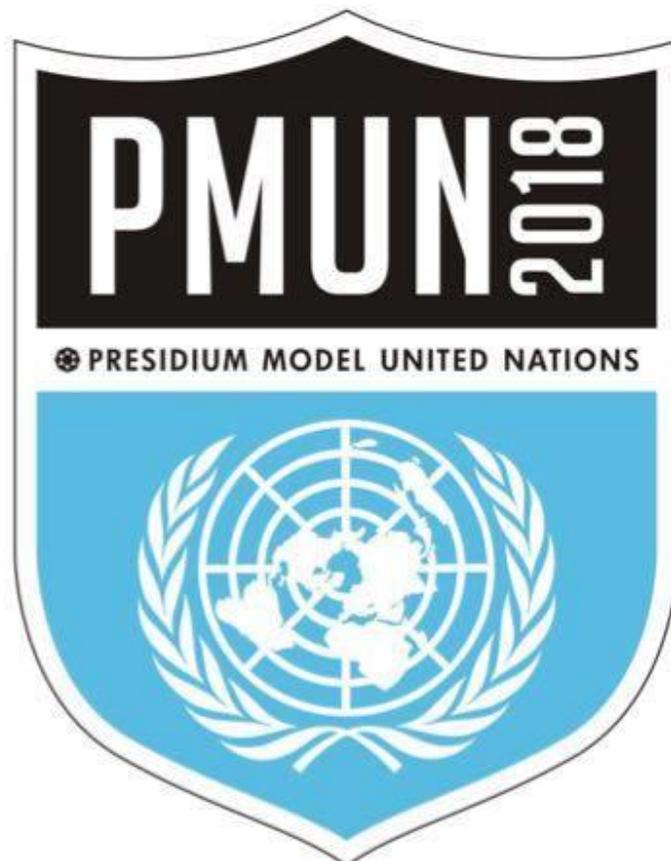


PRESIDIUM MODEL UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE 2018

“The Situation of Human Rights in Myanmar”



**PRESIDIUM *for*
YOUTH EMPOWERMENT**

UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL (UNHRC)

TOPIC STUDY GUIDE PREPARED FOR PMUN 2018

PRESIDIUM MODEL UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE 2018

“The Situation of Human Rights in Myanmar”

Message from the Executive Board

Greetings Delegates,

We welcome you to the United Nations Human Rights Council simulation at Presidium MUN 2018, with our agenda set as **‘The Situation of Human Rights in Myanmar’**.

A council is defined by its delegates more than by its executive board. You must, therefore, be prepared to participate for a truly rewarding experience. Apart from research on the agenda, delegates should be aware of their country’s historical background and its current situation in global politics and international relations. Delegates should come into the committee with a clear foreign policy as the representatives of the governments of their countries.

We are unaware of your individual credentials/experience with Model United Nations, however, no matter what that may amount to, it is a given that there can be no productive simulation in the absence of substantial research. There are multiple approaches to preparing for a simulation such as this and we shall not dictate to you which of these you must adopt, that is upon you to decide, however, we can assert with confidence that the commonality among all these approaches is that research constitutes their first step.

So once the research process is initiated it needs to be coupled with proactive attempts to understand the information so gathered. Application of the information acquired through research always requires understanding. There is no particular point at which research concludes and analysis thereof begins, these are two intermittent processes which may continue till the last minute of the simulation. Besides research, both on the agenda and the mandate of the committee the participants are required have a firm grasp on diplomatic conduct. Diplomatic conduct can be general and country-specific, what constitutes general diplomatic conduct (which includes language, gestures and any other kind of expression) can be gauged from the definition of the term diplomacy. There is no precise definition of the term but an appraisal of various definitions shall help formulate a reasonably accurate notion thereof.

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Country-specific diplomatic conduct can be determined by a study of past actions of your country (country allotted which a participant is called the delegate of) in the international fora. Speeches, statements, voting records, instances of walk-outs, boycotting of meetings et cetera can contribute to building an understanding of the same, apart from these sources, video recordings of these sessions and meetings can greatly help this understanding. It is expected of all participants to conduct themselves impeccably, the concept of MUN's wasn't created simply to get to students to talk about things diplomats would usually talk about, but to also hone their conduct, their reasoning, logic, negotiation and lobbying skills, all of which can collectively be referred to as 'soft skills'. Diplomatic conduct harmoniously links speech and body language, it is the bridge between verbal and non-verbal communication thereby making it an important criterion for us to assess your performance and effectiveness on.

Manipulation of procedure in the committee to gain extra floor time or to stall the statement/comment/speech of another delegate or to cause disruption thereof shall not be tolerated. In order to ensure that the procedure is not misused, it is necessary for delegates to be aware of the procedure of the UNSC. The same shall be briefly explained subsequently in this document.

Having stated the above, it is now prudent to explain the purpose and nature of the background guide summarily. The background guide is a preliminary research brief pertaining to the committee and the agenda. It is NOT meant to provide participants with exhaustive information. The primary purpose of a background guide is to ensure that all participants are at a level playing field, thus it ensures that every participant possesses a modicum of information from which further information can be drawn. It serves as a base upon which research is built. Nothing in the background guide has any evidentiary value, it can never be used as conclusive proof in the committee. It is necessary for delegates to dig deeper from where the background guide leaves them.

Research may commence well before the background guide is released, delegates are free to read up on the agenda which has been made public and formulate a structure of research. It is not important for your structure to match the one that the background guide presents as long as you have a solid understanding of what you are going to be discussing in the committee.

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That being said, we wish you the best of preparations and hope that this simulation shall mutually benefit all those involved in it. We hope we can learn from you and impart our knowledge to you in the process. For any doubts that you may have, you may contact any member of the executive board. The email addresses of your executive board members have been provided at the end of this document.

We wish you all the best and hope for an action packed conference!

Regards

The Executive board

UNHRC

Remarks about this Guide

Given the nature and complexity of the agenda, it is impossible to deliver an authoritative document on the subject. There is substantial academic and legal debate upon what the community of States can do in order to assist the people/peoples of a country in their hour of need. Similarly, there are differing opinions on what qualifies as an internal matter of a country and what qualifies as a matter of international concern. Multiple theories and tests are employed by various scholars in this regard. Even if there is unanimity on the opinion that the matter is of international concern, different countries may respond in different ways. By and large, your job as representatives of your respective nations is to choose the approach best suited to your foreign policy.

The substance of this guide is therefore intended only to help you in developing basic background, context, vocabulary and familiarity with the subject area of substantive discussion in this simulation. Most of the information disseminated in this guide is freely available on the internet with a simple web search. Therefore, please use this guide only as a basic refresher and not as a substitute for actual research and policy parsing, understanding and construction.

