



Published by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Unity Government of Myanmar



## WHO CAN MAKE THE U-TURN IF MYANMAR IS TURNING INTO A **FAILED STATE?**

The unsuccessful attempted coup by the military junta has caused a lot of damage on various fronts, especially to public services, rule of law and security, human resources, the economy, social welfare, and state legitimacy since 1 Feb 2021. Myanmar, which was on the path to development, has been pushed towards being a failed state. The people of Myanmar have shown to the world that they will not accept the barbaric and inhuman practices of the military junta. The people have sacrificed their lives, they have lost their liberty and their properties.



The (Myanmar) people, with their lives, liberty and property, has answered to the world in the most courageous manner and in the loudest voice ever that they will no longer accept this kind of uncivilized practice of robbing.

- H.E. Zin Mar Aung,  
Foreign Affairs Minister



More than 400,000 people have been displaced from their homes because of the Myanmar military junta's airstrikes or the threat of airstrikes

### DETERIORATING PUBLIC SERVICES

(A CHARACTERISTIC OF A FAILED STATE)

Public services in all sectors in Myanmar have dramatically collapsed since the unsuccessful coup attempt in Feb 2021. There has been a significant service reduction in education, health, support for basic infrastructure, and public security. Before the coup attempt, Myanmar's health care system gained a positive reputation for coping well during the first and second waves of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, in attempting to provide access to health care only to those who support them, the military

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have completely destroyed the health care system. During the third wave of COVID-19 which happened after the coup attempt, Myanmar had one of the highest COVID death rates due to the crackdown on health workers and strict restrictions on the importation and sale of oxygen generators. Only 28% of the total population of Myanmar were able to be fully vaccinated against COVID-19, the lowest rate amongst ASEAN nations.

The education sector has declined gradually from a quality education system which was accessible to all. The number of teachers has significantly decreased because of their involvement in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Also, teachers have been pushed to finish the course work in a limited time and schools have had long closures.

The lack of accountability and assistance from the military junta's Ministry of Relief and Resettlement to victims of oppression has left the people of Myanmar in a hopeless situation. The collapse of basic public services such as health, education, and relief services are also a sign of a failed state. ■

## THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND JUSTICE

(A CHARACTERISTIC OF A FAILED STATE)

The people of Myanmar, who were not widely aware of the crimes against humanity and war crimes committed by successive military campaigns in ethnic areas in the past because of information control and propaganda, are now fully aware of the military junta's conduct and acts of violence. As a result, their hatred of the military has greatly increased. More than 1,560 peaceful protesters and civilians have been killed since the coup attempt. In addition, more than 12,000 people have been arrested under Section 505 of the panel code, Defamation against the State, and more than 1,900 are evading arrest warrants.

Between February 1, 2021, and January 5, 2022, there were 861 violent attacks on healthcare workers worldwide. Of which 50% (415 cases) were committed in Myanmar by the Military junta's soldiers. In addition, ambulances were destroyed, and medical supplies were confiscated and destroyed. At least 31 health workers were killed by the military junta.

The military backed Myawaddy News Agency has been openly spreading propaganda that those opposed to the military junta are insulting Buddhism by using religious extremism as a political weapon. The Media Freedom Index dropped to 140 out of 180 countries by 2021. Private broadcasters, such as Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) and Mizzima, have been banned from broadcasting. Satellite dishes/receivers in Myanmar have been forcibly removed and people have been arrested for possessing satellite receivers. A cyber security law is currently being drafted and efforts are being made to restrict citizens' access to the Internet and the use of social media. In addition, laws have been amended to include provisions that violate the privacy rights of



Source: UNHCR

citizens, and the personal liberty and security of citizens. In the case of defamation against the state, the Code of Criminal Procedure has been amended to prevent bail. Amendments to the laws have revived the authority of ward or village administration to search and inspect homes. Chapter 10 of the Electronic Communications Law has been amended to allow

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personal information to be intercepted at any time and access to people’s conversations from databases.

