

A<sup>2</sup> WRITING COLLECTIVE  
DECEMBER 2022

# BURMA'S ROHINGYA REFUGEE CRISIS



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## **ABSTRACT**

This paper attempts to explore refugee crises through a humanitarian lens. These issues have human causes and consequences; thus, this paper will strive to avoid a removed approach emphasizing only the statistical and economic impact and instead focus on the real human consequences of the issue.

This paper uses the Rohingya refugee crisis ongoing in Burma, also known as Myanmar, as a case study. The Rohingya were, and continue to be, one of the world's most persecuted groups. The current crisis has been ongoing in Burma since 2017 when a state-sponsored military campaign displaced many Rohingya, an ethnic minority group. While this military campaign marks the start of the most recent crisis, the Rohingya have been systematically oppressed and mistreated in Burma since at least the 1960s.

The situation in Burma remains relatively unchanged from 2017 and many Rohingya are still displaced from their homes, living in inhumane conditions in camps in Burma or a neighboring nation. This paper will suggest a multi-pronged approach to improve the situation, including repatriation, third-country repatriation, and local integration, as well as a complete effort to improve current conditions in refugee camps.

This paper examines the ongoing crisis by first looking at its history and what led to the current situation. The current situation is discussed, as well as what the future might look like for Burma and the Rohingya. Solutions are proposed in an effort to answer the question of what it might look like to resolve this crisis. Finally, lessons learned from this crisis will be applied to refugee crises in general, if such a thing is possible.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

ABSTRACT	1
TABLE OF CONTENTS	3
INTRODUCTION	4
BURMESE HISTORY	5
THE ROHINGYA	6
CURRENT STATE	25
FUTURE POSSIBILITIES	38
APPLICATION OF LEARNINGS TO BROADER CONTEXT	42
CONCLUSION	44
BIBLIOGRAPHY	46
APPENDIX A: ABBREVIATION REFERENCE TABLE	48
APPENDIX B: SUGGESTED RESOURCES	49

## INTRODUCTION

Any refugee crisis is inherently a social issue. There are human causes and human consequences. While often overlooked in the news coverage and the numbers, many people and families are affected by these crises. Their lives are changed, many times in a substantial way, forever. Thus, this paper will strive to avoid a removed approach emphasizing only the statistical and economic impact and instead focus on the real human consequences of the issue.

An example of one of these crises has been ongoing in Burma since 2017. Following a state-sponsored military campaign, many Rohingya, an ethnic Muslim group,<sup>1</sup> have been internally displaced or have fled the country altogether. This paper examines the ongoing refugee crisis in Burma by first looking at its history and what led to the current situation. The current situation is discussed, as well as what the future might look like for Burma and the Rohingya. Finally, lessons learned from this crisis will be applied to refugee crises in general, if such a thing is possible.

Noeleen Heyzer, the United Nations (UN) Special Envoy for Burma, stated, "I have learned the face of human tragedy behind these figures."<sup>2</sup> This paper aims to promote the understanding of, to the best of its ability, what Ms. Heyzer learned while visiting Burma and the surrounding nations and propose actions that might be taken to address refugee crises in Burma and beyond.

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<sup>1</sup> "What Forces are Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>2</sup> "Myanmar's Multidimensional Crises Have 'Deepened and Expanded Dramatically.'" *UN News*, 13 June 2022.

## **BURMESE HISTORY**

To understand this crisis, one must first understand Burma. The country was under British colonial rule from 1824 to 1948, when it was granted independence following World War II. Burma contains ethnic Burman and many minority groups that have historically resisted efforts to consolidate control of the country. Today, several minority groups still control pockets of territory and have independent fighting forces.<sup>3</sup>

In 1962, General Ne Win seized power in a coup following 14 years of intermittent fighting between Burman and armed ethnic minorities. He ruled Burma until 1988 when a Tatmadaw—the Burmese military—junta took control. The junta permitted a democratic election in 1990. Still, it rejected the results when the main opposition party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Aung San Suu Kyi (ASSK), won decisively. The junta placed ASSK under house arrest until November 2010.<sup>4</sup>

In 2007, rising fuel prices led pro-democracy activists and Buddhist monks to organize large protests against the junta. The junta violently suppressed the movement, killing an unknown number of participants and arresting thousands. The regime prevented new elections until it passed a new constitution designed to preserve its control in its 2008 referendum. In 2010, the junta conducted an election, which the Tatmadaw's proxy party, the Union Solidarity and

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<sup>3</sup> "Burma." *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency, 29 Nov. 2022. *CIA.gov*.

<sup>4</sup> "Burma." *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

Development Party (USDP), won in a landslide, as the NLD boycotted the vote. International observers denounced the election as flawed.<sup>5</sup>

Following the election, current or former Tatmadaw officers mainly staffed senior positions in the Burmese government. Burma began a process of political and economic reforms, freeing prisoners, brokering ceasefires with ethnic armed organizations (EAOs), amending courts, and expanding civil liberties. The junta even brought ASSK into the government in 2012. In the 2015 elections, the NLD took power with a sweeping electoral win to create Burma's first credibly elected civilian government. ASSK was the de facto head of state; however, her NLD government faced many difficulties following five decades of military dictatorship.<sup>6</sup>

## **THE ROHINGYA**

To understand this crisis, it is also critical to understand who the Rohingya are and their history in Burma. The Rohingya are an ethnic Muslim minority group that practices a Sufi-inflected variation of Sunni Islam. They trace their origins in Burma to the 15th century when thousands of Muslims came to what was formerly the Arakan Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> As they have been in the region for generations, they claim to be descendants of Arab traders and other groups. Rohingya Muslims are the most significant Muslim minority in Burma. Since the 1970s, Rohingya have migrated across Southeast Asia in significant numbers—which tend to be much higher than

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<sup>5</sup> "Burma." *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>6</sup> "Burma." *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>7</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

official figures.<sup>8</sup> There are 3.5 million Rohingya worldwide; as of 2017, Burma was home to an estimated 1 million. Before 2017, most of the Rohingya in Burma resided in Rakhine State, consisting of a third of the population.<sup>9</sup>

While the Rohingya Muslims have been in Burma for centuries, it is a predominantly Buddhist country. One of many ethnic minorities in the country, the Rohingya differ from Burma's dominant Buddhist groups ethnically, linguistically, and religiously.<sup>10</sup> Thus, they have faced challenges meshing with the country, particularly recently, as the Burmese government and Tatmadaw have implemented discriminatory policies and practices that intentionally make life difficult for the Rohingya. The UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has described the Rohingya as "one of, if not the, most discriminated people in the world."<sup>11</sup>