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Remarks about Procedure

Parliamentary procedure lays the foundation on which negotiation can take place and solutions can be deliberated. Without the benefit of civility that procedure affords, it would be impossible to steer a simulation of a body such as the HRC. However, it is also true that a pedantic and tunnel-lensed view of procedure often hinders debate instead of facilitating it. It is these facts that form the basis of the Executive Board’s view about procedure – procedure shall be enforced to the degree that it is conducive to debate. We shall not enforce procedure for the sake of procedure and procedure will be recognized for what it is – a means to an end and not an end in itself.

One additional remark about procedure is in order – procedural entities are not vehicles of debate and the Executive Board will strongly penalise the usage of procedure to make substantive points (like using a Point of Order to make substantive arguments)

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An advised pattern of research is the following:

1. Understanding of the UN and the Committee – Mandate, etc.
2. Research on the allotted country, especially with respect to the agenda, past policies or actions taken
3. Understanding the Foreign Policy of the allotted country by studying past actions, their causes and consequences
4. Reading the Study Guide
5. Researching further upon the Agenda using the footnotes and links given in the guide
6. Prepare topics for moderated caucuses and their content
7. Assemble proof/evidence for any important piece of information/allegation you are going to use in committee

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PROOF/EVIDENCE IN COUNCIL

Evidence or proof is from the following sources will be accepted as credible in the committee:

1. News Sources

- a. **REUTERS** – Any Reuters’ article which clearly makes mention of the fact stated or is in contradiction of the fact being stated by another delegate in council can be used to substantiate arguments in the committee. (<http://www.reuters.com/>)
- b. **State operated News Agencies** – These reports can be used in the support of or against the State that owns the News Agency. These reports, if credible or substantial enough, can be used in support of or against any country as such but in that situation, they can be denied by any other country in the council. Some examples are
 - i. RIA Novosti (Russia) <http://en.rian.ru/>
 - ii. IRNA (Iran) <http://www.irna.ir/ENIndex.htm>
 - iii. Xinhua News Agency and CCTV (P.R. China) <http://cctvnews.cntv.cn/>

2. **Government Reports:** These reports can be used in a similar way as the State Operated News Agencies reports and can, in all circumstances, be denied by another country. However, a nuance is that a report that is being denied by a certain country *can still be accepted by the Executive Board as credible information*. Some examples are,

- a. **Government Websites** like the State Department of the United States of America <http://www.state.gov/index.htm> or the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation <http://www.eng.mil.ru/en/index.htm>
 - i. **Ministry of Foreign Affairs** of various nations like India (<http://www.mea.gov.in/>) or People’s Republic of China (<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/>).

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- ii. **Permanent Representatives** to the United Nations Reports
<http://www.un.org/en/members/> (Click on any country to get the website of the Office of its Permanent Representative.)
 - iii. **Multilateral Organizations** like the NATO
(<http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/index.htm>), ASEAN
(<http://www.aseansec.org/>), OPEC (http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/),
etc.
3. **UN Reports:** All UN Reports are considered are credible information or evidence for the Executive Board of the UNGA – 1 (DISEC).
- a. **UN Bodies** like the UNSC (<http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/>) or UNGA
(<http://www.un.org/en/ga/>).
 - b. **UN Affiliated bodies** like the International Atomic Energy Agency
(<http://www.iaea.org/>), World Bank (<http://www.worldbank.org/>), International Monetary Fund (<http://www.imf.org/external/index.htm>), International Committee of the Red Cross (<http://www.icrc.org/eng/index.jsp>), etc.
 - c. **Treaty Based Bodies** like the Antarctic Treaty System
(<http://www.ats.aq/e/ats.htm>), the International Criminal Court (<http://www.icc-cpi.int/Menus/ICC>)

Under no circumstances will sources like Wikipedia (<http://www.wikipedia.org/>), Amnesty International (<http://www.amnesty.org/>), Human Rights Watch (<http://www.hrw.org/>) or newspapers like the Guardian (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/>), Times of India (<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/>), etc. be accepted as PROOF/EVIDENCE. But they can be used for better understanding of any issue or even be brought up in debate if the information given in such sources is in line with the beliefs of a Government.

NOTE - Notwithstanding anything listed above as a source of proof/evidence, it is important to understand that the HRC is not an adjudicatory body. It is not within the mandate of the HRC to approve or negate the credibility of anything that a sovereign nation State may assert as a fact.

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What a nation believes to be a fact is intrinsically linked to its foreign policy, an example thereof can be found in the contradictory narratives pertaining to Syria presented by the Western and Eastern blocs within the United Nations. These narratives are presented as being grounded in fact by both the blocs and it is not the job of the executive board to lend credence to, or discredit anything said by nations in furtherance of such narratives.

Within the Model UN framework, presenting sources to bolster any claims made by delegates is considered necessary in order to keep the debate from drifting towards fiction. Discussions in such simulations have to be insulated from the imagination of role playing participants. There is room for innovation and creativity, only in so far as it pertains to solutions and diplomatic manoeuvres. Innovation and creativity which leads to an imagination based departure from actual occurrences or from the positions maintained by countries on various issues shall not be encouraged and delegates shall be negatively assessed in light of statements to that effect. To keep such flights of imagination under check this document provides a comprehensive list of sources wherefrom information may be gathered. It is not compulsory that information be gathered only from these sources but it is definitely advisable that delegates use these sources to build their research to the maximum degree possible.

ABOUT THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL

The Human Rights Council (HRC) is an inter-governmental body within the United Nations system responsible for strengthening the promotion and protection of human rights around the globe and for addressing situations of human rights violations and make recommendations on them. It has the ability to discuss all human rights issues and situations that require its attention. The Council is made up of 47 United Nation Member States which are elected by the UN General Assembly.

The main responsibilities of the HRC are:

- To promote universal respect for the protection of all human rights;

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- To address abuses of human rights, including significant and organized;
- To promote human rights education and learning, advisory services, technical assistance, and capacity building—that is, to help a country gain an understanding of its responsibilities on the issue of human rights, specifically children;
- To serve as a forum for dialogue on all human rights
- To take on a universal periodic review of every UN member state's fulfillment of its human rights obligations and commitments; and
- To contribute, through dialogue and cooperation, toward the stoppage of human rights violations and respond quickly to human rights emergencies.¹

ABOUT THE AGENDA

The Myanmar crisis, which is the turmoil taking place in Rakhine state and the alleged atrocities against Muslim populations residing in the region, alongside the outburst of a serious refugee crisis, has reached the spotlight of the international being in the last semester of 2017. Peace, stability and fundamental human rights in the area have been at stake since the independence of Myanmar (Burma at the time) by the British colony power, back in 1948. In the meantime, Myanmar has experienced rounds of violence and conflict in domestic level and high political tension, including military coups.