The military junta continues to violate the basic human rights of the people in Myanmar. This shows that Myanmar is now moving toward state failure under the junta. ■

## THE DECLINE IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR (A CHARACTERISTIC OF A FAILED STATE)

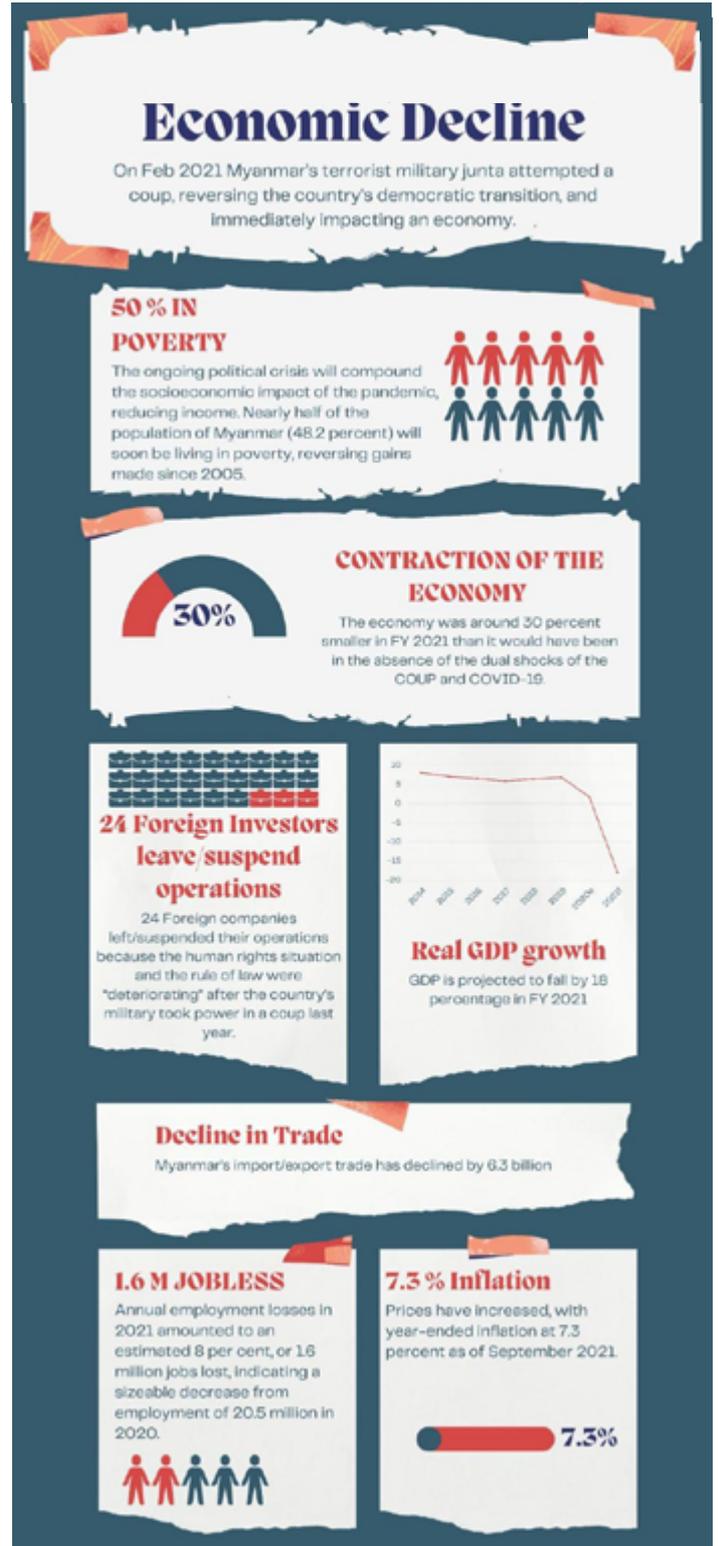
According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Myanmar economy has plummeted since the attempted coup and 1.6 million people lost their jobs. The biggest losses are in the construction, garment, and hotel and tourism industries. According to a report by the United Nations Development Program, it is estimated that almost half of the population is at risk of falling into poverty by the beginning of 2022. This situation will influence the nutrition, education, and health conditions of future generations.

The World Bank estimates that Myanmar’s GDP is expected to decline to -18.4% and inflation to reach 6.2% by 2022. The Kyat depreciated sharply and the price of rice, a staple food, rose by 100% between July and August. Compared to the same period in the fiscal year 2019-2020 (July), the value of imports decreased by more than US\$4,000 million and the value of exports decreased by more than US\$2,700 million. Similarly, the level of trade at 11 of the 14 border trade posts declined significantly and cross-border trade via Muse , Shan State, with China fell by more than US\$1.3 billion. In addition, after the coup attempt, imports fell to their lowest levels in July 2021.

