In January, the two sides inked a concession agreement and shareholders' agreement for Kyaukphyu SEZ, a letter of intent on the development of Yangon City and a memorandum of understanding to accelerate negotiations around the Ruili-Muse Cross-Border Economic Cooperation Zone. Among these backbone projects, the Kyaukphyu SEZ is crucial for China, as it is expected to boost development in China's landlocked Yunnan Province and provide China with direct access to the Indian Ocean, allowing its oil imports to bypass the Strait of Malacca.

Myanmar will launch a major new bidding round for oil and gas exploration this year, according to a senior energy ministry official.<sup>65</sup> This will be the first international bidding round under Aung San Suu Kyi's government.

## B. Economic Development—Infrastructure, Major Projects

A number of essential businesses in Myanmar's major cities are being allowed to reopen, provided they strictly follow COVID-19-related health instructions. Myanmar's second commercial hub, Mandalay, announced that its seven major wholesale markets will reopen, as the city has not seen a new case of COVID-19 for several weeks.<sup>66</sup>

The Myanmar government plans to borrow US\$200 million from the Word Bank to implement the National Food and Agriculture System Project to rehabilitate rural farmers after the COVID-19 pandemic concludes.<sup>67</sup> On May 29, the World Bank approved US\$350 million in International Development Association credit to increase power generation in Myanmar and help the country meet a national goal of providing each citizen with access to electricity by 2030.<sup>68</sup>

Myanmar's aquaculture and fisheries sector nears collapse as demand slumps due to the COVID-19 pandemic.<sup>69</sup> In the middle of May, Myanmar's fishing industry stopped operations a month early due to lack of demand.<sup>70</sup> The Myanmar Fisheries Products Processors & Exporters Association projects the largest loss in history for the sector for the six months between March and August 2020.<sup>71</sup>

On May 10, a 400-megawatt power plant in Thaketa Township started its trial operation. The test run covered 17 townships mostly in Southeast Yangon. The plant is led by a consortium involving Hong Kong-listed VPower Group and China National Technical Import and Export Corp and it is one of Myanmar's five emergency power plants that are designed to generate more than 1000MW to meet Myanmar's power demands this summer. Aung San Suu Kyi's government issued the tender for the five emergency power projects in June 2019.

On May 18, the Ministry of Electricity and Energy issued a solar power tender with a one —month deadline for the construction of 30 ground-mounted solar projects capable of generating 1 gigawatt under a 20-year build, operate and own contract. The minimum investment is set at US\$20 million per site. Potential investors have complained about the short timeline and the tough conditions and are concerned that imported equipment will not arrive on time due to COVID-19. The electricity ministry's permanent secretary Soe Myint said his ministry is rushing to meet increasing electricity demand. The solution in the contract of the construction of 30 ground-mounted solar projects capable of generating 1 gigawatt under a 20-year build, operate and own contract. The minimum investment is set at US\$20 million per site. The minimum investment is set

On May 22, the developers of a major liquefied natural gas ("LNG") power plant for Ayeyarwady Region issued a tender with a one-week deadline for companies to enter the prequalification stage. <sup>78</sup> The proposed 1390MW LNG power plant is to be built in Shwethaungyan Township's Mee Lin Gyaing area, a greenfield site about 250 kilometers from Yangon. If approved, it will be one of Myanmar's largest energy investments costing an estimated US\$2.5 billion.<sup>79</sup>

On May 27, Myanmar's Ministry of Planning, Finance and Industry signed a deal with Singapore's Infrastructure Asia ("IA"), an infrastructure project facilitation office led by two Singapore government agencies – Enterprise Singapore and Monetary Authority Singapore. The initiative will help Myanmar identify suitable investors for infrastructure projects listed in Myanmar's Project Bank, an online database of priority infrastructure investments that are

aligned with the country's sustainable development plan. According to the Singaporean Embassy, IA agreed to share best practices and knowledge to structure and improve the bankability of these projects, identify and connect suitable investors and solution providers, and appoint advisers to carry out procurement. All

