



**Royal University of Law and Economics**

**Final Report on**

**The Study on Human Rights Situation in  
Myanmar**

**Name of Student:**

**Ms. THOUSORPHEA ALINTA**

**Ms. RORSET ATA**

**Name of Academic Advisor:**

**Mr. THIN VUTHA**

**International Program  
Bachelor's Degree in International Relations  
Cohort 9  
Year of Submission: 2021**



**Royal University of Law and Economics**

**Final Report on**

**The Study on Human Rights Situation in  
Myanmar**

**Name of Student:**

**Ms. THOUSORPHEA ALINTA**

**Ms. RORSET ATA**

**Name of Academic Advisor:**

**Mr. THIN VUTHA**

**International Program  
Bachelor's Degree in International Relations  
Cohort 9  
Year of Submission: 2021**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Through the entire process of this research thesis paper is a very tough work and it would be impossible without support from various people. That is why, we would like to acknowledge and give our warmest appreciation to those who had assisted us to complete this thesis.

In the first place, we would like to thanks to both of our parents for their love and support through the entire program of International Relations. Both of our parents have offered a lot of their time and resource to support us no matter how tired they are. All they want is to see us become a successful people in the future and also contribute to society to help inspire other to never give up. This made us feel really grateful for their value time. So, we have made a commitment to ourselves to become resourceful persons for our society as well as the world.

Next, we would love to express our deepest gratitude to our supervisor **Dr. THIN VUTHA**, for the continuous support and guidance in our research thesis paper. We have met him in the fourth years and he taught us about International Humanitarian Law. Thanks to him we are able to understand more about the Law of war, Duty and responsibilities during war zone and most importantly is Human right that every nation must respect for the sake of mankind. There by, we really appreciate his tireless motivation, encouragement, and generosity in sharing his knowledge and how important to not violate what is written in International Humanitarian Law or otherwise those who has committed wrongful act must take responsibilities according to the law.

In addition, we would love to explicit our acknowledgement and recognition to **H.E. Dr. LUY CHANNA**, Rector of the Royal University of Law and Economics, who has supported the International Relations programs. we would like to extend our gratitude to Lecturer **Mr. KHIM KIRI**, the Deputy Director of the Department of International Relations

at the Royal University of Law and Economics, for the improvement and expansion of the International Relations Program. We are also deeply thankful to **Dr. HAP PHALTHY** for his methodology lessons, which undoubtedly and importantly guide us the right instruction to a good research study. We are deeply thankful and grateful to all lecturers in this program who have always been kind, generous, and strong committed in teaching.

Other than our great lecturers, we are super thankful to our dearest friends **Mr. Yom Mengchhay** and **Mr. Iev Khunnyreach** For spending their time with us during the process of this thesis. They are very help and had given us many good advice which made us able to complete this research successfully. There are so many other good friends that we really appreciate for their valuable time with us.

Last but not least, this thesis research paper would not have been successfully achieved without the dedication, cooperation, and understanding between the two of us, **THOUSORPHEA ALINTA** and **RORSET ATA**. We are deeply grateful to each other for making all of this hard work possible regardless of many difficult challenges from the start of our academic life until our completion of university life. Thank you so much for the strong sprite that we gave to each other and walk together throughout the good and bad time.

## **ABSTRACT**

Human Rights in Myanmar under its military rule have been regarded as among the worst in the world. There were many situations that we had found out during our research, but there were two most notice cases which are the killing of Rohingya Muslims and the recent case of the 2020 government election fraud. Myanmar is the largest country in Mainland Southeast Asia and the 10th largest in Asia by area. However, despite being a large country in a region of economic growth, Myanmar is also the poorest country in the region. About a quarter of the population is living in poverty, and, despite Myanmar's being an extremely resource-rich country, its economy is one of the least developed in the world. It has suffered through decades of financial mismanagement and internal conflict. Myanmar's has a lot of ethnic minority groups living in this country and are giving different treatment from the military. Beside this, the current government who seized the power from the elected government had restricted the use of internet or social media to spread all kinds of news. Furthermore, Burma's civilians were not allowed to use their rights, "Freedom of expression" to critic the current government. Many of the international communities and international organizations were not pleased with this action, so they have repeatedly documented and condemned widespread human rights violations in Myanmar. The United Nations Keep on calling Myanmar to put an end to this internal conflict and Human Rights Violation, while other states keep on put more sanctions along the way. However, Myanmar's civilian and ethnic minority group are still crying for justice.

This research thesis paper will be divided into six parts: (1) the first is the introduction of our thesis covering of Background, Scope and Research Methodology. (2) Chapter one is written about the start of 2020 election and its failure. (3) Chapter two will focus on how the military conduct its strategies during the conflict. (4) Chapter three will identify on mistreatment of human rights in Myanmar. (5) Chapter four will demonstrate the reaction

from all states and international organizations. (6) Chapter five will analyze on the current situation whether, it is completely back to democracy, respect human rights or the internal conflict keep on going. (7) The last part comprises a conclusion which summarizes key research findings in response to the research question. Finally, there is a recommendation section incorporating possible suggestions concerning on Myanmar state management, the violations of international law, international human rights law and international humanitarian law.

# LIST OF CONTENT

LIST OF FIGURES .....	iv
LIST OF ACRONYMS .....	v
INTRODUCTION .....	1
1. Background.....	1
2. Scope .....	2
3. Research Methodology .....	4
CHAPTER 1: THE START OF THE CRISIS .....	5
1.1 The 2020 Election.....	6
1.2 The February 1 <sup>st</sup> .....	8
1.3 The Committee Representing the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH).....	12
1.3.1 Who are they?.....	12
1.3.2 What they do?.....	14
1.4 On the Brink of State failure.....	14
CHAPTER 2: CAMPAIGNS AND STRIKES .....	16
2.1 Civil Disobedience Movement and labor Strike.....	16
2.2 Military Boycott Campaign.....	19
2.3 Pot-banging Movement .....	20

2.4 Red Ribbon Campaign .....	21
2.5 Social Media.....	21
2.6 Staged mass “car breakdowns” and “slow-car” movement.....	22
CHAPTER 3: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION .....	22
3.1 Internally Displaced People.....	24
3.2 Denial of Humanitarian access .....	25
3.3 Freedoms of expression association and assembly.....	26
3.4 Freedoms to access to information .....	29
3.5 Right to Education .....	30
3.6 Violence against women and girls.....	31
3.7 Economic, Social and Cultural Right .....	33
3.8 Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) people .....	35
3.9 Control of media.....	37
3.9.1 Proposed cybersecurity Law.....	37
3.9.2 Media Blackout .....	38
3.9.3 Spread of misinformation .....	39
3.9.4 Arrest of journalists and TV personalities.....	40
3.10 Covid-19 Pandemic .....	42
CHAPTER 4: WORLD’S REACTION .....	43



4.1 ASEAN.....	43
4.1.1 ASEAN members position on the situation in Myanmar .....	45
4.1.2 Informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (IAMM).....	50
4.1.3 ASEAN LEADERS’ MEETING .....	51
4.2 The United Nations.....	53
4.3 International Community.....	54
4.3.1 United States.....	54
4.3.2 United Kingdom .....	55
4.3.3 China.....	56
CHAPTER 5: CURRENT SITUATION .....	57
5.1 What can be done?.....	61
CONCLUSION .....	63
RECOMMENDATION.....	67
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1: Map of Myanmar and its 2020 election result .....	8
Figure 2: Map of the Myanmar Capital City Naypyitaw .....	9
Figure 3: Map of Yangon .....	18

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

ASEAN	Association of South East Asia
AAPP	Assistance Association for Political Prisoners
ALM	ASEAN Leader's Meeting
CRPP	Committee Representing the People's Parliament
CRPH	The Committee Representing the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw
CDH	Civil Disobedience Movement
IAMM	Informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting
ICC	International Criminal Court
NLD	National League of Democracy
NUP	National Unity Party
NUG	National Unity Government
UEC	Union Election Commission
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
USDP	Union Solidarity and Development Party

# INTRODUCTION

## 1. Background

In the early 2010s, Burma was the toast of the world. As the generals appeared to be giving up power, everybody, at least in the West, began to believe that the country was in the midst of an astonishing transformation, from the darkest of dictatorships to a peaceful and prosperous democracy. But by 2018, the mood had turned deathly grim. A new militant outfit, the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army had attacked dozens of security posts in the far west of the country and this had been followed by a fierce Burmese army response. In the wake of the violence, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children, nearly all from the Muslim Rohingya minority, fled to neighboring Bangladesh, bring with them horrific accounts of rape and massacre. Burma now stood accused of genocide and crimes against humanity.

In 2015, there was an election which were the only second to be considered at least semi-democratic in the country since 1960 (the first being in 1990, which military invalidated) as for a majority of independent history, it was controlled by a military junta. At that 2015 election, NLD led by Aung San Suu Kyi, won a majority of seats and votes, taking 86 percent of the seats in the Assembly of the Union (235 in the House of Representatives and 135 in the House of Nationalities), well more than the 67 percent supermajority needed to ensure that its preferred candidates would be elected president and second vice president in the Presidential Electoral College. The party technically also needed at least 67 percent to outvote the combined pro-military bloc in the Presidential Electoral College (the Union Solidarity and Development Party and the appointed legislators representing the military). Although NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi is constitutionally barred from the presidency (as both her late husband and her children are foreign citizens), she was the de facto head of government, after being appointed to a newly created office, the State Counsellor of Myanmar, a position akin to

a Prime Minister. Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy's actions since being elected in 2015 have been described by international media and international organizations including the United Nations, International Criminal Court, and Amnesty International as failing to stop the persecution of the Rohingya people, a Muslim minority group mainly in Rakhine State.

In January 2019, the National League for Democracy pushed for constitutional reform, but was unsuccessful because any changes required 75% approval in the legislature, and 25% of seats are reserved for the military. Outside of these seats, the pro-military USDP was also unlikely to go along (as well as other minor parties potentially being unwilling), meaning any proposals were dead on arrival.

After staying in power for 5 years, NLD was seem to continue to win the next election in 2020. General Election was held in Myanmar on 8 November 2020 which the NLD has so far won 346 seats, more than the 322 seats needed to form the next government. But the military-backed opposition has demanded a re-run of the election. India, Japan and Singapore had earlier congratulated the NLD on their win.

## **2. Scope**

The purpose for this thesis is to discover and try to find out what was happening in Myanmar, starting from after their general election which was held on 8 November 2020 until the situation in Myanmar turned violence, there were campaigns and strikes, human rights violation happened all over the country after the coup d'état took over the country and detained the State Counselor and other high ranked leader of NLD. Myanmar was in the situation where country was on the brink of state failure in term of human rights as many civilians were killed, there was no freedom of expressing their opinion and living in fear. There were no books written about what was happen in Myanmar at that time since it was just

happening, there were only some documents from the news which make it hard on doing the research.

## **Primary Questions**

The principal purpose for this thesis is to find out how human rights in Myanmar was conducted during the that one year- state emergency declare by the Tatmadaw. The question that we would try to answer are (1) what was happening after the 2020 general election? (2) What was happening to human rights in Myanmar? (3) What has Myanmar violent in term of Human rights? (4) What did international community react to this problem? (5) Did ASEAN do anything or just remain silence? (6) Also, what is their current situation and what could have been done?

## **Key terms**

- **Coup d'état:** sudden defeat of a government through illegal force by a small group often a military one.
- **Junta:** is a military or political group that rules a country after taking power by force.
- **Media Blackout:** refers to the censorship of news related to a certain topic, particularly in mass media for any reason.
- **Security forces:** are an official paramilitary unit of the government and acts as an auxiliary unit for the police force, especially during state of emergency.
- **Tatmadaw:** is the official name of the armed forces of Myanmar (Burma). It is administered by the Ministry of Defense and composed of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Auxiliary services include the Myanmar Police Force and the People's Militia Units.
- **National Unity Government:** the new shadow government that was formed to oppose the junta in mid-April.

### **3. Research Methodology**

The Research approach for our thesis would be entirely limited due to the lack of personal interviews to assist and solidify our topic, however the research material and e-books acquired from the online library, official documentary interview videos, college lectures and online intelligence analysis article that is related to the topic, would ensure a good progress in our paper.

## **CHAPTER 1: THE START OF THE CRISIS**

The crisis in Myanmar is that, unlike in 1988 or the 1990s or the 2007 suppression of the Saffron Revolution, the violation is not producing its desired results. Despite the bloodshed, people continue to demonstrate in the streets, a large proportion of the public sector employees refuse to work, a general strike of key private sector staff continues. Any violence is not effective at convincing scared bank staff or truck drivers to return to work. Violence cannot restore business confidence. A military rampage on the streets and in the homes of Yangon and Mandalay and other towns appears a desperate attempt to terrorize the population into submission.

The 8 November elections were a major waypoint in Myanmar's transition from authoritarian rule. It is landslide victory with almost 80 percent of the elected seats which means NLD will have an outright majority in both legislative chambers. This will give it control of law-making and the power to choose the president. The USDP suffered a crushing defeat and that where all the crisis starts.

### **Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP)**

USDP is a military party. USDP was formed in 2010 as a way for many of the country's former military leaders to participate in the general election. It won the 2010 elections (which was boycotted by the NLD) and under President U Thein Sein implemented many political and economic changes during its term as the ruling party. It currently styles itself as the opposition to the opposition to the NLD government.

### **National League for Democracy (NLD)**

The NLD is the forerunner of the democracy parties and the current ruling party. Born out of a series of protests in 1988, the NLD was formed with Aung San Suu kyι as leader and with the aim of establishing multi-party democracy in the country. The NLD won decisively



in the 1990 general election but the military junta nullified the result and kept Aung San Suu kyi under house arrest for almost 15 years. In 2010, the NLD boycotted the general election but participated in the 2012 by-elections and the 2015 general election, winning the overwhelming majority of the votes in the latter.

## **1.1 The 2020 Election**

### **How do election work in Myanmar?**

Myanmar follows a first-past-the-post system<sup>1</sup>. More than 6,900 candidates from 92 political parties and independent campaigns stood for election in 1,171 seats, according to the US-based Carter Centre. However, a quarter of parliamentary seats are reserved for the military under a controversial 2008 constitution drawn during junta rule. Moreover, the constitution also gives the military control of three key ministries - home affairs, defense, and border affairs. This means that any party not affiliated with the military must win over two-thirds of the remaining seats to form a majority in the parliament while military-affiliated parties need to win just over one-third of the seats to obtain an effective majority.

In the election, six of at least a dozen Rohingya who applied to run as candidates in the election were barred from the standing. Moreover, other ethnic groups have also been affected. In October, Myanmar's election commission cancelled voting in large parts of Rakhine state where fighting between the military and the Arakan Army, comprised mainly of the Buddhist Raakhune ethnic group, has killed dozens and displaced tens of thousands. This means that the mass cancellation has outraged ethnic minority parties and mean nearly two million people have been disenfranchised in a nation with some 37 million registered voters.

### **What was happened in 2020 election?**

---

<sup>1</sup> Banyan, *"Is the world getting Myanmar wrong,"* The Economics, Asia, 2017.

Myanmar general election were held in Myanmar on 8 November 2020 which was the third general election held under the terms of the 2008 constitution. Few changes have been made to the formal electoral legal framework since their 2015 election, which saw the electorate voted overwhelmingly to transfer power to the NLD, then the opposition party. That election was viewed widely by domestic and international observers as a credible milestone in Myanmar's transition to democracy.

In the 2020 general election, the National League for Democracy (NLD) won 920 of the total 1,117 seats, which was upped by 61 seats from its win in the 2015 election. The main opposition party, the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), won 71 seats, down 46 from the 2015 election when it won 117 seats.