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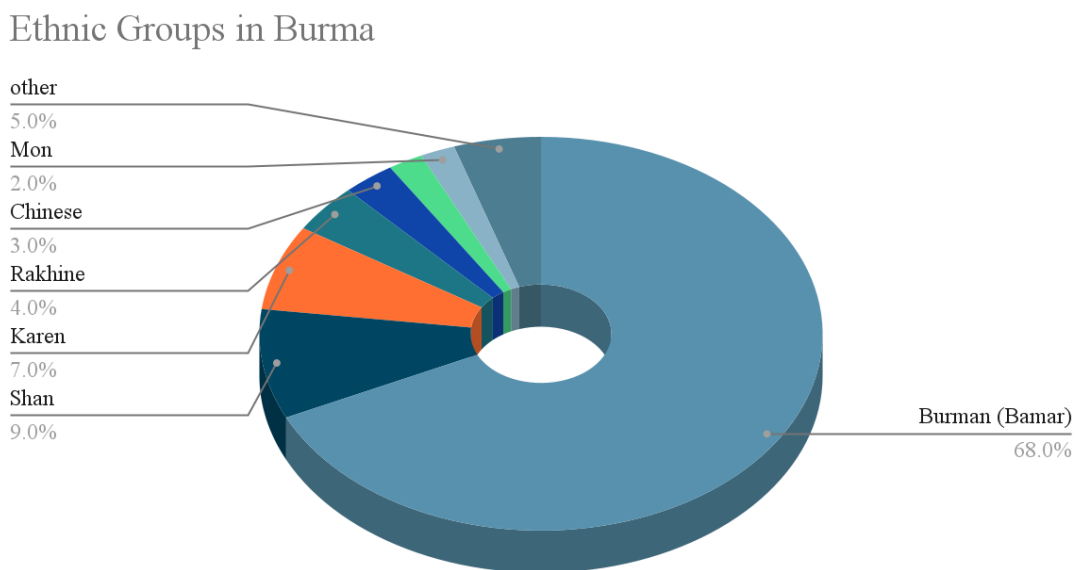
<sup>8</sup> "Myanmar Rohingya." *BBC News*.

<sup>9</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>10</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>11</sup> "Myanmar Rohingya." *BBC News*.





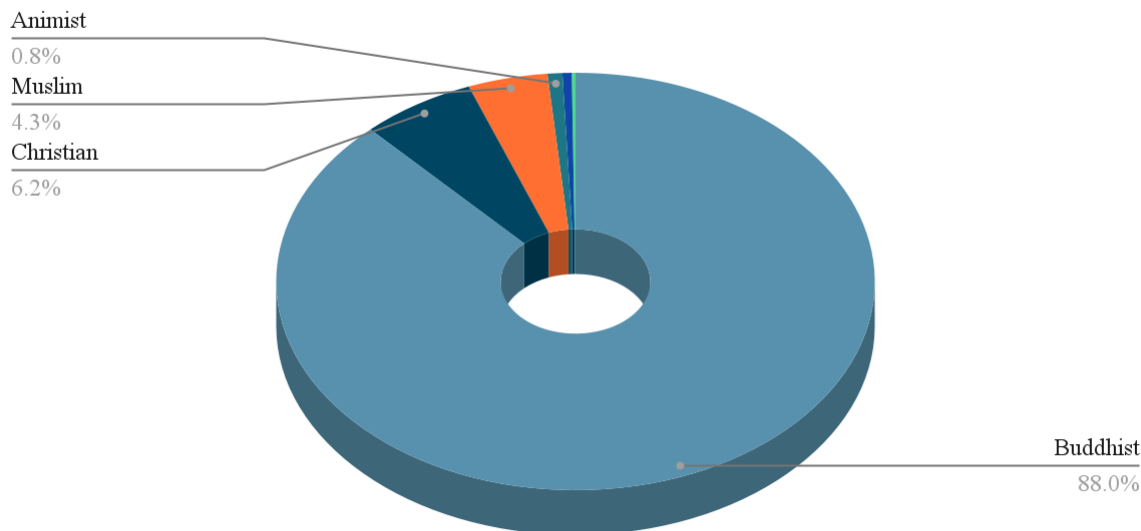
**Figure 1.** Ethnic groups in Burma based on the 2014 national census (note: the Rohingya are not officially recognized as an ethnic group; if they participated, they were forced to register as Bengali).<sup>12</sup>

One of the most diverse countries in the region, Burma is a patchwork of over 130 religious and ethnic groups. Table 1 shows a snapshot of the various ethnic groups that coexist in Burma. The government recognizes 135 indigenous ethnic groups, which fall underneath “other” in this tabulation. Table 2 displays the religious distribution of Burma’s population. Since the 2014 national census forms the basis for this estimate, the percentage of Muslims has probably changed significantly due to the migration of the Rohingya out of Burma since 2017. Muslims likely make up less than 3% of Burma’s population as of December 2019.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> “Burma.” *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>13</sup> “Burma.” *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

### Religious Groups in Burma



**Figure 2.** Religious groups in Burma based on the 2014 national census.<sup>14</sup> The three smallest slices are Hindu (0.5%), other (0.2%), and none (0.1%).

Ethnic and religious minorities in Burma face substantial discrimination, with the Rohingya being the most persecuted group.<sup>15</sup> The Burmese government and the Buddhist majority view them as a “threat to identity, competitors for jobs and resources, [and] terrorists.” They have been subject to systematic human rights abuses, violence, marginalization, and disenfranchisement since the 1960s.<sup>16</sup> They have faced institutionalized discrimination since the late 1970s. 1977’s Operation Dragon King included mass arrests, persecution, and violence, forcing 200,000 Rohingya to flee to Bangladesh. Most who fled were repatriated to Burma by 1979.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> “Burma.” *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>15</sup> “Burma.” *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>16</sup> “Burma.” *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>17</sup> “Timeline: A Visual History of the Rohingya Refugee Crisis.” *Doctors Without Borders - USA*.



**Figure 3.** A refugee camp in Bangladesh (1978).<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps most prominently, this history of discrimination includes exclusionary citizenship laws.<sup>19</sup> For instance, the 1982 Citizenship Law categorized them as “non-nationals” or “foreign residents,” rendering them the largest stateless population in the world. Many Burmese consider the Rohingya to be illegal Bengali immigrants.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> “Visual History of the Rohingya.” *Doctors Without Borders*.

<sup>19</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>20</sup> “Burma.” *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.



**Figure 4.** A young Rohingya child in a camp in Bangladesh (1992).<sup>21</sup>

In 1989, Tatmadaw presence increased in northern Rakhine. The Rohingya were subjected to compulsory labor, forced relocation, rape, summary executions, and torture, leading 250,000 to flee to Bangladesh. There was a lack of adequate food, water, sanitation, and shelter. Forced repatriation began in 1992, and Bangladesh denied entry to any new refugees attempting to leave Burma.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> "Visual History of the Rohingya." *Doctors Without Borders*.

