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NATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE CRISIS IN MYANMAR

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Rohingya (or, as they are also called in UN documents, Rohingya) - the self-name of an ethnic group that speaks the Chittagong dialect of Bengali and professes Sunni Islam. Representatives of this people live compactly in the North of the Rakhine national region of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. Rohingya ancestors began to actively settle these territories after the provinces of Arakan (now Rakhine) and Tenasserim (now Tanintayi) were annexed to British colonial possessions following the first Anglo-Burmese war (1824-1826). Thus, some Rohingya families have been living in Rakhine for several generations. However, despite this, the country's authorities do not recognize them as citizens of Myanmar, excluding the Rohingya from the official list, which includes 135 indigenous peoples and even refuse to use the ethnonym "Rohingya" itself, calling representatives of this nation "Bengali Muslims".

The Buddhist state of Arakan (now Rakhine) was captured and annexed to Burma by king Bodopaya of the Konbaun dynasty in 1785. Territorial gains become the cause of large of foreign policy troubles for Burma in those years. The capture of Arakan, which was settled by the arakans-a people close to the Burmese in blood and language, but which existed for several centuries as an independent state, brought Burma to the borders with Bengal, which was already subordinated in 1757 by the English East India company. Thus the feudal expansionism of the Burmese kings and the capitalist expansionism of England were bound to collide on a common land border. Which is what happened. This led to the beginning of the first Anglo-Burmese war (1824-1826), as a result of which Arakan and Tenasserim were separated from Burma [1]. British colonizers began to import cheap labor from Muslim Bengal for agricultural work. By 1931, one in four of the once-Buddhist Arakan's million-strong population was already practicing Islam.

During the Second world war, when Japan invaded British Burma, Bengali Muslims (the future Rohingya) and native arakanese Buddhists, along with Burmese Buddhists, found themselves in different camps. Japanese troops reached Arakan, and the retreating British armed Muslim Bengalis to resist the Japanese. According to Burmese historians, the Bengali Muslims took advantage of the situation and began to take over the villages of the arakanese, killing about 50,000 Buddhists in a few months. These events of 1942 went down in the history of Burma as the "Arakan massacre". Rohingya supporters dispute this data, focusing on Japanese war crimes against Muslims and the collaboration of the Buddhist population.

The Burmese never served in the colonial British forces, but they recruited Indians and representatives of small peoples living on the territory of the colony. The Burma independence volunteer Army (ANB), the Foundation of the future armed forces of The Burmese Union, was created by the leader of the national liberation movement Aung San [2]. In December 1941 with the active participation of the Japanese in neighboring Thailand, and entered Burma together with the Japanese army as the liberator army from British rule.

One of Aung San's closest associates was his comrade-in-arms, the future General Ne Win, who later ruled the country virtually single-handedly for a quarter of a century, from 1962 to 1988.

After many days of marching through the jungle, Ne Win led an advance team to Rangoon in early 1942, and soon became the commander of one of the two divisions of the NSA, which, along with the Japanese and local arakanese, fought against the Bengalis in Arakan.

As a result of the Japanese invasion, tens of thousands of Muslim Bengalis left the Western regions of Burma in search of safety in neighboring Bengal. But after Burma's independence was declared in 1948, they returned to Arakan. Thus, after the collapse of the colonial system at the junction of two States – Burma and East Pakistan (the future Bangladesh), which were previously part of British India, formed a people who consider themselves a special nationality – the Rohingya. According to the publications of Burmese researchers, before the country gained independence, the word "Rohingya" was not in the vocabulary of the inhabitants of Arakan. It is not mentioned by British officials who conducted a census of the population in this territory and scrupulously listed all the small national groups, nor by the records of researchers of that time, nor by other written sources.