In an effort to meet the current exigencies faced by Myanmar as a result of COVID-19, the Myanmar government launched the COVID-19 Economic Relief Plan which comprises new measures and response plans to mitigate the economic impact of the pandemic. <sup>82</sup> The new measures allow foreign investors to seek fast-track approvals of their investments into Myanmar, in particular for reputable international firms as well as companies in the promoted areas of renewable energy and strategic infrastructure, delivery and logistics services, healthcare, including the manufacturing of medical-related products, and digital payment services. Khine Win, executive director of the Sandhi Governance Institute, said that the move would help Myanmar make decisions on financing and commercial viability as it seeks to implement mega-infrastructure projects with best practices. <sup>83</sup>

### C. Land Seizure

In mid-May, officials in Rakhine State issued an order requiring ethnic Rakhine Buddhist families to vacate more than 1,250 shelters erected on the site of a former Rohingya town that was destroyed in a bout of fighting.<sup>84</sup> The order required Rakhine squatters to leave property historically held by the Rohingya within three months or face eviction.<sup>85</sup> Some of the alleged squatters expressed a willingness to relocate if they were offered new land as a replacement.<sup>86</sup> However, the order was revoked five days later, prompting a positive response from Rakhine residents.<sup>87</sup>

#### IV. Peace Talks and Ethnic Violence

### A. Ethnic Violence

As of early May, there are about 150,000 displaced persons due to the conflicts between the Tatmadaw and the AA in Rakhine and Chin States. The ongoing fighting has caused 28 deaths, including children, in Chin State in 30 days. Hundreds have fled fighting between the AA and the Tatmadaw in Chin State's Paletwa Township, according to a local official. Over 400 residents from villages in the township's southern hills fled as the Tatmadaw strafed the area with aircraft and heavy artillery. Over 30 civilians have died in Paletwa Township since March 14, including two children who were among four killed in an artillery shell explosion on April 22. Clashes in the area intensified in the second week of May after subsiding in late April. About 150 people in the township's east ran out of food after being trapped by fighting in Peinletwa village, said township association secretary Peter Lawe Lu. Paletwa has a population of over 110,000, about 60,000 of whom have been affected by recent clashes, according to local government figures.

In late May, about 100 houses in an abandoned village in Paletwa Township, one of the epicenters of armed conflict between the government military and the AA, were burned to the ground in an apparent act of arson. Most of the houses in the village have been deserted since February after artillery fire prompted fearful residents to abandon their homes and seek refuge in

Paletwa town and as far away as Yangon, locals said. <sup>96</sup> The sources, however, were reluctant to assign blame for the village torching to Myanmar or Arakan Army soldiers. <sup>97</sup> One local villager who requested anonymity out of fear for his safety said some area residents tried to extinguish the flames, but they fled when unknown assailants fired guns at them. <sup>98</sup>

There were several explosions in Muse on May 26, causing concern for fearful locals that had already experienced a series of bomb attacks in May in the border town still under lockdown because of the coronavirus. <sup>99</sup> According to a local source, a bomb went off near a spirit house, under a banyan tree near Weing and Muse roads, and a child suffered minor shrapnel injuries from the blast. <sup>100</sup> On May 12, another explosion occurred in the same ward of Muse. <sup>101</sup> Additionally, the day before, there was an explosion at the Oriental Highway toll gate. <sup>102</sup> Meanwhile, the Tatmadaw and the police have conducted a series of nightly raids, seizing many weapons and illicit narcotics in Muse and other areas of northern Shan State. <sup>103</sup>

#### B. Peace Talks

The AA, the Ta'ang National Liberation Army ("TNLA") and the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army ("MNDAA") have extended their unilateral truce for another month to support government peace efforts and the fight against COVID-19. The groups said that they are ready to hold ceasefire talks with the Tatmadaw, but would not hesitate to defend themselves if attacked, as they did during the month of April. The Tatmadaw said that it would wait for the groups to show their sincerity by respecting the ceasefire. The Tatmadaw said that it would wait for the groups to show their sincerity by respecting the ceasefire.