Nevertheless, the issue of the “Rohingya” people has not yet been resolved, neither the situation has been ameliorated. On the contrary, Rohingyas, namely Muslim people living in Rakhine state, have been subject to oppression and marginalization policies from the very beginning of the independent Burmese state, now named “Myanmar”, which is its official and UN-accepted name. Actually, as already mentioned, Myanmar crisis could be also defined as “Rohingya crisis”, or “Rakhine crisis”, meaning that, at the time being, the focus of the international community is

¹ <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/HRCIndex.aspx>

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mostly put on the situation regarding the conflict taking place in Rakhine state, the situation regarding Rohingyas and in general civilians in the area, the deprivation of their fundamental rights and the forced displacement of many people either within the territory of Myanmar or to other states, mainly Bangladesh.

EARLY HISTORY

Burma, similar to its neighboring Asian nations, went through a series of different dynastic reigns over the course of history. The land was divided into different regions and run autonomously, up until 1599, when the Taungoo Dynasty unified the majority of the nation and reinstated central authority. Decline and uprisings led to the fall of this dynasty and the rise of the Konbaung in 1752.²

This militant rule was able to gain the territory to the west, Manipur, and created the second largest Burmese empire in history. Qing China launched a series of invasions in 1765-69, simultaneously, the Siamese Ayutthaya Kingdom was gaining territory in the southeastern region of the kingdom.³

British rebellions in Manipur and Assam in the 1820s instigated a full on war in 1824–26 (First Anglo-Burmese War). A British victory annexed Arakan, Manipur, and Assam to Britain and Burma paid 1 million pounds (5 million USD) to Britain. During the Second Anglo-Burmese War, in 1852, Britain easily seized the southern Pegu province. The British took the remainder of Burma in the Third Anglo-Burmese War in 1885. Britain launched many of these acquisitions motivated by the fear of the Burmese working with French Indochina. The British feared that if France continued to gain land and influence in the region, it could endanger their hold on India, which was a vital part of the British Empire. Pictured above: Burma, Taungoo dynasty c. 1650

² Political and Economic History of Burma.” San Jose State University.
<http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/burma2.htm#BURMANS>

³ Changing Nature of Conflict between Burma and Siam.” Asia Research Institute.
https://web.archive.org/web/20150702013935/http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/docs/wps/wps06_064.pdf

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- **Colonization of Burma**

Britain made Burma a province of India in 1886. One of the largest cultural shifts that happened was the dissolution of the monarchy and creating a secular government. Guerrilla attacks from the Burmese against the British continued for many years after the war officially ended. After the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, the British demanded more rice to be produced in order to meet the increased demand around the world. In order to increase cultivation, the Burmese had to borrow from Indian creditors, but after being unable to repay the money, many were forced to foreclose their farm and sell their livestock. Jobs and land then went to the British colonist and Indian indentured laborers, so even as the economy rose, the actual Burmese were not receiving any of that money.⁴

Under British supervision, the Burmese were allowed to form the Young Men’s Buddhist Association, a religious organization formed in the model of the YMCA. From this, the General Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA) was formed as well. One of the advantages the British Burmese had was that some were able to study at universities in London. These students brought progressive constitutional reform in the 1920s. Burma gained a legislature, increased self-governance, and established a university. While these changes were positive, reformers believed that they were not happening fast enough. University protests broke out across the nation, rebelling against the British. After continued student strikes, in 1937 India and Burma were separated. They were granted a constitution and an assembly, but again, the protests were not quelled.⁵

A number of different political parties and political movements sprang up between 1939 and 1942 in response to the hot political atmosphere during World War II. Aung San founded the Communist Party of Burma (CPB), the People’s Revolutionary Party (later renamed the Socialist Party), and the Burmese Independence Army (BIA). In 1942, Japan invaded Burma and established the State

⁴ “History of Burma.” Canadian Friends of Burma. <http://www.cfob.org/HistoryofBurma/historyOfBurma.shtml>

⁵ “Burmese Wars.” British Empire.Co. <http://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/burma.htm>

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of Burma, while still maintaining occupation. Japan reorganized the chaotic BIA, and named the new organization the Burma Defence Army (BDA), with Aung San heading the BDA.⁶

The British Governor, Sir Reginald Dorman Smith returned to Burma to establish stability and a British rule, once more delaying talks of independence.⁶ Aung San was able to negotiate with the British, finally granting Burmese independence in January 1947. Aung San gathered leaders of ethnic minorities during the Panglong Conference in February 1947, dubbing this day Union Day.⁷

- **Free Myanmar**

As the new nation was trying to stabilize and constitutions were being drafted, Aung San and his cabinet were assassinated on July 19, 1947. Thanin Nu formed a new cabinet to preside over the newly independent country in January 4, 1948. In the chaotic years following, a series of communist insurgencies prevented Burma from finding stability. The country initially accepted foreign aid, but after the United States continued support of the Chinese Nationalists, Burma rejected all aid. While the political atmosphere in Burma was continuing to become more and more dangerous and unstable, Army General Ne Win coup d’etat took over the government on March 2, 1962. 153 communist sympathizers were arrested and deported.⁸

Ne Win’s Socialist regime drained the country economically. This caused an uprising in August 1988 that began with the people of Rangoon, then spread to citizens all throughout the nation. The military killed thousands of protesters, quelling the uprising in September 1988. Due to international pressure after these significant protests, Myanmar (renamed after the uprisings,) held their first elections in 1990. Aung San Suu Kyi’s organization, the National League for Democracy

⁶ “British Rule of Burma.” Facts and Details. http://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Myanmar/sub5_5a/entry-3007.html

⁷ “Burma/Myanmar: Its Conflicts, Western Advocacy, and Country Impact.” Tufts University. <https://sites.tufts.edu/reinventingpeace/2013/03/25/burmamyanmar-its-conflicts-western-advocacy-and-country-impact/>

⁸ “Independence & General Aung San.” Oxford Burma Alliance. <http://www.oxfordburmaalliance.org/independence--general-aung-san.html>.

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ran and won 80 percent of the seats in Parliament.⁹ The military; however, decided that they didn't want to give up that much power yet and invalidated the election. Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest, and she remained there until 2010.