During the first fifteen years of Burma's independence under the government of U Nu, when the separatist insurgency of ethnic minorities belonging to The Burmese Union, armed resistance to the underground Communist party, and Kuomintang aggression began in various regions of the country, the situation in the Arakan region was relatively calm. Amid the General chaos that reigned in the country, the Bengalis of Arakan were granted minority status and even representation in the Burmese Parliament. At the same time, the migration of Muslims from East Pakistan continued to the territory of Arakan. According to Burmese nationalists, the migration was illegal, which provoked a difficult socio-economic situation in the region and a clear demographic skew. At the same time, separatist sentiments arose among some Rohingya: ideas were put forward to Annex the region to Pakistan, or create an independent Muslim state from Burma – Arakandesh.

Such sentiments are still popular among radical Rohingya-and this is the main problem. "The Rohingya demand for recognition of their ethnic identity and the ongoing armed actions of the ArakanRohingya salvation Army (ASRA) must be seen as a problem of separatism, which the West cannot understand," the former us Ambassador to Myanmar (2012-2016) Derek Mitchell [3].

State-level persecution of the Rohingya began in 1962 after a military coup by General Ne Win in Burma. With the rise to power of the Revolutionary Council, the Rohingya lost their political and constitutional identity. Once at the head of the state, Ne Win began to pursue a policy of burmanization of the country and economy, forcing the remaining Indians (about 160 thousand), as well as Chinese and other foreigners to leave the country in 1963-1966. In 1974, an emergency immigration act was issued to reduce immigration from India, China, and Bangladesh. According to this Act, all citizens of the country were required to carry passports or certificates of national registration. Representatives of the Rohingya people in these passports had been denied, the best they could get the immigration card of the foreigner.

Verification of documents was carried out at major transport hubs: railway stations, bus stations, airports and river ports. As a result of this operation, conducted by army units and volunteers from local Buddhist Rakhines who joined them, more than 200,000 Rohingya were forced to leave Rakhine and flee to Bangladesh [4]. Later, most of the refugees were repatriated.

In October 1982, the Burmese Parliament passed the citizenship act, according to which citizens of the country were divided into three categories: full-fledged (whose ancestors lived in Burma before 1823), associated (who received citizenship in 1948 under the Union citizenship Act) and naturalized (who lived in the country until January 4, 1948 and applied for citizenship after 1982) [5]. Under the new law, the Rohingya lost their right to be called "indigenous people" and consequently lost their Burmese citizenship; they could only be naturalized as "Bengalis". In 1983, a General population census was conducted that did not take into account the non-indigenous Muslim population of Rakhine. Thus, the Rohingya were effectively outlawed, deprived of their rights to education, health care, and political representation.

After coming to power in September 1988, the State Council for the restoration of law and order (since November 1997 — the State Council for peace and development) continued to tighten migration policy, intensifying the campaign for re-registration of the population in accordance with

the law of 1982. According to the new rules, Bengali Muslims wishing to obtain Myanmar citizenship had to renounce the ethnonym "Rohingya" and confirm that their ancestors had lived in Myanmar for three generations, providing all the necessary official documents. As a rule, most of the Rohingya people could not prove their right to citizenship and Myanmar have joined the ranks of illegal immigrants. In 1991-1992, the military authorities initiated another campaign to oust illegal Rohingya from Myanmar, during which about 250,000 Rohingya fled to Bangladesh [6].

Since self-dissolution and transfer of power to the civilian government in March 2011, the policy of marginalizing the Rohingya has not changed significantly. In February-August 2015, the Myanmar Parliament adopted a package of four laws "on the protection of the nation and religion", apparently aimed at restricting the rights of Muslims (primarily the Rohingya): about population control (birth rate), about the procedure for converting to another religion, about interfaith marriages and monogamy. This package was prepared by the ultranationalist Buddhist Association for the Defense of Nation and Religion, which in 2013 collected 2.5 million signatures in support of a legal ban on marriage between Muslim men and Buddhist women. At the same time, the Myanmar legislators were guided by "good" intentions: to prevent Muslims from having multiple wives, giving birth to 10-12 children, and converting Buddhists, that is, "to stop the invasion of Islam in Myanmar" [7]. This initiative received the open support of President U Thein Sein.