However, the USDP did not recognise the results of the election and called on “errors of neglect” in voter lists and a “widespread violation of laws and procedures” by so far haven't offered any evidence to support. As far as we can see, the problem of the election is:

1. Myanmar is home to a complex conflict environment with a bewildering array of armed antistate forces, localized private militias, border guard units, nationalist and ‘race and religion protection’ groups as well as loosely organized, disenchanted citizens who have no redress available through legal or political channels which make it hard for that election.
2. Earlier that year, six of at least a dozen Rohingya who applied to run as candidates in the election were barred from standing. Other ethnic groups have also been affected.
3. In October, Myanmar's electoral commission cancelled voting in large parts of Rakhine state - where fighting between the military and the Arakan Army, comprised mainly of the Buddhist Rakhine ethnic group, has killed dozens and displaced tens of thousands.

4. It also cancelled the election in parts of other conflict-hit states, including Shan and Kachin, saying that some areas were "not in a position to hold a free and fair election". The mass cancellations have outraged ethnic minority parties and mean nearly two million people have been disenfranchised in a nation with some 37 million registered voters.

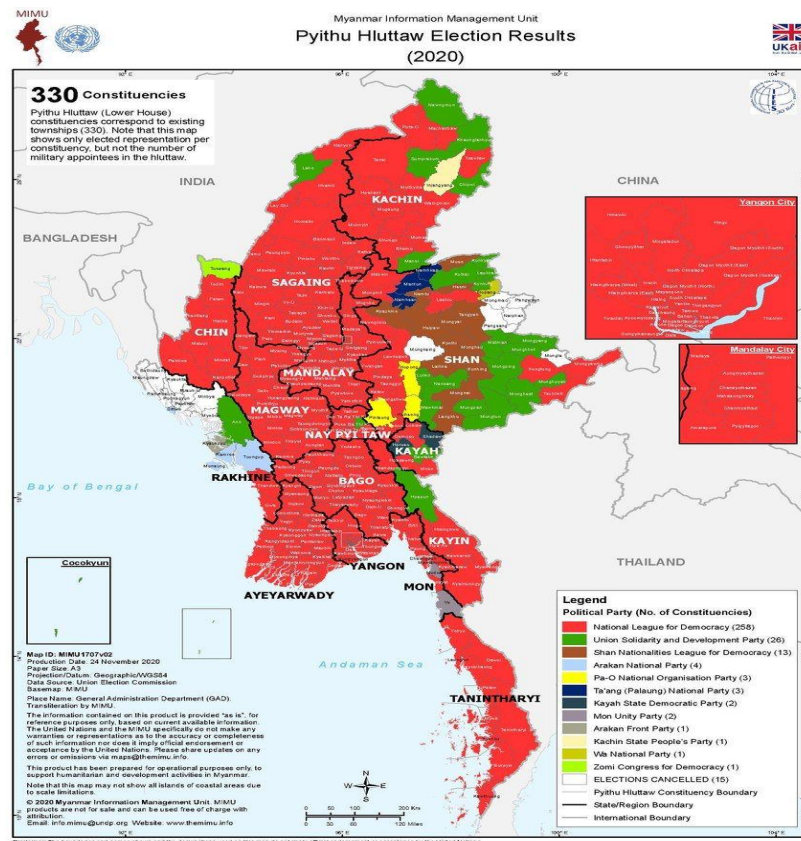


Figure 1: Map of Myanmar and its 2020 election result

USDP crushed defeat and backed the opposition who were demanding a rerun of the vote, claiming widespread fraud. However, according to the election commission said there was no evidence to support these claims. On February 1<sup>st</sup>, the military was back in charge and has declared a year-long state of emergency. On the morning of 1 February, the coup (Tatmadaw) detained State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi, President Win Myint and other senior leaders. Aung San Suu kyi has been held at unknown location since the coup.

Around 400 elected members of parliament were placed under house arrest, confined to a government housing complex in Naypyidaw. Following the coup, the NLD arranged for the MPs to remain housed in the complex until 6 February. The military also detained several Buddhist monks who had led the 2007 Saffron Revolution, including the Myawaddy Sayadaw and Shwe Nyar War Sayadaw. Soldiers were seen in Naypyidaw and the largest city, Yangon and subsequently announced on military-controlled Myawaddy TV that it had taken control of the country for one year. A statement signed by acting president Myint Swe declared that responsibility for "legislation, administration and judiciary" had been transferred to Min Aung Hlaing. The National Defence and Security Council – chaired by acting president Myint Swe and attended by top military officers – was convened, following which a statement was issued by the military declaring that fresh elections would be held, and that power would only be transferred after they had concluded. The military also announced the removal of 24 ministers and deputies, for whom 11 replacements were named. On 2 February 2021, Min Aung Hlaing established the State Administration Council, with 11 members, as the executive governing body. Since then, the military government also issued orders to impose curfew from 8:00 pm to 4:00 am in Yangon and other major cities and restrict gatherings of 5 or more people in the public spaces.

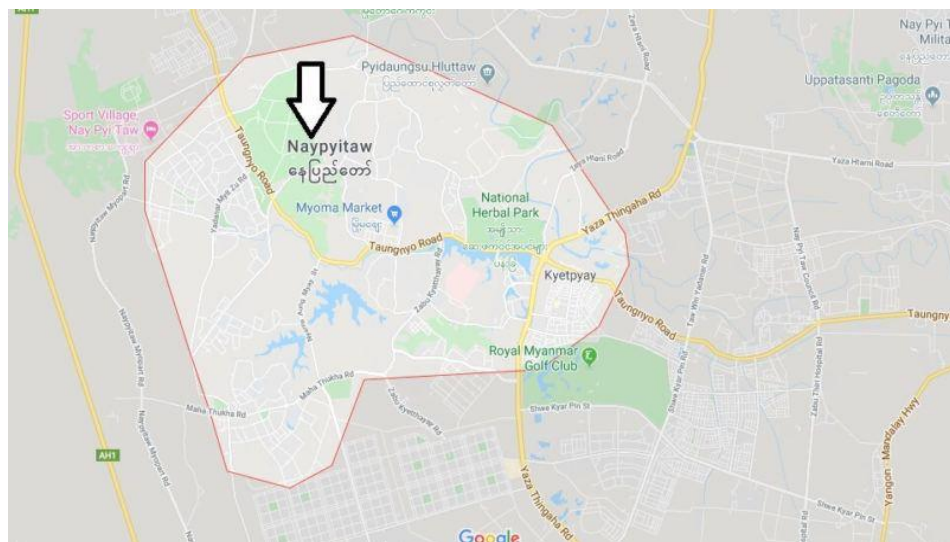


Figure 2: Map of the Myanmar Capital City Naypyitaw

## **Aung San Suu Kyi**

On 3 February, Myanmar police filed criminal charges against Aung San Suu Kyi, accusing her of violating the Export and Import Law, for allegedly importing unlicensed communications devices used by her security detail, after conducting a raid on her home in the capital. The Export and Import Law carries a potential prison term of 3 years and/or a fine, and was previously used in 2017 to prosecute journalists for flying a drone above the Assembly of the Union. Meanwhile, Win Myint was charged with violating the Natural Disaster Management Law, specifically for waving at a passing NLD convoy in September 2020, thereby violating rules against election campaigning during the COVID-19 pandemic.

### **1.3 Myanmar- State of Emergency**

On February 1<sup>st</sup>, Myanmar Military announced a state of emergency for up to one year. The Tatmadaw announced the state of emergency after repeated calls for the government and Union Election Commission to clarify around 10 million voting irregularities went unaddressed, leading to protests and riots across the country. The request to suspend parliament was also ignored.

According to Tatmadaw, it is acting in accordance with the 2008 Constitution, under which section 417 states that “if there is sufficient reason for the disintegration of the Union or national solidarity or that may cause the loss of sovereignty due to acts or attempts to take over the sovereignty of the Union by insurgency, violence and wrongful forcible means, the President may, after coordinating with the National Defense and Security Council, declare a state of emergency.” Section 418 of the Constitution further states that the president shall declare the transferring of legislative, executive and judicial powers of the Union to the Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services to enable him to carry out necessary measures

to restore the Union. All legislative functions of parliament will be suspended and dissolved automatically from the day of declaration of the state of emergency.

### **Who is in charge now?**

#### **About Min Aung Hlaing**

Min Aung Hlaing is a military commander-in-chief, who has taken the power. He successfully maintained the Tatmadaw's power even as Myanmar transitioned to democracy, however, received international condemnation and sanctions for his alleged role in the military's attacks of ethnic minorities<sup>2</sup>. As Myanmar returns to military rule under his leadership, Min Aung Hlaing now looks set to extend his power and shape the country's immediate future.

#### **Seizing Power**

The November 2020 general election saw a landslide win for the NLD, but the military-backed USDP repeatedly disputed the results. Speculation of a coup grew amid the stand-off between the government and the armed forces. On 27 January 2021, Min Aung Hlaing warned that "the constitution shall be abolished if not followed", citing example of previous military coups in 1962 and 1988. However, his officed seemingly reversed this stance by 30 January, saying the media had misinterpreted military official's words about abolishing the constitution.

Min Aung Hlaing assumed all state power for this period in his capacity as commander-in-chief and immediately prioritized the alleged electoral irregularities. There was a meeting of the National Defense and Security Council led by him said it would investigate the fraud claims and hold new elections, effectively invalidating the NLD's win.

---

<sup>2</sup> Russell Goldman, The New York Times: Myanmar's Coup and Violence, Explained, 2021.

## **1.3 The Committee Representing the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH)**

### **1.3.1 Who are they?**

The Committee Representing the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH) is a National League for Democracy (NLD) - dominated and self-declared parliamentary committee that was formed after the coup to counter military rule<sup>3</sup>. CRPH has been formed by the following representatives to resolutely perform those necessary activities and duties that have been entrusted upon us by the people, to ensure the unconditional release of those detained including the President of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar and the State Counsellor, and to conduct the regular functions of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw.

1. Daw Phyu Phyu Thin (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Mingalar Taung Nyunt Constituency.
2. U Ye Mon @ U Tin Thit (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Thanlyin Constituency.
3. U Htun Myint (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Bahan Constituency.
4. U Naing Htoo Aung (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Natogyi Constituency.
5. Dr Wai Phyo Aung (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Thaketa Constituency.
6. Daw Zin Mar Aung (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Yankin Constituency.
7. U Lwin Ko Latt (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Thanlyin Constituency.

---

<sup>3</sup> The Committee Representing the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw: Who we are, Myanmar, 2021.

8. U Okkar Min (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Myeik Constituency.
9. U Win Naing (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Moe Kaung Constituency.
10. U Nay Myo (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Nyaung Shwe Constituency.
11. U Zaw Min Thein (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Lemyethnar Constituency.
12. U Myo Naing (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Chan Aye Thar Zan Constituency.
13. U Zay Latt (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – No.7 Amyotha Hluttaw), Bago Region.
14. Daw Myat Thida Htun (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – No.8 Amyotha Hluttaw), Mon State.
15. Saw Shar Phaung Awar (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – No.4 Amyotha Hluttaw), Kayin State.
16. U Robert Nyal Yal (Member of Parliament – Kayah State Democratic Party – No.10 Amyotha Hluttaw), Kayah State.
17. U Lamin Tun @ A Phyoe (Member of Parliament – Ta’ang (Palaung) National Party – Pyithu Hluttaw), Kayin State.
18. U Aung Kyi Nyunt (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – No.6 Amyotha Hluttaw), Magway Region.
19. U Lama Naw Aung (Member of Parliament – Kachin State People’s Party – Pyithu Hluttaw), Injangyang Constituency.



20. U Sithu Maung (Member of Parliament – National League for Democracy – Pyithu Hluttaw), Pabedan Constituency.

### **1.3.2 What they do?**

CRPH has been working closely with protestors, armed-group and political parties since the military coup which took place on February. The CRPH has already assigned cabinet positions to ministers and plans to launch a new constitution in line with the new parliament<sup>4</sup>. The CRPH's main task is working out a roadmap for the return to democracy and how to maintain the movement's momentum. At the same time the movement is committed to make it as difficult as possible for the military to run the country: cutting off their resources -- by boycotting their firms and those of their family and children; urging companies not to pay taxes; by bringing the administration to a standstill, encouraging banks, hospitals, schools and shops not to open; and to delegitimize them in every way.

### **1.4 On the Brink of State failure**

During that time, since the coup had not yet succeeded and the regime had not been able to gain effective control of the government bureaucracy or of the local administration in the country. Moreover, the actions of the regime were not just morally reprehensible. They were also extremely dangerous. At that time, Myanmar was on the brink of State failure thus to some of this reason<sup>5</sup>:

- First, the banking system was at a virtual standstill. That means businesses couldn't make and receive payments, individuals couldn't access their cash, and payrolls weren't being processed. The regime had been threatening private banks to get them to reopen branches, but many staff were unwilling to go to work, and with the military

---

<sup>4</sup> The Committee Representing the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, *"Who we are, Myanmar,"* 2021.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Horsey, *"Myanmar on the brink of State Failure,"* International Crisis Group, 2021, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/myanmar/myanmar-brink-state-failure> .

perpetrating random violence on the street, others were afraid to do so. A local employee of a Korean bank in Yangon was fatally shot in the head by soldiers, while she was travelling home in a company vehicle. The attempted coup has resulted in a hard stop in economic activity, precipitating an economic crisis that will push millions into poverty.

- Second, supply chains were breaking down. Most imports and exports had come to a halt as customs staff and port workers had gone on strike and containers were backed up at the docks. Domestic haulage had mostly stopped, with truck drivers unwilling to take the risk of driving around the country. Imports of essential agricultural inputs had slowed. Markets were becoming dysfunctional, and many people were without income or access to cash, leaving them unable to buy what food was available. A hunger crisis looms.
- Third, the health system had collapsed at that time. Many public hospitals were shuttered as medical staff refuse to work for the regime. Other hospitals in key city locations had been taken over by soldiers as forward operating bases, with patients evicted. Medical first responders had been targeted by troops when they attempted to render assistance to injured civilians. There was hardly any COVID-19 testing and treatment, and the vaccination program was far behind schedule. Regular childhood vaccinations were in jeopardy. Critical imported pharmaceuticals were in short supply. Public health experts were worried, for example, about Myanmar's large caseload of multi-drug-resistant tuberculosis patients. A health crisis was coming.
- Fourth, armed conflict was rising. Myanmar is home to some twenty ethnic armed groups fighting for greater autonomy, as well as several hundred militias of various sizes that are loosely aligned with the Myanmar military. Some ethnic armed groups who have observed ceasefires for years are being drawn into renewed conflict with the

army, as they try to protect their civilian populations from violence, give sanctuary to protest leaders and resist army aggression. Others were expanding their areas of control or pressing territorial claims against rival groups – taking advantage of a security vacuum while the military tried to assert its control over the main cities.

Over the decades, Myanmar has faced many different challenges, including ongoing armed conflicts, banking and economic crises, refugee crises, anti-military protest movements and the brutal expulsion of the Rohingya in 2016-2017. These have come at great cost to human rights, livelihoods and the economy. But throughout, successive governments have remained in power and the Myanmar state has continued to maintain basic order and provide public services, at least in the center of the country. In short, Myanmar has somehow managed to muddle through.

## **CHAPTER 2: CAMPAIGNS AND STRIKES**

Since the coup took over the country (Feb.1), there were a peaceful protest, but not until Feb.20 when the protest quickly turned deadly and taken up arms. And what led into that is that there were two unarmed protesters were killed by security forces in Mandalay, one of whom was a 16-year-old boy. The deaths preceded a general strike on Feb.22, when millions of people across the country took to the streets. In the cities, protesters have built barricades to protect neighborhoods from military incursions and learned how to make smoke bombs on the internet. In the forests, they are training in basic warfare techniques, plotting to sabotage military-linked facilities and they are also training with firearms and hand grenades.

### **2.1 Civil Disobedience Movement and labor Strike**

On 2 February 2021, healthcare workers and civil servants across the country, including in the national capital, **Naypyidaw**, launched a national civil disobedience

movement in opposition to the coup d'état<sup>6</sup>. One expert on the government's civil service system estimated that the country had about one million civil servants and that about three-quarters of them had walked off their jobs.

Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) has attracted more than 230,000 followers, since its initial launch on 2 February 2021.

