

ALTSEAN

BURMA

ALTERNATIVE ASEAN NETWORK ON BURMA
campaigns, advocacy & capacity-building for human rights & democracy

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ASEAN SHOULD STOP “PASSING THE BUCK” ON BURMA

- Instead of using China as an excuse for inaction, ASEAN members must exercise their substantial influence on Burma’s military leaders to secure the delivery of genuine political and economic reforms.
- ASEAN’s collective leverage on Burma’s junta, known as the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) stems from the SPDC’s reliance on:
 - Petrol and diesel supplies from Malaysia and Singapore to keep business running and military vehicles on the road.
 - Trade with ASEAN which accounts for 51.3% of its total foreign exchange revenue. Gas sales to Thailand, alone, accounts for 43%.
 - Thailand and Singapore as their biggest sources of new Foreign Direct Investment, constituting 98.61% in the past 2 years.
 - Singapore’s financial services that the SPDC and their cronies utilize to store and move their ill-gotten wealth away from Burma.
- In addition, Indonesia can take the lead for ASEAN in the UN Security Council, the body most feared and respected by the SPDC. Indonesia is set to chair the UNSC in November 2007.
- An ASEAN freeze - or even a slowdown on economic, material, and diplomatic support - will shepherd the regime to political dialogue and the achievement of genuine reforms. Actions should include a temporary freeze on all Burmese-held bank accounts and assets in Singapore as part of a money-laundering review.
- Such actions will be an incentive for other ASEAN partners, such as China, to actively cooperate with efforts to achieve a durable solution on Burma. “Passing the buck” to China undermines ASEAN’s credibility and standing.
- Despite sitting on immense natural resources, Burma’s military regime is in a vulnerable position. Oil and gas revenue from many long-term projects will not be forthcoming until their completion and actual delivery. Meanwhile, the regime faces financial shortages due to its own mismanagement and irresponsible spending priorities.
- The ASEAN *status quo* (unconditional economic engagement, statements without action) directly benefits the regime, and reduces any incentive for it to implement urgently-needed reforms. It emboldens the regime to further perpetrate economic mismanagement, crackdowns, and offensives that will affect regional stability.
- All ASEAN members, as well as India and China, are negatively affected by Burma’s economic instability, drug production, high numbers of refugees, and the transmittal of diseases across borders – all of which stem from the junta’s misrule and mismanagement.

While China, India, and Russia's influence on the SPDC has been acknowledged, ASEAN members have been shy of admitting the extent of their dealings with the regime. Individual ASEAN members are significant trade and investment partners with Burma. ASEAN engagement over the past ten years (and longer) has created a sizable cluster of financial services and commodities that the SPDC depends on – notably, Thai investment, Singaporean financial and health services, and Malaysian petroleum. While both sides appear to be reluctant to admit it – with ASEAN playing down their influence and the SPDC occasionally snubbing the grouping – ASEAN has the ability, and the imperative, to pressure the regime for change.

New Approved Foreign Direct Investment ¹		
Period	Source	US\$M
06/07 (Apr-Mar)	Singapore	47.5
	Russia	33.0
	UK	21.2
		101.7
05/06 (Apr-Mar)	Thailand	6,034.4
	India	30.6
	China	0.7
		6,065.7

Reflecting on ten years of ASEAN “engagement” with the SPDC, the only apparent positive impact has been to secure favorable investment and energy deals for ASEAN members. When Burma joined ASEAN, foreign direct investment (FDI) stood at US\$279.9 million. By 2005/6 it had reached \$6,065.7 million, an increase of 2,067%.³ However, this resulted in the increase of GDP by a paltry 75%.⁴

Trading Partners 2005/06 (by %) ²		
Exports	Thailand	48.4%
	India	12.6%
	China	5.2%
	Japan	5.1%
	Germany	2.6%
Imports	China	33.6%
	Thailand	21.2%
	Singapore	15.7%
	Malaysia	4.6%
	Sth Korea	4.1%

Meanwhile, conditions for Burma's people have worsened. The proportion of underweight and malnourished children in Burma has risen, going against trends in the rest of the region. 32% of children were underweight in 1990. In 2003, the number had worsened - 58% of children were underweight.⁵ In Eastern Burma, where the military has been attacking unarmed civilians, one in 5 children dies before his/her fifth birthday.⁶ Twenty-five thousand people currently face imminent starvation because the army has mined their rice fields in an unrelenting offensive, preventing them from planting rice for the past 2 years. The number may rise to 100,000 if the offensive continues.⁷