The military regime remained in power, and in 2003, the Myanmar Banking Crisis occurred. In this crisis dozens of private banks collapsed due to over-loaning without proper capital to back it up.¹⁰ In August 2007, with the increase in fuel prices, the economy plummeted even more, with a 30% inflation rate. Following this down turn, the Saffron Revolution rose against the regime, but was again viciously crushed, with 138 deaths.¹¹ However, the revolution was a catalyst for the creation of a constitution, allowing civilians to be able to vote for parliament seats once again. The government reserved 25 percent of the seat for members of the military, and the constitution itself was not open for the public to read and discuss, and if an individual opposed the constitution they could face up to 3 years in jail.¹²

BACKGROUND

In 1988 the military took control of the government of Myanmar. The military was a junta, which controls people by using force. The United Nations responded to this takeover by putting sanctions on the military. After many years, these sanctions forced Myanmar to make many changes. These changes included the release of one of the world's and country's most important peace activist, Aung San Suu-Kyi in 2010 and democratic elections in 2010 and 2012. Aung San Suu-Kyi is the pro-democracy leader of the country and Nobel Prize winner. The hope was that these changes would result in even more democratic reforms throughout the country and the end of Myanmar abusing the human rights of the people within the country. However, the human right abuses have

⁹ “Myanmar Timeline.” BBC News. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-12992883>

¹⁰ “Burma's Private Banking Crisis.” The Irrawaddy. http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=7687.

¹¹ “The Saffron Revolution” The Economist. <http://www.economist.com/node/9867036>

¹² “Independence & General Aung San.” Oxford Burma Alliance. <http://www.oxfordburmaalliance.org/independence--general-aung-san.html>.

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continued because the Myanmar government’s treatment of one of minority groups in Myanmar, the Rohingya. The Myanmar government does not recognize the Rohingya people as citizens of the country. They are forced to work in labor camps and denied their basic human rights.

Because of this increase in human right abuses against the Rohingya, there is concern in the United Nations that Myanmar will stop with democratic reforms and go back to the country that was once called the worst abuser of human rights. In the past, Myanmar was highly criticized for its use of child soldiers. Children, as young as 10 years old, are forced to serve in the Myanmar military, known as the Tatmadaw. The military will go to busy places in Myanmar and kidnap children who will likely never see their families again. In some cases, the family will sell their child to military recruiters for less than \$50 because they are so poor. The United Nations has worked extremely hard to end the use of child soldiers in Myanmar. After five years of negotiations, the Myanmar government signed an agreement with the United Nations in 2012 to end the use of child soldiers.

The UN gave the Myanmar government 18 months to take the steps needed to stop using children in the military. While the Myanmar government has released many children from its military, the United Nations says that children continue to be illegally recruited from poor families. Myanmar has made great progress towards democratic and human right reforms since the democratic elections of 2010. In 2013, a United Nations General Assembly resolution welcomed the progress made in Myanmar and encouraged it to take further steps to protect the human rights of its people. Unfortunately, in 2014 the Myanmar government has not taken the recommendations of the General Assembly seriously. Many journalists and human right defenders have been jailed many times by the Myanmar government. This has caused the United Nations to question if Myanmar is serious about protecting people’s human rights and freedom.

WHO ARE THE ROHINGYAS?

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The Rohingyas primarily represent the small muslim minority of Myanmar (Burma)- a little under 4 percent of the total population of muslims- in the western part of the country regarded as the Rakhine State.¹³ However, these people were not exempt from the increasingly prominent cultural and racial criteria identifying one’s identity during the nineteenth and twentieth century. The exact origins of the Rohingyas as an ethnic representative group residing in the Rakhine State, remains a statement of disagreement¹⁴ and consequently, this disagreement gave rise to the ongoing battle quest for identity and recognition of the Rohingya people in and around the Rakhine State and larger areas or Myanmar.

The plight of the Rohingya is perhaps the least addressed regional refugee crisis today despite the fact that they remain the most persecuted minority in the world. The international community has portrayed this form of communal conflict as “merely in terms of violations of human rights, so-called Rakhine racism and xenophobia, Muslim victimhood and dysfunctional state organs.”¹⁵ The Rohingya people regard themselves as indigenous to the Rakhine State yet the Burmese government regarded them as having migrated from the bordering eastern muslim state of present day Bangladesh;¹⁶ yet due to lack of confirmation of such a claim by the present day Bangladesh community and government, the Rohingyas are “considered stateless entities” within their the Rakhine state.¹⁷

¹³ "Muslims and Rohingya - Minority Rights Group", Minority Rights Group, n.d., online, Internet, 28 Oct. 2016. , Available: <http://minorityrights.org/minorities/muslims-and-rohingya/>.

¹⁴ "The Rohingyas Refugee Crisis: A Regional and International Issue?", Middle East Institute, n.d., online, Internet, 29 Oct. 2016., Available: <http://www.mei.edu/content/map/rohingyas-refugee-crisisregional-and-international-issue>.

¹⁵ Jacques P Leider, "Rohingya: The name. The movement. The quest for identity.", *Nation Building in Myanmar* (2014): 204-255, online, Internet, 29 Oct. 2016.

¹⁶ Leider (2014).

¹⁷ "Myanmar’s shame", *The Economist*, 2015, online, Internet, 29 Oct. 2016. , Available: <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21651877-poverty-politics-and-despair-are-forcingthousands-rohingyas-flee-myanmar-authorities>.

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To understand better, kindly watch the following videos:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oUeK05dFFVM&t=35s>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q89BxDBBNSY>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1f91jmq20_8

CURRENT SITUATION

- **STATELESSNESS**

In order to better grasp the problem that the Rohingya face and to depict the situation in Myanmar, the statelessness status needs to be shortly explained and examined. Statelessness plays an important role in their mistreatment and the continuous violation of their rights.

The essence of being stateless lies on the fact that a person does not belong to any state. While statelessness directly violates the right to nationality, it indirectly jeopardises many other rights that derive from it. By the international law, the definition of a de jure stateless is someone “who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law.” On the other hand, a de facto stateless person, is one that is unable to prove his/her nationality.¹⁸

According to the Declaration of Human rights “everyone has the right to nationality”. Not respecting that parameter, people that are deemed stateless, lack the right to have claims against a state. They remain on the margins of a state, people with nowhere to turn. As a result, those

¹⁸ Belton, K. (2015). Statelessness: A Matter of Human Rights. In Howard-Hassmann R. & WaltonRoberts M. (Eds.), *The Human Right to Citizenship: A Slippery Concept* (pp. 31-32). University of Pennsylvania Press.

