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Analyzing the Myanmar Conflict in order to find a solution

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Table of Contents

Abstract:

The Myanmar conflict is an ongoing sectarian conflict that defies human rights and human dignity. It also thrives on discrimination against minorities such as the Rohingya community in particular and the UN Secretary-General has described the Rohingyas as "one of, if not, most discriminated people in the world." The Rohingya Muslims and other minorities are under Myanmar's security forces' mercy as they conduct atrocities against them by denying them basic rights and excluding them from governmental representation. In this paper I will be examining how to prevent genocide against vulnerable minorities of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds taking the Rohingyas as an example. Moreover, I will map the conflict to look at the root causes to search for what happened, what are the issues and who are the main actors in the conflict. Moreover, I will analyze the information obtained from the conflict mapping by using the TNC model to look at the conflict from different scales; international, regional, national and elite. These levels will help in understanding how the conflict is operating in order to present a proper analysis of what is going on in Myanmar. Lastly, I will discuss how third parties exert pressure and defend the Rohingya community to bring to justice those who committed crimes against humanity. Thus, I will demonstrate how the global coalitions such, as NGOs, ICJ, UN bodies… etc., are working on a resolution and an intervention for this ongoing conflict by using different relative methods.

Conflict: Conflict is natural, and it is inevitable. Galtung defined conflict as an incompatibility of attitudes, behaviour and contradiction, known as, (A+B+C). It is the result of incompatible goals or the result of clashing ideas that fail to find a compromise.

Conflict Map: Wehr's Conflict map it is a summary description of the conflict's history, context, parties, issues and dynamics. It also provides alternative routes for a solution and peace. A conflict map simplifies and visualizes the conflict into 1) actors and their main role in the conflict, 2) the relationship between those actors, and 3) the main issues raised. The actors are then dived into primary, secondary and tertiary actors.

TNC Model: The Framework for Transnational Conflict includes post-Cold War global changes, regionalization of conflict. As well as drivers of conflict linked to sites of confrontation through transnational connectors. The Framework for Transnational Conflict is applied to find the root causes of the conflict and how its reaction has been performing. The TNC model is divided into five levels of analysis; global, regional, state, identity group and lastly on an elite/individual bases.

Containing Violent Conflict: Peacekeeping: It is divided into 1st, 2nd and 3rd generations of peacekeeping. Peacekeeping is one of conflict resolution tools used to eradicate conflict. It is initiated by the United Nations. The 1st generation peacekeeping is compromised by monitoring borders and establishing buffer zones after ceasefires. The 2nd generation is a bit more complex than the 1st generation. But both generations require consent of the parties in conflict, political neutrality, impartiality, no use of force (only for self-defense) and lastly legitimacy. On the other hand, the third generation is known as a peace operation whereby the collective, human and state security is expanded.

Introduction:

The ethnic insurgencies began when Myanmar gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1948 and rejected the implementation of a federal system. And from that point onwards there has been a violent struggle and increased with time which required Muslim Rohingyas to flee the country in order to escape discrimination and torture such as rape, murder and arson. The Rohingya community are considered stateless people who have been denied their basic human rights because of having a different religion. The government of Myanmar has instituted this discrimination through a set of policies that denied them citizenship, the right to vote, and denied their recognition as an ethnic minority group. This research is aimed at studying the historical background of the Rohingya conflict as well as mapping out the conflict in order to dissect its complexity through better understanding the historical flow of the conflict by looking at its primary and secondary actors as well as other dimensions. I will also be discussing the proposed solutions and finding new possible solutions that could be applied to the conflict by using conflict resolution and peacebuilding strategies that are considered peaceful means.

The Discrimination:

Durand (2013) has mentioned that 60% of non-Burman minorities in Myanmar feel that they do not have enough sufficient rights and access to power. The Rohingya group has faced several forms of issues such as refusal of citizenship, discrimination, trafficking, poverty, arrest, extortion and deportation (Wekke et al., 2017.) According to the Amnesty International (AI) report in Wekke et al. (2017), since the year 1978 Rohingya have experienced human rights violations committed by the military junta in Myanmar. The oppressive and discriminatory military regime that is present in the country since independence has been accountable for the lack of basic freedoms. This constant form of discrimination has forced more than 250,000 Rohingyas to Bangladesh (Wekke et al., 2017.)

