• Burma hosts 25th ASEAN Summit as criticism of stalled reforms mounts.

• The regime attacks UN Sec-Gen Ban Ki-moon for public comments in support of Rohingya rights.

• On his visit to Burma, US President Obama meets with Daw Suu and other leaders, expresses concern over Rohingya and lack of constitutional reform.

• The regime continues its stalling game as National Parliament debates constitutional amendments.

• National Assembly approves controversial proportional representation system for electing its MPs, while the People’s Assembly approves a 200%-400% pay raise for its members.

• The Tatmadaw hits six townships in Kachin State in a massive offensive, killing a civilian and 23 cadets.

• Hundreds of students stage four days of protest against the National Education Law over academic independence and students’ right to organize.

• Harvard Law School’s International Human Rights Clinic report implicates three senior regime officials in crimes against humanity and war crimes.

• Fortify Rights and the AP expose regime security forces’ involvement in human trafficking.

• UN General Assembly’s Third Committee adopts a resolution that calls on the regime to give Rohingya “equal access” to full citizenship.

KEY STORY

On 12-13 November, as domestic and international criticism of stalled reforms mounted, Burma completed its yearlong tenure as ASEAN Chair by hosting world leaders in Naypyidaw for the 25th ASEAN Summit and related meetings, including the 9th East Asia Summit.

Regime attacks UNSG’s support for Rohingya rights

At a 12 November press conference on the sidelines of the ASEAN Summit in Naypyidaw, UN Sec-Gen Ban Ki-moon spoke in support of Rohingya rights. He highlighted the “serious humanitarian issue”...
of IDPs in Arakan State and used the term Rohingya multiple times.\(^2\) He called on the regime to “take a strong stance against incitement” and to grant full citizenship to Rohingya who qualify as citizens.\(^3\)

The regime immediately condemned the UN Sec-Gen’s remarks. On 13 November, Arakan State Chief Minister Maung Maung Ohn sent the UN Sec-Gen a letter criticizing his use of the term Rohingya.\(^4\)

On 13 November, the UN Sec-Gen rebuffed the criticism. Speaking to the press following separate meetings with President Thein Sein and National Parliament Speaker Shwe Mann, the UN Sec-Gen called a focus on the term Rohingya “unnecessary” and said that it could “lead to entrenched polarization.”\(^5\) He also affirmed the UN’s readiness to help implement the controversial ‘Rakhine State Action Plan.’\(^6\)

Condemnation of his remarks continued. On 14 November, the National Parliament approved a motion condemning the UN Sec-Gen’s use of the term Rohingya.\(^7\) [See below, Parliament’s 11th session concludes] In addition, on 23 November, thousands of demonstrators in four Arakan State townships participated in regime-sanctioned protests against the UN Sec-Gen’s 12 November statements.\(^8\)

**US President visits Burma, says the “R” word, criticizes constitution**

On 12 November, US President Barack Obama arrived in Naypyidaw to attend the East Asia Summit, marking his second visit to Burma.\(^9\)

During a 13 November meeting with President Thein Sein, Obama expressed concern over the regime’s failure to approve constitutional changes and its treatment of Rohingya.\(^10\) The same day, Obama also discussed Burma’s transition with a dozen MPs, including National Parliament Speaker Shwe Mann, National Assembly Speaker Khin Aung Myint, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.\(^11\)

On 14 November, President Obama flew to Rangoon, where he met privately with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at her home.\(^12\) The two then held a joint press conference, during which Obama criticized Article 59(f) and other anti-democratic clauses of the 2008 constitution and condemned discrimination against Rohingya, explicitly using the term.\(^13\) Later that day, Obama met with 15 civil society representatives and 300 members of the White House’s Young Southeast Asian Leaders Initiative.\(^14\)

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\(^2\) UN (12 Nov 14) Secretary-General’s Remarks at Press Conference; RFA (12 Nov 14) UN Secretary General Urges Increased Rights for Myanmar’s Rohingya

\(^3\) UN (12 Nov 14) Secretary-General’s Remarks at Press Conference

\(^4\) GNLM (14 Nov 14) A letter of Rakhine State Chief Minister to UNSG; Mizzima News (13 Nov 14) Rakhine Chief Minister warns UN over use of term ‘Rohingya’; Irrawaddy (13 Nov 14) Govt Criticizes Ban Ki-moon Over Use of ‘Rohingya’ Term

\(^5\) GNLM (14 Nov 14) Myanmar President, UN Secretary-General discuss human rights; GNLM (14 Nov 14) Pyidaungsu Hluttaw Speaker, UN Secretary-General discuss development of multiparty democracy; GNLM (14 Nov 14) UNSG holds press conference for local media; Irrawaddy (13 Nov 14) Govt Criticizes Ban Ki-moon Over Use of ‘Rohingya’ Term

\(^6\) GNLM (14 Nov 14) UNSG holds press conference for local media; Irrawaddy (13 Nov 14) Govt Criticizes Ban Ki-moon Over Use of ‘Rohingya’ Term; Mizzima News (13 Nov 14) Ban Ki Moon; UN stands ready to help implement Rakhine Action Plan

\(^7\) GNLM (15 Nov 14) Pyidaungsu Hluttaw raises objection to UNSG’s use of “Rohingya”; AFP (14 Nov 14) Myanmar parliament rails at UN’s Ban Ki-moon over Rohingya comments

\(^8\) DVB (24 Nov 14) Thousands march against UN in Sittwe; Kaladan News (23 Nov 14) Rakhine protests against UN passes resolution on Burma; Narinjara News (25 Nov 14) Arakanese protest against Ben Ki-moon’s gesture to Rohingyas

\(^9\) AFP (12 Nov 14) Obama in Myanmar to throw weight behind stuttering reforms