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individuals often become victims of oppression and mistreatment due to their lack of “existence” in the eyes of the state.¹⁹

The mere existence of statelessness creates a vortex of mistreatment and denial. In an international system organised baser on states, not belonging to any of them, leaves Rohingya with nowhere to turn to, to seek actual legal protection. Myanmar under the supervision of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees . Nonetheless, many of them returned to Bangladesh due to the discriminatory conditions they had to live under in Myanmar.²⁰

In August 25 2017, the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army(ARSA) attacked 25 security officials in Rakhine. This was the deadliest attack until that point, deeming the escalation of the situation unescapable.²¹ The security forces answered with operations. It was claimed that during those operations, Muslims were attacked without discrimination. While the army was claiming that a small amount of deaths existed, human-rights groups talked about hundreds of civilian deaths. 87.000 Rohingya were estimated to leave Myanmar then.²²

While the Burmese authorities categorise ARSA as terrorist group, ARSA is selfdefined as a group of fighters, striving to provide protection for the Muslim Rohingya in Myanmar. Amid those

¹⁹ Uddin, N. (2015). State of Stateless People: The Plight of Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh. In Howard-Hassmann R. & Walton-Roberts M. (Eds.), *The Human Right to Citizenship: A Slippery Concept* p. 62 University of Pennsylvania Press.

²⁰ Uddin, N. (2015). State of Stateless People: The Plight of Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh. In Howard-Hassmann R. & Walton-Roberts M. (Eds.), *The Human Right to Citizenship: A Slippery Concept* p. 62 University of Pennsylvania Press.

²¹ 6ABC News. (2018). UN on 'full alert' as more than 11,000 Rohingya flee Myanmar in a day. [online]

²² Koutsoukis, M. and Beyer, M. (2017). Myanmar’s Rohingya Refugee Crisis, Explained. [online] Bloomberg.com.

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contrasting claims, there have been no evidence that can actively connect the group with terrorist groups outside the country.²³

• **INFLUX OF MIGRATORY FLOWS AND THE ROLE OF BANGLADESH**

After the 25th of August 2017, the migratory flows towards Bangladesh have reached a pick. The number of people that are entering Bangladesh in their effort to be secured from violence in Myanmar has been immense. As of the 11th of December an estimated of 860.000 Rohingya are in refugee camps in Cox’s Bazaar in Bangladesh. The vast majority of them, more than 640.000, have arrived since the events of the 25th of August.²⁴ It is interesting, that more than 11.000 refugees have been reported to have crossed the borders to Bangladesh in a single day.²⁵

Even before the big exodus, 200.000 Rohingya were already placed in the Bangladeshi refugee camps. Facing already internal challenges, the additional more than half a million refugees put immense amounts of pressure on Bangladesh. The camps are not adequate for hosting such large amounts of refugees.²⁶

During the exodus of the Rohingya, Bangladesh has been trying to assist them and ensure that the right conditions can be created in order for them to be able to have decent living conditions. Quickly, four ministries (Home Affairs, Health and Family Welfare, Foreign Affairs, Food and Disaster Management) got involved to assist this effort of organising the response to the refugee crisis. At the same time, according to WHO, an effort for immunisation regarding cholera has been

²³ ABC News. (2018). UN on 'full alert' as more than 11,000 Rohingya flee Myanmar in a day. [online]

²⁴ Unocha.org. (2018). Rohingya Refugee Crisis | OCHA.

²⁵ ABC News. (2018). UN on 'full alert' as more than 11,000 Rohingya flee Myanmar in a day.

²⁶ Unocha.org. (2018). Rohingya Refugee Crisis | OCHA.

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put into practise in the Cox’s Bazaar area. It is crucial that the refugees are secured from the deadly disease that can make the situation drastically harder for Bangladesh.²⁷

Bangladesh has been overwhelmed by the prodigious migratory flows that have been settling in the country. The refugee camps are crowded and the situation in Bangladesh seems to be escalating into more difficult conditions.²⁸

- **THE GENOCIDE IN MYANMAR**

The situation has taken such dimensions that one could easily characterise it as ethnic cleansing. The militias and the police are accused of indiscriminately burning villages, killing locals, raping women and children. Everything has been happening under the official “umbrella” answer that the Rohingya are the source of violence in Myanmar and the official response can do no less than cleansing the problem and answering to the violence.²⁹

After the 25th August incidents, Myanmar’s retaliation has been far from forgiving. Rapes, killings, prosecutions, shelling and property arson have all been the ingredients that drove Human Rights Watch to give the situation, the characterisation of ethnic cleansing. According to the UN, the Rohingya have been identified as the world’s most persecuted people. Discrimination and prosecution, that recently multiplied, has been brought upon them for decades.³⁰

- **SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

²⁷ ABC News. (2018). UN on 'full alert' as more than 11,000 Rohingya flee Myanmar in a day.

²⁸ Holmes, O. (2017). Myanmar signs pact with Bangladesh over Rohingya repatriation, The Guardian.

²⁹ Safi, M. (2017). Myanmar burned Rohingya villages after refugee deal, says rights group, The Guardian.

³⁰ ABC News. (2018). UN on 'full alert' as more than 11,000 Rohingya flee Myanmar in a day.

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Sexual and gender-based violence is considered a war crime if it is widespread and systematically executed. Hence, it is also a reason for the R2P principle to take effect, where other member states take action in order to ensure the protection of the people. According to the Office of the High Commissioner, sexual and genderbased violence against the Rohingya has been prevalent before the current crisis and has likely been underreported for decades.³¹

When the Office of the High Commissioner in January 2017 conducted interviews with Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, more than 50 percent of the women stated that they had experienced rape or other forms of sexual violence. Similar findings were reported by the Special Representative for Sexual Violence in Conflict in December 2017. Moreover, the majority of rape victims stated that they had been raped by more than one perpetrator. The perpetrators were described as soldiers. The conclusions were confirmed by the findings of the Office of the High Commissioner in subsequent interviews with refugees during September 2017.³²

- **HUMANITARIAN ACCESS**

Humanitarian access refers to the ability by neutral humanitarian actors such as NGO’s and the UN, to enter a conflict-area and provide humanitarian aid as well as monitor and promote human rights. In Myanmar, the northern Rakhine State has been restricted and hundreds of thousands of Rohingya remain in the state without any humanitarian assistance. In its statement on 6 November 2017, the Security Council welcomed the Government of Myanmar’s “decision to establish ‘the Union Enterprise Mechanism for Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement, and Development in Rakhine’”. According to the Government of Myanmar, this body shall allow both local and international organizations to participate in the future development of Rakhine State.

³¹ Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar, p. 9.