On 3 February 2021, Healthcare workers from dozens of state-run hospitals and institutions initiated a labor strike. There were more than 110 hospitals and healthcare agencies have participated in the movement<sup>7</sup>. Six of the thirteen-member Mandalay City Development Committee, including vice-mayor Ye Mon, resigned on 3 February 2021, in protest against the coup d'état. Labor strike participants have faced intimidation and threats from superiors.

On 4 February 2021, civil servants employed at the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Irrigation staged a protest in Naypyidaw.

On 5 February 2021, three hundred copper miners at the Kyisintaung copper mines joined the strike campaign. **Miner Sithu Tun** stated that the strike would continue until the "elected leaders receive[d] their power back". The civil service strike included administrative, medical, and educational sector staff and students at "91 government hospitals, 18 universities and colleges and 12 government departments in 79 townships".

On 8 February 2021, all of workers from Myanmar railways participated in the movement and so, the railway transportation is completely stopped. Kanbawza Bank temporarily closed its branches due to staffing shortages resulting from KBZ staff

---

<sup>6</sup> Myat Thura and Khin Su Wai, "Nay Pyi Taw, Mandalay healthcare staff to join Civil Disobedience Campaign," Myanmar Times, 2021.

<sup>7</sup> The Irrawaddy: "Myanmar's Medic Launch Civil Disobedience Campaign Against Coup," 2021.

participating in the civil disobedience campaign. Other banks were also impacted by staff participation in the ongoing campaign.

By 9 February 2021, COVID vaccination had been suspended, the country's testing system had collapsed and most hospitals in Myanmar had shut down. The impact of Civil Disobedience Movement activities led the Ministry of Health and Sports to publish a public plea in the state-run **New Light of Myanmar** requesting healthcare workers to return to work.

On 11 February 2021, Min Aung Hlaing urged civil servants to put aside their feelings and return to work. On 16 February, a Ministry of Information spokesperson warned civil servants participating in the movement, warning that authorities would not wait long for their return to work.

From 25 February, truck drivers also began a strike against the coup by refusing to transport goods from the docks at Yangon's four main ports. Joint secretary of the Myanmar Container Trucking Association said he estimates that about 90% of the 4,000 city's drivers are on strike, and have promised to deliver only essential food, medicine and fabrics for factories.



*Figure 3: Map of Yangon*

## 2.2 Military Boycott Campaign

Military Boycott Campaign is the movement which urged Myanmar citizens to not buy and use products affiliated with the Tatmadaw<sup>8</sup>. On 3 February 2021, the movement which also called the "Stop Buying Junta Business" campaign emerged and become viral, calling for the boycott of products and services linked to the Myanmar military. The Tatmadaw has been linked to a large number of businesses in various sectors such as food and beverage products, the entertainment industry, internet service providers, banks, financial enterprises, hospitals, oil companies, and wholesale markets and retail businesses. Specific product includes Myanmar Beer, Dagon Beer, Mandalay Beer, Mytel telco services, Ruby cigarettes, Nann Myaning & Pyin Oo Lwin coffee, Shwe Phi Oo instant tea, the Kantharyar Private Hospital, 7<sup>th</sup> Sense film productions and Shwe Mann Thu & Shan Ma Lay Highway Express<sup>9</sup>.

As a result, a growing number of private shops in the Yangon, Mandalay and Bago areas and the Karen and Kachin states are posting signs that say “we do not sell to police and military personnel, if you find this embarrassing, don’t buy it”. And some vendors also added sentences saying that they would not sell anything to civil servants who did not participate in the civil disobedience campaign against the military regime. Myanmar Beer since then was no longer seen in the largest retailer in Myanmar City Mart. A large number of restaurants and hotels in Yangon and Madalay also no longer serve military-related beer brands. A number of convenience stores such as G&G and ABC appear to have joined the campaign, with Mytel and Myanmar Beer cards no longer available at most of their branches in Yangon. This includes Mytel pay services, sim cards and top-uos by small shops in Myanmar. According to

---

<sup>8</sup> Zeyar Hein, “Myanmar calls for boycott of Tatmadaw linked products and sevicess,” Myanmar times, 2021.

<sup>9</sup> Ahmad Fauzi Lyabu, “Myanmar Citizens Boycott the military’s Cigarettes, Beer and cellular Operators as a protest act agianst the coup,” VOI, February 26, 2021, <https://voi.id/en/news/35762/myanmar-citizens-boycott-the-military-s-cigarettes-beer-and-cellular-operators-as-a-protest-act-against-the-coup>.

a UN Fact-Finding Mission report on Myanmar, nearly 60 foreign companies are jointly or indirectly doing business with the Myanmar military. After the coup, Japanese beverage giant Kirin announced that it would end its joint beer business with Myanma Economic Holdings Public Co, Ltd. (MEHL). On February 9, leading Singaporean conglomerate Lim Kaling also decided to exit its joint venture with MEHL, which produces the country's most popular cigarette brands, Red Ruby and Premium Gold. Moreover, human rights activists in Burma also have been calling for the international community to impose targeted sanctions on military companies. Most military companies have at some point depended on international companies to supply finance, equipment, expertise and services.

### **2.3 Pot-banging Movement**

Pot-banging Movement is movement of pounding of pots and pans in many parts of Myanmar at 8 o'clock every night as a method of expressing their opposition to the coup d'état. The widespread banging of pots and pans is worth deeper examination. This form of protest facilitates the broader participation of civilians during an ongoing pandemic, including women (in care roles at home), youth, aged and disabled, in their political opposition against the regime. Historically, pots and pans movements have encouraged women's participation in politics. It was a prominent form of protest in Chile after the event called "March of empty pots" by Chilean women in 1971 protesting against the government for the scarcity of food. It spread across the region and is still today commonly used in political and social protests in Latin America.

Banging pots and pans every night shows the solidarity of Myanmar people in opposing the coup and military regime, and it is also a way for most women to make their political voices louder. Women fighting against the authoritarian regime in Myanmar is not new. They actively opposed the regime alongside their male counterparts in the 1988 uprising and in its brutal ending. They lost loved ones, either killed or imprisoned. Despite slow

progress, the transitional period of democracy in Myanmar gave women a chance to demand their position in politics and leadership across government, compared to how they were unequally treated under the military regime. During the 2015 election, 13% of the 6200 candidates were female, and in 2020 it increased to 15.6%. Returning to the military regime will impose additional challenges for ongoing development for the gender equality and women's empowerment in Myanmar.

## **2.4 Red Ribbon Campaign**

Healthcare workers in Myanmar launched the red ribbon campaign. Other medics are organizing red-ribbon campaign against military rules while still working. Health workers from Hpakant Township Hospital launched a "Red Ribbon Campaign" in protest against the military coup. joined the red ribbon campaign to support the public. They didn't close down the hospital and no medics had resigned. They are still providing medical treatments to the inpatients. As we know, the color red is associated with the National League for Democracy (NLD) and the ribbons are pinned to staff clothing and three-fingers salutes are raised to show solidarity with the ousted NLD.

## **2.5 Social Media**

Burmese celebrities and politicians, including Paing Takhon and Daung, have publicly supported civil resistance efforts, posing with the three-finger salute in social media posts. On the other hand, celebrities and social media influencers, such Sai Sai Kham Leng and Nay Chi Oo, who were silent or were slow to support the ongoing popular protests lost sizeable online followings. On 7 February, Nay Soe Maung, son-in-law of Myanmar's former dictator Than Shwe, posted a Facebook photo demonstrating support for the protests.

Burmese netizens have popularized trending hashtags like #SayNototheCoup, #RespectOurVotes, #HearTheVoiceofMyanmar, #SaveMyanmar, and #CivilDisobedience.



Within a day after the coup d'état, the #SaveMyanmar hashtag had been used by over 325,000 Facebook users<sup>10</sup>. Besides that, social media users had also changed their profile pictures to black to show their sorrow or red in support of the NLD, often with a portrait of Suu Kyi. Burmese netizens have also ridiculed Min Aung Hlaing's short stature online, and some pro-democracy netizens have joined the Milk Tea Alliance, an online democratic solidarity movement in Asia.

### **2.6 Staged mass “car breakdowns” and “slow-car” movement**

On 17 February 2021, many cars mysteriously broke down in busy streets of Yangon in a staged demonstration, in a creative attempt to block security forces and police to pass through the traffic and to thwart the government workers from going to work<sup>11</sup>. The movement continued on 18 February 2021 with many broken-down cars joined by some moving at a very slow speed to block traffic.

## **CHAPTER 3: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION**

The ongoing conflict of Myanmar verse the military and ethnic armed groups has made this country suffered multiple disputes as well as the violation of international humanitarian and human rights laws. Due to these reasons, it is causing substantial humanitarian needs. This situation has forced thousands of civilian to flee from their state to other states and that was when a lot of human rights violation occurred.

According to AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, “Indiscriminate airstrikes and shelling by military took place in Rakhine and Chin States which happen to displaced thousands of civilians”<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, the authorities-imposed restriction on access to information in several areas of Rakhine and Chin States which made it hard for international

---

<sup>10</sup> Coconuts Yangon, “*Here’s who is standing up against Myanmar’s coup,*” 2021.

<sup>11</sup> Aljazeera, “*Protesters create gridlock in Yangon amid fears of violence,*” 2021.

<sup>12</sup> “*Myanmar 2020,*” Amnesty International ,2020. Available from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/myanmar/report-myanmar/>.

aid organization or Humanitarian group to assist those in need because of limited access to information. This restriction has also impacted the ability of communities to receive potentially lifesaving information, during both Covid-19 pandemic and the on-going armed conflict.

According to Human Rights watch, Myanmar's military junta has committed numerous abuses against the population that amount to crimes against humanity in the six months since the February 1, 2021 coup. Furthermore, Since the military takeover, millions of people have taken to the streets across the country and peacefully protested for a return to a democratically elected civilian government. As part of a widespread and systematic attack on the population, security forces have repeatedly fired on and otherwise used excessive force to disperse and harm protesters. Police and soldiers have killed over 900 protesters and bystanders, including about 75 children, forcibly disappeared over 100 persons, and tortured and raped an unknown number in custody. Several thousand people have been arbitrarily arrested and detained. The concept of crimes against humanity dates to at least 1915 and was part of the 1945 Charter of the International Military Tribunal that created the Nuremberg trials of Nazi leaders. Under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), crimes against humanity are a series of offenses that are knowingly committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population. Apparent crimes against humanity committed since February 1 include murder, enforced disappearance, torture, rape and other sexual violence, severe deprivation of liberty, and other inhumane acts causing great suffering.<sup>13</sup>

Through, Human rights watch investigation also found out that previously that, Myanmar's military had committed crime against humanity against the ethnic Rohingya

---

<sup>13</sup> "Myanmar: Coup Leads to Crime Against Humanity," Human Rights Watch, July 31, 2021. Access from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/07/31/myanmar-coup-leads-crimes-against-humanity>

population in 2012-2013 and again in 2017 as part of campaigns of ethnic cleansing. The authorities are committing crime against humanity of apartheid, persecution, and serve deprivation of liberty against Rohingya currently living in Rakhine State. The UN-backed Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar (IIMM) is “closely following” events and is collecting evidence of possible crimes committed following the coup. The IIMM is also mandated to build case files to support efforts to hold individuals responsible for such crimes in criminal proceedings.<sup>14</sup>

### **3.1 Internally Displaced People**

A large number of displacements in Myanmar is caused by the political and internal-communal conflict. This situation also occurred between military with ethnic non-state armed group which range on since the country’s independence in 1948. Even though, there as a signing of nationwide ceasefire in 2015, there still arm activities caused by several ethnic non-state armed group with military in Kachin, Shan, Kaying, and Chin states. This act has created a huge and regularly displacement. The worst case started from Rakhine state with the scene of mas displacement in 2012. Then in 2016 and 2017 more displacement range on when 800,000 members of the Rohingya ethnic group sought refuge in Bangladesh.<sup>15</sup>

Other cases happened in 2020, it was the armed conflict between the government and the Arakan Army, an ethnic non-state armed group, triggered about 58,000 in Rakhine and Chin States. The remaining 12,000 were recorded in Shan and Kayin States and the Mandalay region, the result of fighting between the military and ethnic non-state armed groups.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

<sup>15</sup> “*Myanmar Country information*,” Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2013-2019. Available at <https://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/myanmar>

<sup>16</sup> Ibid

What is even worst was when disasters also started during the conflict which triggered about 50,000 displacements. More than 41,000 of these displacements occurred between July and August, a result of floods, landslides, and erosion during the monsoon season.<sup>17</sup>

This situation has forced thousands of civilians to face the tragedy of many kinds of violations. RFA has reported, “A refugee said that thousands had fled Mindat township to the surrounding mountains and jungle to escape the fighting, which resumed on June 3, but said the

military had continued to target civilians, and was even firing artillery at camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs).”<sup>18</sup>

### **3.2 Denial of Humanitarian access**

During the conflict many international organizations and NGOs has been trying so hard to provide necessity needs to civilians of Myanmar and IDPs who are in the state of arm conflict. That would include Rakhine state and other townships. However, when UN agencies and international NGOs delivering humanitarian aid and supplies, they faced significant impediments in their effort to conduct activities. This is due to the reason of the authority’s restriction access to conflict-affected areas and where governance was contested by the government and ethnic armed group.<sup>19</sup>

It is very risky for humanitarian groups to assist help in Rakhine State. UN reported that, “Access to part of Shan, Kaying and Bago region have been affected due to clashes, while at least a third of the displacement site and half of the host communities in Rakhine state cannot be reached due to insecurity, OCHA added, reiterating the important of safe and

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid

<sup>18</sup> “*More Than 10,000 Displaced by renewed fighting in Myanmar’s Battle Ravaged Chin State,*” Radio Free Asia, June 08, 2021. Available from <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/idps-06082021190834.html>

<sup>19</sup> “Myanmar 2020,” Amnesty International, 2020. Available from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/myanmar/report-myanmar/>.

unimpeded access to deliver a timely and principled humanitarian response.”<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, a reported of unpleasant case on Monday April by Reuters stated, “a WHO vehicle carrying COVID-19 test samples in Minbya Township, Rakhine State, came under gunfire and the driver Mr. Pyae Sone Win Maung was killed”<sup>21</sup>. Another case on 28 October, two men were injured and one killed aboard an ICRC-contracted aid vessel in Rathedaung Township.”<sup>22</sup> For these cases both Myanmar’s army and Arakan Army denied responsibility for the attack and accused each other.

### **3.3 Freedoms of expression association and assembly**

Due to many violations on human right in Myanmar and the conflict seem to get worse and worse, a lot of people crying for help and hope for justice. In contrast, the situation is getting out of control when authorities used a range of repressive law to arrest, prosecute and imprison individual who exercised their rights to freedoms of expression, association and peaceful assembly.

Throughout the year, there were 58 people imprisoned by arbitrary and political. The Burmese authorities often pursued charges under Section 66 (d) of the 2013 Telecommunication Law and Section 505 (a) and 505 (b) of the Penal Code against critics and Human Rights Defenders.

---

<sup>20</sup> Peace and Security, “*Relief programs hit by ongoing crisis in Myanmar, UN humanitarian office says*”, United Nation, February 26, 2021. Available at <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/02/1085792>

<sup>21</sup> Reuters Staff, “*Driver killed in WHO vehicle carrying Virus swabs in Myanmar’s Rakhine*”, REUTERS, April 21, 2020, Available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-myanmar-rakhine-idUSKBN22315L>

<sup>22</sup> “*Myanmar Military, Arakan Army Trade Blame After Shelling of Red Cross Aid Boat Kills Man*,” Radio Free Asia, October 28, 2020. Available at <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/red-cross-10282020193047.html>

Section 66 (d) of the 2013 Telecommunications Law provides for up to three years in prison for “extorting, coercing, restraining wrongfully, defaming, disturbing, causing undue influence or threatening any person using a telecommunications network.”<sup>23</sup>

Section 505(a) of the Penal Code makes it a crime to publish or circulate any ‘statement, rumor or report’, ‘with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, any officer, soldier, sailor or airman, in the Army, Navy or Air Force to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such’.