\(^10\) Reuters (13 Nov 14) Obama says Myanmar’s 2015 vote needs to be free, inclusive and transparent; AFP (13 Nov 14) Obama optimistic on Myanmar democracy despite concerns; GNLM (14 Nov 14) Myanmar, US presidents discuss democratic reform and regional issues; Washington Post (13 Nov 14) In Burma, Obama revisits goal of keeping democratic path open

\(^11\) GNLM (14 Nov 14) U.S. President meets Myanmar parliamentarians; RFA (13 Nov 14) Obama Urges Myanmar Lawmakers to Press Ahead with Reform; Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Burma Military Should Have Less Power; Obama

\(^12\) Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Obama, Suu Kyi Pledge Solidarity Amid ‘Bumpy Patch’ in Reforms; Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Obama Lends Ear to Burma’s Youth

\(^13\) White House (14 Nov 14) Remarks by President Obama and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma in Joint Press Conference; AP (14 Nov 14) Obama Oozes Support for Myanmar’s Aung San Suu Kyi

\(^14\) Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Activists, Ethnic Leaders Cry Neglect During Obama Visit; White House (14 Nov 14) Remarks by President Obama at Young Southeast Asian Leaders Initiative Town Hall; DVB (14 Nov 14) Obama exhilarates, inspires at Rangoon University; Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Obama Lends Ear to Burma’s Youth
Daw Suu warns of “stalled” reforms, meets with world leaders

On 5 November, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi held a press conference in Rangoon, at which she said that reforms had “stalled” and cautioned international actors, including the United States, against being “overly optimistic” about democratic progress in Burma.15

At the ASEAN Summit in Naypyidaw, on 12 November, Daw Suu met separately with Indian PM Narendra Modi and Australian PM Tony Abbott.16 On 14 November, she met with US President Barack Obama in Rangoon.17 [See above, US President visits Burma]

Thein Sein woos investment at ASEAN Summit

In private meetings on the sidelines of the ASEAN Summit, President Thein Sein discussed economic issues with world leaders, including Australian PM Tony Abbott, Indian PM Narendra Modi, Indonesian President Joko Widodo, and Russian PM Dmitry Medvedev.18

He also secured several economic assistance agreements. During a 12 November meeting, Japanese PM Shinzo Abe pledged a 227 billion kyat (US$223 million) loan to Burma, over half of which was aimed at funding infrastructure in the Thilawa Special Economic Zone (SEZ).19 [See below, Investment continues in Thilawa SEZ despite displacement revelations] On 14 November, Thein Sein and Chinese Premier Li Keqiang signed agreements on trade, infrastructure, agriculture, and energy, worth a total of 8.1 trillion kyat (US$7.8 billion).20

In November, President Thein Sein also represented ASEAN at two high-level summits overseas. On 8-9 November, he attended the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit in Beijing, China, where he met with Chinese President Xi Jinping.21 On 15-16 November, Thein Sein attended the G20 Summit in Brisbane, Australia.22

INSIDE BURMA

Parliament delays constitutional reform

More than 19 months after the National Parliament approved a proposal to begin a process of constitutional review, the regime in November continued its stalling game.

• 13 November: The National Parliament began debating proposed changes included in the report submitted by the 31-member committee for constitutional amendments on 22 October.23 [See October 2014 Burma Bulletin] During the debate, military MPs voiced their strong opposition to amending Article 59(f), which bars Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from becoming president, and Article 436, which

15 Reuters (05 Nov 14) Myanmar’s Suu Kyi says reforms stalled, West too optimistic; Irrawaddy (05 Nov 14) US ‘Too Optimistic’ About Burma Reform; Suu Kyi
16 PTI (12 Nov 14) PM Modi Meets Myanmar Pro-Democracy Icon Aung San Suu Kyi; GNLM (13 Nov 14) Chairperson of Pyithu Hluttaw Rule of Law and Tranquility Committee meets Indian Prime Minister; AAP (12 Nov 14) Abbott meets Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar
17 Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Obama, Suu Kyi Pledge Solidarity Amid ‘Bumpy Patch’ in Reforms; Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Obama Lends Ear to Burma’s Youth
18 Myanmar Times (14 Nov 14) U Thein Sein pushes economic ties, Dawei support; GNLM (12 Nov 14) Myanmar, India to cooperate in energy and natural gas sectors; GNLM (13 Nov 14) Myanmar, Australia focus on assistance for development of Myanmar; GNLM (13 Nov 14) U Thein Sein meets Indonesian President Widodo; GNLM (14 Nov 14) Myanmar, Russia discuss cooperation in various sectors
19 GNLM (13 Nov 14) Japan supports peace-making process in Myanmar; GNLM (14 Nov 14) President U Thein Sein urges Japan to invest in Dawei SEZ Project; Myanmar Times (14 Nov 14) U Thein Sein pushes economic ties, Dawei support; DVB (13 Nov 14) Japan to lend Burma US$250 million; Bangkok Post (12 Nov 14) Abe offers Myanmar loan for Thilawa; Xinhua (13 Nov 14) Japan offers Myanmar 250 mln USD loan for development projects
20 GNLM (16 Nov 14) President U Thein Sein, Chinese Premier Li hold talks at Presidential Palace; AFP (14 Nov 14) China, Myanmar ink $7.8 bn in deals; state media; President’s Office (16 Nov 14) President U Thein Sein and Chinese Premier Li Keqiang witnessed the signing of the MoUs and agreements
21 Mizzima News (10 Nov 14) President calls for stronger partnership at APEC summit; GNLM (08 Nov 14) President holds talks with China’s Xi; meets NPC chairman, PM
22 President’s Office (16 Nov 14) President U Thein Sein says ASEAN has become more integrated in recent decades; GNLM (17 Nov 14) President U Thein Sein and other leaders discuss global economy at G-20 Summit
23 GNLM (14 Nov 14) Constitutional reform issues come under discussion at Pyidaungsu Hluttaw; AFP (14 Nov 14) NLD seeks to scrap charter clause; DVB (14 Nov 14) MPs start debating Constitutional amendments
gives the military effective veto power over any proposed constitutional amendments.\textsuperscript{24} Parliament concluded debate without producing a bill on constitutional amendments.\textsuperscript{25}