The excluded minority have no rights for citizenship or nationality and in 1974, the Government has issued identity cards for their population and have excluded the Rohingyas. As mentioned in Durand (2013) "According to the 1982 Citizenship Law, people born of descendants that were in the Myanmar before 1948 should become citizens within three generations." This indicates that the Rohingyas should have obtained the citizenship by now, but in reality, this is not the case. The state still believes that Rohingyas are illegal immigrants and thus this is the main reason why they are not willing to provide them with citizenship and as mentioned by Bhuiyan et al. in Wekke et al. (2017) "Rohingya minority group, classified as stateless Bengali Muslims from Bangladesh since 1982" Although the government has issued some form of identification that were known as "Foreign Registration Cards." Such policies have limited the socio-economic welfare of the Rohingyas and have marginalized them from descent work, education, health services and forced labour (Wekke et al., 2017). This governmental policy is a violation of the Citizenship Convention as well as the Civil Rights Convention. The Buddhist that are also present in Rakhine have initiated anti-Rohingya movements which further worsened their situation. The Myanmar military also took part of a state-wide campaign of violence against the Rohingyas. Moreover, the Rohingyas have faced persecution, arrest, and detention the organization and their execution purposeful destruction of their homes, villages, and livelihoods and ensuring their expulsion. Furthermore, the receive insufficient medical treatment of injuries in Myanmar. When the Rohingya minorites are taken by the government militia they are detained and tortured in interrogation (Haar et al.,2019.) The government considers their arrest as a routinely act against anti-terrorism. Furthermore, these armed governmental groups demand them to leave their houses and immediately start raiding their homes and start shooting and commence with wiping out the territory by setting it on fire. According to. Haar et al. (2019) "many survivors recalled the chaos of those events, when people became separated from their families and

were beaten or shot while trying to escape into nearby forests or fields." The armed group also took part in destroying crops and Mosques. The deputy Asia Director of the United Nations have stated that "two years since the Myanmar military carried out ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya population, the government still denies its troops committed any atrocities." What is going in Myanmar is huge tragedy, the government is denying equality between the present citizens and taking part of discriminatory actions. Instead of integrating the marginalized group they have increased their deprivation.

Research Question:
How has the Myanmar ethnic dilemma progressed and how can it be resolved?

This research tackles a very complex issue which need to be resolved immediately due to its severity and sensitivity since we are dealing with human lives that are being exposed to crimes against humanity. Moreover, there is a lack of researches that have been conducted on Myanmar and specifically the topics that I will be examining.

Methodology:
I will be using a qualitative method in this research proposal to analyse previous research and give my input. Through a literature review I will provide information on the historical ethnic background of the conflict, a conflict map and TNC framework to help with understanding the present dynamics and lastly, I will discuss the peace process and conflict transformation in order to find a solution to the Rohingya Conflict and why it has failed to come to an end.

What is Conflict and why does it occur?

According to Mack et al. in Tjosvold (2006), conflict is perceived as contrasting interests of capitals and ambitions that clash with one another. It is when groups compete against one another to satisfy their goals and reach the maximum resources. "The competitive elements produce the conflict; the cooperative elements create the incentives to bargain to reach an agreement" (Deutsch and Krauss, 1962) in Tjosvold (2006.) De Dreu et al. (1999) in Tjosvold (2006) discussed that conflict is a build-up tension due to previous experiences where differences were present between individuals. Conflict is natural, and it is inevitable. Galtung defined conflict as an incompatibility of attitudes, behaviour and contradiction, known as, (A+B+C) as cited by Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall (2016). It is the result of incompatible goals or the result of clashing ideas that fail to find a compromise. Bartos and Weher (2001), as cited in Ayadin (2008), believe that conflict is a consequence of incompatible goals as well hostility, with high emphasis on hostility. Thus, with clashing needs comes actual clashes and anger that would shift the harmony between individuals into violence. Indeed, human beings are complex, and their needs will differ because of their different thought process. Lederach (1999:9), as cited in Ayadin (2008) looks at the way conflict implicates with one another the different perception, interpretation, expressions, and intentions as an interactive practice. In Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall (2016) they discussed the different approaches of conflict according to Machiavelli, Hobbes, Hume and Rousseau. Machiavelli viewed conflict as a consequence of selfish human desire of power and self-preservation. While, according to Hobbes it was due to competition over insecurities such as defence of honour and pride. Hume believed it was due to the limitation of altruism and resources. On the other hand, Rousseau saw conflict and war as a deduction of the social state. According to Thakore (2013) asserts that disagreements are inherent human behaviour.

Larfela (1988) in Thakore (2013) that conflict is a process of human evolution in order to find improved methods to deal with scarce resources.