³² Mission report of OHCHR rapid mission to Cox’s Bazar, Bangladesh, 13–24 September 2017, p. 7–8.

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• **THE ACTIONS OF MYANMAR AUTHORITIES**

2012 has been a year of reforms in Myanmar. Those reforms came after decades of isolation for the country. The main issue became governance reform. In 2015, the National League for Democracy party saw an electoral win after many years of it being the opposition. Following the political and ideological changes, the answer of the international community saw a reform as well. Many countries lifted sanctions against Myanmar, while the US started establishing diplomatic relations.³³

During the years, the Rohingya have been denied their rights in Myanmar. Thein Sein ,the former and 8th president of Myanmar, appointed the first female minister and he selected 16 technocratic deputy ministers. Additionally in the President’s Office, the ministers increased from 2 to 6. Besides all the transformations, on the top layer of governance, the representation of ethnic minorities remained alarmingly thin.³⁴

During May 2012, an incident of a Rohingya woman that was raped and killed by three Muslim men reheated incidents of ethnic violence in Myanmar. Further down the line, in June, Rohingya reportedly stopped a bus and killed 10 Muslim passengers. As the tension escalated, in June Thein Sein declared that Myanmar was in a state of emergency, stating that Rohingya posed a threat for

³³ Council on Foreign Relations. (2018). Understanding Myanmar.

³⁴ Holliday, I. (2013). Myanmar in 2012: Toward a Normal State. Asian Survey, 53(1), p. 93-94.

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the country. He proposed to the UN for them to be placed in camps in order to be transferred to third countries.³⁵

The situation quickly resulted into incidents of communal violence. In 2012, the clashes between Rakhine Buddhists and Muslims resulted to many deaths and even more displacements. Later, in 2013 a small incident in a gold shop, created violence that left more than 40 people dead and in August 2013, Muslim shops and property were burned during a riot that took place. Furthermore, in 2014, according to a UN statement, due to an allegation of a killing of a police officer in Rakhine, more than 40 Rohingya men were killed. All those events are clearly showcasing the escalation of tension between the different ethnic groups in Myanmar during the past few years.³⁶ The build up of the tension has undeniably left Rohingya as a central pillar when it comes to victims. Being a Muslim minority and not being recognised by the state, these are the parameters that worked into further escalation of the unease.

Additionally, in 2015 the government abrogated the voting rights that the minority group held, making their living conditions in Myanmar even more difficult.³⁷ Coming to 2016, the UNHCR report describes an effort for erasure of every landmark in the Myanmar stage that are part of the Rohingya memory. The state seems to actively try to erase every part that can permit any association of the Rohingya history with the one of Myanmar. According to reports, Rohingya people of the elite, people that can have influence and paradigmatic figures have been targeted. Hence, Myanmar shows a unique and extended amnesia regarding the Rohingya.³⁸

After the events of August 2015, the authorities responded with a time and violence extended process that targeted the minority group. The situation became so difficult resulting to allegations

³⁵ Holliday, I. (2013). Myanmar in 2012: Toward a Normal State. *Asian Survey*, 53(1), 96-97.

³⁶ BBC News. (2017). Why is there communal violence in Myanmar?

³⁷ ABC News. (2018). UN on 'full alert' as more than 11,000 Rohingya flee Myanmar in a day

³⁸ Beech, H. (2017). 'No Such Thing as Rohingya': Myanmar Erases a History, *Nytimes.com*.

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for human rights violations and to the recognition that the situation on hand was an ethnic cleaning.³⁹

PREVIOUS UN ACTION

- **World Food Program:** The WFP supplies food to more than 85,000 people in the state of Rakhine (ongoing) as well as to those in IDP camps and refugee camps outside the country.
- **United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees:** The UNHCR cares for an estimated 200,000 - 800,000 Rohingya living either as IDP's or Refugees in other countries, mostly in Bangladesh. It rejected a plan proposed by Myanmar in 2012 to resettle the entire Rohingya population (IDP's and non-displaced people) abroad. 10 UNHCR aid workers were detained in Myanmar in June 2012 for “inciting riots”.⁴⁰
- **UNSC meeting of the 12th of December 2017:** during the third consecutive meeting of the UNSC on the situation in Myanmar, the Council was briefed by the UN Under-Secretary General Mr Jeffrey Feltman and the Special Rapporteur of the UN Secretary General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Ms Pramila Patten. Once again, it did not manage to reach a specific outcome, but the participating member states reassessed the measures taken to address the crisis and reiterated the basic directions of their stance.
- **Presidential Statement of the 6th November 2017 (S/PRST/2017/22):** given that the crisis has been ongoing and constantly escalating, the UNSC met again on the issue of Myanmar, in

³⁹ ABC News. (2018). UN on 'full alert' as more than 11,000 Rohingya flee Myanmar in a day.

⁴⁰ Gwen Robinson, "UN aid workers face Myanmar riot charges", Financial Times, 2012, online, Internet, 28 Oct. 2016

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less than one month and a half. Notwithstanding the fact that the members insisted on their positions, the Council managed to issue a Presidential Statement, reflecting the main parts of agreement amongst the members and, prominently, of the P5.

- **UN Human Rights Council (HRC)**

The main UN treaty-based body dedicated to the protection of human rights has been constantly addressing the situation of human rights in Myanmar. In March 2017, before the rise of the tensions in Rakhine state, the Human Rights Council adopted Resolution 34/22.⁴¹ The most important provision of the latter is the creation of an Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar, which has already started its work.

Notwithstanding the fact that HRC recognized the positive steps taken by the Government of Myanmar to cope with the human rights violations and to lower the degree of violence exercised, it had expressed its concern for the increase of the tension level in Rakhine state and the deterioration in terms of respect towards international humanitarian law and maintenance of security and stability. Actually, those concerns were proven to be well-founded in light of the situation in Myanmar from August until now.

In addition, the HRC highlights the problems caused due to the 1982 Citizenship Law which excludes Rohingyas from the adoption of a nationality, as well as it deems the return of IDPs and refugees back to their home as an issue of utmost importance.

The HRC has also called the Special Rapporteur of the Human Rights Council on the situation in Myanmar to conduct a Report, which has been delivered to the UN Secretary General and transmitted to the UNGA in due to time, namely while the crisis has trespassed the threshold of seriousness.

⁴¹ United Nations Human Rights Council. Resolution 34/22: Situation of human rights in Myanmar (24 March 2017), A/HRC/RES/34/22.