<sup>22</sup> "Visual History of the Rohingya." *Doctors Without Borders*.



**Figure 5.** Rohingya refugees arrive in Bangladesh (1992).<sup>23</sup>

The Rohingya had been able to register for identification cards that granted them “temporary resident” status until recently. This system, which began in the 1990s, enabled the Rohingya to gain limited rights but did not include citizenship.<sup>24</sup> Citizenship laws in Burma require citizenship by descent—both parents must be citizens of Burma for a child to be granted citizenship. If applying for naturalization, one must be the child or spouse of a Burmese citizen.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the Rohingya cannot become citizens by either birth or naturalization. Since the Burmese government refuses to grant the Rohingya citizenship, members of the group have no legal documentation, rendering them stateless.

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<sup>23</sup> “Visual History of the Rohingya.” *Doctors Without Borders*.

<sup>24</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>25</sup> “Burma.” *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.



**Figure 6.** A child eyes an officer in a camp in Bangladesh (2003).<sup>26</sup>

A 2003 study put chronic malnourishment in Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh at 58% of children and 53% of adults. While 20 of these camps were built in Bangladesh in the early 1990s, only two remained. Almost 80% of the remaining shelters flooded in the 2006 rainy season.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> “Visual History of the Rohingya.” *Doctors Without Borders*.

<sup>27</sup> “Visual History of the Rohingya.” *Doctors Without Borders*.



**Figure 7.** Relatives mourn the loss of a refugee who died from starvation.<sup>28</sup>

Under the Rakhine State Action Plan proposed in October 2014, the Rohingya can qualify for Bengali classification as a part of a lesser naturalized citizenship if they can demonstrate that their family has lived in Burma for at least 60 years. If they cannot prove this, they face the prospect of detention camps and deportation. As of the middle of 2021, Burma was home to over 600,000 stateless persons, the majority of whom are Rohingya. This number has decreased drastically following the exodus of Rohingya that began in 2017.<sup>29</sup>

There tends to be pressure on the Burmese government from Buddhist Nationalists to prevent the Rohingya from gaining additional rights. For example, to participate in the 2014 census, the

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<sup>28</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>29</sup> "Burma." *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

Rohingya were forced to register as Bengali, as they did not have the option to register as Rohingya. As a result of pressure from the same groups, the Rohingya's temporary identity cards were canceled in 2015, effectively revoking their right to vote. The 2015 elections were praised as free and fair by international monitors even though no parliamentary candidate was of the Muslim faith.<sup>30</sup>



Figure 8. Buddhist monks and others at an anti-Rohingya protest.<sup>31</sup>

The government has begun to force the Rohingya to carry national verification cards that do not grant them citizenship—effectively identifying them as foreigners. They institutionalized discrimination against them through restrictions on marriage, family planning, employment,

<sup>30</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>31</sup> Chambers, Justine. “Buddhist Extremism, despite a Clampdown, Spreads in Myanmar.” *Asia Times*, 13 Aug. 2017.



education, religious choice, and freedom of movement. For example, some northern towns only allow couples to have two children. The process of seeking permission to marry may require them to bribe authorities and complete tasks that conflict with Muslim customs, such as providing photographs of the headscarf-less bride and clean-shave groom. They must also gain government approval to move to a new home or travel beyond their townships.<sup>32</sup>

The Rakhine State, where most Rohingya in Burma reside, is its least developed state. Rakhine had a poverty rate of 78 percent, substantially greater than the 37.5 percent national average. Widespread poverty, poor infrastructure, and a lack of employment opportunities in Rakhine have aggravated the divide between Buddhists and Rohingya.<sup>33</sup> The combination of institutional and socioeconomic difficulties came to a head in 2017 when conflict broke out between a Rohingya militant group and the Burmese authorities.

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<sup>32</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>33</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.



**Figure 9.** Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) militants deliver a message in a 2021 video.<sup>34</sup>

On August 25, 2017, clashes broke out in Rakhine after the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA), a militant group, attacked more than 30 police and army posts.<sup>35</sup> The government declared ARSA a terrorist organization and the Tatmadaw mounted a brutal campaign to counter the organization. Sectarian violence familiar to residents of Rakhine: past security campaigns, such as those in 2012 and 2016, resulted in the displacement of tens of thousands of Rohingya.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *A Unity Message from Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army*. YouTube.

<sup>35</sup> "Myanmar Rohingya." *BBC News*.

<sup>36</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.



**Figure 10.** A Rohingya family arrives at the Bangladesh border (2017).<sup>37</sup>

The Tatmadaw campaign launched to counter ARSA forced many Rohingya to flee. The campaign destroyed hundreds of Rohingya villages<sup>38</sup> and forced nearly 700,000 Rohingya, half of whom were children, to leave Burma. At least 6,700 Rohingya, including 730 children under 5, were killed in just the first month of the campaign between August 25 and September 24, 2017.<sup>39</sup> Thousands more families were separated and human rights violations were reported,<sup>40</sup> including rape, murder, and arson. The Tatmadaw allegedly opened fire on fleeing civilians and planted land mines along known Rohingya escape routes on the border.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> “Visual History of the Rohingya.” *Doctors Without Borders*.

<sup>38</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>39</sup> “Rohingya Refugee Crisis Explained.” *USA for UNHCR*.

<sup>40</sup> “Rohingya Refugee Crisis.” *UNHCR*.

<sup>41</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.



**Figure 11.** Tatmadaw soldiers on patrol in Rakhine.<sup>42</sup>

While Burma maintains that all its actions were in response to ARSA attacks, some have raised doubts. Reports have shown that the Tatmadaw implemented its relevant policies a year before ARSA struck in August 2017.<sup>43</sup> Rohingyas arriving in Bangladesh claim they fled after Burmese troops and local Buddhist mobs burned their villages and attacked and killed civilians. Those that managed to escape successfully evaded a military offensive later described by the UN as a “textbook example of ethnic cleansing.”<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ellis-Petersen, Hannah, and Emanuel Stoakes. “UN Report Condemns Its Conduct in Myanmar as Systemic Failure.” *The Guardian*, 17 June 2019.

<sup>43</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>44</sup> “Myanmar Rohingya: What You Need to Know about the Crisis.” *BBC News*, 18 Oct. 2017.



**Figure 12.** A Rohingya village billowed smoke as it burned to the ground in 2012.<sup>45</sup>

The Burmese government reported that only 400 people died throughout the operations. They claim that “clearance operations” against the militants ended on September 5, 2017; however, there is evidence to the contrary. According to the analysis of satellite imagery, fires destroyed at least 288 villages in northern Rakhine after August. Most damages occurred in Maungdaw Township between August 25 and September 25. Many of these villages were destroyed after September 5, when ASSK claimed that security force operations had concluded.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> “Burma: End ‘Ethnic Cleansing’ of Rohingya Muslims.” *Human Rights Watch*, 22 Apr. 2013.