<u>Ethnic Conflict and the reasons behind its presence:</u> (Democracy and Colonialism)

Tepfenhart (2013) explains ethnic conflict as "conflict between two ethnic groups within a state, one dominant and one subordinate. Often the dominant group is the state and the subordinate one is challenging its legitimacy." According to Jehn, Simons and Peterson in Zhang and Zhang (2012) conflict between groups have been divided into two: task conflict and relationship conflict. The task conflict is seen as a cognitive or substantive dilemma due to inconsistencies in beliefs and views. On the other hand, relationship conflict is due to interpersonal inconsistencies such as emotional tension due to personality, trust, attitude, power esteem, honesty or respect and so on (Amason et al. in Zhang & Zhang 2012).Lewis, French and Steane (1997) in (Thakore , 2013) argued that conflict within a group is unavoidable since it is a consequence of boundaries developing within any structure that separate groups in order to compete for scarce resources. Moreover, Rivers (2005) in (Thakore, 2013) suggests that the simple element of categorisation (between us and them) is adequate to cause conflict. The term "social identity theory" is used to explain this phenomenon when groups are formed (Lewis, 1997). The social interaction between groups will lead to conflict because different ethnic groups differ in goals, needs as well as composition and assimilation. Each ethnicity has their own traditions, religion and language and these different attributes lead to disagreements.

Zaw (2018) argues that "In human history, it is clearly seen that conflict is mentioned with religions, gender and ethnic issues." Usually, multiculturalism and pluralism are institutionalized through the creation of political systems that would fit in the diverse societal structure and guarantee equal representation and rights protection. Horowitz (1985), as cited

in Zaw (2018), asserts this idea and should be "channelled through parliaments, assemblies and bureaucracies or through non-violent demonstrations and strikes." But countries where democracy and equal representation are not evident a conflict occurs, and it is clearly reflected in Myanmar where the Rohingyas are denied governmental representation, equal rights and freedom of belonging to an ethnic group and religion. Zaw (2018) believes that a multicultural society that does not have those freedom, conflict and cleavages will breakout. Ethnic conflicts who are between competing ethnic groups start as political, social, economic or religious. They compete with each other for survival that is why in multi-ethnic societies ethnic conflict is evidently present. John Stuart Mill in Reilly (2000) thought that "democracy was incompatible with the structure of a multiethnic society, free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities." Democratic countries institutionalize these conflicts and eradicate violence (Hashmi,2018.) Kohn et al. (2017) discusses the theories of decolonization and how it is related with revolution, economic inequality, violence and political identity. According to Simpson (2014) in Kohn et al. (2017) "contemporary democratic practices of recognition transform indigenous peoples from sovereign nations into ethnic minority citizens." The post-colonial Western liberalism creates this dilemma and classifies the country into hierarchies. The controlling majority would be the one who had ties to the colonial sovereigns.

Theory of Protracted Social Conflict:

Edward E Azar is the first to describe violent events in the developing world as *Protracted Social Conflicts,* which he explains as follows: *"In brief, protracted social conflicts occur when communities are deprived of satisfaction of their basic needs on the basis of the communal identity. However, the deprivation is the result of a complex causal chain involving the role of the state and the pattern of international linkages. Furthermore, initial*

conditions (colonial legacy, domestic historical setting, and the multi-communal nature of the society) play important roles in shaping the genesis of protracted social conflict."

Conflict Mapping:

A conflict map enables us to understand the conflictual situation and its relationship with different variables. Through the map we can identify the individuals connected to the situation as well as their interests in the conflict. The map proceeds to visualize the resources, allied coalitions and relations of the parties involved. A conflict map gives us a systematic visual of the dilemma which enhances our chances to find an appropriate solution (Dalmases et al., 2014.) Conflict mapping is a crucial step in order to comprehend a deeply rooted conflict thus we can find a suitable peacebuilding method. Wehr (1979), as cited in Morasso (2008), says "to effectively intervene in a conflict to resolve it, one must be able to analyze it properly." Paul Wehr has constructed a well-structured model in order to fit all of the conflict dynamics in a standard format. A conflict map simplifies and visualizes the conflict into 1) actors and their main role in the conflict, 2) the relationship between those actors, and 3) the main issues raised. The actors are then dived into primary, secondary and tertiary actors. In the Rohingya conflict the primary actors are; Tatmadaw, the government, Kachim Independence Army (KIA) and the two ethic groups: The Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya (Hoffman, 2018). The secondary actors are parties who have a subsidiary role who are, human traffickers, institutions etc. Lastly, the tertiary actors are negotiators willing to establish a peaceful path between the conflicting parties. The map helps us know the nature of the conflict to know when it is ripe enough to intervene. Moreover, the map gives us answer to what must we do? Why? What for? And when must we do it?