The SPDC's increased militarization of ethnic nationality areas has secured the areas for exploitation of local communities and natural resources. In 2007 alone, 76,000 people were displaced by SPDC troops in Eastern Burma.⁸

Burma's natural wealth

Despite political isolation and some sanctions, Burma's offshore natural gas fields have become a hotly contested commodity as neighbors seek stable, secure sources of cleaner fuel for their fast-growing economies. Burma has some of Asia's biggest reserves of natural gas, the world's 10th largest. There are at least 90 trillion cubic feet of gas reserves and 3.2 billion barrels of recoverable crude oil reserves.⁹ Compared to manufacturing and service sectors, which are hampered by inadequate infrastructure and corruption, industries such as oil, gas and mining are the most productive sectors in the country, attracting significant foreign direct investment. Current and anticipated profits from such mineral wealth continue to be a lifeline for the junta.

¹ EIU (Aug 06) Country Report: Burma

² EIU (Aug 06) Country Report: Burma

³ Economist Intelligence Unit (Aug 07) Country Report: Burma

⁴ According to World Bank & IMF figures, Burma's GDP in 1996 was US\$4.956 billion, in 2006 it was US\$8.69 billion

⁵ MDG Asia Pacific (2005) A future within Reach?

⁶ Backpack Health Worker Team (Sep 06) Chronic Emergency

⁷ Burma Issues (25 Jun 07) 25,000 face starvation

⁸ TBBC (Oct 07) 2007 Survey: Internal Displacement in Eastern Burma

⁹ Reuters (25 Sep 07) FACTBOX: What's behind Myanmar's painful oil and gas price rise?

Trade

Despite rising revenues from natural gas, Burma has to import nearly all its oil because its domestic refining sector has been crippled by 50 years of mismanagement. Electricity supply from the national grid is non-existent in most places, and at best limited to a few hours every day. Businesses and those who can afford it use generators, for which they have to buy imported diesel or CNG. **By far the largest consumer of oil imports however, is the SPDC military.**

Thailand	2.659 billion
China	1.274 billion
Singapore	1.217 billion
Hong Kong	424 million
Total	8 billion

In January-November of 2006, imports of petroleum products rose by 82.6% year on year.¹² This was driven up by global crude oil prices, but also state spending - the construction of the new capital at Naypyidaw and the Yadanabon Silicon Village cyber-city outside Maymyo, Mandalay Division.¹³

Official data for foreign trade grossly understates the true volume. A huge black market exists for nearly all commodities, in particular drugs, guns, gems and minerals, timber, and people.

Sanctions

Opposition groups have called on foreign investment to be suspended in favor of future, democratic, state-partners. Sanctions have been criticized by some for their impact on the general population. However, this overlooks the institutional characteristics of the Burmese economy.

Exports ¹¹	2005	2006 (Jan-Nov)
Gas	8,098	8,201
Teak & other hardwoods	2,776	2,496
Pulses	1,495	3,071
Garments	1,415	1,518
Fish & fish products	1,065	1,130
Metals & ores	698	665
Plywood & veneer	112	130
Rice	227	77
Maize	111	74
Rubber	201	72
Total Exports incl others	21,887	23,900
Imports		
Machinery & transp. equip.	1,616	2,305
Refined mineral oil	1,508	2,660
Textiles	1,071	1,131
Base metals & manufactures	1,125	1,011
Electrical machinery	621	575
Plastics	490	625
Total Imports incl others	11,067	13,305

The informal sector, which is largely village-based, focuses on subsistence agriculture and represents the majority of the population, has little connection to international trade.

In contrast, the formal sector, which is dominated by the SPDC and concentrated in highly lucrative sectors such as mining, petroleum, logging, manufacturing, finance and banking, is more reliant upon access to the international market. Claims over mass factory closures have been overstated, and deliberately ignore the closures that resulted from the banking crisis that occurred in early 2003. Consumer boycotts have also had some impact, with several companies withdrawing from Burma, or deciding not to invest in Burma, citing concerns of human rights abuses.

The US and the EU have both imposed economic sanctions when it became clear that diplomatic engagement was unable to ensure delivery of genuine reform. Both have strengthened these since the latest crackdowns. The strengthened EU sanctions identified seven British companies to halt trading: three timber companies, three jewelry retailers, and a mining finance company.¹⁴ Strengthened US sanctions name seven new companies and 11 individuals as key targets. Three of the companies have strong links to Singapore, including Air Bagan and Htoo Wood Products, owned by the notorious SPDC crony, Teza (aka Tayza).¹⁵

¹⁰ Xinhua (28 May 07) Myanmar trades with Asian countries most in 2006-07

¹¹ EIU (Aug 07) Country Report: Burma

¹² EIU (Aug 07) Country Report: Burma

¹³ Reuters (25 Sep 07) FACTBOX: What's behind Myanmar's painful oil and gas price rise?