Section 505(b) of the Penal Code punishes the publication or circulation of any ‘statement, rumor or report’, ‘with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public or to any section of the public whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquility’.<sup>24</sup>

According to these laws there was a poetry troupe called the Peacock Generation who were charged by Authorities with online defamation”. They criticizing the military by what so called Thangyat which is a traditional art form fusing poetry, comedy and music for satirical ends. Because of these performances six members of the group were sentenced to between two and six years imprisoned.<sup>25</sup>

To limit the right to freedom of expression and information authorities use national security legislation which is the 1908 Unlawful Associations Act to intimidate and arrest political activities. It is mostly used against member of ethnic minorities in Burma. Those arrested mostly charged under section 17/1 and 17/2 of the Unlawful Association Act. For example, on March 24, when the Arakan Army was designated as a terrorist organization and

---

<sup>23</sup> “Burma: Repeal Section 66(d) of the 2013 Telecommunications Law,” Human Right Watch, June 29, 2017. Available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/06/29/burma-repeal-section-66d-2013-telecommunications-law>

<sup>24</sup> “Myanmar: Release Arbitrarily Detained Student Protesters and Cease Further Prosecutions,” Amnesty, November 23, 2020. Access at <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/ASA1633712020ENGLISH.pdf>

<sup>25</sup> “Myanmar: New convictions for “Peacock Generation” member,” Amnesty International UK, May 18, 2020. Access at <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/resources/myanmar-new-convictions-peacock-generation-members>

it has been outlawed any communication with the group. Few journalists also get arrested by this law after interviewing members of ethnic armed groups or travelling to areas under their control.<sup>26</sup>

Section 17(1) Whoever is a member of an unlawful association, or takes part in meetings of any such association, or contributes or receives or solicits any contribution for the purpose of any such association or in any way assists the operations of any such association, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term [which shall not be less than two years and more than three years and shall also be liable to fine] (1).

Section 17(2) Whoever manages or assists in the management of an unlawful association, or promotes or assists in promoting a meeting of any such association, or of any members thereof as such members, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term [which shall not be less than three years and more than five years and shall also be liable to fine] (1).<sup>27</sup>

For the Peaceful Assembly and Peaceful procession Law, organizers of public gathering were required to notify or inform police of the event. If fail to do so could result in criminal sanction. The example case was on 4 September of poet and activist Maung Saungkha was convicted under section 19 of this law after he display a Burmese-language banner over the highway during a protest of one-year anniversary of restrictions on mobile internet communications in parts of Rakhine and Chin States. The banner read, “Is the internet shutdown to hide war crimes and killing people?”<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> “Myanmar 2020,” Amnesty International, 2020. Available from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/myanmar/report-myanmar/>.

<sup>27</sup> “The unlawful association Act [ India Act XIV],” December 11, 1908. Access at [https://www.burmalibrary.org/docs09/UNLAWFUL\\_ASSOCIATIONS\\_ACT.pdf](https://www.burmalibrary.org/docs09/UNLAWFUL_ASSOCIATIONS_ACT.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> Aung Naing Soe, “Myanmar: Reverse Conviction of Activities Poet, Uphold Right to Freedom of Expression,” Fortyfy Rights, September 04,2020. Available at <https://www.fortifyrights.org/mya-inv-2020-09-04/>

It is very difficult to give some sort of expression, communication or even trying to get any kind of information in Myanmar during the conflict whether as ethnic minorities or outsiders to conduct any kinds of activities if not aware of the law circumstances in that country.

### **3.4 Freedoms to access to information**

In June 2019, the government has imposed the restrictions on mobile internet connectivity to stop individual spreading false news of government activities. Then, the government has lifted this restriction in August in conflict-affected areas of norther Rakhine and southern Chin States. However, after the connection was restored, it was not working probably snice the government only restored 2G instead of 3G and 4G due to the reason of unavailable.<sup>29</sup> This has affected the flow of information, especially to document any activities related to human right violations and abuses and the dissemination of important health care information during COVID-19 pandemic.

What even more interesting was when Myanmar's authorities use it power which grated by section 77 of the Telecommunication Law to block websites criticize about government. On 19 and 31 March there were a total block of 2,147 website under this law. This has made many international organizations as well as NGOs feel concern about human rights situation in Myanmar. According to Artical<sup>19</sup>, "has repeatedly called on Myanmar Government to amend the Telecommunication Law and give specific concerns about section 77."<sup>30</sup> However, further information the government still failed to respond as well as failure of information spread out. Reporter still face threaten if giving any information of the conflict situation out. The case of, "Aung Mam Oo who is the editor-in-Chief of a Rakine State-based

---

<sup>29</sup> "Unplugged in Myanmar," Article<sup>19</sup>, July 09, 2021. Access from <https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Myanmar-Internet-Briefing-Paper.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> Matthew Bugher, "Myanmar: Immediately lift ban on ethnic news websites," Article<sup>19</sup>, April 01, 2020. Access from <https://www.article19.org/resources/myanmar-immediately-lift-ban-on-ethnic-news-websites/>



news agency reporting on violations during the conflict between the military and the Arakan Army, remained in hiding where he had been since May 2019. He faced charges under section 17(2) of the Unlawful Association Act.”<sup>31</sup>

### **3.5 Right to Education**

School should be a safe place for children to learn and absorb knowledge for future hope of changing Myanmar to become a much better country in the future as well as to reduce poverty which is one of the key challenges for their education.

All children and young people have the right to access education and parents have a right to choose freely on what education their children will receive. It is very necessary for government to make sure that children, teacher and staff must be respected without any harm or threaten.

In spite of improving the process of National Education Strategic Plan 2016-2021 the state still falls to do so. The reasons are because of poverty, large number of refugees as well as displaced people and military conflict.<sup>32</sup>

On 13 February, Children’s Day, a total of 21 students were injured and some were killed when an artillery shell hit a post-primary school in Buthidaung Township, Rakhine State on Thursday morning. When the clash of Tatmadaw and Arakan Army started in Kha Mwe Village and San Hnyin Wai Village-Tract, Mr Ukyaw who is the administrative official from the village, told Irrawaddy at noon on Thursday that, “We don’t know where the artillery shell came from. Students were running out of the school covered in blood, so we don’t have

---

<sup>31</sup> “Myanmar 2020,” Amnesty International, 2020. Available from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/myanmar/report-myanmar/>.

<sup>32</sup> UNICEF, “National Education Strategic Plan 2016-21 Summary,” CESR, January, 2016. Available at [https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/default/files/ressources/myanmar\\_nesp-english\\_summary.pdf](https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/default/files/ressources/myanmar_nesp-english_summary.pdf)

time to notice. We have the fins from the artillery shell. We don't know which type it is. We are all now at the hospital,"<sup>33</sup>

This has showed the military occupied school building in Rakhine state as their temporary place to attack its opponent. Their action has turned schools into military targets, placing the lives and safety of not only civilian also children at risk.

UNICEF also stated, "Attack on places of learning and education staff and the occupation of education facilities are unacceptable. They must be protected from conflict and unrest - these are places where children should be safe and empowered to learn and develop."<sup>34</sup> Most blame has been put on Myanmar's military but still denial for their human right defender.<sup>35</sup>

### **3.6 Violence against women and girls**

Violence against women and girls is a silent emergency in Myanmar. Enthought, few perspectives promoted by elite women claim that women in Myanmar are able to enjoy freedom of right just like men and in a better way compare to women in neighboring China and India. However, other perspectives argue as it is still different treat or respect if those women are just normally civilians instead of high-class civilians or elite women.

When working to improve a prevention of and protection from Violent Against Women (PoVAW) Law was stalled which caused Parliament members to debate crucial provision of the draft law focusing on the definition of rape. As stated in the latest vision of

---

<sup>33</sup> Min Aung Khine, "Artillery Shell in Strikes School, Injuring 21 Young Students in Myanmar's Rakhine State," Irrawaddy, February 14, 2020. Access from <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/artillery-shell-strikes-school-injuring-21-young-students-myanmars-rakhine-state.html>

<sup>34</sup> Shima Islam, "Education at risk: A generation of children in Myanmar must have safe, appropriate and inclusive opportunities to continue their learning," UNICEF, May 20,2021. Access from <https://www.unicef.org/eap/press-releases/education-risk-generation-children-myanmar-must-have-safe-appropriate-and-inclusive>

<sup>35</sup> Aye Thiri Kyaw, "Violence against women: a blow to "gender equality" myth in Myanmar," , The London School of Economics and Political Science, December 19, 2019. Available at <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/socialpolicy/2019/12/19/violence-against-women-a-blow-to-gender-equality-myth-in-myanmar/>

the PoVAW criminalized marital rape, the punishments were lighter than women being raped outside of marriage. In spite of PoVAW, marital rape was not considered as a crime under Penal Code.<sup>36</sup>

ICOE which is Myanmar's Independent Commission of Enquiry on 21 January launched a summary of domestic body charged of its investigation against Rohingya in Rakhine State during 2016-2017 and in its atrocities claimed that there was "no evidence of gang rape committed by Myanmar's security forces". What ICOE's claimed was the opposite of what human right groups, attending medical practitioners and the UN independent International had investigated and witnessed in Myanmar as they have the documented evidence of rape against Rohingya women and girls and as well as real interviewed with those women and girls who had been violated or being harassed during the arm conflict.<sup>37</sup>

The report provided by Human Right Council in 2018, Rakhine women and girl were subject to rap and other forms of sexual violence by Tatmadaw forces mostly from high-ranking officers since 2011 until 2017 of arm conflict against Rohingya on 25 August. Other cases reported of a 17 years old girl was raped by Tatmadaw in Rakhine.<sup>38</sup>

Through the report of RFA, "Myanmar's army on Wednesday admitted that three of its soldiers raped an ethnic Rakhine grandmother during army operation in her village in war-torn Rakhine State in late June, reversing its earlier denials and pledging that the men will face military and civil charges. At first the soldier continuous to denials until the conduct of many

---

<sup>36</sup> "Myanmar 2020," Amnesty International, 2020. Available from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/myanmar/report-myanmar/>.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid

<sup>38</sup> "Sexual and gender-based violence in Myanmar and the gendered impact of its ethnic conflict", HRC, September 27, 2019. Page: 25. Accessed from [https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/FFM-Myanmar/sexualviolence/A\\_HRC\\_CRP\\_4.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/FFM-Myanmar/sexualviolence/A_HRC_CRP_4.pdf)

investigations and the truth reveal. Finally, the three soldiers were each sentenced to 20 year's imprisonment with hard labour, in late December.<sup>39</sup>

### **3.7 Economic, Social and Cultural Right**

After five decades of autocratic military rule, Myanmar initiated a transformation to a representative democracy. Open national elections were held in November 2015 for the first time in 25 years. A civilian government, under the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi assumed power in March 2016. However, it has been pointed out that the political influence of the military remains strong and coercive. The new civilian government has stated its intention to pursue reconciliation between the different ethnic groups of Myanmar. Nevertheless, in the national elections of November 2015 Muslim candidates were not allowed to participate, resulting in a Parliament with no Muslim representation. The government has also opposed calls to grant the Rohingya Muslim minority citizenship. Various regional and national tensions threaten the already tenuous transition. The Rohingya crisis and precarious security structures pose a great threat to the nation's stability. The Rohingya Muslims, an ethnic group living mostly in Rakhine State of Myanmar, are considered to be the world's most persecuted minority and the largest stateless group. The Rohingya Muslims have recurrently been denied Myanmar citizenship since the country gained independence in 1948, under the 1982 Myanmar Citizenship Law, and most recently, under the 2008 Constitution which denied Rohingyas as citizens of Myanmar. As a result, for decades, their economic livelihood has been dismantled. Moreover, without obtaining identity cards, the Rohingya have also been denied access to healthcare and education services, the right to vote and even forced into internal refugee camps. Land owned by the Rohingya has been confiscated. Rohingya males have been exploited in forced labour, and the Rohingya do not have a right to start a family

---

<sup>39</sup> "Myanmar Military Admits Soldiers Assaulted Women in Rakhine State," RFA, October 09, 2020. Available from at <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/military-admission-09092020180308.html>

freely as they need permission from the government and pay a fee to marry, and they are restricted to have more than two children. Apart from the Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine State, the same levels of discrimination are being experienced by Rohingya Muslims in the Kachin and Shan States of Myanmar, and by other minorities in Myanmar.<sup>40</sup>

The world marks Human Rights Day on December 10, a reminder that as Myanmar opens up to new internal and external pressures, economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights will take on more prominence – in some cases, they will demand even more attention than the civil and political rights that have long been at the core of human rights activism aimed at the country.

The points that rise up for ESC are:

- The right to health, education and basic social services, as well as cultural rights and workers' rights, are sectors that impact the majority of the country. Yet they have been little-discussed in the past despite their centrality to human rights norms.
- Forcible displacement, denial of access to education, lack of safe drinking water and inadequate food production are key ESC rights issues that drive ethnic conflict, yet they are often overlooked by human rights groups that home in on violations of civil rights, political rights and international law.
- In peace negotiations, the right to preserve their own culture is a long-term demand of many ethnic groups that have waged armed conflict with the central state since independence.

Myanmar is not a party to International Covenant on Civil and Political Right (ICCPR) or the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

---

<sup>40</sup> Andriessen Pleun, Da Silva Coutinho Patricia, Hovhannisyan Linh, Nong Ngoc Thao Linh, and Stepanova Iryna, "Policy Framework on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights In The Situation of Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar 2018," act!on for ESCR, December 09, 2018. Page: 1-2. Available from <https://www.geneva-academy.ch/joomlatools-files/docman-files/Action%20for%20ESCR.pdf>

(ICESGR), or their optional protocols. In a positive move the Myanmar National Human Rights Commission recommended in June that the government ratify the covenants and the optional protocols.

Myanmar may not be a part to (ICCPR) or (ICESGR), it is still is party to several international human rights treaties related to ESC rights, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which the former military government signed in the 1990s and which became a hotly contested issue between government officials and women's groups at international meetings. Another such treaty is the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The immense developmental challenges now facing the country are, more than ever, linked to the promotion of economic, social and cultural rights. As development aid and investment ramp up, ill-conceived or abusive programs pose the danger of exacerbating already deep-seated social inequalities. Communities must insist that development agencies and donors place ESC rights at the core of their program planning.<sup>41</sup>

### **3.8 Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) people**

Myanmar law expressly discriminates against LGBTI persons. Consensual same-sex conduct has been criminalized in Myanmar since 1860 under Section 377 of the Myanmar Penal Code of 1860 (India Act XLV) (Penal Code). UN Special Rapporteurs in the situation of human rights in Myanmar, as well as international community have recommended that section 377 be repealed because it violates the rights to privacy, equality and

---

<sup>41</sup> The Myanmar Times, "*Transforming the culture of human rights in Myanmar*," Human Right Watch, December 16, 2013. Access at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/12/16/transforming-culture-human-rights-myanmar>

nondiscrimination. However, this recommendation was not only entirely not implemented but also, according to the studies, the abuse of this law by the law enforcement officers and polices to perpetrate discriminatory acts against LGBTI people through other indirect laws such as Section 35 of Myanmar's Police Act 1945 (Police Act) and Section 30 of the Rangoon Police Act 1899 had been increasing in recent years. Abusive actions and behaviors include arbitrary accusations, arrests and detentions. Regardless that the human rights protections being enshrined under the Myanmar 2008 Constitution (the Constitution), its article 348 does not inclusively provision the protection based on "sexual orientation and gender identity", with no other laws which prohibits discrimination against LGBTI persons. Failure to ratify International Covenant on Civil and Political rights (ICCPR), coupled with the deficiencies under its domestic legislations to prevent discriminations, means LGBTI persons in Myanmar still face marginalization, stigmatization, discrimination and are subjected to phobia and violence on a large scale. Myanmar Human Rights Commission (MNHRC) was first formed on September 5, 2011 and consisted of 11 retired bureaucrats and academics. It was reformed recently in January 2020; however, it still is consisting of the Commissioners with merely no human rights background or expertise, especially around the issues of sexual orientation and gender identity. For the past few years, it had been criticized for its disqualified performance both in promoting and protecting human rights; remaining in silence especially around the issues of sexual orientation, gender identity/expressions and sex characteristics.<sup>42</sup>

In June 2019, in the case involving a former librarian of Myanmar Imperial University who committed suicide due to forced outing of his sexual orientation and workplace bullying the Commission released a report concluding that 'the victim was mentally weak' and that there was no violation of his rights, despite the mobile phone screen-shots of messages from

---

<sup>42</sup> LGBTI Organization, "*Submission of Shadow Report to the United Nations Universal Periodic Review Regarding the Human Right Situations of LGBTI persons In the Republic of the Union,*" C.A.N-Myanmar, 2020. Available at <file:///D:/JS28 UPR37 MMR E Main.pdf>

the victim's coworkers mocking him which were posted on online social media by the victim himself and went viral. LGBTI rights organizations and activists were hugely disappointed by the Commission's stand on this case of LGBTI-related human rights violation.<sup>43</sup>

### **3.9 Control of media**

Myanmar's military government overthrew the elected government on the first of February and has continued to violently put down on those who protest against the government and the opposition movement. They have been also trying to gain control over information. Authorities have restricted access to social media and the internet. On February 4, Facebook, Facebook Messenger and WhatsApp were blocked, followed the day after by Twitter and Instagram. Blocking Facebook was a crucial move: about half of the country's residents used the social media giant as their main news source.<sup>44</sup>

#### **3.9.1 Proposed cybersecurity Law**

Myanmar's Military Junta has spent a lot of its bill in order to gain power to access users' data, block websites, order internet shutdowns, and imprison critic and officials at noncomplying companies. The Cybersecurity Law was proposed by the ruling State Administrative Council to telecommunications operators after installed the February 1, 2021.