According to Dalamases et al. (2014) the elements the mapping will revolve around:

1. The subjects (who takes part in the conflict?)

2. The interests and goals (what do the subjects want and how do they intend to achieve it?)

3. Power (what resources do the subjects have for obtaining their interests?)

4. Awareness (who is recognized as an interlocutor for the resolution?)

5. The frames of reference (what are the presuppositions, paradigms or prejudices the agents harbor unconsciously?)

6. The emotions (what role do the emotions play in this conflict?)

7. The relation (how is the relation between the subjects structured?)

8. The coalitions (what coalitions can be generated in this conflict?)

TNC:

Moreover, to better understand the conflict dynamics The Framework for Transnational Conflict is applied to find the root causes of the conflict and how its reaction has been performing. The TNC model is divided into five levels of analysis; global, regional, state, identity group and lastly on an elite/individual bases (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall ,2016). It is an extension of PSC (protracted social conflict) as it includes post-Cold War global changes, regionalization of conflict.

Global drivers:

Geopolitical transition the transition from bipolar to unipolar and then multipolar with the rise of Russia china and India in the international economic system conflicts became regionalized with the rise of interstate rivalries leaving power vacuums and transnational conflicts.

North south economic division: third world conflicts "new wars" are not just due to local failures of governance but also distortions in late capitalism. This adds to the already existing social conflict, regional disparities and grievances and perpetuate structural conflict. The rapid rise in population and mass urbanization within a global capitalist setting has created a global under class not only in fragile low-income states but also in middle- and upper-income states. Economic development and corporate interests distort social development.

Discrepancy between state borders and the geographical distribution of peoples: is the prominence of nationalism and ethnicity. The process of decolonization has increased the number of states resulting in complex groupings.According to (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall ,2016) around 5000 identity groups can claim independence but find themselves as minority groups in large states dominated by other groups or divided by colonially imposed international borders. These fundamental structural discrepancies impact at regional level (cutting across borders) state level (challenging state capacity) and identity group level (forming the social basis for both challenger and processor)

Global ideological contestation: became more prominent post-cold war world such as radicalization by the communication revolution, Marxism, ethno-nationalism, the democratic challenge to autocracy.

Transnational connectors:

Movement and exchange of people, weapons, capital, criminal/terrorist networks, economic resources, ideas connecting global/local via intermediate levels

Regional-Level Analysis

The regionalization of global politics is important to understand contemporary transitional conflict analysis.

Complex regional conflict system: It is region security complexes where groups of states with interconnected security concerns. Regions with turmoil, through security regimes states that are potential threats to each other have decreased mutual insecurities, formal and informal to pluralistic security communities no necessary use of force between each other

Intra-regional dynamics: This is outwards (spillover, contagion, diffusion) and inwards (influence, interference, intervention). Internal wars have external effects on the region though spread of weapons, economic dislocation, link to terrorism, refugees, neighboring states are dragged into regional politics, patterns of clientage, actions of outside governments, cross-border movement of people and ideas, black market activities etc…

State level analysis:

The state is the primary locus of identity for most people. It is the key mediator between forces of globalization (international pressure) and fragmentation (domestic discontent). It is when internal parties compete for state control; institute revolutionary programs, safeguard communal needs, secure factional interest. Moreover, it can be the loss of state capability to govern due to weakening legitimacy or direct challenges to its use of force. It is regarded as a form of "failed" state. State fragility is interconnected to social, economic, political, geographic and law & order as well as security.

Identity-group and conflict party-level analysis:

The nature of conflict parties (group formation): According to Benedict Anderson (1983) imagined communities are an idea that communities are not pre-existing, but they are

constructed socially and politically. These identities are not fixed, and they come in various shapes and become politically manipulated.

Intergroup dynamics (escalation-de-escalation): It is relational sources of conflict at part level analysis. It is how national peoples, regional autonomists, communal contenders, indigenous people, militant sects, ethnic classes and other groups may move from non-violent protest into violent ones and increase rebellion to uneven escalation. Moreover, mobilization and social contention occur due to political movements that are framed by grievances and collective goals. Goals include political autonomy, access, secession or control; these are triggered by historical grievances and contemporary resentment. On the other hand, new threats to security and new opportunities is triggered by mobilization due to the existent leadership and its degree of militancy.

Elites and individuals: Here we can see the importance of leadership roles and how communal violence is constructed. The role that is played by elites and leaders initiates violence. Thus, conflicts are the product of internal , elite-level activities that are portrayed through bad leadership.