<sup>46</sup> “Myanmar Rohingya.” *BBC News*.

### Satellite images show destroyed Rohingya village



Source: Human Rights Watch, Satellite image 21 September 2017

BBC

**Figure 13.** A satellite image taken on September 21, 2017, shows a Rohingya village burnt to the ground beside an untouched ethnic Rakhine village.<sup>47</sup>

Burma has said it was fighting Rohingya militants—simply carrying out a campaign to stabilize the country's western region<sup>48</sup>—and denies targeting civilians. ASSK, once a human rights icon, and other government officials have repeatedly denied allegations of genocide.<sup>49</sup> However, the UN has determined that the Burmese military showed “genocidal intent.” The UN found clear patterns of abuse by the Tatmadaw, including the targeting of civilians, sexual violence, and promotion of discriminatory rhetoric. In 2018 a UN fact-finding panel recommended that Burmese army leaders be prosecuted for genocide by the International Criminal Court (ICC). In September 2019, that panel reported that the situation in Burma had not improved and that the risk of genocide continues for the 600,000 Rohingya still in Rakhine.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> “Myanmar Rohingya.” *BBC News*.

<sup>48</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>49</sup> “Myanmar Rohingya.” *BBC News*.

<sup>50</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

Since early 2018, Burmese authorities have cleared abandoned Rohingya villages and farmlands to build homes, security bases, and infrastructure. According to the government, this is in preparation for the return of refugees, but there are concerns that their intention could be to accommodate populations besides the Rohingya in Rakhine.<sup>51</sup>

Covering most of Burma's west coast, Rakhine is rich in natural resources. There are theories that the persecution of the Rohingya is no mere coincidence—geopolitical motives are involved. China and India have both been slow to condemn the crisis. China's natural gas and oil pipelines tap into the vast reserves in Rakhine, which became a critical component of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). India is countering the BRI with its "Act East" policy and seeks to establish itself in Rakhine through shipping lanes and a special economic zone in its capital, Sittwe.<sup>52</sup> Aside from oil and natural gas, Rakhine is rich in timber, tin, antimony, zinc, copper, tungsten, lead, coal, marble, limestone, precious stones, hydropower, and arable land.<sup>53</sup>

As of 2022, the Tatmadaw owned and operated two business conglomerates consisting of over 100 subsidiaries and close ties to other companies that functioned in various business spaces.<sup>54</sup> Thus, given the substantial foreign interest, it is no surprise that the Tatmadaw see an opportunity to make a quick buck by expelling the Rohingya, who are already "othered" in Burma.

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<sup>51</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>52</sup> "The Geopolitics of Rakhine." *Burma News International*.

<sup>53</sup> "Burma." *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>54</sup> "Burma." *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

Making up of many of Burma's IDPs, the Rohingya experienced—and are still experiencing—other issues that stemmed from their displacement, including disease, lack of electricity, exposure to dangerous weather, lack of opportunity, and security concerns. Burma experiences a monsoon season that brings heavy rainfall and strong winds and increases the risk of floods and landslides. This poses a danger to many Rohingya who have found refuge in shelters constructed with bamboo and tarp built in areas prone to landslides. Monsoon season also increases the risk of diseases such as hepatitis, malaria, dengue, and chikungunya in crowded camps that do not have adequate water and sanitation facilities.<sup>55</sup> The COVID-19 pandemic spread rapidly among IDPs. IDPs became increasingly isolated due to a lack of transportation, which impacted both humanitarian access and educational or livelihood opportunities. Many security concerns, including explosions, landmines, vandalism, and destruction of private property and religious sites, make it difficult for IDPs to meet their basic needs. Electricity cuts and communications disruptions are yet another obstacle the Rohingya have endured.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> "Rohingya Refugee Crisis." *UNHCR*.

<sup>56</sup> *Myanmar Emergency Update (as of 18 October 2021)*. ReliefWeb.





**Figure 14.** Refugees rest at a Doctors Without Borders facility.<sup>57</sup>

While attempts have been made to provide essential services as best as possible, women, children, and the elderly are especially at risk due to these conditions. Children and the elderly are particularly susceptible to disease. Children also face malnutrition, inadequate educational opportunities, child labor, child marriage, and the risks associated with neglect, exploitation, and violence. Women are at risk of gender-based violence perpetrated by Burmese authorities or other refugees and lack opportunities. Adolescents are potential prey to traffickers and people that might exploit them for political or other purposes.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>58</sup> "Rohingya Crisis." *UNICEF*.

The systemic persecution of the Rohingya, beginning as early as the 1960s, came to a head in 2017, leading to what many consider ethnic cleansing. While information is still coming out, this may prove to be a genocide as the UN is suggesting. What is known definitively is that this precipitated one of the largest refugee crises of the 21st century and has caused many human rights issues that are still very much present today. The actions of Burmese authorities and some residents of Burma have led to the death of many and the suffering of countless more.

## **CURRENT STATE**

Unfortunately, we cannot yet put this crisis behind us; it is still ongoing. Some statistics, current as of October 18, 2021, put the recent scale of this crisis into context.

- I. 22,000 // estimated refugee movements to neighboring countries between February 1, 2021, and October 18, 2021<sup>59</sup>
- II. 980,000 // refugees and asylum-seekers from Burma in neighboring countries as of December 31, 2020<sup>60</sup>
- III. 769,000 // estimated total IDPs within Burma since February 2021<sup>61</sup>
- IV. 1.1 million // estimated IDPs in Burma<sup>62</sup>

The Rohingya are fleeing Burma at a remarkable rate. Those that do not leave the country altogether are being forced to relocate within the country at an incredible scale. While this crisis

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<sup>59</sup> *Myanmar Emergency Update*. ReliefWeb.

<sup>60</sup> *Myanmar Emergency Update*. ReliefWeb.

<sup>61</sup> "Rohingya Refugee Crisis." *UNHCR*.

<sup>62</sup> "Rohingya Refugee Crisis." *UNHCR*.

is thought of as having peaked in 2017, there has been no sign of it slowing down: roughly 70% of IDPs were displaced between February and mid-October 2021.

Aside from the large numbers of IDPs, many Rohingya are fleeing Burma altogether. These refugees flock to Thailand, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, and Bangladesh, which has absorbed the most Rohingya refugees. While the number of refugees leaving Burma has increased significantly following the military campaign in 2017, this migration has occurred for decades in response to systemic oppression, persecution, armed conflict, rural development projects, drought, and natural disasters. Despite this, the events of 2017 created a historic migration crisis. In congested camps consisting of temporary shelters outside of Burma, they rely entirely on humanitarian assistance for protection, food, water, shelter, and healthcare.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> "Rohingya Crisis." *UNICEF*.