Additionally, 24 international companies have decided to withdraw from Myanmar and the number of company registrations has decreased by 44% since the military coup. By August 2021, foreign investment had fallen by US\$1.2 billion compared with 2020 figures and Chinese investment in Myanmar has also fallen dramatically, reaching its lowest level since 2015.

Since the coup attempt, public distrust for banking and financial services has risen sharply. The Central Bank under the Junta has restricted withdrawal amounts, and people are facing difficulties withdrawing money from the banks. Businesses including those which need bank loans to run have been affected. Individuals and businesses often need to pay a service fee simply to withdraw money from banks.

The dollar price is volatile and is leading to record highs and Myanmar faces a situation in which some imports have been suspended. Within seven months of the coup attempt, more than \$110 million was sold by the Central Bank under the control of the military junta; and another \$325 million was sold in January 2022 by the junta, to control and stabilize the dollar price.



Sources: UNDP, World Bank and ILO

According to figures by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) released in September 2021, Myanmar’s GDP is expected to contract by 18.4% in 2021 and it is estimated that the inflation rate will reach 7.3 percent which is the highest among Asian countries.

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Along with the dollar price, the gold price reached around 18,000 MMK, and the Octane 95 price rose by more than 1590 MMK per liter in September 2021, compared with the price of 95 Octane in August 2009 (765 MMK per liter), a record-breaking oil price increase can be seen.

Considering the facts and figures mentioned above, Myanmar's current economic situation is seriously deteriorating due to the military coup attempt, and this is pushing Myanmar towards the characteristics of a failed state. ■

## THE LOSS OF HUMAN RESOURCES AND THE INCREASE OF REFUGEES

(A CHARACTERISTIC OF A FAILED STATE)

After the unsuccessful coup attempt, oppression in the country led to scholars and professionals leaving the country and this subsequently caused a loss of human resources. Severe loss of human resources is a big challenge in Myanmar, especially in the case of health and education where many are in prison, attempting to evade arrest, or in hiding, or have simply fled the country because of the military junta.

The inhumane and violent attacks by the military junta have also increased the number of internally displaced persons across the country. As of 31 January 2022, an estimated 441,500 people remained internally displaced across Myanmar due to clashes and insecurity. This is in addition to the 370,400 people living in protracted displacement before February 2021. A total of 654 public buildings including civilians' houses, schools, monasteries, and churches, were burned down in Karenni State (also known as Kayah) from May 1, 2021 to January 2022. Additionally, more people have fled their homes throughout the southeastern part of Kayin state because of the ongoing fighting.

According to local reports, on January 3, a woman who returned to the country from a refugee camp in Thailand was killed by artillery fire near the Hpalugyi village in the Laykaykaw area of Kayin State. International non-governmental organizations are crossing the Thailand-Myanmar border and linking with organizations in Kayin state to provide humanitarian assistance to the internally displaced persons along the Kayin-Thai border.

However, these organizations face challenges accessing internally displaced persons in Kayin state to provide assistance because of the ongoing conflicts in Kayin state. International humanitarian organizations are facing many dangerous challenges because of targeted attacks by the military junta's forces and border guard forces, as well as explosive weapons on the roads to the IDP camps. ■

# Attacked and Threatened: Health Care at Risk

## Everything You Need to Know





### 31 Healthcare Workers Killed

Doctors and nurses have been served with warrants and arrests for providing medical care to protesters; health care workers have been injured while providing care to protesters; ambulances have been destroyed; and health facilities have been raided. At least 31 health workers have been killed.

## 415 reported incidents of violence or threats of violence against health care workers since the coup.

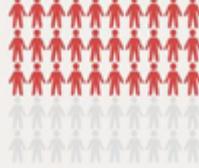
There were 861 incidents of violence against health care workers globally from 1 Feb 2021 to 25 Jan 2022, with almost 50% (415 case) occurring in Myanmar.



### 33 Health facilities damaged



### 284 Health Workers Arrested



### 113 Raids on Hospitals



### COVID-19



Only 28% of the total population have been fully vaccinated, the lowest coverage among ASEAN nations.

The junta commandeered most of the vaccines, at the expense of the elderly and other high-risk groups.