Escalation De-escalation Wave Model:

This model gives us a timeline of the progression of the conflict throughout time as Lederach (2005) and Lund (1996) in (Dodouet, 2006.) It measures the intensity of the conflict and its dynamics. Ramsbotham et al (2005) identified four stages of escalation (difference, contradiction, polarization, violence), the highest peak of the curve (war), and four corresponding stages of de-escalation (ceasefire, agreement, normalization, reconciliation).

These stages help us find the appropriate ripeness of the conflict in order to contain it and transform it. Lederach (2005) in Dodouet (2006) "the conflict as escalation and de-escalation line poses a certain way of looking at change and a particular level of conflict that is being addressed. To a large degree the image focuses on the rise of violence, an agreement that stops it, and the de-escalation that follows the accord. This places the primary emphasis on negotiation of the symptomatic, or more visible and often destructive expressions of the conflict, but not on the relational context that lies at the epicenter of what generates the fighting". The peak of the wave (war) shifts the dynamics from escalation to de-escalation.

Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation:

Peacebuilding is a way to generate and approach conflict transformation towards a long-term peaceful relationship in society (Galtung, 1998). Conflict resolution means settlement of disputes between parties in conflict through compromise that defeats violence. Conflict resolution has four structures arbitration, litigation, negotiation and mediation. Arbitration and litigation are formal ways that hold court room proceeding while on the other hand negotiation and mediation are informal that may have third party interventions. Galtung conveyed that conciliation should take place in order to heal trauma and develop a road for a peaceful transition. The previously discussed models will help with finding the appropriate solutions to this ongoing dilemma and apply it accordingly. Lederach, as cited n Durand (2013), discuss how this peace process should proceed on different levels of analysis in order to uncover the needed strategy to solve a conflict. Durand (2013), discuss different levels of conflict transformation starting with individual, structural and societal transformation. These transformative techniques will help in transforming the negative peace and move towards long-term positive peace. Conflict transformation also occurs with the help of external actors,

local and international NGOs, local elite, UN bodies, ICJ and ICC courts, they apply pressure on the conflicting actors to move towards reconciliation and peace.

Analysis:

We have seen in the literature review the theoretical framework for the basis of my case study. I will be applying those theories on Myanmar in order to build a thorough argument on Conflict Resolution and Analysis in Myanmar. I will start the analysis by explaining how the conflict in Myanmar occurred by taking the theory of conflict and ethnic conflict which I have explained above.

The ethnic conflict and the reasons behind its presence:

The diverse country has experienced a difficult dilemma between the Government and the various ethnic groups that are pursuing autonomy. My main focus will be on the Rohingya Muslim minority who are set to be the most "persecuted minority group." The ethnic tension began back in 1785 when the Buddhist Burmese invaded Arakan (West of Myanmar, Rakhine state) and started executing the Muslim Rohingya. Later on, with the British occupation it fuelled the tension even more, separating and dividing the ethnicities and religions. After Myanmar's independence from ruling Britain, it has been facing an ongoing civil war. Myanmar is made up of multiple ethnic groups who are divided into 7 Bamar divisions and 7 ethnic states. Burma (Myanmar) has gained its independence from the colonizer Britain in 1948. The military government which has gained power after independence is known as SLORC (State Law and Order Restoration Council) and later