- **18 November:** At a press conference in Naypyidaw, National Parliament Speaker Shwe Mann said that no constitutional amendments would be fully approved prior to the 2015 general election.\textsuperscript{26}
- **25 November:** The National Parliament unanimously approved a motion calling for six-party talks on constitutional amendments.\textsuperscript{27} The six parties would be Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, President Thein Sein, Tatmadaw Commander-in-Chief Sr Gen Min Aung Hlaing, National Parliament Speaker Shwe Mann, National Assembly Speaker Khin Aung Myint, and Arakan National Party MP Aye Maung as a representative of ethnic parties.\textsuperscript{28}
- **27 November:** President Thein Sein’s spokesman Ye Htut rejected the proposed six-party talks, calling them “impractical.”\textsuperscript{29}

**Parliament’s 11\textsuperscript{th} session concludes**

In November, Parliament concluded its 11\textsuperscript{th} session.\textsuperscript{30}

**Houses of Parliament vote on proportional representation**

In November, the two houses of the National Parliament voted on systems to elect MPs in the 2015 general election.

- **14 November:** The Constitutional Tribunal told the People’s Assembly that all seven new electoral systems proposed in the 27 October report by its commission to review electoral systems were not in line with the constitutional requirement of single-member constituencies for People’s Assembly MPs.\textsuperscript{31} [See *October 2014 Burma Bulletin*] As a result, MPs agreed to keep the current first-past-the-post system.\textsuperscript{32}
- **24 November:** The National Assembly voted 138 to 24 (with five abstentions) in favor of adopting a proportional representation system for electing National Assembly MPs.\textsuperscript{33} The adopted system would apply to all states and divisions, which would each elect 12 MPs on a proportional basis.\textsuperscript{34}

The decisions come more than 17 months after the regime Election Commission requested approval of any electoral system changes before the end of 2013 to allow for adequate time to implement them.\textsuperscript{35} Prior to the votes, the NLD and other parties voiced strong opposition to proportional representation, arguing that it represented a USDP ploy to improve its chances in the 2015 general election.\textsuperscript{36}

**Parliament condemns international actors, gives itself a 200\%-400\% pay raise**

Other developments in Parliament’s 11\textsuperscript{th} session included:

\textsuperscript{24} AFP (18 Nov 14) Myanmar army opposes charter change
\textsuperscript{25} Myanmar Times (27 Nov 14) Constitution amendment bill expected next session
\textsuperscript{26} DVB (18 Nov 14) No constitutional reform before 2015 election: Shwe Mann; Irrawaddy (18 Nov 14) No Constitutional Amendments Before Election: Shwe Mann
\textsuperscript{27} GNLM (25 Nov 14) Pyidaungsu Hluttaw accepts proposal for six party round-table talks; DVB (25 Nov 14) Political big guns poised for constitutional debate; RFA (25 Nov 14) Myanmar’s Parliament Calls for Urgent High-Level Talks on Charter Change; Irrawaddy (25 Nov 14) Parliament Proposes High-Level Charter Talks
\textsuperscript{28} GNLM (25 Nov 14) Pyidaungsu Hluttaw accepts proposal for six party round-table talks; DVB (27 Nov 14) Ethnic MPs select Aye Maung for sixparty talks; Irrawaddy (27 Nov 14) Ethnic MPs Select Aye Maung for Proposed Talks on Constitution
\textsuperscript{29} Reuters (27 Nov 14) Myanmar constitution summit ‘impractical’ – presidential spokesman
\textsuperscript{31} GNLM (15 Nov 14) Pyithu Hluttaw approves FPTP electoral system; DVB (14 Nov 14) Lower House rejects PR system; Myanmar Times (16 Nov 14) Pyithu Hluttaw rejects PR voting
\textsuperscript{32} GNLM (15 Nov 14) Pyithu Hluttaw approves FPTP electoral system; DVB (14 Nov 14) Lower House rejects PR system; Xinhua (14 Nov 14) Myanmar not to adopt proportional representation electoral system: Lower House; Myanmar Times (16 Nov 14) Pyithu Hluttaw rejects PR voting
\textsuperscript{33} GNLM (25 Nov 14) Amyotha Hluttaw approves PR system; Irrawaddy (25 Nov 14) Upper House adopts Nationwide PR System
\textsuperscript{34} Irrawaddy (25 Nov 14) Upper House adopts Nationwide PR System
\textsuperscript{35} NLM (15 Jun 13) FPTP or PR? 
\textsuperscript{36} Irrawaddy (29 Oct 14) NLD Rejects USDP Plan for PR Voting System for Central Regions; DVB (28 Oct 14) NLD rejects hybrid voting system; EMG (29 Oct 14) MP opposes move to introduce new electoral system; Myanmar Times (30 Oct 14) MP proposes another electoral system as NLD opposition firms
• **10 November:** The People’s Assembly approved a motion condemning the United States for its 31 October decision to add USDP MP Aung Thaung to its Specially Designated Nationals (SDN) list, for intentionally undermining reforms and perpetuating violence and corruption in Burma.37