“There had been a real push toward testing, surveillance and vaccination and all of that just crumbled after the first of February.”

Alessandra Dentice, the head of Myanmar's UNICEF office

Health measures put in place during the third COVID-19 wave indicate that military junta leaders were permitting access to health care only for their supporters, preventing access for all other citizens.

junta leaders put restrictions on the sale and importation of oxygen cylinders and arrested health care workers providing COVID-19 treatment outside of government-run facilities. During third wave, COVID-19 deaths in Myanmar were among the highest in the world.

Sources: HDX, insecurity insight and ASEAN

## LACK OF LEGITIMACY OF THE JUNTA COUNCIL (A CHARACTERISTIC OF A FAILED STATE)

Public confidence and trust for the military were already low prior to Feb 2021 because of their ongoing interference and domination over politics including the fact that 25% of parliamentary seats are reserved for the military. Since the Feb 1 attempted coup, public confidence and trust in the military and various organizations formed by the military junta have reached their lowest level.

Although the military attempted to stage a coup on Feb 1, 2021, based on its allegations of massive voter fraud, although providing no evidence at the time, the military Junta have subsequently claimed that only around 2,000 people may have voted more than once. The Asian Network for Free Elections has acknowledged some irregularities in how the voting was held but attributed this to the COVID-19 pandemic and a number of conflicts in the country. They concluded that the November 2020 election results did represent the will of the people.

The military junta has canceled the outcome of the November 2020 election and more than 5,000 members of the Electoral Commission have been prosecuted. In addition to reserving 25 percent of parliamentary seats, three key ministerial portfolios of defense, interior, and border security, and one of the vice-president posts, the military junta is now intending to change the election system to a Proportional representation (PR) system in an attempt to control the country.

Ordinary people across Myanmar are engaging in 'citizen sanctions' boycotting military-related businesses, services, and products; refusing to pay taxes and bills for utilities to the military junta; and boycotting the national lottery, all aimed at preventing the flow of revenue to the junta. In response, the junta is forcibly threatening civilians refusing to pay taxes and bills. The tension between ordinary civilians who are refusing to accept and do not trust the military junta has led Myanmar to fail. ■

## CONCLUSION

The above incidents are just the current situation, and in fact, Myanmar has been engulfed in a structural conflict including political disagreements, disagreements around self-determination, territory, and resource ownership for more than 70 years. Additionally, if you listen to the voices of those involved in these conflicts, there is resentment and hatred that has been there since the era of monarchical rule, the colonial era, the independence period and this hatred and resentment has intensified with the military's brutal 4-cut operations, war crimes and crimes against humanity in the ongoing civil war. Repeated efforts have been made to achieve peace to stop the civil war which is characterized by structural conflicts as well as chronic social conflicts, but no lasting sustainable peace has been achieved.

The Bamar majority in the plains/mainland, now experiencing the brutal inhumanity of the terrorist military, have gained a better understanding of what the Kayin, Kachin, Chin, Mon, Shan, Rakhine and Rohingya have experienced during the long-running civil war since independence and now have the opportunity to be empathetic.

As a result, mutual understanding, respect, and empathy

## Security Apparatus

Reports of crimes against humanity and war crimes by Myanmar's security forces are documented in this infographic.

### 1582 killed by Junta

1582 people are now confirmed killed by the military junta, verified by AAPP. The actual number of fatalities is likely much higher.



### 201 Air Strikes After Coup

Since 1st Feb the junta has launched at least 201 air raids in 9 states and regions.



### Violence Against Civilians

The military junta has engaged in systematic violence against civilians, committing 1,730 acts of violence against civilians within 1 year.



### Increase Armed Clashes

The number of clashes has significantly increased, reaching 4,924 incidents of conflict in last year alone.

### 9378 under detention

A Total of 9,378 people are currently under detention. (767) people have been sentenced, 45 of them have been sentenced to death (incl. 2 children).



### Junta's Scorched Earth Campaigns

The junta is deploying scorched earth campaigns throughout the country committing massacres in response to attacks by People's Defense Forces on security forces.



Sources: AAPP, NUG and ACLED

are growing across the diverse ethnicities in Myanmar, all of which have never been achieved in past Myanmar history.

The people of Myanmar are more aware that the junta is the common enemy which has tried to rule the country using the carrot and stick and which has opposed the federal system by promoting Burmanization, hatred, bitterness, and suspicion between Bamar and other ethnic peoples.