developed in State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). Anti-government movements started rising in 1988 that saw extreme military violence. Governmental opposition was clearly reflected during the 1990s elections which increased further tensions between the government and their rivals NLD (National League for Democracy). What we can deduct here is a power struggle for survival between two ethnic groups which are differentiate by ethnicity, religion and language. As previously discussed in the literature review this is a prime example of what conflict is. It is then proceeded by a ruling majority (Rakhine Buddhists) and the struggle for autonomy and representation by an undermined minority (Rohingya Muslims). Moreover, we have seen the post-colonial, decolonization theory takes in place whereby it only divided the country further apart as well its western liberal system asserted the division where the local leader that came into power abolished the democratic system and inserted discriminatory policies that killed homogeneity and integration of minorities. The unequal distribution of power and struggle for democracy implementation in a multi-ethnic country is proves the discussed theories above that without institutionalized democracy conflict increases and breaks the states into violent cleavages. This coincides with Azar's Protracted Social Conflict that was previously explained. He talks about the colonial legacies and the historical multicultural background in which Myanmar is the perfect example that demonstrates his theory. Moreover, Edwards Azar's PSC can be identified through the Rohingya's struggle for lack of recognition, no sufficient rights, freedoms and access to power and especially the increased violence against such as genocide, rape and executions
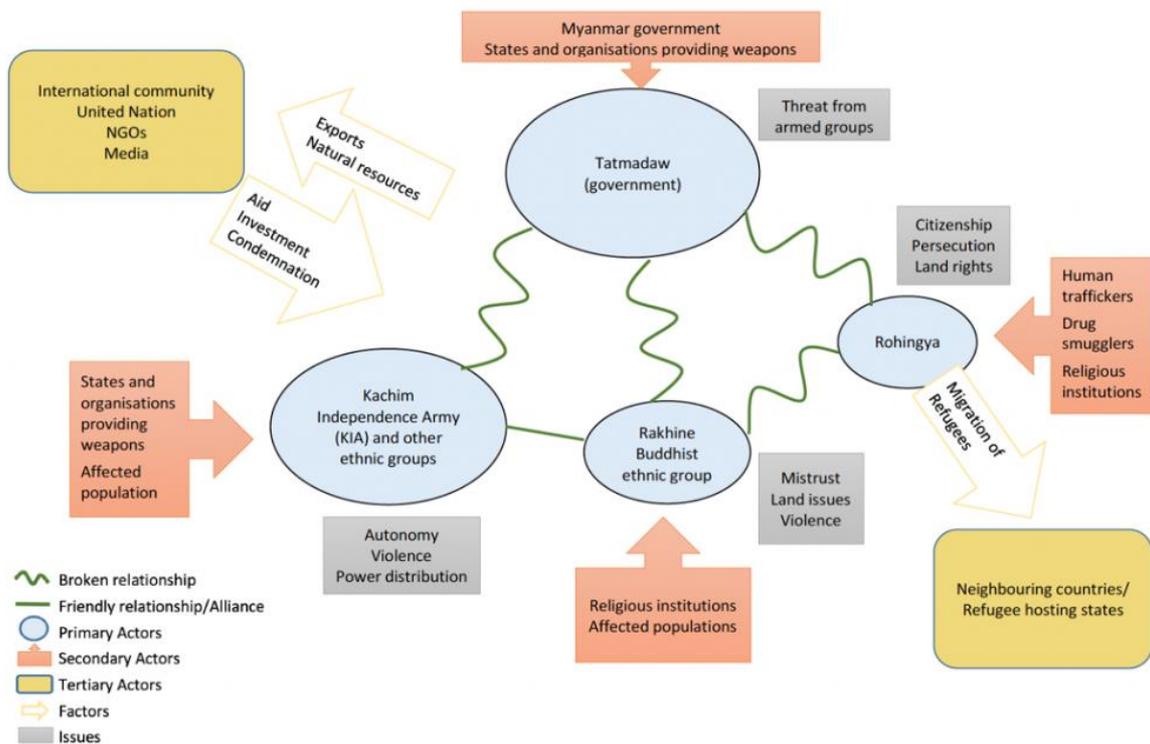
Conflict Map:

In order to better understand the conflict and dissect its complexity, we proceed to map it through Paul Weher's model and as visualized in the image below.

Conflict Actors:

The main conflict actors are the ethnic armed groups that are the government forces called the Tatmadaw, and the rebel groups located in the Kachin state, the Kachin Independence Army (KIA). Moreover, we have the Rohingya minority in Rakhine who have torn relations between the Buddhists and the Tatmadaw.

There are also secondary and tertiary parties that are involved in the conflict that indirectly affected it like the population, states and parties involved in weapon distribution and drug trafficking. Moreover, we also have institutions, religious and educational. The vulnerability of the Rohingyas it makes them susceptible to human trafficking. As for the religious institutions each side have fuelled their religion which is increasing the dilemma.

As for the Tertiary actors who are acting as enablers of change, mediation and observation, these actors act as buffers in the conflict that try to neutralize the situation such as the; International community, the media, refugee hosting states, neighbouring countries (Thailand and China mainly), the UN, NGOs and IGOs.

Myanmar government
States and organisations providing weapons

International community
United Nation
NGOs
Media

Threat from armed groups

Exports
Natural resources

Aid
Investment
Condemnation

Tatmadaw
(government)

Citizenship
Persecution
Land rights

Human traffickers
Drug smugglers
Religious institutions

Rohingya

States and organisations providing weapons
Affected population

Kachim Independence Army (KIA) and other ethnic groups

Rakhine Buddhist ethnic group

Mistrust
Land issues
Violence

Migration of Refugees

Autonomy
Violence
Power distribution

Religious institutions
Affected populations

Neighbouring countries/ Refugee hosting states

〜 Broken relationship
— Friendly relationship/Alliance
◯ Primary Actors
▭ Secondary Actors
▭ Tertiary Actors
⇨ Factors
▭ Issues