• **14 November:** The National Parliament approved without objection a motion condemning UN Sec-Gen Ban Ki-moon’s use of the term Rohingya in a 12 November press conference.38 [See above, Regime attacks UNSG’s support for Rohingya rights]

• **18 November:** The People’s Assembly approved a bill to increase MPs’ monthly salaries from 300,000 kyat (US$300) to between 1 million (US$1,000) and 1.6 million (US$1,600).39

• **26 November:** The National Parliament approved a proposal urging the swift enactment of bylaws for previously approved laws.40 In submitting the proposal, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi noted that a number of laws, including the 2013 Farmers’ Rights Protection Law, had limited tangible impact due to the absence of bylaws.41

### Tatmadaw attack on Kachin headquarters compromises peace process

In November, the Tatmadaw followed through with their October threat to resume attacks in Kachin State.42 On 19 November, Tatmadaw troops from LIBs 389 and 390 launched an artillery attack on a Kachin military academy adjacent to an IDP camp in Laiza, the Kachin Independence Army’s (KIA) headquarters in Momauk Township, Kachin State. The attack killed at least one civilian and 23 cadets from various ethnic armed groups, and injured 20 cadets.43

On 20 November, Kachin State Border Security Minister Col Than Aung explained that the attack was “unintentional” but also meant to “send a warning” to the KIA.44 The United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC) said the attack posed a “serious obstacle” to the peace process, while the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) said it was “deliberate” and proved that the peace process was “dead.”45

Domestic and international actors, including the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the US Embassy in Rangoon, and UK ambassador to Burma Andrew Patrick, expressed concern over the Laiza attack and renewed offensives in Kachin State.46

### Tatmadaw troops hit six townships in massive offensive across Kachin State

In November, Tatmadaw troops launched more artillery attacks in Kachin State, and clashed with KIA forces in six of Kachin State’s 18 townships.

• **16 November:** Tatmadaw troops from LID 88 clashed with KIA Battalion 27 forces in Namsa and Hka Shang Villages, Mansi Township, Kachin State.47
• **16 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 389 stationed at Aung Ja Yang Village, Momauk Township, Kachin State, fired mortar shells at KIA Battalion 18 forces.  

• **17 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 51 fired mortar shells at KIA Battalion 5 and 6 force positions in Hpakant Township, Kachin State.  

• **17 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 51 launched an artillery attack on a KIA post at Nam Hkyi Maw, Mohynin Township, Kachin State, wounding two civilians.  

• **17 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 317 clashed with KIA Battalion 12 and 27 in Nlung Wa Lawng Village, Mansi Township, Kachin State.  

• **18 November**: Tatmadaw troops seized a KIA post in Hpakant Township, Kachin State, and later burned it down. A KIA soldier’s body, bearing signs of torture, was later found buried at the site.  

• **19 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 384 clashed with KIA Battalion 243 forces near Laiza, Momauk Township, Kachin State.  

• **19 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 390 stationed at Gang Dau Yang Village, Waingmaw Township, Kachin State, fired mortar shells at KIA positions nearby.  

• **19 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 6 attacked KIA Battalion 26 forces near Mongnaung Village, Mohynin Township, Kachin State, killing one KIA soldier and injuring a civilian.  

• **19 November**: Tatmadaw troops ambushed and killed two KIA Battalion 11 soldiers in Namti Village, Moguang Township, Kachin State.  

• **22 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 387 fired mortar shells into civilian areas near Mai Ja Yang, Momauk Township, Kachin State. Shells landed near Nhkawng Pa IDP Camp, Bum Kahtawng and Mahtang Villages, and a KIA post.  

• **22 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 567 clashed with KIA Battalion 26 forces near Hpai Kaung Village, Muse Township, Shan State.  

**Tatmadaw attacks continue in Shan State**

In November, the Tatmadaw clashed with the Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF), the Ta’ang National Liberation Army (TNLA), and the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) in Shan State. On 13 November, the Tatmadaw sent additional troops to Namkham Township, Shan State.  

• **18 November**: Tatmadaw-backed militias clashed with PSLF forces near Yung Mu Lung Village, Muse Township, Shan State.  

• **22 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 106 clashed with TNLA Battalion 256 forces two separate times, near Pan Sri Village, Pindaya Township, and between Ho Lat and Ho Nam Villages, Namhsan Township, Shan State.  

• **22 November**: Tatmadaw troops from LIB 567 clashed with KIA Battalion 36 forces near Hpai Kaung Village, Muse Township, Shan State.  

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47 Kachinland News (16 Nov 14) Fighting Resumes in Kachin As Summit Concluded; Kachin News Group (18 Nov 14) KIA fights with Burma Army in Kachin state  
48 Kachinland News (19 Nov 14) Two Civilians Injured in an Artillery Attack in Nam Hkyi Maw  
49 Kachinland News (18 Nov 14) 51st LIB Troops Launched Attack on KIA’s Nam Hkyi Post  
50 Kachinland News (19 Nov 14) Two Civilians Injured in an Artillery Attack in Nam Hkyi Maw  
51 Kachinland News (19 Nov 14) Two Civilians Injured in an Artillery Attack in Nam Hkyi Maw  
52 Kachinland News (25 Nov 14) Tortured KIA Soldier Body Found inside Mai Nawng Post  
53 EMG (20 Nov 14) One killed, two wounded in fresh fight between KIA and the govt army  
54 SHAN (20 Nov 14) Burmese Army Shelling of Laiza Training Ground Was Deliberate Says KIO  
55 SHAN (20 Nov 14) Burmese Army Shelling of Laiza Training Ground Was Deliberate Says KIO  
56 SHAN (20 Nov 14) Burmese Army Shelling of Laiza Training Ground Was Deliberate Says KIO  
57 SHAN (20 Nov 14) Burmese Army Shelling of Laiza Training Ground Was Deliberate Says KIO  
58 Kachinland News (23 Nov 14) Burmese Army Shells Fall Near IDP Camps  
59 Kachinland News (23 Nov 14) Burmese Army Shells Fall Near IDP Camps  
60 Kachinland News (14 Nov 14) 88th LID Troops Arrived in Nam Hkam  
61 Kachinland News (19 Nov 14) Two Civilians Injured in an Artillery Attack in Nam Hkyi Maw  
62 Kachinland News (23 Nov 14) Burmese Army Shells Fall Near IDP Camps  
63 Kachinland News (23 Nov 14) Burmese Army Shells Fall Near IDP Camps
On 5 November, Tatmadaw troops from LIB 504 detained and beat four civilians in Hsipaw, Shan State, accusing them of links to the Shan State Army (SSA) and turned them over to police the next day.64