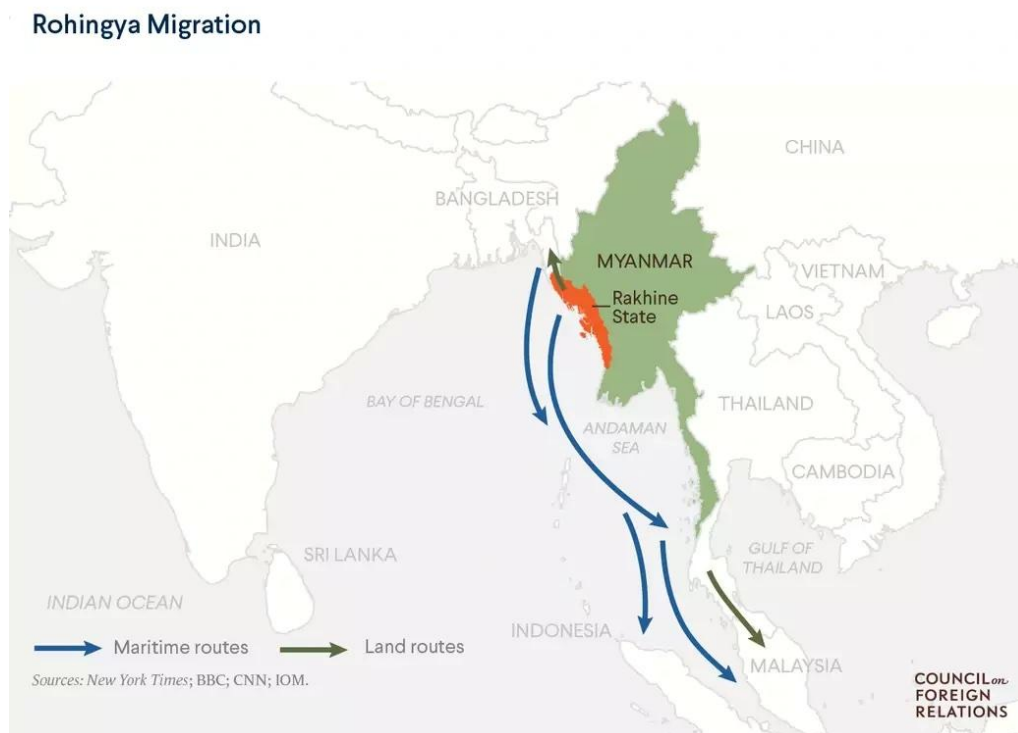


Figure 15. Map displaying the exodus of the Rohingya from Burma (Myanmar).<sup>64</sup>

Thailand is typically not a destination for Rohingya but rather a transit point, as it is a hub for regional human smuggling. Migrants often arrive by boat before continuing to Indonesia or Malaysia. After discovering mass graves in alleged camps where gangs held hostages, the Thai government cracked down on smuggling rings. However, experts say that although punishing traffickers disrupt the networks, it does not dismantle them.<sup>65</sup> Thus, Thailand continues to be a launching point for refugees looking to travel further.

In India, 18,000 Rohingya are registered with the UN refugee agency, though estimates put that figure at 40,000.<sup>66</sup> Since the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came to power in 2014, anti-Muslim

<sup>64</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>65</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>66</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

sentiment has risen. The BJP has recently introduced policy changes to render Muslims powerless, including passing a citizenship law that effectively rendered many Muslims stateless.<sup>67</sup> The Rohingya have become a target of anti-Muslim sentiments, as the government considers them illegal immigrants and has worked to repatriate them.<sup>68</sup> Unfortunately, many Rohingya are concerned that they will be forced to flee again: “Life until now has been all about fleeing places. We fled Arakan [Burma's Rakhine State]. We fled Bangladesh. Now, here we have a life, but we are not really living. It's like we're caged everywhere we go.”<sup>69</sup>



**Figure 16.** Refugees arrived by boat at Indonesia's Sumatra Island in June 2020.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Aswani, Tarushi. “It's Like We're Caged Everywhere We Go.” *Foreign Policy*.

<sup>68</sup> “Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>69</sup> Aswani, “It's Like We're Caged Everywhere We Go.”

<sup>70</sup> “2020 Was ‘Deadliest’ Year Ever for Rohingya Sea Journeys: UNHCR.” *Aljazeera*.

Indonesia is another country where the Rohingya have sought refuge; however, the number of refugees from Burma remains small because they are treated as illegal immigrants. Indonesia has aided the Rohingya by rescuing migrant boats off its shores and dispatching humanitarian aid and supplies to Bangladesh's camps to help care for the overwhelming number of refugees there.<sup>71</sup>

Malaysia is home to more than 100,000 Rohingya; however, they have no legal status and are unable to work, leaving these families in a difficult situation.<sup>72</sup>



**Figure 17.** Rohingya refugees help each other after crossing the border into Bangladesh.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>72</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>73</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

The majority of the Rohingya who fled Burma have sought refuge in Bangladesh. In Bangladesh's Cox's Bazar district alone, approximately 919,000 Rohingya, more than half of whom are women and children, live in two of the world's largest and most densely populated camps.<sup>74</sup> One of those camps, Kutupalong, is the world's largest refugee settlement, accommodating more than 600,000 refugees.<sup>75</sup> Roughly 75% of Cox's Bazar inhabitants arrived in a gigantic wave in late August 2017, joining more than 200,000 Rohingya who had fled Burma in previous years.<sup>76</sup> The flood of terrified Rohingya refugees poured onto southern Bangladesh's beaches and paddy fields, bringing with them accounts of the violence and brutality that had forced them to flee.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> "Rohingya Refugee Crisis." *UNHCR*.

<sup>75</sup> "Myanmar Rohingya." *BBC News*.

<sup>76</sup> "Rohingya Refugee Crisis." *UNHCR*.

<sup>77</sup> "Rohingya Crisis." *UNICEF*.