Linda Lakhdhir, Asia Legal advisor at Human Rights Watch said "The draft of cybersecurity law hand a military that just staged a coup and is notorious for jailing critics almost unlimited power to access user data, putting anyone who speak out at risk", she also added that "It would have a devastating impact on freedom of expression and access to information at a time when those rights are more important than ever."<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid

<sup>44</sup> Rodion Ebbighausen, "Myanmar's media under pressure from all sides," Made for minds, May 02, 2021. Access from <https://www.dw.com/en/myanmars-media-under-pressure-from-all-sides/a-57405936>

<sup>45</sup> "Myanmar: Scrap Sweeping Cybersecurity Bill," Human Rights Watch, February 12, 2021. Available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/02/12/myanmar-scrap-sweeping-cybersecurity-bill>



This law requires online service provider to give the military all the information of:

- Person's Name
- IP address
- Phone Number
- ID Card Number
- Physical Address

If any companies fail to give those needed information could or would face up to three years in prison.

### **3.9.2 Media Blackout**

After Facebook is blocked by Myanmar's military, many have been turning to Instagram and Twitter to spread more information of the situation as well as arm conflict in Myanmar. However, it was not long before Myanmar's military has also ordered internet service providers to also block access to Twitter and Instagram after blocking Facebook. The reason was to eliminate "Fake news and misinformation" the military said. Reuters also reported that the military government ordered telecommunications companies in the South Asian country to block the social networks "until further notice," Norwegian telecom Telenor said. The ordered has put Telecommunication companies into pressure stage, Telenor have decided that the only viable option was to cut its ties to Myanmar, eight years after initiating a venture that began with such promise. "The situation in Myanmar has over the past months become increasingly challenging for Telenor for people security, regulatory, and compliance reasons," Telenor Group CEO Sigve Brekke said in the statement. "We have evaluated all options and believe a sale of the company is the best possible solution in this situation."<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Rachel Sandler, "Social Media Blackout: Myanmar Military Government Blocks Twitter, Instagram," Forbes, February 05, 2021. Access at <https://www.forbes.com/sites/rachelsandler/2021/02/05/social-media-blackout-myanmar-military-government-blocks-twitter-instagram/?sh=e9cfd2f0507>

On July 08, The Norwegian telecoms company Telenor said, “It has agreed to the sale of its operations in Myanmar to the M1 Group, a Beirut-based investment firm, for \$105 million.” This action can also be seen as dangerous as well as trying to spread the truth story of Myanmar arm conflict. Human Right will also be put at risk due to unable to get information and assist help in time.<sup>47</sup>

### **3.9.3 Spread of misinformation**

It was very hard after the failed of election on February 01 and also the beginning of the coup d’etat. Tatmadaw, was not satisfied with the election result and started the arm conflict to take over the position of the government. After that, Phone networks around the capital, Naypyidaw, and the largest city, Yangon, went down at around 3 am and TV station went off the air. Members of parliament from the ruling NLD’s party, as well as the leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, were rounded up and detained. This was just a part of the Tatmadaw to control the flow of information in Myanmar During its takeover.

The Burmese military and groups that has relation and communication with it have been repeatedly accused of using social media misinformation and hate speech to manipulate public opinion and also to justify attacks on Rohingya Muslim in the north of the country, acts that amount to genocide said United Nations. Most of information by mainstream media also outlet rumors and lie which spread so quickly. There was even reported that NLD Facebook pages had been taken over by the Tatmadaw and people felt unsure of whom to trust at that time. According to Yi, a youth activist and broadcaster stated that, “People can’t get real information,” she added, “They restored the internet but not television. On Facebook there is

---

<sup>47</sup> Sebastia Strangio, “Norway’s Telenor Sells Myanmar Telecoms Operation to Lebanese Firm,” The Diplomat, July 09, 2021. Available at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/07/norways-telenor-sells-myanmar-telecoms-operation-to-lebanese-firm/>

no legitimate news verification, there is no accountability, so now misinformation is growing dangerously. There is a lot of hate speech, a lot of fake accounts”.<sup>48</sup>

There were a lot of cases reported of Tatmadaw takeover NLD’s official page and normally targeted on high class politician. They used those account to provide “Hate Speech and Hostage statement.” John Quinley who is a senior human rights specialist of civil society group Fortify Right told that, “This could become a big problem because it could cause fear and discord within the general public,”<sup>49</sup> He also continuous that maybe not only high-class politician’s account that might be used by the military, it could be any accounts.

More cases reported that misinformation may also coming from the new junta, since it also has black history of using false claims and doctored or out-of-context video and images to deceive public, as well as hate speech against minorities. However, this action of spreading misinformation had been investigated and being protest against by many activist groups to urge social media companies to take action against this act. According to Facebook’s director of public policy for APAC Emerging Countries, Rafael Frankel has taken action and stated in a statement that the company was “closely monitoring political events in Myanmar as they unfold”<sup>50</sup> and the company will remove content that violent it rules whether on hate speech, incitement in violence and misinformation.

### **3.9.4 Arrest of journalists and TV personalities**

The mass of anti-coup of Myanmar still keeps on going and has showing no sign of letting up. They take control on the flow of information, arrests protesters and journalists who critic their actions. There were 521 people had been arrested, charged or sentenced in prison by authorities after military deposed Aung San Suu Kyi, on her elected government day.

---

<sup>48</sup> Peter Guest, “*How misinformation fueled a coup in Myanmar,*” rest of world, February 02, 2021. Access at <https://restofworld.org/2021/how-misinformation-fueled-a-coup-in-myanmar/>

<sup>49</sup> Ibid

<sup>50</sup> Ibid

According to the Assistance Association for political Prisoner (AAPP Burma) only 44 of those arrested people be seen to release, include top leader detained and protesters.<sup>51</sup>

There were a lot of cases video showing Security forces beating reporters at the protest sites. Journalist Kyaw Zey Win, who was covering a protest in Mandalay was beaten by police and detained even after identified himself as a member of media. He was beaten and asked several times before let go by the security forces. There was also a freelance journalist who reporting without given out his name for safety reason said “I noticed some police in plain clothes who followed me home,” he said. “I also noticed some people on motorbikes circling my house and watching to see if I went out.” Due to this kind of action journalist are being warned to keep their distance from security forces for their safety said journalist Myint Kyaw. Section 505(b) is one of the Penal Code that are commonly used to arrest high-class politician and reports on criminalizes speech.<sup>52</sup>

Other case was, three journalists and two activists who fled from Myanmar to Thailand to escape from security forces arresting. However, instead of being arrest by security forces, they all were arrested and put-on trail by Thai security due to illegally entering the country in Chiang Mai. The reason of fleeing was due to the security forces torturing, detaining and killing of whether civilians or journalists. Even though, they are begging to temporary stay in Thailand for their safety, they are likely to be deported back to Myanmar if found guilty.<sup>53</sup>

Not only journalists who were being arrested by the coup, TV stars were also being targeting for their protest action against the coup as well. The case of Mr. Paing Takhon, who

---

<sup>51</sup> “*Arrest, Journalist Beating are Myanmar as Junta Faces Relentless Protests Rejecting Army Rule,*” RFA, February 18, 2021. Available at <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/journalist-beatings-02182021194224.html>

<sup>52</sup> Ibid

<sup>53</sup> “*Myanmar: Journalists who fled coup face Thailand deportation,*” BBC News, May 11, 2021. Available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-57067130>

is also one of the popular celebrities with huge online following was captured at 5am on Thursday at his mother's home in Yangon as reported by local media. He was accused of violating section 505a of the Penal Code, which criminalizes comments that "cause fear" or spread "false news" and can lead to up to three years in prison. What we know so far about this young celebrity is that his health is still in poor condition and also his personal account was taken by an unknown person.<sup>54</sup>

Another celebrity case focuses on Han Lay who was a candidate of Miss Grand International representing Myanmar. She took the courage to speak during the contest events asking for international help. Her speech was "Today in my country Myanmar...there are so many people dying," She added "Please help Myanmar. We need your urgent international help right now." This speech took place at the Miss Grand International 2020 in Thailand. After her two-minute speech she could not go back to her country immediately because she is concerned about her safety. She has decided to stay put in Thailand for at least the next three months.<sup>55</sup>

### **3.10 Covid-19 Pandemic**

COVID-19 is one of the most dangerous diseases since 2019 that the world has faced. The virus was confirmed to have reached Myanmar on 23 March 2020. The data of COVID-19 in Myanmar reported of 315,118 total cases with 10,695 deaths and 225,849 recovered on 05 August 2021 by worldometer.<sup>56</sup> This virus was confirmed to have reached Myanmar on 23 March 2020. There was also a committed call "the Committee for Corona virus Disease

---

<sup>54</sup> Rebecca Ratcliffe and Helen Davidson, "Myanmar celebrity model arrested as military targets public figures," *The Guardian*, April 08, 2021. Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/apr/08/myanmar-celebrity-model-arrested-paing-takhon-military-targets-public-figures>

<sup>55</sup> George Wright, "The Myanmar beauty queen standing up to the military," *BBC News*, April 05, 2021. Available from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-56602683>

<sup>56</sup> "World/Countries/Myanmar," worldometer, August 05, 2021. Available at <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/myanmar/>

19 (COVID-19)” leads by First Vice President Myint Swe with members from the various union ministries in order to fight against COVID-19 in the country.<sup>57</sup>

Although the government has taken action immediately to implemented containment measure and public health responses, the country still faced one of the most severe COVID-19 outbreaks in Southeast Asia by late 2020. This had pointed out the concern of UN about Myanmar’s vulnerability to the pandemic due to its weak healthcare infrastructure following poor investment over six decades of military rule, as well as ongoing internal conflict.<sup>58</sup>

This pandemic has a huge negative impact on the country’s economics and Myanmar’s shrank by 5% in 2020. The 2021 coup d’état and subsequent protest and civil disobedience movement, some of which were led by healthcare workers, caused severe disruptions to the country’s public health response. The testing system of COVID-19 in the country and vaccination deployment are thought to have collapsed in February 2021.<sup>59</sup>

## **CHAPTER 4: WORLD’S REACTION**

### **4.1 ASEAN**

The events in Myanmar pose a challenge to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations which is struggling to decide whether to stick to its principle of non-interference in members’ internal affairs or not<sup>60</sup>.

#### **ASEAN diplomacy and reputation were put to the test**

First, the diplomatic weight of the alliance is at stake. It would be a serious blow to ASEAN's importance if, for instance, the United States were to cancel its participation in the

---

<sup>57</sup> Aye nyein Win, “Myanmar leader forms new anti-COVID-19 committee,” MyanmarTimes, March 31, 2020. Available at <https://www.mmmtimes.com/news/myanmar-leader-forms-new-anti-covid-19-committee.html>

<sup>58</sup> Mandalay John Zaw, “UN raises concerns over Myanmar’s COVID-19 Situation,” UCAnews, July 31, 2020. Available at <https://www.ucanews.com/news/un-raises-concerns-over-myanmars-covid-19-situation/88991>

<sup>59</sup> Reuters Staff, “Coronavirus testing collapses in Myanmar after coup,” REUTER, February 09, 2021. Accessed at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-myanmar-coup-idUSKBN2A90CK>

<sup>60</sup> Just Security, “the ASEAN Way must change,” Beyond the Coup in Myanmar, 2021

next East Asia Summit or ASEAN summit because it was not prepared to sit at the same table with Myanmar's generals.

Second, the reputation of the alliance is suffering. Images of nationwide mass demonstrations against the military regime and of demonstrators being killed and wounded are being circulated around the world. This is also tarnishing ASEAN's image. The bloc is already accused of not taking its own human rights charter seriously.

Third, a breakup of Myanmar, which is by no means ruled out, would endanger the stability of the entire region. People have already started fleeing to places like India and Thailand. As the former Thai foreign Minister Kasit Pirmoya warned of “refugee crisis” and destabilization of the border regions. He added “ASEAN not only had the right but the responsibility to act decisively and take concrete actions to ensure that Myanmar’s generals end the violence, reverse their cop, respect the will of the people and allow democracy to prevail in Myanmar”.

#### **ASEAN-Divided reactions to the coup**

In contrast to the former foreign minister's clear appeal, Thailand's government, which itself came to power in a coup in 2014, has so far avoided criticizing the Myanmar military, calling the coup an internal affair of the country. As well as Vietnam, Cambodia and the Philippines have reacted in the same way. While the governments of Vietnam and Cambodia are authoritarian regimes themselves, Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte has declared war on democracy in his country.

On the other hand, Malaysia and Indonesia took a stand against the Myanmar military junta and criticized the violence there. Malaysian Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin expressed his "disgust at the continuing deadly violence against unarmed civilians." As Indonesian President Joko Widodo called for an immediate end to the violence and announced

that he would, together with Brunei, call a special meeting of ASEAN. Brunei is the current chair of the bloc.

#### **4.1.1 ASEAN members position on the situation in Myanmar**

##### **Indonesia**

Hours before the release of the ALM chairman's statement, Indonesian President Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo press conference outlining Indonesia's position on Myanmar<sup>61</sup>.

First, Jokowi conveyed that the situation in Myanmar is "unacceptable and cannot be allowed to continue". The watered-down ALM statement stated a "deep concern on the situation in the country, including reports of fatalities and escalation of violence".

Second, Jokowi called on the military government in Myanmar to cease its use of violence, while the ALM statement made no direct reference to the junta.

Third, Jokowi called for political prisoners to be released. The ALM chairman's statement worded this as: "we also heard calls for the release of all political prisoners including foreigners".

##### **Malaysia**

Both Indonesia and Malaysia were the first two countries who call for the urgent ASEAN summit. Malaysia strongly supports the statement by President Joko Widodo of the republic of Indonesia and his call for the convening of an emergency ASEAN Summit to address the situation in Myanmar. Malaysia calls for concerned parties to work together towards a peaceful settlement of the crisis and will continue to support an inclusive dialogue for a political transition and urge all parties to return to the negotiating table, remedy the crisis and avoid any further escalation of tension. Moreover, Malaysia also calls for the prompt and

---

<sup>61</sup> Gibran Mahesa Drajat, "The Indonesia factor in ASEAN's response to Myanmar," Eastasiaforum, May 21, 2021, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2021/05/21/the-indonesia-factor-in-aseans-response-to-myanmar/>.



unconditional release of political leaders, include State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu kyi and President U Win Myint who have been arbitrarily detained since 1 February 2021.