Student protests against National Education Law intensify

On 14 November, hundreds of students began four days of demonstrations in downtown Rangoon against the National Education Law, which the National Parliament approved on 26 September.65

Between 300 and 500 students gathered each day to voice their opposition to the law’s lack of provisions guaranteeing student unions, ethnic language instruction, and independence for educational institutions.66 Their opposition stems, in part, from a lack of trust in the regime, based on its historically poor management of Burma’s education system.67 On 17 November, their last day of protest, the students issued a 60-day ultimatum to the regime to negotiate over changes to the law.68

The protests followed a meeting, jointly organized by the All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU) and the Confederation of University Student Unions (CUSU), in Rangoon’s North Dagon Township on 12-13 November, where more than 500 students from across Burma discussed their opposition to the law.69

Students also protested against the National Education Law in other parts of Burma. On 27 November, around 50 students participated in an ABFSU-organized demonstration in downtown Mandalay.70

Daw Suu draws huge crowds on Karenni State tour

On 8 November, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi visited Karenni State for the first time since 1989.71 In her address to over 10,000 supporters in Loikaw, she discussed the NLD’s reasons for opposing a proportional representation electoral system and called for four-party talks with President Thein Sein, Tatmadaw Commander-in-Chief Sr Gen Min Aung Hlaing, and National Parliament Speaker Shwe Mann.72 She also urged her audience to pay close attention to the constitutional amendment debate in Parliament.73

HUMAN RIGHTS

Three senior regime officials implicated in crimes against humanity and war crimes

On 6 November, the Harvard Law School’s International Human Rights Clinic released “War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity in Eastern Myanmar,” a report presenting research on the Tatmadaw’s

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64 SHAN (10 Nov 14) Four civilians in Hsipaw arrested and beaten on suspicion of having contact with Shan State Army
65 The National Parliament approved the National Education Bill on 26 September after incorporating 19 of 25 changes formally suggested by President Thein Sein. President Thein Sein then signed the bill into law on 30 September. Irrawaddy (30 Sep 14) Education Organizations Continue Opposition After Controversial Law Passes; Myanmar Times (20 Oct 14) Student unions vow to continue protests against education law; DVB (14 Nov 14) Students rally against education law; Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Students Protest Education Law in Downtown Rangoon
66 Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Students Protest Education Law in Downtown Rangoon; Mizzima News (17 Nov 14) Mon students propose law guaranteeing ethnic language teaching
67 Myanmar Times (24 Nov 14) Behind the student protests
68 AFP (17 Nov 14) Myanmar students stage protest; RFA (17 Nov 14) Students Hold Fourth Day of Protests Against Myanmar Education Law; VOA (17 Nov 14) Myanmar Student Protests Enter Day Four; Irrawaddy (17 Nov 14) Students Pause Protest, Demand Govt Response on Education Law
69 DVB (13 Nov 14) Students oppose National Education Bill; Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Students Protest Education Law in Downtown Rangoon; Mizzima News (17 Nov 14) Mon students propose law guaranteeing ethnic language teaching; EMG (17 Nov 14) Student protests enter second day; Irrawaddy (05 Nov 14) Rangoon Police Ban Student Meeting on Controversial Education Law
70 Irrawaddy (27 Nov 14) Govt Neglecting Student Demands, Mandalay Protestors Say; DVB (28 Nov 14) Mandalay students, profs parley after Education Bill protest; Irrawaddy (26 Nov 14) Students to Protest Education Law in Mandalay
71 Irrawaddy (09 Nov 14) Suu Kyi Talks Election, Amendments at Karenni State Rally; EMG (08 Nov 14) Suu Kyi’s public meeting in Kayah State tightly guarded
72 Irrawaddy (09 Nov 14) Suu Kyi Talks Election, Amendments at Karenni State Rally; Myanmar Times (17 Nov 14) Daw Suu Kyi seeks ‘effective’ four-way meet; Irrawaddy (14 Nov 14) Lower House Chairman Rejects PR System Proposal; EMG (11 Nov 14) Suu Kyi against PR system; EMG (08 Nov 14) Suu Kyi’s public meeting in Kayah State tightly guarded
73 Irrawaddy (09 Nov 14) Suu Kyi Talks Election, Amendments at Karenni State Rally; EMG (10 Nov 14) Major reforms likely, Suu Kyi says
actions during a January 2005 – December 2006 offensive against the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) in Thandaung Township, Karen State.\textsuperscript{74}

The report found that during the offensive, the Tatmadaw committed crimes against humanity and war crimes as defined by Articles 7 and 8 of the Rome Statute. It found sufficient evidence to prosecute three commanders from the offensive: current regime Home Affairs Minister Lt Gen Ko Ko, current Commander of Bureau of Special Operations – 4, Brig Gen Khin Zaw Oo, and Brig Gen Maung Maung Aye. The report also found that:\textsuperscript{75}

- Tatmadaw troops directly targeted civilians through widespread and systematic actions designed to clear them from KNLA-controlled areas and effect large-scale displacement;
- Tatmadaw troops deliberately shelled villages, agricultural fields, and IDP hiding sites; shot at civilians; destroyed homes; laid landmines, causing tens of thousands to flee; and subjected civilians to forced labor, execution, and torture;
- The Tatmadaw’s tightly controlled chain of command and sophisticated system of reporting and communications meant high-level commanders were highly likely to have knowledge of war crimes committed by soldiers in the field.