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FACT-FINDING MISSION IN MYANMAR

Pursuant to Resolution 34/22 of the UN Human Rights Council, the mandate of that specialized mission encompasses the research and reporting on facts and circumstances regarding the alleged encroachment of human rights of ethnic and religious minorities residing in Rakhine state by officers of the Myanmar military and security forces. Among other, the Mission shall examine allegations on torture, cruel and inhumane treaty, arbitrary deprivation of life, enforced disappearances, rapes and other forms of sexual assaults, forced displacement and arbitrary detention. It has proceeded to an oral update during the 36th session of HRC⁴² and to the submission of a comprehensive report during its 37th session.

The Mission has already concluded visits in Bangladesh and Malaysia and, according to press releases issued, its findings are more than alarming. In the meantime, Myanmar has not yet granted permission to the Mission in order that the latter visit and conduct investigations in its territory.

PARTIES OF THE CONFLICT IN MYANMAR:

as it has been already mentioned in previous parts of the current Study Guide, Myanmar governmental armed forces have been involved in continuous conflicts against ethnic groups residing in various regions of the country.⁴³

⁴² United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, Statement by Mr Marzuki Darusman, Chairperson of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar (19 September 2017)

⁴³ Chowdury A.F., The extent to which International Humanitarian Law provides protection for civilians: a brief discussion with reference to Myanmar. Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences.

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In light of the long-lasting situation of conflict in Rakhine state where Rohingya Muslims are residing and of the recent outburst of the crisis, the most serious conflict within Myanmar seems to have emerged between the national armed forces and the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (hereinafter: ARSA).

The latter insurgency group has started operating under this form within last year. It is considered to be trained by international terrorist groups and to be linked with jihadist groups. Myanmar authorities characterize them as “terrorists”, but their representatives denounce any such accusation. Actually, all those opposing to those militia groups within or outside Myanmar (including major superpowers friendly to the Myanmar government) call them “terrorists”, whilst their supporters consider them to be “freedom fighters”.

According to their messaging campaigns, their goal is to “defend, salvage and protect” Rohingya people in Rakhine state. In context of its insurgency operations, ARSA conduct attacks against national security forces⁴⁴, as well as their attack against a police station in August 2017 which led to the death of at least 21 police officers has provoked the cruel response of the Myanmar forces and the grave outburst of the crisis and the numerous persons fleeing Rakhine state.

RELEVANT PARTIES

⁴⁴ Bbc.com, Who are the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army?, 6 September 2017.

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- **Myanmar’s official standing** in this situation is that the government does what it can to resolve the conflicts. Still they haven’t done enough to improve the human rights conditions in their country and the populace is still under the abuse of some of the officials.

WATCH: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rNVE_Ch_Q18

- **Great Britain** was the colonizer of Myanmar from 1824 to 1948. It has had a hand in the independence and the political instability in Myanmar by supporting the New Opposition National League for Democracy (NLD)
- **China** has become a home for many Myanmarese refugees. Officially China doesn’t vocally condemn the human rights violations in Myanmar, but they do express concern over the stability of their shared border with Myanmar.⁴⁵
- **Bangladesh** is also a country where 29 000 Myanmarese people have fled in search of a safer place to live. This along the military tension in Myanmar has made the relations strained. For Myanmar to reach peace is the most beneficial outcome for Bangladesh.⁴⁶
- **Human Rights Watch** monitors human rights around the globe. Myanmar has been high on their list because of the violations of human rights, especially against children.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ "China, Myanmar Share Responsibility to Maintain Border Stability: FM_English_Xinhua."

⁴⁶ "Bangladesh." Central Intelligence Agency. Central Intelligence Agency, n.d. Web. 01 Jan. 2015.

⁴⁷ "Burma/Myanmar: Genocide and Human Rights Violations." The Cassandra Project Freedom against Disinformation. N.p., 29 Feb. 2008. Web. 15 Dec. 2014.

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- **Amnesty International** is another organization observing human rights in the world and has condemned the actions happening in Myanmar.
- **International Labour Organization** is concerned by the workers' lack of rights in Myanmar.

TIMELINE

1531- Toungoo empire reunites Myanmar that previously consisted of smaller tribes inhabiting the area, Portuguese establish European rule for the first time in Myanmar.⁴⁸

1824-26- First Anglo-Burmese war ends. Myanmar lost some of its southern territories to Great Britain.

1852- Second Anglo-Burmese war, now all of Southern Myanmar is under British rule. The north is still Myanmar.

1942- Japanese Army occupies Myanmar with the help of the Japanese trained Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL).

1945- Myanmar freed from Japanese occupation by the British with help from the AFPFL, led by Aung San.

1947- Aung San assassinated by political rivals led by U Saw, a nationalist rival of Aung San's. U Nu asked to head the AFPFL and the government.

1948- Myanmar becomes independent with U Nu as prime minister.

⁴⁸ "Myanmar Profile." BBC News. N.p., n.d. Web. 1 Jan. 2015.

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1960- Military angered by U Nu's promotion of Buddhism as the state religion and his tolerance of separatism.

1962- Gen Ne Win seizes power, gets rid of the federal system and inaugurates "the Burmese Way to Socialism".

1974- New constitution: power goes from the armed forces to a People's Assembly headed by Ne Win and other former military leaders; protest at U Thant's funeral.

1987- The Myanmar government devalued some of the bills of the then Burmese Kyat, which left only 25% of the nation's currency valid. This caused money issues for the populace and anti-government riots.⁴⁹

1988- Thousands of people are killed in anti-government riots. The State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) is formed.

1989- SLORC declares martial law, arrests thousands of people, renames Burma Myanmar, with the capital becoming Yangon. New Opposition National League for Democracy (NLD) leader Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of Aung San, is put under house arrest.

1990- NLD wins landslide victory in general election, result ignored by the military.

1992- Several political prisoners freed in bid to improve Burma's international image.

1996- Aung San Suu Kyi attends first NLD congress since her release; SLORC arrests more than 200 delegates.

1997- Myanmar admitted to Association of South East Asian Nations (Asean) and SLORC is renamed State Peace and Development Council (SPDC).

1998- 300 NLD members released from prison, students' protests are broken up.

2000- Government cancels restrictions on movements of Aung San Suu Kyi and senior NLD members.

⁴⁹ Linzmayer, Owen (2012). "Myanmar". The Banknote Book, San Francisco.