¹⁴ UPI (18 Oct 07) Myanmar sanctions extend to British firms

¹⁵ AFP (20 Oct 07) Several firms on US Myanmar blacklist linked to Singapore

ASEAN has not only refused to consider sanctions, but some members have taken actions that counteract the efficacy of EU and US sanctions. In July 2007, Brunei lifted tariffs on 204 import products from Burma, including clothing and textiles, as part of its commitments under the ASEAN Free-Trade Agreement.¹⁶ The manufacturing sector is expected to experience a boost as a result.¹⁷ Financial and banking services, particularly in Singapore, allow high-level junta officials to get around sanctions by allowing them to manage their finances offshore.

Singapore

Those at the top of the SPDC rely on Singapore for personal health and financial services. Singapore has also provided training for more than 5,000 SPDC officials through the Singapore Cooperation Program (SCP).²¹ Singapore in particular has assisted the SPDC in undermining the impact of US and EU sanctions. When US sanctions began to harm the SPDC in 2003, the junta instructed state entities and private businesses to begin using euros for international transactions. The SWIFT Singapore office provided four Burmese banks with the expertise to set up new banking systems to make this possible.²² Singapore has strongly denied allegations that it allows banks to keep illicit funds on behalf of the generals, with Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong recently saying that the country does not take "dirty money" and does not condone money laundering.²³ However, Singapore has not clearly indicated how it has confirmed that large Burmese-held assets are not the ill-gotten gains of the junta and its cronies.

Singapore does well from its relationship with the regime. In 2005/6 Singapore's exports to Burma were US\$558.65 million, while its imports were \$264.25 million.²⁴ When Indonesia banned sand exports to Singapore in April 2007, they decided to import the sand (used for reclaiming land) from Burma instead.²⁵ Singapore is also significant investor in Burma. According to official SPDC statistics, Singapore has injected over US\$1.5 billion into Burma since 1988.²⁶

Singaporean Companies in Burma ¹⁸	
CNA Group	In 2005, CNA was awarded a contract for the expansion of Yangon International Airport. The CEO has commented, "We will continue to expand our presence in the region (Burma)."
DBS Group Holdings	One of the largest companies listed on the Singapore Exchange. Its international banking network includes a representative office in Burma.
Ginnacle Import-Export	Sells and markets of Burmese teak lumber, decking and furniture.
Golden Aaron	Part of a consortium which in 2005 and 2004 signed production sharing contracts with state-run Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE), to explore for oil and gas in Burma, both on and offshore. In January 2007 they signed a MOU with CNOOC, China Huanqiu Contracting and the SPDC to conduct natural gas exploration at three Arakan blocks as well as two in Sagaing Division and one in the Gulf of Martaban. ¹⁹
Interra Resources	Subsidiary Goldwater Oil was the first foreign oil company to extract oil in Burma. It is currently engaged in oil and gas exploration and production through a joint venture with Geopetrol called Goldpetrol.
Keppel Corporation	Property wing Keppel Land owns the Sedona Hotels in Rangoon and Mandalay.
Kuok Group (Kerry Logistics Group)	Goods transport logistics company that is facilitating the export of Burmese goods.
OCBC Bank	Singapore's longest established bank and one of Asia's leading financial services groups, whose representative offices include Burma.
Shangri-La Hotels	Operates the Traders hotel in Rangoon.
Silver Wave Sputnik Petroleum/Silver Wave Energy	Awarded an onshore oil prospecting contract in March 2007. Has links with links to the Russian Caspian Sea republic of Kalmykia.
UNOG	Trading company registered in Singapore, but with its main office in Burma. Has a production sharing contract for M-1 block. ²⁰
United Overseas Bank Group	Dominant player in the Asia-Pacific banking sector, whose global network includes Burma. Also, its subsidiary United Overseas Land Group operates the Park Royal Yangon hotel.