**Arakan State Parliament, security forces target Rohingya**

On 19 November, the Arakan State Parliament approved a proposal to build “ethnic villages” for Buddhist Rakhine in Buthidaung and Maungdaw Townships, Arakan State, which are currently 90% Muslim Rohingya.\textsuperscript{76}

In addition, regime security forces continued to commit human rights violations against Rohingya residents in Maungdaw Township, Arakan State:

- **7 November**: Tatmadaw soldiers beat a 60-year-old Rohingya man to death in Ywet Nyo Taung Village for protecting a girl that Tatmadaw soldiers tried to rape.\textsuperscript{77}
- **17 November**: Regime border police arbitrarily arrested 12 Rohingya residents at a mosque in Du Chee Yar Tan Village.\textsuperscript{78}
- **18 November**: Regime border police arbitrarily arrested a Rohingya man and fired shots at Rohingya villagers who tried to stop them.\textsuperscript{79}

**DISPLACEMENT**

**Regime profits from trafficking as Rohingya continue to flee**

On 7 November, Fortify Rights and the Associated Press reported that regime security forces, including military personnel, had been profiting from the trafficking and smuggling of Rohingya out of Arakan State since 2012.\textsuperscript{80} Authorities extracted payments from asylum seekers in exchange for transfer to trafficking and smuggling ships in the Bay of Bengal and demanded fees from criminal syndicates receiving the Rohingya.\textsuperscript{81}

Despite the continued fear of extortion and arrest, from 15 October to late November, approximately 19,000 people fled Arakan State by boat.\textsuperscript{82} Meanwhile, the regime continued to deny the seriousness of flight from Arakan State. On 20 November, President Thein Sein said that concern over Rohingya boat

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\textsuperscript{74} Reuters (06 Nov 14) Senior Myanmar officials guilty of war crimes, Harvard report says
\textsuperscript{75} IHRC (06 Nov 14) War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity in Eastern Myanmar
\textsuperscript{76} DVB (20 Nov 14) State govt approves Arakanese settlements in Buthidaung, Maungdaw
\textsuperscript{77} Kaladan News (09 Nov 14) Army kill an old Rohingya villager in Maungdaw
\textsuperscript{78} Kaladan News (20 Nov 14) BGP commits robbery against Rohingya villager at Maungdaw
\textsuperscript{79} AP (06 Nov 14) AP Exclusive: Myanmar profits off Rohingya exodus; Fortify Rights (07 Nov 14) Myanmar: Authorities Complicit in Rohingya Trafficking, Smuggling
\textsuperscript{80} AP (06 Nov 14) AP Exclusive: Myanmar profits off Rohingya exodus; Fortify Rights (07 Nov 14) Myanmar: Authorities Complicit in Rohingya Trafficking, Smuggling
\textsuperscript{81} AFP (30 Nov 14) Myanmar’s Rohingya face hunger and death
people was exaggerated and that reports of their departure were malicious attempts to undermine the regime.  

Rohingya continue to face persecution abroad

In November, authorities abroad continued to take punitive action against Rohingya.

- **8 November**: Thai Army officials arrested at least 219 Rohingya boat people in Ranong Province, Thailand.
- **12 November**: Thai police arrested 86 Rohingya refugees who had been hiding on a rubber plantation in Phang Nga Province, Thailand.
- **19 November**: A court in Chittagong, Bangladesh, charged 82 Rohingya, including 12 children, for illegally entering the country.

In addition, on 26 November, an Al Jazeera report revealed that Bangladesh’s Foreign Affairs Ministry had proposed a national strategy for Rohingya repatriation. The strategy involved a government-sponsored census, which would lead to the mass internment and eventual repatriation of Rohingya to Burma. It also proposed the introduction of new laws targeting Bangladeshi citizens who provide employment or shelter to displaced Rohingya.

Dire situation for refugees in Malaysia, including Rohingya

On 21 November, an Al Jazeera TV feature, “Malaysia’s Unwanted,” revealed that Malaysian authorities routinely lock up refugees, including Rohingya, in detention centers that violate international standards. The program also revealed that some refugees in Malaysia have bribed UNHCR officials to acquire refugee status cards.

On 24 November, Malaysian opposition Democratic Action Party (DAP) MP Lim Lip Eng filed an emergency motion to discuss Malaysian Deputy Home Affairs Minister Wan Junaidi Tuanku Jaafar’s statement in the Al Jazeera feature that young children should be kept in detention centers so that they can be close to their parents. In the subsequent one-hour debate, MPs said his comments demonstrated his ignorance of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

UNGA adopts Burma resolution

On 21 November, the UN General Assembly’s Third Committee adopted by consensus a resolution on the situation of human rights in Burma, despite President Thein Sein’s lobbying to end such measures. The resolution expressed “serious concern” over the situation of Rohingya in Arakan State and called on the regime to give Rohingya “equal access” to full citizenship. The Third Committee urged the regime to end violence against ethnic and religious minorities, specifically highlighting attacks against Muslims and other religious minorities.