**Figure 18.** Rohingya refugees gather in a temporary settlement in the border zone between Burma and Bangladesh.<sup>78</sup>

Despite the limited resources and land to host refugees, these gigantic camps have formed over time. There is no formal education system: teachers are banned from using both Bangladeshi and Burmese curricula in the camps, yet Rohingya are not allowed to enroll in schools outside the camps. The risk of disease outbreaks in camps is high and more than 60% of the available water supply is contaminated.<sup>79</sup> The effects of massive fires experienced earlier in 2022 only compound the risks of monsoon season in Bangladesh. In response to rising cases of COVID-19, Bangladesh has also implemented a strict national lockdown, compounding the situation.<sup>80</sup> Many Rohingya children are living in exile from their home country; many have been born into this dire situation.<sup>81</sup>

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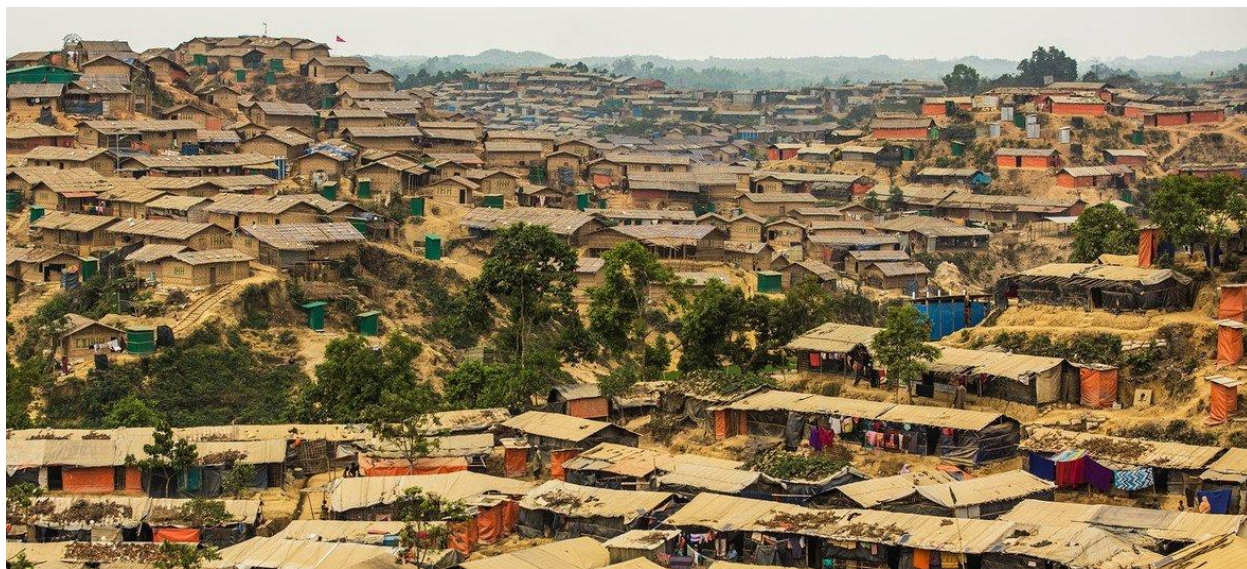
<sup>78</sup> Tubiana, Joshua Craze, Jérôme. "The World Needs a New Refugee Convention." *Foreign Policy*.

<sup>79</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>80</sup> "Rohingya Refugee Crisis." *UNHCR*.

<sup>81</sup> "Rohingya Crisis." *UNICEF*.





**Figure 19.** The Hakimpara refugee camp in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh.<sup>82</sup>

Countries and organizations around the region have responded to the ongoing crisis in Burma. Protesters have often gathered in countries such as Pakistan, India, Thailand, Indonesia, and Bangladesh to denounce the killing and persecution of Rohingya. As early as September 2017, Bangladesh's foreign minister condemned the violence in Rakhine as "genocide." Indonesia and Malaysia called on the Burmese authorities to halt their campaign and end the violence.<sup>83</sup> International bodies such as the UN and the International Criminal Court (ICC) and other countries such as the United States and the Gambia have also taken measures to counter Burma and aid refugees.

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<sup>82</sup> "Greater Progress Needed to Ensure Safe Return of Displaced Rohingya: UN Refugee Agency Chief." *UN News*, 3 Mar. 2020.

<sup>83</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

In December 2016, United States President Barack Obama prematurely lifted sanctions against Burma under the impression that it had made strides to improve human rights. In 2017, President Donald Trump imposed new sanctions on the Tatmadaw. His administration continued to widen its sanctions in 2018 and 2019 as evidence of atrocities committed by the military grew. Aside from sanctioning the Tatmadaw, the United States has also provided aid to Rohingya refugees in nearby countries, such as Bangladesh.<sup>84</sup>

Other nations and bodies, such as Australia, Canada, and the European Union, have sanctioned Tatmadaw leaders. Many countries, including Canada, Norway, and South Korea, have increased their humanitarian assistance.<sup>85</sup>

Perhaps most notably, in November 2019, The Gambia, a small Muslim-majority nation,<sup>86</sup> filed the first international lawsuit against Burma at the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Filing on behalf of the 57-nation Organization of Islamic Cooperation, it accused Burma of violating the UN Genocide Convention.<sup>87</sup> ASSK rejected the allegations of genocide during her court appearance in December 2019.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>85</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>86</sup> "Myanmar Rohingya." *BBC News*.

<sup>87</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>88</sup> "Myanmar Rohingya." *BBC News*.



**Figure 20.** Aung San Suu Kyi (ASSK) at an ICJ hearing in The Hague, Netherlands.<sup>89</sup>

In January 2020, the ICJ unanimously ruled that Burma must take emergency measures to protect Rohingya from violence and preserve evidence. A final ruling in the case could take years.<sup>90</sup>

Since the military campaign in 2017, the UN has become increasingly outspoken following an investigation into the crisis and its report that accused the Tatmadaw of “genocidal intent.”<sup>91</sup>

However, earlier action by the agency might have curbed violence in Burma: a report commissioned by Guterres documented “systemic failure” by UN agencies from 2010–2018.<sup>92</sup> A UN fact-finding mission recommended that the Security Council impose sanctions on Burma and top Tatmadaw officials.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> “Why the ICJ Is Trying to Protect Myanmar’s Rohingya.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>90</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>91</sup> “Myanmar Rohingya.” *BBC News*.

<sup>92</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>93</sup> “Fueling Myanmar’s Rohingya Crisis.” *Council on Foreign Relations*.

In November 2019, the ICC authorized an investigation into alleged atrocities.<sup>94</sup> While the ICJ can only rule on disputes between states, the ICC can try individuals accused of crimes against humanity.<sup>95</sup>

Rather than notable action, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been more notable for its lack of action. In general, governments in Southeast Asia lack legal frameworks to protect the rights of refugees. Multiple ASEAN members, including Burma, have yet to ratify the UN refugee convention. ASEAN still needs to coordinate a response to the Rohingya crisis, which affects not only Burma but all its neighbors. One reason for their silence on the issue is their commitment to non-interference in each other's internal affairs.<sup>96</sup> This should not prevent them from helping humans in danger, nor is it an internal affair any longer.

Advocacy and humanitarian groups have been vital in raising awareness about the crisis and providing aid to the many suffering Rohingya. Groups such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, the Arakan Project, and Fortify Rights continue to appeal for international pressure on Burma's government.<sup>97</sup> Most information regarding the crisis is available from investigations by organizations like these. The ability to raise funds and deliver aid is made possible by organizations such as these.

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<sup>94</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>95</sup> "Myanmar Rohingya." *BBC News*.