The Myanmar government said that the Northern Alliance, consisting of the AA, TNLA, MNDAA and Kachin Independence Army had rejected offers for peace talks in Myitkyina, Kachin State and in Kyaingtong, Shan State. <sup>107</sup> A spokesperson for the TNLA said the Northern Alliance was concerned about the security of the location for the talks, but that they are ready to discuss a bilateral ceasefire agreement. <sup>108</sup>

On May 9, the Tatmadaw announced a nearly four-month unilateral ceasefire covering all parts of the country, except in areas where the AA operates, to boost the government's fight against COVID-19. The Tatmadaw did not explain why the AA areas are not included in the truce. The military warned the ethnic armed groups against fighting each other and against bullying the people. It also warned the armed groups against interference in the operations of the local governments. The Tatmadaw called on the ethnic groups to keep open all transportation routes and ensure the safety of the people and warned it would take action against ethnic armed groups that violate the provisions of the truce.

In a statement on May 28, State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi congratulated the new leader of the KNU/KNLA Peace Council ("KPC") and urged him to continue to push forward the peace process. <sup>114</sup> General Saw Htaw Lay was elected to replace General Saw Htay Maung, who died on May 4. <sup>115</sup> The KPC is a signatory to the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (the "NCA"). <sup>116</sup> Colonel Saw Kyaw Nyunt, KPC spokesperson, said the group continues to stand by the NCA to resolve political conflicts, even though leaders may change. <sup>117</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Washington Post, May 21, 2020: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/05/21/worlds-largest-refugee-settlement-is-crosshairs-cyclone-pandemic/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/05/21/worlds-largest-refugee-settlement-is-crosshairs-cyclone-pandemic/</a>.
- <sup>2</sup> The Economist, May 17, 2020: https://www.economist.com/asia/2020/05/17/the-coronavirus-reaches-the-rohingya-refugee-camps.
- <sup>3</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>4</sup> *Id*. <sup>5</sup> *Id*.
- 6 Id.
- 7 T.J
- <sup>8</sup> BBC, May 29, 2020: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-52832841.
- <sup>9</sup> AlJazeera, May 3, 2020: <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/05/dozens-stranded-rohingya-refugees-land-bangladesh-200503095818980.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/05/dozens-stranded-rohingya-refugees-land-bangladesh-200503095818980.html</a>.
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- 11 Id
- <sup>12</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>13</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 25, 2020: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-facebook-user-sued-accusing-mandalay-chief-minister-corruption.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-facebook-user-sued-accusing-mandalay-chief-minister-corruption.html</a>.
- <sup>14</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>15</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>16</sup> Asian Barometer, May 2020: <a href="http://www.asianbarometer.org/survey/myanmar-asian-barometer-survey">http://www.asianbarometer.org/survey/myanmar-asian-barometer-survey</a>; *See also* Frontier Myanmar, May 15, 2020: <a href="https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/survey-reveals-warning-signs-for-democracy-in-myanmar.net/en/survey-survey-reveals-warning-signs-for-democracy-in-myanmar.net/en/survey-sur
- <sup>17</sup> Asian Barometer, May 2020: http://www.asianbarometer.org/survey/myanmar-asian-barometer-survey.
- <sup>18</sup> Frontier Myanmar, May 15, 2020: https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/survey-reveals-warning-signs-for-democracy-in-myanmar.
- <sup>19</sup> Frontier Myanmar, May 12, 2020: <a href="https://www.frontiermyanmar.net/en/un-security-council-to-discuss-violence-coronavirus-in-myanmar">https://www.frontiermyanmar.net/en/un-security-council-to-discuss-violence-coronavirus-in-myanmar</a>.
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- <sup>21</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>22</sup> *Id*.
- <sup>23</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 26, 2020: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-submits-first-report-world-court-provisional-measures-protect-rohingya.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-submits-first-report-world-court-provisional-measures-protect-rohingya.html</a>.
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- <sup>26</sup> The Irrawaddy, May 26, 2020: <a href="https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-submits-first-report-world-court-provisional-measures-protect-rohingya.html">https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/myanmar-submits-first-report-world-court-provisional-measures-protect-rohingya.html</a>.
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- <sup>30</sup> Mizzima, May 27, 2020: http://mizzima.com/article/human-rights-watch-calls-village-destruction-probe.
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- <sup>36</sup> Mizzima, June 1, 2020: <a href="http://mizzima.com/article/who-flight-arrives-yangon-airport">http://mizzima.com/article/who-flight-arrives-yangon-airport</a>.
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