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83 VOA (20 Nov 14) VOA Exclusive: Interview With Myanmar President Thein Sein
84 Phuketwan (09 Nov 14) Thailand’s Trafficking Travesty Risks Lives
85 Phuket Gazette (15 Nov 14) Police find second group of Rohingya refugees north of Phuket
86 Kaladan News (20 Nov 14) Rescued Rohingyas boat people produced in Chittagong Court
87 Al Jazeera (26 Nov 14) Bangladesh proposes internment, repatriating up to 270K Rohingya to Myanmar
88 Bangladesh Ministry of Foreign Affairs (31 Mar 14) UN-HR-5013/14/121; Al Jazeera (26 Nov 14) Bangladesh proposes internment, repatriating up to 270K Rohingya to Myanmar
89 Bangladesh Ministry of Foreign Affairs (31 Mar 14) UN-HR-5013/14/121; Al Jazeera (26 Nov 14) Bangladesh proposes internment, repatriating up to 270K Rohingya to Myanmar
90 Al Jazeera (21 Nov 14) Malaysia’s unwanted
91 Sun Daily (24 Nov 14) Opposition MPs file motion to debate Al-Jazeera documentary; DAP Malaysia (26 Nov 14) Deputy Home Minister’s parliamentary reply shows that he does not understand the UN CRC; Free Malaysia Today (26 Nov 14) Wan Junaidi in denial on refugee issues
92 DAP Malaysia (26 Nov 14) Deputy Home Minister’s parliamentary reply shows that he does not understand the UN CRC; Free Malaysia Today (26 Nov 14) Wan Junaidi in denial on refugee issues
93 AFP (22 Nov 14) UN presses Myanmar over Rohingya rights; GNLM (18 Oct 14) President U Thein Sein urges EU to end submission of reports on human rights situation in Myanmar at UN General Assembly
94 AFP (22 Nov 14) UN presses Myanmar over Rohingya rights
The Third Committee also urged the regime to end human rights violations and abuses in the country, including arbitrary arrests and detention; forced displacement; rape and other forms of sexual violence; torture; and arbitrary deprivation of property and land.\textsuperscript{95}

**ECONOMY**

**Investment continues in Thilawa SEZ despite displacement revelations**

Two reports released in November highlighted displacement associated with Rangoon’s Thilawa Special Economic Zone (SEZ):

- **4 November**: Thilawa SEZ developer Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) released an evaluation of the regime’s resettlement program in Thilawa. Local NGOs heavily criticized the report for its failure to take into account the difficulties that displaced residents faced, and the report itself conceded that neither JICA nor the regime had provided adequate farmland or employment opportunities to displaced residents.\textsuperscript{96}

- **13 November**: Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) released its report, “A Foreseeable Disaster in Burma: Forced Displacement in the Thilawa Special Economic Zone,” which asserted that the regime had threatened residents with imprisonment if they did not relocate and failed to provide those displaced with adequate compensation or access to employment or education.\textsuperscript{97}

In November, investment continued in the SEZ. On 12 November, at the 25\textsuperscript{th} ASEAN Summit in Naypyidaw, Japanese PM Shinzo Abe offered Burma a 227 billion kyat (US$223 million) loan, over half of which would go toward improving infrastructure in the Thilawa SEZ.\textsuperscript{98}

**Burma ranked an “extreme risk” for investment**

On 26 November, UK risk assessment firm Maplecroft released its Growth Opportunities Atlas 2015, which ranked Burma as an “extreme risk” location in terms of difficulties posed to foreign investors.\textsuperscript{99} Burma was the only country in Asia besides North Korea to receive this designation.\textsuperscript{100}

**OTHER BURMA NEWS IN NOVEMBER**

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>More than 100 residents in Rangoon’s North Okkalapa Township protest against a proportional representation electoral system.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A landmine explosion kills two civilians in Mongpan Township, Shan State.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>On the International Day to End Impunity for Crimes Against Journalists, around 100 journalists and activists, led by the Myanmar Network of Journalists, rally in downtown Rangoon to protest against media repression.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Regime Election Commission begins compiling voter lists for the 2015 general election.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Around 2,000 people in Myitkyina, Kachin State, attend a rally and prayer service to show their support for Kachin political prisoners Brang Yung and Laphai Gam.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Regime Information Ministry announces it will take legal action against 11 Myanmar Herald Journal staff members for the publication of a 9 August interview in which NLD member Myo Yan Naung Thein made defamatory comments about President Thein Sein.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>In Minsk, Belarus, Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko meets with Tatmadaw Commander-in-Chief Sr Gen Min Aung Hlaing.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>The Border Consortium releases a report, “Protection and Security Concerns in South East Burma/Myanmar,” asserting that the recent increase in military presence in southeast Burma is linked to resource extraction and economic development, and has impeded the return of IDPs to the region.</td>
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\textsuperscript{95} UNGA, 69\textsuperscript{th} Session, Third Committee, Situation of human rights in Myanmar, 31 October 2014, UN Doc. A/C.3/69/L.32

\textsuperscript{96} JICA (04 Nov 14) Investigation Report: Thilawa Special Economic Zone Development Project In the Republic of the Union of Myanmar; Irrawaddy (17 Nov 14) Residents Group Slams Report on Thilawa Evictees

\textsuperscript{97} PHR (13 Nov 14) A Foreseeable Disaster in Burma: Forced Displacement in the Thilawa Special Economic Zone

\textsuperscript{98} WSJ (12 Nov 14) Japan Aids Neighbors With ‘High-Quality Infrastructure’; DVB (13 Nov 14) Japan to lend Burma US$250 million; Xinhua (13 Nov 14) Japan offers Myanmar 250 mln USD loan for development projects

\textsuperscript{99} Maplecroft (26 Nov 14) Growth Opportunities Atlas 2015

\textsuperscript{100} Maplecroft (26 Nov 14) Growth Opportunities Atlas 2015; Irrawaddy (29 Nov 14) Irrawaddy Business Roundup
1. Fortify Rights issues a statement calling on the regime to end Tatmadaw attacks on civilians in Kachin and Shan States and to hold perpetrators accountable.