¹⁶ Xinhua (03 Jul 07) Brunei tariff exemption boosts Myanmar textile production

¹⁷ EIU (Aug 07) Country Report: Burma

¹⁸ Burma Campaign UK, "The Dirty List", http://www.burmacampaign.org.uk/dirty_list/dirty_list.php

¹⁹ Xinhua (16 January 2007) Myanmar oil, gas sector absorbs fresh foreign involvement in year-open of 2007

²⁰ AP (11 Mar 07) 2 little-known companies sign deal for Myanmar offshore oil, gas exploration

²¹ Xinhua (04 Apr 07) Myanmar leader meets Singapore FM

²² The Observer (18 Jan 04) Banks bust Burma trade ban

²³ AFP (20 Oct 07) Several firms on US Myanmar blacklist linked to Singapore

²⁴ Xinhua (04 Apr 07) Myanmar leader meets Singapore FM

²⁵ Mizzima News (08 June 07) Burma to sell 50,000 tonnes of sand to Singapore

²⁶ Xinhua (04 Apr 07) Myanmar leader meets Singapore FM

Malaysia

While future projects and deals with China, and potentially India, promise to provide the SPDC with massive income, at present the SPDC receives the bulk of its gas money from the onshore Yadana²⁸ and Yetagun gas fields. The Yetagun consortium, led by Malaysia's state-owned Petronas with a share of 56.7 percent, includes Japan's Nippon Oil as well as Thailand's PTTEP.²⁹ This project pipes 90% of Burma's current gas output to Thailand.³⁰ In March of 2007,

Rimbunan Petrogas and UNOG signed a deal for offshore oil and gas exploration of the M-1 block with MOGE.³¹ Rimbunan Petrogas is part of Malaysia's Rimbunan Hijau group, a major logging conglomerate.³²

Malaysian companies in Burma ²⁷	
Petronas	State-owned oil and gas company that has several extraction and exploration contracts with the regime.
Sapura Crest Petroleum Bhd	Involved in offshore oil and gas drilling in Burma.
Scansia Sdn Bhd	Manufactures for export garden furniture in a plant in Rangoon. All timber is purchased from the regime-owned company Myanmar Timber Enterprise (MTE). Scansia also gives 20 percent of the profits from their Burma operations to the regime.

Thailand

Thailand relies on the Burma for gas – 70 percent of Thailand's electricity is generated by gas, most of which is bought from Burma.³⁴ Gas sales to Thailand accounted for 43% of all Burma's overseas revenue in 2006/7, which doubled to US\$2.2 billion from \$1.1 billion in 2005/6.³⁵ Hydropower investment is also significant. Thailand continues to pursue further investment while the international community condemns both the recent violence, as well as earlier instances of human rights violations at sites of Thai investment:

- **6 March 2007:** Thailand's PTT Exploration and Production Pty Ltd (PTTEP) announced that two of its exploratory drills in M-9 had discovered gas flows of 14-30 million cubic feet of gas per day off the coast of Arakan State.³⁶
- **30 March:** Thailand's MDX Group Co Ltd began construction of the Tasang hydro-power dam on the Salween River in Eastern Shan State. The US\$6 billion project will generate 7,110 megawatts of electricity.³⁷

Thai Companies in Burma ³³	
Andaman Club	Luxury casino/hotel complex located on Thahtay Kyun Island. It was launched by Vikrom Isiri in 1995, who leases the land from the SPDC. Isiri went on to become a Thai senator and the complex provided the seed money for numerous other ventures, including Phuket Airlines.
Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT)	EGAT's Subsidiary EGAT Plc was formed to increase private sector involvement in electricity supply. In 2005, it signed a MoU for the construction of five hydro electric dams along the Salween River.
PTT Exploration and Production Company (PTTEP)	Largely state-owned PTTEP owns a 25.5 % stake in the Yadana gas field and a 19.3% stake in the Yetagun field, and is planning on expanding its operations in the country.
Sutech Engineering Co Ltd	Involved in the production and processing of sugar in conjunction with the state-run Myanmar Sugarcane Enterprise and Myanmar Economic Corporation (MEC). In late 2006 it agreed a further joint venture with the MEC for the construction of the country's largest sugar mill.

²⁷ Burma Campaign UK, "The Dirty List", http://www.burmacampaign.org.uk/dirty_list/dirty_list.php

²⁸ The Yadana consortium is led by Total of France and includes UNOCAL (now Chevron) of the United States and Thailand's state-controlled PTT Exploration and Production Co Ltd (PTTEP).