The new democratic government of U Htin Kyaw, formed as a result of the parliamentary elections held in November 2015, which were won by the opposition National League for Democracy (NLD), took a no less tough position on the issue of granting citizenship to the Rohingya than its predecessors. However, while still denying the existence of this ethnic group, the government has nevertheless taken a number of steps to reduce inter-communal tensions in Rakhine. In particular, in March 2017 The State Committee for Religious Affairs (the highest Buddhist body in Myanmar) banned one of the leaders of MA BA TA, the monk Ashin Wirat (whom the American magazine "Time" called "the face of Buddhist terror") from preaching for a period of one year for his Islamophobic statements, and a couple of months later dismissed MA BA TA itself as "not created in accordance with established rules". However, as in the case of the banned in September 2013 to use the Buddhist symbolism "969" for political purposes, Buddhist nationalists easily found a way out of the situation by rebranding MA BA TA: from May 2017, it became known as the "Buddha Dhamma Parahita Foundation" and continued its activities [8].

Another spike in tensions in Rakhine occurred in October 2016, when three border posts in areas in the North of the national region bordering Bangladesh were attacked by Rohingya militants. Border police officers were killed and firearms and ammunition were stolen. A group called the Faith Movement (Harakah al-Yaqin) claimed responsibility for the attacks. Its leader, field commander ATA Ullah (also known as Abu Ammar Jununi or Hafiz Tohar), was born in Karachi and raised in Mecca in a family of Rohingya emigrants. According to the ICG, he, among other young Rohingya living in Saudi Arabia, received combat training in Pakistan and Afghanistan. These people led the sortie of the militants. The bulk of the attackers were local Rohingya-residents of border villages, armed with knives and slingshots, which were about four hundred people [9]. In response to the terrorist attacks in Maungo and Rakeydown, the Myanmar authorities announced the formation of a Rakhine Buddhist militia and launched a full-scale military operation that lasted until February 15, 2017.

During the operation, international observers have repeatedly accused Myanmar security forces of gross violations of Rohingya rights. In particular, a monitoring mission of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights was sent to refugee camps on the Myanmar-Bangladesh border, which recorded evidence of inhumane treatment of Rohingya by government troops. A special Commission was set up to investigate these circumstances, headed by the first Vice-President, Lieutenant General U Myint Shwei. Also, the situation in Rakhine was studied by the group formed in August 2016. At the suggestion of the Myanmar government, an international Advisory Commission headed by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. During the course of the year, members of the Commission became familiar with the situation on the ground and carefully documented everything that was happening in Rakhine. August 24, 2017 The Advisory

Commission submitted a detailed report to the government of Myanmar with recommendations on how to resolve the situation. The next day, the faith Movement, renamed the RakhineRohingya salvation Army (a recognized terrorist group in Myanmar), again launched an armed attack on 30 police posts and a military base in Rakhine. After this provocation, the Myanmar authorities decided to resume the counter-terrorism operation.

Summarizing the above, we can conclude that the problem of the Bengali Rohingya is multidimensional, with deep historical roots. It does not seem that it can be resolved by the efforts of the government of Myanmar at the national level alone. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the strict policy of the Central government towards the Rohingyamuslims, even if supported by a broad segment of the population, does not objectively contribute to an effective resolution of the Rakhine conflict. If effective measures are not taken further to integrate the Rohingya into Myanmar society, the consequences could be dire - both for Myanmar itself and for the entire South-East and South Asia region as a whole.

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КОННЕКТ-АНАЛИЗ ГЕОПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ИЗМЕНЧИВОСТЬ В СРЕДИЗЕМНОМ МОРЕ

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В данной работе мы рассматривали проблему геополитической изменчивости в Средиземном море через выявление связей между сторонами, вовлеченными в данный процесс. С 1950-х гг. Средиземноморье начало свое существование как международно-политический регион. Далее эта временная ось проходит через 1990-е годы и по сей день является очагом нестабильности среди прибрежных стран и не только.