### **The Philippine**

The Philippine government is deeply concerned with the recent escalation of violence in Myanmar and calls on security forces to exercise restraint and refrain from using excessive force against unarmed demonstrators. The Philippine government reiterates its call for a complete restoration of the status quo ante and allow State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to play her unifying role. Moreover, the Philippine government are one more advised to Filipinos in Myanmar to avoid places of protest, monitor developments through reputable sources and check with the Philippine embassy in Yangon for further advisories.

### **Thailand**

Thailand seems to have weak reaction to the Myanmar coup, since Thailand's Prime Minister Prayut Cahn-o-cha was absent and was instead be represented by Foreign Minister Don Pramudwinai and the Thai government did not give a reason for Prayut's absence from the summit but it is not hard to read it as sign that the former general who himself led a coup against Thailand's elected government in 2014, was unwilling to take a strong stand against the actions of a military establishment with which the Royal Thai Army has close relations.

Regard to the refugee issue, if the violence continues in Myanmar, the movement of migrants and asylum seekers across the border will increase and Thailand will be unprepared to resettle them because Thailand is not fa party to the 1951 refugee convention or the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of refugees.

### **Vietnam**

Vietnam has called on all parties in Myanmar to exercise utmost restraint and pursue constructive dialogues for a peaceful solution and practical reconciliation for the country.

### **Cambodia**

Cambodia regrets the escalation of violence in Myanmar and is closely monitoring the situation while standing ready to join other ASEAN member states in helping the country return to normalcy.

According to Cambodian leader Hun Sen, referred to Myanmar's military coup as "internal affairs" of the country and declined further comment. As he said "Cambodia does not comment on the internal affairs of any country at all, either the ASEAN framework or any other country"<sup>62</sup>. As we know, Cambodia always adhered to the ASEAN principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of ASEAN members and also adhered to the principle of consensus.

According to Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Prak Sokhonn's press statement on March 9, "As a friend and a member of the ASEAN Community, Cambodia is saddened by the ongoing escalation of violence that has caused loss of lives", "Cambodia is ready to join other ASEAN member states to assist Myanmar on her path to normalcy in any role and in any format that are in line with ASEAN principles and that are agreeable to all,"<sup>63</sup>. He also said Myanmar's internal conflict is now so critical that it could lead to wider instability in Southeast Asia. If an actual civil war erupted in Myanmar it could spread, leading to declarations of secession by ethnic groups seeking to form their own states. This could eventually turn Myanmar into a shattered country like the former Yugoslavia. Therefore, whether Myanmar wants it or not, their [internal strife] becomes a concern of ASEAN as a whole. The purpose here is to prevent civil war in Myanmar. That is why ASEAN should try to intervene as quietly as possible in order to persuade the military to stop their crackdown and agree to negotiate with Aung San Suu Kyi to find a win-win

---

<sup>62</sup> "Cambodian Leader Hun Sen Terms Myanmar Coup "Internal Affairs"," VOA, February 01, 2021, <https://www.voacambodia.com/a/cambodian-leader-hun-sen-terms-myanmar-coup-internal-affairs-5759503.html> .

<sup>63</sup> Niem Chheng, "Kingdom stands ready to assist Myanmar," The Phnom Penh Post, March 10, 2021, <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national-politics/kingdom-stands-ready-assist-myanmar> .

solution in the national interests. He concluded that overall, the goal must be to avoid having Myanmar fall into a prolonged internal conflict or the trap of a long-term deadlock.

### **Laos**

There was a statement by spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lao PDR that was released on 12 March, which reads as follows:

1. As an immediate neighbor and ASEAN fellow, the Lao PDR has been closely following the developments in Myanmar. We stress the importance of maintaining political stability in all ASEAN Member States in order to achieve a stable, peaceful, and prosperous ASEAN Community.
2. The Lao PDR reiterates the ASEAN position as stated in the ASEAN Chairman's Statement issued on 1 February 2021 and the Chair's Statement on the Informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting issued on 2 March 2021. We encourage all parties concerned to engage in a peaceful resolution through constructive dialogue and reconciliation in order to return the situation to normalcy soon for peace, development, and the interests of the people of Myanmar.
3. While respecting the purposes and principles as enshrined in the ASEAN Charter, the Lao PDR stands ready to work closely with ASEAN Member States to assist in creating an environment conducive to achieve lasting peace and stability in Myanmar.

The statement comes as foreign ministers from member countries of ASEAN held an informal meeting by video conference on 2 March to discuss regional stability.

### **Singapore**

Singapore's Minister for foreign Affairs Vivian Balakrishnan on March 1, called on Myanmar's military to stop the use of lethal force on civilians and the immediate release of

State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi and other political detainees<sup>64</sup>. Singapore strongly reiterates that the use of lethal weapons against unarmed civilians is inexcusable in all circumstances. Moreover, Dr Balakrishnan added, Singapore calls on the Myanmar military authorities to exercise utmost restraint, to desist from the use of lethal force and to take immediate steps to deescalate the situation in order to prevent further bloodshed, violence and death.

### **Brunei Darussalam**

Brunei has released the statement on the developments in the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, which reads as follows:

1. Recalling the "Chairman's Statement on the Developments in the Republic of the Union of Myanmar" issued on 1 February 2021, and the "Chair's Statement on the Informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting" issued on 2 March 2021, it is saddened to learn of the continuing escalation of violence and use of lethal force in Myanmar that has resulted in the loss of lives.
2. In this regard, we would like to among others reiterate the points made from the said statements:
  - i. Recalling the purposes and the principle enshrined in the ASEAN Charter, including the adherence to the principle of democracy, the rule of law and good governance, respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms
  - ii. Reiterating that the political stability in all ASEAN Member States is essential for achieving a peaceful, stable and prosperous ASEAN Community;

---

<sup>64</sup> Ian Cheng, "Singapore's Foreign Minister calls on Myanmar's Military to stop using lethal force against civilians," CAN, March 2, 2021, <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/singapore/myanmar-singapore-halt-lethal-force-release-aung-san-suu-kyi-14307792> .

- iii. calling on all parties to refrain from instigating further violence, and for all sides to immediately exercise utmost restraint and flexibility;
  - iv. calling on all parties concerned to seek a peaceful solution and pursue constructive dialogue, reconciliation, and the return to normalcy in accordance with the will and interests of the people of Myanmar; and
  - v. acknowledging the calls for the early release of political detainees and for the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Envoy on Myanmar to engage with the parties concerned.
3. We would also like to reiterate ASEAN's readiness to assist Myanmar, including through the good office of the Chairman of ASEAN and the Secretary General of ASEAN in a positive, peaceful and constructive manner.

#### **4.1.2 Informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (IAMM)**

The Informal ASEAN Ministerial Meeting was convened on 2 March 2021 via videoconference. The virtual talks, in which nine ASEAN foreign ministers held talks with the junta's newly appointed foreign minister, came two days after the bloodiest day of unrest since the military seized power and overthrew Aung San Suu Kyi's elected government on February 1<sup>65</sup>.

In terms of joint action, the closest thing the meeting produced was a statement issued by current ASEAN chair Brunei, which failed to mention Myanmar until the eighth of its ten paragraphs- "We expressed our concern on the situation in Myanmar and called on all parties to refrain from instigating further violence, and for all sides to exercise utmost restraint as

---

<sup>65</sup> Latsamy Phonevilay, "ASEAN Ministers Meet to Discuss Regional Stability," The Laotian Times, March 3, 2021, <https://laotiantimes.com/2021/03/03/asean-ministers-meet-to-discuss-regional-stability/>.

well as flexibility,” the statement said. “We also called on all parties concerned to seek a peaceful solution, through constructive dialogue”.<sup>66</sup>

In the meeting only the four ASEAN most democratic states issued more strongly worded statement during and after the meeting. First, Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong described the coup as “an enormous tragic step back” for Myanmar. “To use lethal force against civilians and unarmed demonstrators, I think it is just not acceptable. That is disastrous not just internationally, but disastrous domestically,” he said. Second, Malaysian Foreign Minister Hishammuddin Hussein said during the online meeting that his government “calls for the prompt and unconditional release of detained political leaders in Myanmar, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Win Myint and their associates, and encourages dialogue between parties concerned”. Third, the Philippines issued a surprisingly robust statement. Foreign Secretary Teodoro Locsin stressed that the Philippines recognizes Aung San Suu Kyi’s “unifying role in her country’s history and in its destiny” and called for a restoration of a “complete return to the previously existing state of affairs”. Finally, Indonesia, which has been outspoken about the coup and has spearheaded regional diplomatic efforts, finished with a rebuke of the new coup government in Naypyidaw. “The wish and goodwill of ASEAN to help will be unable to be carried out if Myanmar doesn’t open its doors to ASEAN,” Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi said after the meeting. These statements rang out especially loudly against the silence from the four remaining ASEAN member states: Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand.

#### **4.1.3 ASEAN LEADERS’ MEETING**

ASEAN Leaders’ Meeting was convened on 24 April 2021 at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta, Republic of Indonesia and chaired by His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah

---

<sup>66</sup> Sebastian Strangio, “ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meet to Discuss Myanmar Crisis,” *The/Diplomat*, March 03, 2021, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/03/asean-foreign-ministers-meet-to-discuss-myanmar-crisis/>.

Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam. There were only 8 leaders of Southeast Asian nations including Myanmar's junta leader Min Aung Hlaing. As only the foreign minister of Laos was presented, Thailand's Prime Minister Prayut Cahn-o-cha was absent and was instead be represented by Foreign Minister Don Pramudwinai. Moreover, Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte was also absent amid rumors of ill health, while the Thai government did not give a reason for Prayut's absence from the summit but it is not hard to read it as sign that the former general who himself led a coup against Thailand's elected government in 2014, was unwilling to take a strong stand against the actions of a military establishment with which the Royal Thai Army has close relations.

### **Submit outcomes regard Myanmar issue**

The submit was convened specifically to deal with the Myanmar issue which is a marked departure from the usual indirect and informal diplomatic style characteristic of ASEAN.

On the situation in Myanmar, the Leaders reached the five-points consensus on the following:

- First, there shall be immediate cessation of violence in Myanmar and all parties shall exercise utmost restraint.
- Second, constructive dialogue among all parties concerned shall commence to seek a peaceful solution in the interests of the people.
- Third, s special envoy of the ASEAN chair shall facilitate mediation of the dialogue process, with the assistance of the Secretary-General of ASEAN
- Fourth, ASEAN shall provide humanitarian assistance through the AHA Centre.
- Fifth, the special envoy and delegation shall visit Myanmar to meet with all parties concerned.

### **After the meeting**

According to Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong said Min Aung Hlaing was not opposed to a visit by a delegation from ASEAN- “He said he heard us, he would take the points in which he considered helpful, that he was not opposed to ASEAN playing a constructive role, or an ASEAN delegation visit, or humanitarian assistance, and that they would move forward and engage with ASEAN in a constructive way”. And Malaysian Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin declared the meeting a success, noting the junta chief’s agreement to end violence.

## **4.2 The United Nations**

The United Nation has been helping out Myanmar since the 1950’s, and even during the darkest days of the military dictatorship. The organization continued to provide some humanitarian assistance, albeit under a restricted mandate from 1993 to 2012, working and communicating directly with communities as well as individuals.<sup>67</sup>

In the past, although it was hard for United Nation to provide help to Myanmar, they still try their best to find the best solutions in order to promote democratic for this country. However, things seem to change when the 2020 national government election of Myanmar failed by the oppose of military coup. What is even worst is when United Nation trying to provide humanitarian access to populations in need are put on standstill.

The top United Nation of Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet official warned on Tuesday that, “The ongoing repression of protest in Myanmar could spark a “full-blown conflict” on a par with Syria, she also added, “States with influence need to urgently apply concerted pressure on the military in Myanmar to halt the commission of grave human rights violations and possible crimes against humanity”. Ms. Bachelet also highlighted the need to

---

<sup>67</sup> Gert Rosenthal, “*A Brief and Independent Inquiry into The Involvement of the United Nation*”, May 29, 2019. Available at <https://www.un.org/sg/sites/www.un.org.sg/files/atoms/files/Myanmar%20Report%20-%20May%202019.pdf>



cut off the supply of arms and finances to the military leadership that aid its commission of serious human rights violations, otherwise the state will face the repeated tragedy of Syria cases. The United Nation also warned that Myanmar's economy, education and health infrastructure are on a serious brink of collapse. Thousands of people in Myanmar started fleeing due to the situation and Covid-19 control and response has been bought to a standstill.<sup>68</sup> If this internal conflict still keeps on going Myanmar will suffer a huge lost.

### **4.3 International Community**

The internal conflict of Myanmar started to get bigger and bigger. Myanmar's citizens are gathering repeatedly to protest against the coup despite increasing state violence against them. There have been reported over 50 protestor deaths with 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2021 and being named the 'deadliest day' after 38 were killed when security forces open fire with live bullets said Zoe Dean.<sup>69</sup>

The abuse of Human Rights in Myanmar keeps increasing and the need for aid also has expanded. It is quite challenging for international community to pin point on how to continue its support Myanmar's development without inadvertently supporting the current military leadership.

#### **4.3.1 United States**

The U.S has announced on February 2, 2021 that, "USAID were immediately redirection \$42.4 million of assistance away from work that would have benefited the Government of Burma. Rather than supporting the military, we were going to redirect these funds to support and strengthen civil society". U.S also added that, "It will continue its

---

<sup>68</sup> Peace and Security, "Myanmar heading towards a "full-blow conflicts", UN human rights Chief warns," United Nation, April 13, 2021. Accessed at

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/04/1089612><https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/04/1089612>

<sup>69</sup> Zoe Dean, "The International Community Responds to the Myanmar Coup and Myanmar's Community-based Organisations adapt," March 12, 2021. Available at <https://www.redseasearch.com/the-international-community-responds-to-the-myanmar-coup-and-myanmars-community-based-organisations-adapt/>

support to the people of Burma with approximately \$69 million in bilateral programs.”<sup>70</sup> The U.S has responded on most commonly:

- The health of Burma people
- Combating against COVID-19
- Strengthen the ability of civil society to guard democratic space
- Foster food security
- Support independent media
- And promote peace and reconciliation in conflict-affected regions.

The U.S will work it best to provide all necessity help to Myanmar state in order to restore this country human rights as well as democracy.

#### **4.3.2 United Kingdom**

UK has been responded to Myanmar crisis by putting out sanctions against military member of Myanmar’s State Administration Council, including the Commander in Chief, for overseeing human rights violations since the coup.<sup>71</sup>

UK has continued its sanction on:

- Military coup for serious human rights violations.
- Department for International Trade to lead work on ensuring that UK businesses are not trading with Myanmar’s military-owned companies.

UK instead will used it aid which used to support the military government to refocused on poorest and most vulnerable in Myanmar.

---

<sup>70</sup> Office of Press Relations, “*USAID Immediately Redirects \$42 Million in Response to The Military Coup in Burma*,” USAID, February 11, 2021. Available at <https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/press-releases/feb-11-2021-usaid-immediately-redirects-42-million-response-military-coup-burma>

<sup>71</sup> Press release, “*UK sanctions further Myanmar military figures for role in coup 25 February 2021*,” GOV.UK, February 25, 2021. Access at <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-sanctions-further-myanmar-military-figures-for-role-in-coup-february-25-2021>

According to Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs of the United Kingdom said that, “Two months on from the start of the coup, the Myanmar military has sunk to a new low with the wanton killing of innocent people, including children.” He added, “The UK’s latest actions streams and impose further cost on them for their violation of human rights”.<sup>72</sup>

The UK has led a strong, coordinated international response to the coup in Myanmar. This includes securing G7 statements on 3 February and 23 February and urgently convened the UN Security Council following the coup with a statement on 4 February. In response to escalating violence, the UK convened the Council again on 5 March and secured a Presidential Statement on 10 March condemning violence against peaceful protestors. On 12 February, the UK co-led a Special Session of the UN Human Rights Council, securing a resolution, agreed by consensus, condemning the coup. On 24 March, UK secured another HRC Resolution, again agreed by consensus, which condemned the military’s actions and enhanced evidence collection on human rights violations. This demonstrates the strength of feeling in the international community in opposition to the coup.<sup>73</sup> UK is still working on further sanctions. The UK is also working closely with their international partners to support Myanmar right to democracy and freedom of expression.