3. Thirty-one CSOs issue a statement criticizing the draft National Land Use Policy for the regime’s lack of public consultation on the policy and failure to take into account the interests of small-scale farmers and ethnic minorities.

4. In a meeting with Bangladesh’s Disaster Management and Relief Ministry, Bangladeshi PM Sheikh Hasina acknowledges that the conditions in Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh are “inhumane.”

5. In Naypyidaw, Slovak FM Miroslav Lajcak meets separately with President Thein Sein, regime FM Wunna Maung Lwin, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

6. Karen Rivers Watch releases its report “Afraid to Go Home: Recent Violent Conflict and Human Rights Abuses in Karen State,” which says that recent fighting between the Tatmadaw and the DKBA has led to the displacement of more than 2,000 villagers in Karen State.

7. In Rangoon’s Hlaing Tharyar Township, workers from the Packraft Myanmar backpack factory strike for salary increases.

8. Regime Human Rights Commission Vice-Chairman Sit Myaing announces that Burma will not submit a human rights report at the 25th ASEAN Summit.

9. On the sidelines of the Asia-Pacific Economic Forum in Beijing, China, President Thein Sein meets with Bangladeshi President Abdul Hamid, and says that it will be impossible for Burma to accept repatriated refugees from Bangladesh any time in the near future.

10. International Press Institute sends an open letter to regime Attorney General Tun Shin, urging him to ensure a speedy and transparent investigation into the death of freelance journalist Aung Kyaw Naing (aka Par Gi) and to release the five Unity Weekly media workers.

11. In a ceremony in Rangoon, the Mandalay Industrial Zone Park, demanding the immediate release of jailed farmers and proper compensation for confiscated land.

12. Eleven monks and 229 local residents of Mongkeung Township, Shan State, send a petition to the RCSS asking to close all coal-mining projects in the township.

13. Around 1,000 farmers in Ngazun Township, Mandalay Division, protest against the planned Mandalay Industrial Zone Park, demanding the immediate release of jailed farmers and proper compensation for confiscated land.

14. New York’s Department of Financial Services announces it will impose a US$315 million fine on Japan’s Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi for pressuring British auditor PricewaterhouseCoopers to delete warnings from a report to financial regulators about illicit conduct in Burma.

15. Qatar opens an embassy in Rangoon.

16. Over 2,000 residents of Hpakant, Kachin State, hold a protest demanding State government autonomy on decisions for resource extraction.

17. President Thein Sein appoints regime Deputy National Planning and Economic Development Minister San Lwin as regime Deputy President’s Office Minister.

18. In Naypyidaw, Tatmadaw Commander-in-Chief Sr Gen Min Aung Hlaing meets with the interim Myanmar Press Council to discuss recent attacks in Kachin State and persecution of journalists.

19. Federation of Trade Unions of Burma leads a protest of around 600 union members in Mandalay, calling for amendments to the 2012 Labor Dispute Settlement Law to include prison sentences as penalties for employer representatives who exploit workers.

20. In a ceremony in Rangoon, the Tatmadaw releases 80 child soldiers and returns them to their families.

21. In Bangkok, Thai junta PM Prayuth Chan-o-cha meets with National Assembly Speaker Khin Aung Myint and reaffirms his support for close cooperation between Thailand and Burma.

22. In Naypyidaw, Tatmadaw Commander-in-Chief Sr Gen Min Aung Hlaing meets with Thai Defense Forces Chief Gen Worapong Sanganetra to discuss military cooperation.

23. In Naypyidaw, Vice-President Nyan Tun meets with World Economic Forum Managing Director Philipp Rösler to discuss investment opportunities, economic development, and reform in Burma.

24. Women’s League of Burma releases a report, “If they had hope, they would speak,” which says the Tatmadaw’s use of sexual violence is so widespread in ethnic minority areas that abuses may constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity under international law.

25. EU ambassador to Burma Roland Kobia announces that the EU will give Burma 323 billion kyat (US$311 million) annually through 2016 to assist with economic development, health, human rights, the peace
process, the 2015 elections, rule of law issues, judicial and parliamentary reform, and census-taking.

26  In Rangoon’s Kyauktada Township, workers from the Ford Glory garment factory stage a protest against labor rights violations, worker discrimination, and firing of unionized workers.

27  Military MPs reject an NLD invitation to attend an informal dinner meeting in Naypyidaw.

27  Denmark opens an embassy in Rangoon.

27  The UK Parliament releases a report, “The FCO’s Human Rights Work in 2013,” which calls on the UK government to support the re-imposition of EU sanctions if within 12 months there is no improvement in the situation for Rohingya and if all political prisoners are not unconditionally released.

27  ICRC announces it will spend 31 billion kyat (US$30 million) in Burma in 2015, most of which will go toward upgrading medical equipment and increasing access to healthcare for IDPs in Arakan, Kachin, and Shan States.

REPORTS ON BURMA RELEASED IN NOVEMBER


“Monthly Chronology of Burma’s Political Prisoners for October 2014”, Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (AAPP) http://bit.ly/1xKBIu0


“Protection and Security Concerns in South-East Burma”, The Border Consortium (TBC) http://bit.ly/1tI5nSZ


“If they had hope, they would speak: The ongoing use of state-sponsored sexual violence in Burma’s ethnic communities”, Women’s League of Burma (WLB) http://bit.ly/1uYaY9P