<sup>96</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>97</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

Burma has recently experienced more political turbulence. In 2019, the majority NLD government pledged to examine reforming the military's 2008 constitution. The Tatmadaw was opposed to this pledge. The 2020 elections led to further NLD gains; however, the Tatmadaw dismissed the elections as fraudulent, ultimately leading to a coup led by Commander-in-Chief Sr. General Min Aung Hlaing in February 2021. With the return of authoritarian rule, thousands of pro-democracy actors, including ASSK, have been detained and there has been renewed oppression, widespread violence, and economic decline. Before the coup, the Tatmadaw controlled the Defense Ministry, the Border Ministry, the Home Affairs Ministry, one of two vice presidential appointments, and 25% of the parliamentary seats.<sup>98</sup>



**Figure 21.** General Min Aung Hlaing atop a parade float in 2017.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> "Burma." *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>99</sup> "Myanmar's Junta Tries to Follow the Thailand Model for Legitimizing Its Rule—But Is Unlikely to Succeed." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

Following the coup, many lawmakers elected in the November 2020 elections and members ousted by the Tatmadaw formed a shadow National Unity Government (NUG). The NUG includes representatives from the NLD, ethnic minority groups, civil society, and other minor parties. The NUG announced the formation of the People's Defense Force, an armed wing that began an insurgency against the military junta in September 2021. This insurgency has continued into 2022; the Tatmadaw's primary operational focus has been internal security as they have attempted to suppress this insurgency.<sup>100</sup>

The UN Special Envoy said the political crisis in Burma following the 2021 coup has "opened new frontlines that had long been at peace" as problems "both deepened and expanded dramatically." State institutions have collapsed, disrupting social and economic infrastructure while leading to increased criminal activity. Military violence has continued to grow, even against peaceful protesters. Armed conflict "has become the norm" for all Burmese.<sup>101</sup>

Meanwhile, the refugee crisis has not improved. After escaping the Tatmadaw, those confined in camps in Bangladesh now face Rohingya insurgents and police harassment. One of these refugees, a 27-year-old Rohingya named Mohammed Aziz Arakani, is a journalist and human rights defender. ARSA has told Arakani and his brother that they will kill him for speaking out about human rights violations within the camps. These violations include human and drug trafficking, murders, deliberate fires, and lack of access to necessities such as healthcare, education, and livelihood opportunities.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> "Burma." *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>101</sup> "Myanmar's Multidimensional Crises." *UN News*.

<sup>102</sup> "What Other Options Are There If Rohingya Refugees Can't Go Home?" *The New Humanitarian*, 10 Nov. 2022.

Unfortunately, Arakani's experience is not unique. The Burma Human Rights Network report found that all interviewees from 10 camps had experienced violence. 90% of them were concerned about kidnappings.<sup>103</sup> The conditions are dire for the Rohingya both inside and outside of Burma. Persecution and systemic oppression within Burma and the gangs, crime, and poor living conditions within the camps leave them with no good options.

## **FUTURE POSSIBILITIES**

The logical next step in examining this crisis is exploring what might be done next. In Burma, resentment of the Rohingya has run deep for generations.<sup>104</sup> This will not change overnight. The situation is unlikely to improve without ensuring that the Rohingya are treated as human beings and are afforded the same opportunities as any other citizen of Burma.<sup>105</sup>

The situation that led to the military campaign and many human rights violations in 2017 has remained unchanged. More than half a million Rohingya still live in northern Rakhine; UN investigators warned there is a "serious risk that genocidal actions may occur or recur."<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> "What Other Options Are There?" *The New Humanitarian*.

<sup>104</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>105</sup> "Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>106</sup> "Myanmar Rohingya." *BBC News*.

There are four paths forward from where we currently stand: repatriation, third-country repatriation, local integration, and improving current conditions. A combination of these strategies is likely the best way to proceed.

While there has been talk between nations that have accepted Rohingya refugees, such as Bangladesh, and the Burmese junta around repatriation, it is unlikely that refugees will be willing to repatriate without guarantees that the situation in Burma has in fact changed—including guarantees of citizenship, security, and livelihoods. These repatriation talks have not led to any concrete actions so far. Laetitia van den Assum, a former member of the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State, believes the junta is “posturing” to convince ICJ that genocidal acts are no longer taking place.<sup>107</sup>

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has pushed for voluntary repatriation once conditions are conducive. Iran and China, among others, have supported this strategy. Daniel Sullivan, director for Asia at Refugees International, said, “I was just in the Rohingya camps in Bangladesh, and nearly every refugee with whom I spoke stated repatriation as their number one wish, but only once it is safe.” However, the ongoing situation in Rakhine remains dangerous, with approximately 600,000 Rohingya civilians caught between ARSA and the Tatmadaw. Those considering a return to their homes in the future may not be able to, as villages have been destroyed to make way for government facilities.<sup>108</sup> van den Assum’s two cents: “The situation in Rakhine State is such that you cannot possibly return a million refugees

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<sup>107</sup> “What Other Options Are There?” *The New Humanitarian*.

<sup>108</sup> “Myanmar Rohingya.” *BBC News*.



for the foreseeable future, because—even if there was no emergency situation—providing the infrastructure needed to give hundreds of thousands returning refugees a chance at reestablishing themselves and having their livelihoods in place, etc. is a vast exercise.”<sup>109</sup> Thus, while repatriation may play a role in solving this crisis, it must be one of several solutions implemented.

While third-country repatriation may be an option, it would likely only be for those whose lives are most at risk. This has already been implemented in Bangladesh, where 28,000 people have been relocated to the island of Bhasan Char from Cox's Bazar. Located in the Bay of Bengal, Bhasan Char is vulnerable to flooding and cyclones, and some reports suggest that community members were coerced to leave the camps.<sup>110</sup> Countries such as the United States and Canada have also indicated that they might be a destination for third-country repatriation for Rohingya, although it is unclear how many people they could or would take.<sup>111</sup>

Local integration might be the most straightforward option logistically, although many challenges exist with the tactic. Organizations such as the World Bank have proposed that Rohingya might be integrated into the respective societies in the nations into which they have fled. Refugees currently interact minimally with local communities, as they are confined within the camp boundaries. Integration would increase mobility and enable them to contribute to society. However, at least the Bangladeshi authorities have clarified that they are against

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<sup>109</sup> “What Other Options Are There?” *The New Humanitarian*.

<sup>110</sup> “What Other Options Are There?” *The New Humanitarian*.