### **4.3.3 China**

Since the internal-conflict of Myanmar after the government election day which occupied by military coup and took a lot of innocent lives, China continued to refrain from criticizing the Tatmadaw and also avoided mentioning the bloodshed.

---

<sup>72</sup> Press release, “*UK announce further sanctions on Myanmar military-linked companies*,” GOV UK, April 1, 2021. Access at <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-announces-further-sanctions-on-myanmar-military-linked-companies>

<sup>73</sup> Ibid

United Nation Security Council which is UN's most powerful body has the authority to sanction Myanmar's military leader and impose a global arms embargo on the country. It has also issued two statements calling for the release of political prisoners and an end to the violence.<sup>74</sup>

Even though, the statement has been imposed, it has been blocked by China and Russia while 15-member UN Security Council has spoken twice "with one voice".<sup>75</sup> Most of UNSC member such as Britain, U.S, France and other council members have shown that they stand with the people of Myanmar, not with the military but it was still not able to do anything when two other super power states have vetoed the decision with different reasons. China has long-standing policy of noninterference so according to China's U.N Ambassador Zhan Jun has laid down China's position and said, "What happened in Myanmar is, in essence, Myanmar's internal affair". China would rather continue interest in international mediation, whether by ASEAN, the U.N, or even Beijing itself, which he said was "engaging and communicating with relevant parties in Myanmar to further facilitate parties' de-escalation of the situation and return to normalcy at an early date."<sup>76</sup>

China seems to focus more on its economic and infrastructures in Myanmar more than the internal conflict.

## **Chapter 5: Current Situation**

Since military coup shutdown the social media for reporting any information of the situation in Myanmar, there were no updated news of what is happening in the state. All the information we can assume now is that, the military general in Myanmar still accuses Aung

---

<sup>74</sup> Yasmine Ahmed, "Why Britain Should Champion UN Action on Myanmar," Human Right Watch, April 06, 2021. Available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/04/06/why-britain-should-champion-un-action-myanmar>

<sup>75</sup> Ibid

<sup>76</sup> Shannon Tiezzi, "China Responds to Bloodshed in Myanmar with Deafening Silence," The Diplomat, March 02, 2021. Available at <https://thediplomat.com/2021/03/china-responds-to-bloodshed-in-myanmar-with-deafening-silence/>

Suu Kyi and her party, the National League of Democracy, of election fraud and has detained Aung San Suu Kyi and deposed her government. We have not heard of any news about Aung San Suu Kyi's situation whether she is alright or not. Myanmar is still also in emergency state and the power management is still under the control of military coup. Despite this negative situation of protestors still stand and fight against the military coup until they could bring back their elected government and restore their country's democracy back. In addition, due to COVID-19 pandemic it is very necessary to end this dispute otherwise the number of infected and death will keep rising which also could be a big problem for mankind and the world.

According to Marc Weller said that, the military refused to transfer power to the elected representatives. Members of parliament were arrested, tortured and at times killed. Those who managed to evade the dragnet of the military assembled at Mannerplaw in the border region with Thailand and established an opposition government, dedicated to holding in trust the democratic mandate granted by the people of Myanmar. He also added that, "the history in Myanmar does repeat itself and there is one difference to the situation in 1990. However, several diplomatic representatives of the government under Aung San Suu Kyi, who also held the office of Foreign Minister in addition to being State Counsellor, have remained loyal to her and to the democratic process. Most notably, the Myanmar Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Kyaw Moe Tun, condemned the coup when addressing the General Assembly and called for the transfer of power to the democratically elected authorities. The Generals responded by purportedly dismissing him—a request that was ignored at the UN."<sup>77</sup>

In practice, there are at least two firm circumstances where the democratic norm has hard content in international law and practice at the universal level (there is more specific

---

<sup>77</sup> Marc Weller, "Myanmar: Testing the Democratic norm in international law," EJIL: Talk!, March 30, 2021. Available at <https://www.ejiltalk.org/myanmar-testing-the-democratic-norm-in-international-law/>

meaning in the Council of Europe area and the Americas). The first concerns counter-constitutional coups. Where a military junta, or another body, displaces a constitutionally established government, it cannot conceivably claim to represent the will of the people so manifestly frustrated by this act. Hence, the traditional rule providing that effective control equals an exclusive right to represent the state is disrupted. Instead, the legitimate government is considered to remain the lawful representative of the state.

This rationale also applies to the second instance of the hard application of the democratic norm. Where a sitting government permits an election to be held, but then refuses to implement the result, that government, however effective, can also no longer conceivably claim to represent the will of the very people who have just expressly disowned it. Again, legitimacy trumps effectiveness. These two aspects of the democratic norm have not only been acted upon on numerous occasions by the UN General Assembly, but they have also been consistently maintained, and even enforced, by the UN Security Council. The practice started in relation to the coup in Haiti, where a military regime forcibly displaced the newly elected President, Bertrand Aristide. In 1994, the UN Security Council, acting under enforcement Chapter VII of the UN Charter, confirmed that President Aristide remained the legitimate representative of Haiti, however effective the military were in terms of controlling events on the ground. Indeed, the Security Council authorized the forcible removal of the generals with a view to restoring the legitimate government to power. The democratic norm has not only been applied in relation to the Western Hemisphere, but it is of universal application, as numerous subsequent instances demonstrate, addressing cases as diverse as Burundi, Sierra Leone, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mauretania, Madagascar, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, etc. Indeed, evidencing the fact that this rule is by no means merely a Western

proposition or even imposition, the African Union has repeatedly pressed the United Nations to act with consistency and vigour in these kinds of cases.<sup>78</sup>

Evidently, the events in Myanmar fall squarely within both categories of circumstances where effectiveness does not equal a right to represent the state, and where unlawfully seized state power has to be surrendered. Clearly, this was a counter-constitutional coup and it has clearly been identified by the relevant international agencies as such. There was no emergency that could have triggered the provisions of the constitution providing for a military take-over. In addition, there is also the refusal to accept and implement a very clear and unambiguous election result. The result was confirmed by the Myanmar Electoral Commission and international monitors and cannot be impeached by the unsubstantiated and self-serving allegations of fraud put forward by the generals. The US, the EU and others have already taken initial action in defense of the democratic norm in this instance, imposing targeted sanctions. Similarly, the UN has continued to seat the delegation of the lawful and legitimate government of Myanmar, despite the attempts of the military to displace it.<sup>79</sup>

Given the present geopolitical alignment, it seems likely that the UN Security Council will not be able to progress beyond a condemnation of excessive violence, perhaps other violations of human rights by the military regime and possibly a soft call for a return to democracy. However, action in the UN General Assembly, basing itself on the many precedents noted above, and on its earlier treatment of the situation in Myanmar, may be possible. The precedence of the principle of legitimacy over effectiveness will be tested further as the credentials of Myanmar become an issue for the next, upcoming session of the UN General Assembly, should the situation not be resolved before then.

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid

<sup>79</sup> Ibid

## 5.1 What can be done?

Only international community could help bring back Myanmar's peace especially, United Nations to put an end to this internal-conflict. The best way to do that include:

- To urgently draft and negotiate a strong resolution that would target the military's leadership and its funding.
- A Security Council resolution needs nine votes and no vetoes from the five permanent members to pass. Resolutions often pass without consensus, such as two recent ones by Britain on Somalia and Libya. A Myanmar sanctions resolution doesn't need to be an exception.
- Aung Suu Kyi and her political members need to be release.
- China needs to stop supplying weapons and investment to military coup.
- Aasen needs to joint hand and speak "with one voice" on Myanmar.
- China has lost a lot economic interests as it has chosen to stand with military coup instead of the government so it is time for China to reconsider about their role of supporting military coup.
- Military coup must stop violating Human rights and give freedom back to its citizen.
- Internet and social media must allow to be use again.
- The growth of displaced persons and those seeking refuge is alarming and shows no signs of slowing down. An international commitment to the provision humanitarian aid needs to be reached.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> Committee, "Report: The UK Government's responds to the Myanmar Crisis," UK Parliament, July 16, 2021. Available at <https://committees.parliament.uk/committee/78/foreign-affairs-committee/news/156645/report-the-uk-governments-response-to-the-myanmar-crisis/>



- The National Unity Government are the rightful, democratic representatives of the people of Myanmar, and should be treated as such. However, support of the National Unity Government must be contingent on its clear and continued commitment to the rights of all ethnic groups and minorities, and to delivering justice for past crimes and abuses.<sup>81</sup>
- Must allow humanitarian assistances or agencies to provide assist to vulnerable citizen in Myanmar.

The international community as well as Aasen must take action immediately to resolve this internal-conflict since they are also fighting against COVID-19 pandemic.

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid

## CONCLUSION

Through a lot of investigations and document researches by international organizations has demonstrate that Myanmar has exactly violated Human Rights in a serious way and it has fault to restore its own democracy. In this thesis paper, it is deeply concern on how the Myanmar military coup will continuous its action and how it plans to carry on when the situation in its country is not seem to go back to the way it used to be. Myanmar military coup has also blocked any intervention from any states who want to offer help, which is hard for international community to provide assistances to prevent more tragic in this country. This is because the government regularly barred rights monitors and journalists from conflict areas and denied access to UN and international humanitarian agencies seeking to provide food, medicine, and other important aid. Civilians continued to be targeted during hostilities in northern Myanmar. According to the UN during the fight women and children are likely to be kill.

Moreover, after the 2020 election which showed the result of Aung San Suu Kyi's party, the National League for Democracy, captured at least 397 parliamentary seats out of 476 which won a huge majority compare to the opposite party, Union Solidarity and Development party. This result in USDP accused the NLD of engaging in electoral fraud including the buying of votes, and called for fresh elections in coordination with the military. So, the conflict range on while high politician and elected government are still being detained by the coup, also the country is still under state of emergency without knowing when it is going to end.

Human Rights in Myanmar has fallen deeply into the darkness and cause a huge damage to the country and civilians as well as country not able to become democratic and develop. According through our analyzes, The government of Myanmar has been accused of using "scorched earth" tactics against civilians, most notably in Kayin State. The accusations

included burning down entire villages, planting landmines, using civilians as slave labour, using civilians as minesweepers and the rape and murder on women. Military coup has taken away its citizens freedom of speech and even arrested who ever use restricted rights. As a democratic state this is absolutely violated human rights. It is blur to see right now whether Myanmar run it country as democratic or communist. However, we are sure that since it has disconnected it communication with the world especially not giving out any information about its current situation sooner or later this country will fall into communist or become completely communist if there is not good solution to end the internal conflict.

Since 1991, the UN General Assembly has adopted twenty-five different resolutions regarding Myanmar's government, condemning previous military juntas for their systematic violations of human rights and lack of political freedom. In 2009 they urged the then ruling junta to take urgent measures to end violations of international human rights and humanitarian laws in the country. Reports of human rights abuses committed by the military and local paramilitaries prompted the UN Human Rights Council to launch an independent international fact-finding mission in March 2017, with which Myanmar's government failed to cooperate. The mission's report (A/HRC/39/64) released in September 2018 highlighted "clear patterns" of serious human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law in Kachin State, Rakhine State, and Shan State since 2011. Right now, The Tatmadaw are accused of deliberate and systematic targeting of civilians, sexual violence, discriminatory rhetoric against minorities, and impunity for its soldiers. In addition to violence against Rohingya communities, the report noted Tatamadaw abuses against ethnic Rakhine, including forced labour, sexual violence, forced evictions, and killings. It also highlighted crimes committed by insurgent groups in Kachin State, Rakhine State, and Shan State, including arson, extortion, destruction of property, forced labour, rape, murder, and forced disappearances.

Since this internal arm conflict is still not yet end and people continuous to suffer the damage caused by the government, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has called for dialogue and a cessation of violence, while the United States and its partners are combining diplomatic isolation with targeted economic sanctions in a bid to force a return to democracy. The United Nations has called for an arms embargo on the country. So far, nothing has worked.

Myanmar is also struggle to contain COVID-19 outbreak. Last year, the country was able to keep the COVID-19 outbreak under control with strict restrictions imposed by civilian leader Aung San Suu Kyi, plus the use of vaccines from India and China. However, Suu Kyi was ousted in February by the military, and since then people have been reluctant to go to military hospitals. In addition, after Suu Kyi's ouster, medical professionals were a big component of the country's civil disobedience movement that urged people not to entrust their care in the hands of the unpopular government. The neighboring countries around Myanmar are also facing the same situation. To combat the surge, Bangladesh has been on lockdown since the beginning of the month. South Africa is also in a lockdown as it attempts a fresh push in its vaccination campaign amid a new surge of the virus. Asean is also trying it best to combat with COVID-19 outbreak. On July 1 2021, Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen has announced new measures to prevent the spread of COVID-19 and its new Delta variant including temporarily closing border gates to Thailand and Vietnam since the number of infected in two countries are increasing nonstop.

Currently, the situation in Myanmar seem to claim down but this does not mean the military coup or state of emergency is end. This is only because the military coup has shut down the internet which is the most important source to provide news and even the connection has been back on tract, it is still working very slow. The elected NLD government, most of which has gone into hiding or fled the country or detained by the military coup has

not yet shown any movement. Right now, the only things we can do is pray for Myanmar and hope that the international community will try to find any solutions to restore Myanmar democracy, free the elected government and her political partners, and bring back justice and human rights to Myanmar people. Most importantly, is to stop COVID-19 outbreak.

In conclusion, this thesis paper primarily focused on the chaos situation as well as human rights in Myanmar since the killing of Rohingya people and also the election issue between elected government NLD and the opposite party USDP. Due to this unsolved internal conflict a lot of people in Myanmar is suffering, homeless, abuse, discriminate and death or disappear with many different reasons. International community did try to solve the problem but nothing seems to be working because China and Russia still play their veto role. However, China recently has shown their unpleasant attitude toward the military coup so, there is a chance that China will withdraw its support from the military coup. Moreover, the people of Myanmar have shown great courage in forcefully rejecting this illegitimate coup. This is the chance for international community to stand shoulder to shoulder with them to insist on a peaceful return to the democratic governance that they, at enormous personal risk, are demanding.

## RECOMMENDATION

Even though, Myanmar governance now is moving toward communist, this does not mean that the international community as well as Asean should give up on this country. This is just an early stage for Myanmar to move toward democracy so, it needs a lot of support from the world. As we are researchers for this thesis topic, we are really proud with the Myanmar citizen's confident to stand against the military coup without fear of the risk they might encounter. All they have done is to bring back a democratic peace to their country and to fully obtain their rights. That is why we would like to rise up some recommendation to strengthen Myanmar foreign policy toward democratic and respect human rights.

- United States is the main player in democratic world. It is in the vital interest of the United to support countries transitioning from dictatorship to democracy by helping foster democratic institution and practices. Today, Myanmar is in the situation where it needs U.S. and more of democratic states to obtain democracy completely.
- For government, it does not matter who going to rule the Myanmar whether NLD or USDP or other party as long as that party manage the country according to democratic policy and respect human rights.
- International community are able to exert more external pressure. One example would be leveraging the recent recommendations by the United Nations Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar to hold the military accountable. While this would likely be blocked by permanent U.N. Security Council members China and Russia, it would send a strong message to the Burmese military that the world is watching.