²⁹ Xinhua (13 Dec 06) Myanmar oil, gas sector attracts more foreign involvement in 2006

³⁰ AP (29 Sep 07) Firms seek access to Burma oil fields despite bloody crackdown - Thomas Hogue

³¹ All companies investing in Burma's oil and gas sectors must sign contracts with the state-owned Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE) and their subsidiaries. This has maximized personal returns for junta members and their cronies have maximized their personal returns from the projects.

³² AP (11 Mar 07) 2 little-known companies sign deal for Myanmar offshore oil, gas exploration

³³ Burma Campaign UK, "The Dirty List", http://www.burmacampaign.org.uk/dirty_list/dirty_list.php

³⁴ Irrawaddy (23 Mar 07) Thailand Plans to Reduce Energy Dependence on Gas

³⁵ EIU (Aug 07) Country Report: Burma

³⁶ BP (06 Mar 07) PTTEP announces new gas finds in Burma

³⁷ AFP (05 Apr 07) Myanmar, Thailand begin work on controversial dam

- **3 April:** PTTEP announced it had made a significant natural gas discovery, the largest of four discoveries made in M-9 in the Gulf of Martaban, since the start of 2007.³⁸
- **14 September:** SPDC energy ministry sources reported that Thailand and the SPDC were negotiating for the construction of a gas pipeline to Thailand from Mottama M-9 block. The development project is expected to require US\$1 billion investment.³⁹

Thailand also provides significant loans to the SPDC. Thailand has promised US\$2 million to upgrade part of the road to the Tavoy port in Tenasserim Division in order to facilitate shipments to the Andaman Sea. It has also promised US\$30 million to upgrade the Thahton-Tak province road. Border towns such as Tachilek and Myawaddy are supplied with electricity from Thailand. People living in border areas also rely on Thailand for telephone coverage. On 23 November 2006, then SPDC Prime Minister Soe Win asked newly installed Thai PM Surayud Chulanont to extend their repayment of a four billion baht (US\$109.6 million) loan by one year. Interest on the loan was expected to reach two billion baht in 2006.⁴⁰

Thailand is currently Burma's top trading partner, with official bilateral trade of US\$2.659 billion, and the largest exporting country, worth \$2.409 billion to the SPDC in 2006/7.⁴¹ This is estimated to represent 43% of Burma's overseas revenue.⁴² This does not include all border trade – official figures give border trade at 9.33% of bilateral trade with Thailand while others suggest 70% would be more accurate.⁴³ Thailand and Burma have both recognized the value of border trade, and Thailand has invested heavily. Plans are underway for a series of special economic zones down the length of their 1,639 km of their common border.

Indonesia

Indonesia, ASEAN's largest member, is currently a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. In January 2007, Indonesia abstained from voting on a UNSC resolution in Burma co-sponsored by the USA and United Kingdom, ostensibly out of concern it could pre-empt the proceedings of an ASEAN Summit scheduled to take place soon after.

Indonesian ambassador to the UN Rezlan Ishar Jenie expressed frustration over Burma's military regime's promise to implement its 'roadmap to democracy' and said that the process had been too slow with no significant progress.⁴⁴ He also said that Burma must respond to the imperative of restoring democracy and respect for human rights as a matter of principle.⁴⁵

The UNSC resolution failed due to a joint veto by Russia and China. Until then, the SPDC had been extremely fearful and concerned that it had been included on the UNSC's agenda. The double-veto, along with Indonesia's abstention, served as a "carte blanche" for impunity, a possible contributing factor to the killing of monks and peaceful protestors in September's bloody crackdown.

Indonesia is now in a position to redeem itself, and ASEAN, by using the opportunities and influence accorded by its presidency of the UN Security Council in November to push for a non-punitive resolution on Burma. An Indonesian-sponsored initiative is less likely to be blocked by China and Russia, who are already facing mounting criticism.

³⁸ Bangkok Post (04 April 07) PTTEP gets 'high flow' of Burma gas

³⁹ Xinhua (14 Sep 07) Myanmar-Thailand negotiating joint venture gas pipeline

⁴⁰ Irrawaddy (24 Nov 06) Burma Asks Thailand for More Time to Repay Loan

⁴¹ Xinhua (28 May 07) Myanmar trades with Asian countries most in 2006-07

⁴² EIU (Aug 07) Country Report: Burma

⁴³ GMS Journal (2005) Vol 2: Myanmar's Cross-Border Economic Relations and Cooperation with the People's Republic of China and Thailand in the Greater Mekong Subregion Mya Than, Xinhua (28 May 07) Myanmar trades with Asian countries most in 2006-07

⁴⁴ Xinhua (11 Jan 07) Indonesia rejects U.S. draft on Myanmar

⁴⁵ Houston Chronicle (13 Jan 07) China, Russia veto Myanmar resolution

GUNS'N'GAS: China, India and Russia

China will, as always, support ASEAN to play a leading role in addressing the issue of Myanmar.