<sup>111</sup> “What Other Options Are There?” *The New Humanitarian*.

integration, and other nations might be as well. Integration is not particularly appealing to many Rohingya, either.<sup>112</sup>

Finally, improving conditions for the refugees where they are now might be a solution. This should be the bare minimum of any solution proposed. It has become evident that the camps are no longer just a short-term solution. Therefore, the UN should work closely with nations hosting Rohingya refugee camps to improve conditions. These countries cannot be left to handle these issues on their own, as they cannot be expected to provide overwhelming funding and attention to this issue caused by Burma. There is only so much attention to go around, even with the UN, as conflicts in Ukraine, Ethiopia, and west Africa are drawing UN focus. A UN-led 2022 Rohingya crisis response plan sought \$881 million to provide aid to 1.4 million people; however, advocates claim that these figures underestimate what refugees need to lead normal and safe lives.<sup>113</sup>

The UN General Assembly has recommended changes at both vertical and horizontal levels within Burma. Vertical recommendations involve the de-facto authorities and pro-democracy actors, while horizontal recommendations focus on inclusivity, peaceful co-existence, and equality initiatives. It is ultimately up to Burma to implement changes to address these issues.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, Burma must increase its accountability and thoroughly investigate its Tatmadaw, high-ranking officers, and government officials that have held power leading up to and since August 2017.

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<sup>112</sup> "What Other Options Are There?" *The New Humanitarian*.

<sup>113</sup> "What Other Options Are There?" *The New Humanitarian*.

<sup>114</sup> "Myanmar's Multidimensional Crises." *UN News*.

Whatever solution, or combination of solutions, is implemented, it must ensure the safety and security of Rohingya refugees. Their rights and dignity must be respected, protected, and promoted. Their basic needs must be met; this includes clean water, sanitation facilities, health care, protection, nutritious food, opportunity, and education. Until a solution is reached, they are stuck as refugees or IDPs living in overcrowded and dangerous conditions.

### **APPLICATION OF LEARNINGS TO BROADER CONTEXT**

While history may not repeat itself, it tends to rhyme. Every empathetic and reasonable human will acknowledge that no other group should be treated like the Rohingya have been and continue to be. However, steps to prevent this in the future and a better course of action in response to the discovery of ongoing human rights violations at scale must be determined.

First, we must be mindful of other people, religions, and cultures. At the end of the day, we are all humans; we must not create a familiar 'us' to combat an unfamiliar 'them.' This extends beyond national boundaries, as artificially dividing the social space of the planet into 'domestic' and 'foreign' spheres play right into the notion of 'us' versus 'them.' The first step to prevent a similar crisis in the future is to avoid this identity defense mechanism that seems to be increasingly common in response to globalization, which is serving to escalate attachment to nationality.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Steger, Manfred B. *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*, p.64-82. Oxford University Press, 2003.

Once we strive to recognize each other's humanity and empathize with all human beings without exception, we can begin to pay attention to others' needs. This extends beyond our closest circles to those around the globe. While we may not be able to attend to the needs of someone on the other side of the world, we must recognize and provide a platform for them so that those with the means to help are aware. Globalization might challenge some of the most crucial powers of nation-states, including immigration control, population registration, and security protocols.<sup>116</sup> Still, it provides a means for someone in the United States to assist someone experiencing a human rights atrocity in Ukraine, for example.

We must continue to operate within the international structure we have inherited, but we must make improvements where possible. The UN, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have made global governance and nonpartisan relief possible. This is particularly critical when national and local governments lack the political will to provide aid, especially when assistance needs to be rapidly deployed. Improving the structure and abilities of IGOs and NGOs is critical in the prevention of and response to future crises.

While this is the most challenging portion to analyze, it is likely the most important. It is easy to be idealistic and give recommendations such as "remove the Tatmadaw in the 1970s and institute the democracy that Burma wanted." But who, and with what resources? Hindsight is twenty-twenty, and each new situation is unique. Each new case will require individual

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<sup>116</sup> Steger. *Globalization*, p.64-82.

recommendations, but they will undoubtedly share common threads. Recognizing these common threads from which to draw lessons to be applied uniquely to the next scenario is critical.

Eventually, hopefully, there will no longer be any scenarios that require the application of these lessons.

## **CONCLUSION**

The Rohingya were, and continue to be, one of the world's most persecuted groups. While there has been international pressure to end the persecution and relief to help those enduring human rights violations, minimal progress has been made. The situation in Burma remains relatively unchanged from 2017 and many Rohingya are still displaced from their home, living in inhumane conditions in camps in Burma or a neighboring nation.

To solve Burma's Rohingya refugee crisis, Burma and other involved parties must take a multi-pronged approach. While each solution might be implemented on a different scale, repatriation, third-country repatriation, and local integration all must be attempted as solutions for a crisis of this scale. Regardless of the magnitude and effectiveness of those solutions, a complete effort must be made to improve current conditions because Rohingya in refugee camps are likely not going anywhere soon, unfortunately. Ultimately, it is up to Burma to work with its neighbors to facilitate a solution to this crisis. Burma also must look at itself, as changes within the country are necessary to make it safe and equitable for the Rohingya to live there. It must hold itself accountable and investigate those who have played a role in the human rights

violations that go back decades. First and foremost, the safety, security, rights, and dignity of Rohingya refugees must be ensured as a solution is reached.

Steps must be taken to prevent similar atrocities around the globe in the future. We must be mindful and accepting of other people whom we might be quick to label 'them.' We must extend empathy to all human beings without exception; we must raise awareness for, and provide aid to, if possible, the cries of our fellow human beings. While we must operate within the international structure we have inherited, we must improve the abilities and effectiveness of IGOs and NGOs. We must recognize common threads through similar crises and apply the lessons learned from each one to the prevention of and response to the next. Eventually, hopefully, there will be no more refugee crises.

With a crisis of this scale, it is easy to get lost in the numbers. They certainly require attention; human rights violations are being committed at a scale rivaled only a few times throughout history. However, it is essential to remember that each number is a human being, and each human being has a story. It is difficult to put this into context from a distance, but we must make our best effort. Hussain, a community leader at a refugee camp in Haryana, India, put it plainly: "Don't look at us as Muslims or refugees. Look at us as humans in danger. We are survivors of a genocide."<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Aswani, "It's Like We're Caged Everywhere We Go."

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## APPENDIX A: ABBREVIATION REFERENCE TABLE

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Full Term</b>
ARSA	Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASSK	Aung San Suu Kyi
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
EAO	ethnic armed organization
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IDP	internally displaced people
IGO	intergovernmental organization
NGO	non-governmental organization
NLD	National League for Democracy
NUG	National Unity Government
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USDP	Union Solidarity and Development Party

## **APPENDIX B: SUGGESTED RESOURCES**

- I. ["Timeline: A Visual History of the Rohingya Refugee Crisis"](#): photographs of the plight of the Rohingya in Burma dating back to 1977
- II. ["No Refuge: Why the World's Swelling Refugee Population has Shrinking Options"](#): examines the refugee crisis the world is currently facing
- III. ["What Forces Are Fueling Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis?"](#): detailed explanation of the Rohingya refugee crisis