- More diplomatic negotiators are need for peaceful negotiation and also to find more useful resolution to end this internal dispute. Most importantly, to focus more on increasing economic investment, infrastructures, education. ect, to end poverty in Myanmar.
- Military coup must allow humanitarian agencies and other international organizations to access to information in order to assist all needed supplements. Military coup also needs to ensure safety to people entitled to protection under international humanitarian law. Military coup should not be afraid to do this if they have not violated human rights. However, if they still being ignore this request, they will have to bear even more responsibilities according to international humanitarian and human rights law.
- Myanmar must allow and work with international investigation organizations or committees to investigate further on human rights violation in Myanmar in order to end all the suffering on people in Myanmar.
- Last but not least, Myanmar must respect International Law, International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law if they to bring peace back.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “Arrest, Journalist Beating are Myanmar as Junta Faces Relentless Protests Rejecting Army Rule.” RFA. February 18, 2021. Accessed June 03, 2021. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/journalist-beatings-02182021194224.html>
- Ahmed, Yasmine. “Why Britain Should Champion UN Action on Myanmar.” Human Right Watch. April 06, 2021. Accessed July 03, 2021. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/04/06/why-britain-should-champion-un-action-myanmar>
- “Burma: Repeal Section 66(d) of the 2013 Telecommunication Law.” Human Rights Watch. June 29, 2017. Accessed April 10, 2021. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/06/29/burma-repeal-section-66d-2013-telecommunications-law>
- Bugher, Matthew. “Myanmar: Immediately lift ban on ethnic news websites.” Article<sup>19</sup>. April 01, 2020. Accessed April 15, 2021. <https://www.article19.org/resources/myanmar-immediately-lift-ban-on-ethnic-news-websites/>
- Chheng, Niem. “Kingdom stands ready to assist Myanmar.” The Phnom Penh Post. March 10, 2021. Accessed June 5, 2021. <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national-politics/kingdom-stands-ready-assist-myanmar>.
- Cheng, Ian. “Singapore’s Foreign Minister calls on Myanmar’s military to stop using lethal force against civilians.” CNA. March 2, 2021. Accessed June 2, 2021. <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/singapore/myanmar-singapore-halt-lethal-force-release-aung-san-suu-kyi-14307792>.



“Cambodian Leader Hun Sen Terms Myanmar Coup ‘Internal Affairs’.” VOA. February 01, 2021. <https://www.voacambodia.com/a/cambodian-leader-hun-sen-terms-myanmar-coup-internal-affairs-/5759503.html>.

Committee. “*Report: The UK Government’s responds to the Myanmar Crisis.*” UK Parliament. July 16, 2021. Accessed July 25, 2021. <https://committees.parliament.uk/committee/78/foreign-affairs-committee/news/156645/report-the-uk-governments-response-to-the-myanmar-crisis/>

Dean, Zoe. “*The International Community Responds to the Myanmar Coup and Myanmar’s Community-based Organisations adapt.*” March 12, 2021. Accessed June 12, 2021. <https://www.redseasearch.com/the-international-community-responds-to-the-myanmar-coup-and-myanmars-community-based-organisations-adapt/>

Ebbighausen, Rodion. *Myanmar’s media under pressure from all sides.*” Made for minds. May 02, 2021. Accessed May 30, 2021. <https://www.dw.com/en/myanmars-media-under-pressure-from-all-sides/a-57405936>

“*Explainer: Crisis in Myanmar after army alleges election fraud.*” Reuters. Febuary 1, 2021. Accessed June 8, 2021. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-politics-explainer-idUSKBN2A113H>.

Gibran, Mahesa Drajat. “*The Indonesia factor in ASEAN’s response to Myanmar.*” Eastasiaforum. May 21, 2021. Accessed June 1, 2021. <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2021/05/21/the-indonesia-factor-in-aseans-response-to-myanmar/>.

Guest, Peter. *“How misinformation fueled a coup in Myanmar.”* rest of world. February 02, 2021.

Accessed June 02, 2021. <https://restofworld.org/2021/how-misinformation-fueled-a-coup-in-myanmar/>

Horsey, Richard. *“Myanmar on the Brink of State Failure.”* International Crisis Group, April 09,

2021. Accessed June 09, 2021. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/myanmar/myanmar-brink-state-failure>.

Hein, Zeyar. *“Myanmar calls for boycott of Tatmadaw linked products and services.”*

Myanmartimes. February 03, 2021. Accessed June 21, 2021. <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/myanmar-calls-boycott-tatmadaw-linked-products-and-services.html>.

Hein, Zeyar. *“Myanmar calls for boycott of Tatmadaw linked products and services.”*

Myanmartimes. February 03, 2021. Accessed June 21, 2021. <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/myanmar-calls-boycott-tatmadaw-linked-products-and-services.html>.

Islam, Shima. *“Education at risk: A generation of children in Myanmar must have safe,*

*appropriate and inclusive opportunities to continue their learning.”* UNICEF. May 20, 2021. Accessed May 28, 2021. <https://www.unicef.org/eap/press-releases/education-risk-generation-children-myanmar-must-have-safe-appropriate-and-inclusive>

Khine, Min Aung. *“Artillery Shell in Strikes School, Injuring 21 Young Students in Myanmar’s*

*Rakhine State.”* Irrawaddy. February 14, 2020. Accessed May 28, 2021. <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/artillery-shell-strikes-school-injuring-21-young-students-myanmars-rakhine-state.html>

Kyaw, Aye Thiri. *“Violence against women: a blow to “gender equality” myth in Myanmar.”*”

The London School of Economics and Political Science. December 19, 2019. Accessed May 28, 2021. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/socialpolicy/2019/12/19/violence-against-women-a-blow-to-gender-equality-myth-in-myanmar/>

Lyabu, Ahmad Fauzi. *“Myanmar Citizens Boycott the Military’s Cigarettes, Beer and Cellular Operators as A Protest Act Against the Coup.”* VOI. February 26, 2021. Accessed June 23, 2021. <https://voi.id/en/news/35762/myanmar-citizens-boycott-the-military-s-cigarettes-beer-and-cellular-operators-as-a-protest-act-against-the-coup>.

LGBTI Organization. *“Submission of Shadow Report to the United Nations Universal Periodic Review Regarding the Human Right Situations of LGBTI persons In the Republic of the Union,”* C.A.N-Myanmar. 2020. Accessed May 29, 2021. [file:///D:/JS28\\_UPR37\\_MMR\\_E\\_Main.pdf](file:///D:/JS28_UPR37_MMR_E_Main.pdf)

Media Statement. *“The Situation in Myanmar.”* March 19, 2021. Accessed June 9, 2021. <https://www.pmo.gov.my/2021/03/media-statement-the-situation-in-myanmar/>.

Myers, Lucas. *“What Myanmar’s 2020 Election Tells Us about U.S-China Competition.”* Asia Dispatchers- A blog of the Asia Program. January 12, 2021. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/what-myanmars-2020-election-tells-us-about-us-china-competition>.

*“Myanmar’s Coup: Why now- and what’s next?”* BBC News. February 1, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-55882938>.

*“Myanmar 2020.”* Amnesty International. Accessed May 05, 2021. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/myanmar/report-myanmar/>.

- “Myanmar Country Information.”* Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2013-2019.  
Accessed May 05, 2021. <https://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/myanmar>
- “More than 10.000 Displaced by renewed fighting in Myanmar’s Battle Ravaged Chin State.”*  
RFA. June 08, 2021. Accessed June 20, 2021.  
<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/idps-06082021190834.html>
- “Myanmar Military, Arakan Army Trade Blame After Shelling of Red Cross Aid Boat Kills Man.”*  
RFA. October 28, 2020. Accessed April 06 2021.  
<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/red-cross-10282020193047.html>
- “Myanmar: Release Arbitrarily Detained Student Protesters and Cease Further Prosecutions.”*  
Amnesty. November 23, 2020. Accessed April 10, 2021.  
<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/ASA1633712020ENGLISH.pdf>
- “Myanmar: New conviction for “Peacock Generation”* Amnesty International UK. May 18, 2020.  
Accessed April 10, 2021. <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/resources/myanmar-new-convictions-peacock-generation-members>
- “Myanmar Military Admits Soldiers Assaulted Women in Rakhine State.”* RFA. October 09,2020.  
Accessed May 28, 2021. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/military-admission-09092020180308.html>
- “Myanmar: Scrap Sweeping Cybersecurity Bill.”* Human Rights Watch. February 12, 2021.  
Accessed June 02, 2021. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/02/12/myanmar-scrap-sweeping-cybersecurity-bill>
- “Myanmar: Journalists who fled coup face Thailand deportation.”* BBC News. May 11, 2021.  
Accessed May 17, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-57067130>

“Myanmar: Coup Leads to Crime Against Humanity,” Human Rights Watch, July 31, 2021.

Accessed August 14, 2021. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/07/31/myanmar-coup-leads-crimes-against-humanity>

Office of Press Relations. “*USAID Immediately Redirects \$42 Million in Response to The Military Coup in Burma.*” USAID. February 11, 2021. Accessed June 12, 2021.

<https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/press-releases/feb-11-2021-usaid-immediately-redirects-42-million-response-military-coup-burma>

Phonevilay, Latsamy. “*ASEAN Ministers Meet to Discuss Regional Stability.*” The Laotian Times. March 3, 2021. Accessed June 1, 2021.

<https://laotiantimes.com/2021/03/03/asean-ministers-meet-to-discuss-regional-stability/>.

Peace and Security. “*Relief Programs hit by ongoing Crisis in Myanmar; UN Humanitarian Office says.*” United Nations. February 26, 2021. Accessed April 06, 2021.

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/02/1085792>

Peace and Security. “*Myanmar heading towards a “full-blow conflicts”, UN human rights Chief warns.*” United Nation. April 13, 2021. Access June 12, 2021.

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/04/1089612><https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/04/1089612>

Pleun, Andriessen. Patricia, Da Silva Coutinho. Linh, Hovhannisyan. Linh, Nong Ngoc Thao. and Iryana, Stepanova. “*Policy Framework on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights In The Situation of Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar 2018.*” act!on for ESCR. December 09, 2018. Page: 1-2. Accessed May 29, 2021.

<https://www.geneva-academy.ch/joomlatools-files/docman-files/Action%20for%20ESCR.pdf>

Press release. “*UK sanctions further Myanmar military figures for role in coup 25 February 2021.*” GOV.UK. February 25, 2021. Accessed July 03, 2021.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-sanctions-further-myanmar-military-figures-for-role-in-coup-february-25-2021>

Press release, “*UK announce further sanctions on Myanmar military-linked companies,*” GOV

UK, April 1, 2021. Accessed July 03, 2021. <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-announces-further-sanctions-on-myanmar-military-linked-companies>

Reuter Staff, “*Driver Killed in WHO vehicle carrying Virus swabs in Myanmar’s Rakhine.*”

REUTERS. April 21, 2020. Accessed April 06, 2021. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-myanmar-rakhine-idUSKBN22315L>

Ratcliffe, Rebecca and Davidson, Helen. “*Myanmar celebrity model arrested as military targets public figures.*” TheGuardianFor200years. April 08, 2021. Accessed May 17,

2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/apr/08/myanmar-celebrity-model-arrested-paing-takhon-military-targets-public-figures>

Rosenthal, Gert. “*A Brief and Independent Inquiry into The Involvement of the United Nation.*”

May 29, 2019. Accessed June 12, 2021.

<https://www.un.org/sg/sites/www.un.org.sg/files/atoms/files/Myanmar%20Report%20-%20May%202019.pdf>

Sukheja, Bhavya. “*Myanmar Coup: CRPH Appoints A Special Representative and A Special*

*Envoy to UN.*” Republicworld.com. February 23, 2021. Accessed June 9, 2021.

<https://www.republicworld.com/world-news/rest-of-the-world-news/myanmar-coup-crph-appoints-a-special-representative-and-a-special-envoy-to-un.html>.

Strangio, Sebastian. “*ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meet to Discuss Myanmar Crisis.*” *The Diplomat*. March 03, 2021. Accessed June 3, 2021.  
<https://thediplomat.com/2021/03/asean-foreign-ministers-meet-to-discuss-myanmar-crisis/>.

Strangio, Sebastia. “*Norway’s Telenor Sells Myanmar Telecoms Operation to Lebanese Firm.*” *The Diplomat*. July 09, 2021. Accessed July 15, 2021.  
<https://thediplomat.com/2021/07/norways-telenor-sells-myanmar-telecoms-operation-to-lebanese-firm/>

Sandler, Rachel. “*Social Media Blackout: Myanmar Military Government Blocks Twitter, Instagram.*” *Forbes*. February 05, 2021. Accessed June 02, 2021.  
<https://www.forbes.com/sites/rachelsandler/2021/02/05/social-media-blackout-myanmar-military-government-blocks-twitter-instagram/?sh=e9cfd2f0507>

Statement. “*On the latest Developments in Myanmar.*” March 03, 2021. Accessed June 1, 2021.  
<https://dfa.gov.ph/dfa-news/statements-and-advisoriesupdate/28694-statement-on-the-latest-developments-in-myanmar>.

Soe, Aung Naing. “*Myanmar: Reverse Conviction of Activities Poet. Uphold Right to Freedom of Expression.*” *Fortify Rights*. September 04, 2020. Accessed April 12, 2021.  
<https://www.fortifyrights.org/mya-inv-2020-09-04/>

“*Sexual and gender-based violence in Myanmar and the gendered impact of its ethnic conflict.*” HRC. September 27, 2019. Page: 25. Accessed  
[https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/FFM-Myanmar/sexualviolence/A\\_HRC\\_CRP\\_4.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/FFM-Myanmar/sexualviolence/A_HRC_CRP_4.pdf)

“*The unlawful association Act [India Act XIV].*” December 11, 1908. Accessed April 12, 2021.

[https://www.burmalibrary.org/docs09/UNLAWFUL\\_ASSOCIATIONS\\_ACT.pdf](https://www.burmalibrary.org/docs09/UNLAWFUL_ASSOCIATIONS_ACT.pdf)

The Myanmar Times. “*Transforming the culture of human rights in Myanmar,*” Human Right Watch. December 16 2013. Accessed May 29, 2021.

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/12/16/transforming-culture-human-rights-myanmar>

Tiezzi, Shannon. “*China Responds to Bloodshed in Myanmar with Deafening Silence.*” The Diplomat. March 02, 2021. Accessed July 04, 2021.

<https://thediplomat.com/2021/03/china-responds-to-bloodshed-in-myanmar-with-deafening-silence/>

“*Unplugged in Myanmar.*” Article<sup>19</sup>. July 09, 2021. Accessed April 12, 2021.

<https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Myanmar-Internet-Briefing-Paper.pdf>

UNICEF. “*National Education Strategic Plan 2016-21 Summary.*” CESR. January, 2016. Accessed April 15, 2021.

[https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/default/files/ressources/myanmar\\_nesp-english\\_summary.pdf](https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/default/files/ressources/myanmar_nesp-english_summary.pdf)

Wright, George. “*The Myanmar beauty queen standing up to the military.*” BBC News. April 05, 2021. Accessed May 17, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-56602683>

“*World/Countries/Myanmar.*” Worldometer. August 05, 2021. Accessed August 08, 2021.

<https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/myanmar/>

Win, Aye nyein. “*Myanmar leader forms new anti-COVID-19 committee.*” MyanmarTimes. March 31, 2020. Accessed April 10, 2021. <https://www.mmtimes.com/news/myanmar-leader-forms-new-anti-covid-19-committee.html>

<https://www.mmtimes.com/news/myanmar-leader-forms-new-anti-covid-19-committee.html>



Weller, Marc. "*Myanmar: Testing the Democratic norm in international law.*" EJIL: Talk!.

March 30, 2021. Accessed August 10, 2021. <https://www.ejiltalk.org/myanmar-testing-the-democratic-norm-in-international-law/>

Zaw, Mandalay John. "*UN raises concerns over Myanmar's COVID-19 Situation.*" UCAnews,

July 31, 2020. Accessed August 10, 2021. <https://www.ucanews.com/news/un-raises-concerns-over-myanmars-covid-19-situation/88991>