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- 2001-** Government frees ~200 pro-democracy activists.
- 2002-** Pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi released after nearly 20 months of house arrest.
- 2003-** Five senior NLD leaders released from house arrest after visit of UN human rights envoy.
- 2004-** Thousands of prisoners freed, including Min Ko Naing, who led the 1988 pro-democracy student demonstrations.
- 2007-** Another outcry from the public regarding fuel prices. Dozens of activists are arrested.
- 2008-** Cyclone Nargis hits Myanmar, killing over 100 000 people.
- 2011-** Some political prisoners are freed. New labour laws allowing unions are passed.
- 2013-** Four private daily newspapers appear for the first time in almost 50 years as the state monopoly ends.
- 2014-** Government announces release of 3,000 prisoners. Mostly petty criminals, but ex-military intelligence officers imprisoned along with former Prime Minister Khin Nyunt will be included.

CHALLENGES AHEAD

- **Deal signed on the return of Rohingya Muslims within two months**

With at least 623.000 Rohingya being now refugees in Bangladesh, since the last violence wave that stroke the West of Myanmar in August, the agreement signed between the two involving states raises questions. According to the agreement the two countries are to work together in order to achieve a viable resolution of the refugee crisis that has galloped in the region.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Ben Westcott, C. (2017). Bangladesh-Myanmar agreement on Rohingya refugees revealed, CNN.

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The deal was signed on the 23rd of November and the repatriation was scheduled to take place in two months. It was signed after the meeting of Aung San Suu Kwi, the de facto leader of Myanmar and Abul Hassan Mahmood, the foreign minister of Bangladesh in Naypyidaw. As it was stated, the deal was based on a 1992/1993 repatriation pact between Myanmar and Bangladesh that was signed after a previous violence outbreak that had taken place.⁵¹

Regarding the deal, Myanmar agreed that there should be no restriction regarding the repatriation number. There should be no limit in the number of Rohingya that will be allowed to come back to Myanmar. Everyone that wishes to, can return and as the agreement describes, there should be no prosecution of refugees unless they had been involved with terrorists before leaving the country.⁵² Myanmar is supposed to work towards incorporating the refugees. For that to happen, the government has claimed that the temporary camps will be an “as short as possible” solution towards a repatriation. But this repatriation will always need to take place considering the existing laws and regulations of the state. Furthermore, the two countries agreed on accepting assistance by the UNHCR regarding the repatriation process.

- **Stabilisation of the area**

Myanmar has a long history of communal distrust. Until today the government does not seem to take active steps towards resolving the deep causes of the problems. On the contrary it seems like often the tension has been supported and built up by the state. How many refugees would willingly choose to return after the experience of the atrocities that drove them away in the first place?⁵³

While the situation is being escalatory for long, the deal between Myanmar and Bangladesh puts another pin on the future map of Rohingya. Many have argued that the deal is essentially

⁵¹ Holmes, O. (2017). Myanmar signs pact with Bangladesh over Rohingya repatriation, The Guardian.

⁵² Ben Westcott, C. (2017). Bangladesh-Myanmar agreement on Rohingya refugees revealed, CNN.

⁵³ Ibid

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deriving from the need to ease the international pressure that has been put on Myanmar regarding the recent crisis outburst.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, in late November the Burmese authorities deny the allegations of atrocities that drove more than 600.000 Rohingya to flee their homes.⁵⁵

CONCLUSION

Looking into the situation in Myanmar, the UNHRC has yet to come up with a Resolution regarding the issue. It is critical to examine the variety of solutions and answers that could possibly be proposed and implemented. Nonetheless, as it has been thoroughly presented in the previous pages, the threat posed to the very essence of fundamental principles of humanity and international community by the situation in Myanmar is immense and it spreads out in a long period of time.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

- Q1. Who are the Rohingya people? What legal basis do they have? What are their cultural roots and how should these roots be taken into account by the United Nations?
- Q2. What is your country’s stand on the current issue?
- Q3. In tracing back the history of violence in Burma, when is there a clear distinction between violence and ethnic-based violence? Religious violence?

⁵⁴ Agerholm, H. (2018). Burma and Bangladesh agree deal to repatriate Rohingya Muslims, The Independent.

⁵⁵ U.S. (2018). Myanmar military denies atrocities against Rohingya, replaces general.

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Q4. What are the historical driving forces behind violence against Rohingya? In what ways have these driving forces changed? In what ways have they remained the same?

Q5. Can the United Nations blame the Rohingya for turning to armed jihadism to fight for their rights since the independence of Burma in 1948? In what ways should present day connections to groups such as ISIS and al-Qaeda be taken into account?

Q6. What is the historical aspect of this crisis, and how has it impacted today’s current problem?

Q7. Have there been any officially stated responses from leading Myanmar political figures, such as Suu Kyi?

Q8. What have been the responses, if any, from the Rohingya? What claims/accounts do they make about the way the Myanmar government has treated them?

UN DOCUMENTS FOR MYANMAR

<https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/myanmar/>

FURTHER READING

-Relations between the different ethnic groups over the years

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wuogyqaQhHQ&t=29s>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04axDDRVy_o&t=10s

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ILf0KmCWsQ>

-The relationship of sociopolitical conflict to economic factors

<http://www.newmandala.org/better-political-economy-rohingya-crisis/>

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-Current crises explained

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41082689>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/11/un-myanmars-treatment-of-rohingya-textbook-example-of-ethnic-cleansing>

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/11/world/asia/myanmar-rohingya-ethniccleansing.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FMyanmar&action=click&contentCollection=world®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=4&pgtype=collection

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pebrk29ZJW8>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s376clvion4>

-Myanmar’s official position

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41222210>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rNVE_Ch_Q18

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41170570>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/13/julie-bishop-says-myanmar-mines-in-rohingyapath-would-breach-international-law>

-Refugee Crises

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/08/world/asia/myanmar-rohingya-refugees270000.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FMyanmar&action=click&contentCollection=world®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=4&pgtype=collection

“The Situation of Human Rights in Myanmar”

[tion=world®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=7&pgtype=collection](#)

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/12/bangladesh-sheikh-hasina-calls-on-myanmar-totake-back-rohingya-refugees>

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41158703>

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41105292>

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/09/rohingya-exodus-bangladesh-exceeds-400000-170916125050337.html>

<http://www.aljazeera.com/video/news/2017/09/bangladesh-pm-urges-myanmar-rohingya-refugees170912154912867.html>

-Buddhist anti-Muslim Monks

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41263073>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GtAl9zJ3t-M&t=193s>

<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-22356306>

-Aung San Suu Kyi Aun

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-11685977>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KwxRn2pw3d0>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cZ224v7D2MQ>

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-38756601>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mm-RTRJv8ZM>

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-ARSA

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41160679>

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/09/myanmar-arakan-rohingya-salvation-army170912060700394.html>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/03/we-die-or-they-die-rohingya-insurgency-sparksfresh-violence-in-myanmar>

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