In particular, the training of People's Defense Force (PDF) members, mostly Bamar, by Ethnic Armed Organizations and the mutual respect and the relationships that have arisen through fighting together against the military junta, have become good foundations for the future Federal Army. In other words, it is the emergence of a solution to the chronic social conflict in Myanmar.

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Every time we talk about self-determination, every time it comes to drafting a state-level constitution, every time we talk about equality, the military junta is blocking it. Now within two weeks, we agreed on what we could not get after five years of discussions and talks with the military junta. Therefore, when we look at the federal charter which was published on 31st March 2021, there are five basic principles that need to be followed to establish the future federal state.

– Dr Lian Mong Sakhong,  
NUG Minister for Federal Union Affairs

Additionally, in the new National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC) arena, which was sparked by this spring revolution, representatives from diverse backgrounds have struck agreements and established fundamental principles upon which we can build a federal union.

The NUCC is composed of representatives from various groups such as parliamentarians elected at the 202 General Election, CRPH and NUG members, Ethnic Armed Organizations, political parties, strike committees from Spring Revolution, unions, civil society organizations, Civil Disobedience Movement organizations and interim state/federal units, and ethnic representative committees.

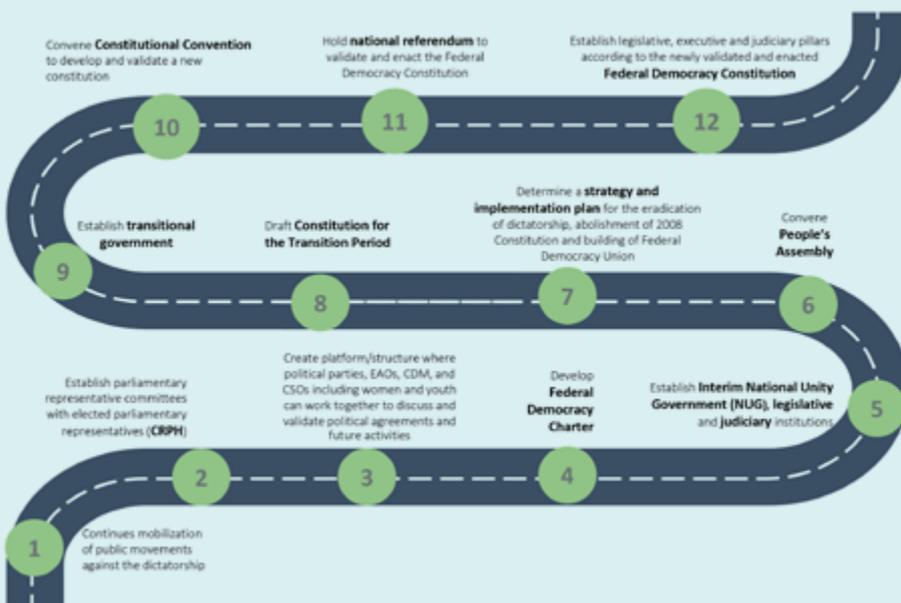
The NUCC held its first People’s Assembly during the last weekend of January 2022, and in addition to Sections (1) and (2)

of the Federal Democratic Covenant for a New Federal Democratic Country, the interim constitutional plan was adopted. Additionally, a road map for the new federal democracy has also been set by NUCC together with NUG and CRPH.

In short, positive results and feasible resolutions to constitutional disagreements, and social conflicts in Myanmar are now emerging within the new political platforms such as NUCC and NUG which have come out of the Myanmar Spring Revolution.

The political roadmap set by these new political platforms is the only way to save Myanmar from becoming a failed state. If the international community wants to find a genuine solution to the crisis in Myanmar, they must work hand in hand with key stakeholders, the CRPH, NUG, and NUCC, which represent the will of the Myanmar people and look beyond the military junta. ■

**THE POLITICAL ROADMAP SET BY THESE NEW POLITICAL PLATFORMS IS THE ONLY WAY TO SAVE MYANMAR FROM BECOMING A FAILED STATE.**



The NUG’s Roadmap to Federal Democratic Union of Myanmar

If the international community wants to find a genuine solution to the crisis in Myanmar, they must work hand in hand with key stakeholders, the CRPH, NUG, and NUCC, which represent the will of the Myanmar people and look beyond the military junta.