<mark>TNC Model:</mark>

The transnational issues that Myanmar suffers reflect most of the features that were
mentioned in the literature review while discussing the TNC model. On the first step of
analysis we have the global drivers. We have the geopolitical transition, as the Cold War
ended the rise of India and China has reflected onto Myanmar. Their policies of expansion
and competition in the region creates internal struggles for Myanmar as both countries try to
take advantage of the situation and gain Myanmar's good relationship. Their trade and energy
rivalry in the region are reflected in Myanmar. Moreover, Myanmar is regarded as a third
world country which automatically makes it susceptible to conflict due to economic divisions
and its marginalization from other flourishing countries. This creates a huge gap in income
levels and life standards. As for the discrepancy between state system and distribution of
people Myanmar's colonial heritage has divided the country into 135 recognized ethnic
groups and that are dominated by the Bamar. The ethnic minorities who are trying to achieve

autonomy and equality has made Myanmar enter this civil war. As for global ideological contestation it can be regarded as the radicalization of the Buddhist Rakhine and their crimes against humanity against these prominent minorities in Myanmar. Their increased violence and potent ethnic discrimination are clearly a factor that are in the lead. For the transnational connectors the civil war has led to increased flow of migrants from Myanmar into neighbouring countries such as Bangladesh. As well as we have the flow of resources such as Myanmar's timber in the 1990s that had and estimated revenue of around 112 million dollars per year (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall ,2016). Also, we have the flow of weapons, drugs and human traffickers. As we move on in the analysis and discuss it at the regional level, we have seen a spill over due to the high influx of refugees onto the neighbouring countries and have seen distortion in the region. Moreover, for the complex conflict system we also have communist soviet influence in Myanmar such as the Communist Part of Burma (CPB) and the Burma Communist Party (BCP) who also had their own rivalry conflict. Moving on to the State-Level of analysis we measure the level of fragility. Myanmar is a weak society that is split into various dynamics of cultures and split into 135 major ethnicities and it also has an ethnic imbalance that is mainly dominated by the Bamar. Moreover, it has a weak polity as it is dominated by a radical government that institutionalized discrimination and continues to commit violent acts against minorities. As for the identity-based analysis violence is very potent and ethnic insurgencies are present as well as armed resistance. The violence has moved further in the escalation curve and reached its peak as previously mentioned. And lastly, we have Elite/individual based analysis. The leading government has failed to reach an understanding as it has continued violent crimes against humanities and failed at reaching a ceasefire. It has also failed at providing representation and democracy.

Escalation De-escalation Model: + Road to Peacebuilding

In the first 3 phases of this model (difference, contradiction and Polarization) we take preventive methods such as deep prevention, light prevention and crisis management thus we could prevent violence in the conflict (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall ,2016). In these 3 stages the conflict has not yet become violent thus an early response to this can help eradicate human atrocities. When the conflict started at first with the division between Rohingyas and Buddhists and then progressed into contradiction during colonization which fuelled the division even further and it reached polarization after Myanmar's independence. Containing the conflict would be top priority in order for it not to spread (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall ,2016). It includes increasing minority rights, power sharing options, interethnic associations. By that we can solve the dilemma and include Myanmar's minorities in government and increase their freedoms. But if this does not occur and the conflict maintains its negativity it moves to the next 3 phases Violence, War and Ceasefire. In these three phases the conflict fails to be contained and it intensifies and becomes violent. The parties have failed to eliminate their disagreement and proceeded into entering a civil war. The government has proceeded to institutionalize the dispute through discriminatory policies against the Rohingyas as well armed groups mobilized and formed cleavages to take action in violent insurgencies. Parties of this conflict may claim ceasefire, but no one has taken such actions and are still taking part in violent actions. Ceasefire can take place with negotiations initiated by third parties such as the UN or neighbouring countries or the international community. Round table talks with the involved parties should occur to stop violent actions. In these phases we need to limit the intensity by intervention from political and humanitarian prospective. The UN peacekeeping agents will play a huge role in decrease the conflict's intensity. The UN Security Council only condemned the human atrocities in Myanmar but did not enforce any first or second-generation Peacekeeping. Myanmar needs military support for stability and security due to the existent threat on peace and human rights. If first