Wang Guangya, UN China representative⁴⁶

Our basic principle is to live in peaceful co-existence and we do not believe in exporting ideologies. It is for the people of the country to decide what type of government they would like to have.

Indian Defense Minister Pranab Mukherjee⁴⁷

While the ASEAN are currently the main suppliers of financial capital to the regime, the main suppliers of military and political backing to the regime have been China, India and Russia. The SPDC Army has undergone massive expansion since 1988. Its numbers have gone from around 180,000 to 400,000, the second largest in Southeast Asia.⁴⁸

Since its admission to the ASEAN in 1997, expansion has focused less on physical numbers (new recruitment has been offset by desertions)⁴⁹ than hardware acquisitions and upgrades. These acquisitions have been made possible through China, India, and Russia's hunger for Burma's natural resources. In exchange for favorable consideration of natural resource exploration and procurement deals, these three have provided military aid and shielded the SPDC from international condemnation and censure. On 15 January - three days after China's veto of the UNSC resolution on Burma - the SPDC awarded oil and gas exploration rights to the China National Petroleum Corporation at blocks AD-1, AD-6 and AD-8 – an area covering 10,000 square km off the coast of Arakan State.⁵⁰ Russia also vetoed the UNSC resolution, and in mid-March, the SPDC announced the MOGE had signed a production and exploration contract with Russia's Silver Wave Sputnik Petroleum at B-2 onshore block in Ziphuytaung-Nandaw, Northwestern Burma.⁵¹

China alone provides 90 percent of the regime's military hardware. China's total military aid to the SPDC since the junta came to power in 1989 is estimated at US\$1.6 billion. China has provided Burma with nearly 200 battle tanks of various types. After China, Russia is said to be the second biggest supplier of arms to Burma.⁵² Russia's biggest arms trader, Rosoboronexport opened an office in Burma towards the end of 2005. Russia reportedly agreed to supply a wide range of arms including air defense systems and MiG- 29 fighters to Burma in exchange for access to the rich oil and gas resources.⁵³ In addition, Russia's Zarubezhneft oil company inked a memorandum of understanding with the SPDC Energy Ministry.⁵⁴ Other military hardware bought from Moscow includes training planes and assault helicopters in addition to radar and communication equipment. It is believed that the junta is also negotiating for medium to long-range air-to-surface missiles. The SPDC has procured 80 75mm howitzers and various types of anti-aircraft weapons, including shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles and rocket launchers from India. The regime is also seeking naval expertise from India. In November 2006, India offered the junta a multi-million dollar military assistance package that would include light helicopters, avionics upgrades for the regime's fighter jets, and naval surveillance aircraft.⁵⁵

ASEAN Can Make a Difference NOW

Confident that ASEAN would not go beyond statements, and that China and India will continue to support their rule, the SPDC has been emboldened to act with impunity and contempt. It is time for ASEAN to empower itself and take leadership to help solve this problem. ASEAN must now use its leverage on the regime, along with its relationship with other partners, to ensure that the SPDC delivers genuine reforms that will benefit the people of Burma and the region.

⁴⁶ AP (23 May 07) China says Aung San Suu Kyi's detention an internal matter for Myanmar

⁴⁷ AFP (3 Jun 06) New Delhi will not meddle with Myanmar: Indian defence minister

⁴⁸ Selth, Andrew (2002) Burma's Armed Forces

⁴⁹ See Jane's Defence Weekly (04 Apr 07) Myanmar army document spotlights low morale

⁵⁰ Xinhua (15 Jan 07) CNPC to Explore Oil, Gas in Three Myanmar Offshore Areas

⁵¹ AP (18 Mar 07) Singaporean companies sign oil exploration deal with Myanmar

⁵² DVB (30 Mar 06) From Russia with love: Burma junta's No.2 invited to Russia

⁵³ PTI (04 Apr 06) Russia to supply wide range of arms to Myanmar

⁵⁴ AP (04 Apr 06) Russia to Work Closer With Myanmar

⁵⁵ Australian (23 Jan 07) India to snub US on Burma arms embargo; Mizzima News (13 May 07) India supplies more BN2 aircrafts to Burma, IANS (12 May 07) India sells maritime aircraft to Myanmar