generation peacekeeping fails as a buffer the second-hand generation could be more effective in finding the appropriate solution to ceasefire and end violence. If parties fail to enter into negotiations or fail to respect agreements and resolutions third generation peace keeping is the best possible option. Thus, force would be used upholding the UN charter with an explicit mandate under what is known as peace operations. Its main objective is human and collective security (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall ,2016). Thus, the main objective is to call on ceasefire of all armed parties in order to move to the next phase. The next phase is crucial in prevent a relapse of violence (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall ,2016). The next three phases consist of Agreement, Normalization and Reconciliation. In this phase the conflict will be transformed into positive and long-term peace after ceasefire. Here after the negotiated settlements take place sustainable peace will be worked through context transformation, structural transformation, actor transformation, issue transformation and lastly personal and group transformation. It is in the hands of the third parties to solve the issue and find suitable solution to enter conflict de-escalation. Peace operations is best suitable for intervention as well as grassroot initiatives like the civil society and international community to transform the conflict towards peace and apply pressure. Moreover, the present political system is not inclusive of all minorities thus major reforms should take place from political, constitutional to legal. Demilitarizing and diluting the armed groups are also a crucial step towards peace. We can obtain negative peace through the absence of war or ceasefire while positive peace is how the society lead to non-violence.

International Response:

The United Nations presence in Myanmar

The United Nations has a presence in Myanmar since the 1950's. It has been on the agendas of the General Assembly since 1993 and of the Commission of Human Rights since 1992,

reporting on the situation of human rights in Myanmar as well as on the implementation of each of the resolutions adopted and lastly took part in consecutive mediation process to end the civil war and promote democracy.The Government of Myanmar was committed to comply with the provisions of Security Council resolution S/1820(2008) through the signing of a Joint Communique on prevention and response to conflict-related sexual violence to protect Rohingya women and girls as well as other ethnic minorities in Kachin and northern Shan. At the UN Human Rights Council meeting in March 2017 a resolution 34/22 was adopted to establish a fact-finding commission to investigate the events in Rakhine State. On September 11, 2017, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights issued a report stating that the Rakhine state is committing ethnic cleansing. Later on, August 27, 2018 it was reported that senior Myanmar officials such as Myanmar's Commander-in-chief of Tatmadaw Min Aung Hlaing, are "suspected of committing crimes under international law" such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. On September 6, 2018, the pretrial chamber of the ICC ruled that it had jurisdiction over the Rohingya case and opened an investigation into alleged crimes committed against the Rohingya people from Myanmar.

Response the Organization of Islamic Cooperation

On September 19, 2017, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) met with the UN General Assembly to urge the Security Council to take immediate action on the Rohingya crisis by suspending trade agreements with Myanmar and UN members. OIC members expressed their concerns on the crisis and expressed that it is a threat to regional security and the stability of neighbouring countries and urged the SC to find an appropriate solution.

The response of ASEAN

ASEAN has mainly applied diplomatic pressure and mediation to Myanmar, rather than disciplinary measures. Malaysia and Indonesia have taken action by applying diplomatic pressure. Members kept on expressing their concerns for the crisis and how it is affecting the region, but it is difficult for them to take further repressive measures and sanctions due to their policy of non-interference.

Possible Solution:

The first most crucial step I believe that would help solve the dilemma is to initiate ceasefire from the parties in conflict. If the parties refuse to complete ceasefire, strict measures should be applied by the Security Council such as harsh sanctions and penalties. If this step fails, the Security Council should issue a resolution that will allow its permanent members to intervene in Myanmar under the umbrella of "humanitarian intervention." This will eradicate the violence in the conflict and help with the transition towards peace by dismantling the armed militias. Moreover, a transitional government should be placed in order to adjust the political system to ensure equal representation and citizenship rights for the Rohingyas.

Conclusion:

Myanmar's conflict has yet to come to an end. But for it to end we first need to properly understand and analyse so we could apply appropriate solutions. In this research paper I give a theoretical framework of what conflict is and how it dissects the reasons behind it. I took Myanmar as a case study of ethnic conflict and tried to explain the reasons it exits through known theories. I then proceeded to explain and analyse the dynamics of the conflict through Azar's PSC and mapped the conflict to real understand the background of the conflict. The TNC model analysis has provided a detail depiction of the conflict by dividing the analysis into global, regional, state, identity group and elite dividers. Moreover, the escalation de-

escalation model informed us of the status of the conflict and which level of maturity it has reached. All these breakdowns have provided us with detail understanding of the conflict dynamics. We have seen that the United Nations and the international community did not really apply the needed pressure or draft appropriate resolutions in order to solve the issue. Neighbouring states and the international community have only expressed how difficult the situation is and that it has to be solved immediately. Thus, the conflict will not be ending anytime soon if a proper intervention will not be made to help solve this crisis instead of raising concerns.

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