Introduction

With a population of over 50 million people, Burma is comprised of eight major ethnic nationalities: Burman, Shan, Karen, Karenni, Mon, Chin, Kachin and Arakan. Burma’s ethnic groups demand equality, autonomy and self-determination, but are systematically denied their rights by the regime. Instead, they are met with human rights violations: forced labor, forced relocation, religious persecution, arbitrary arrest and detention, destruction of thousands of ethnic villages, the driving out of hundreds of thousands of ethnic civilians to neighboring countries, and the forced internal displacement of an estimated one million people.

Worse yet is that Burmese military soldiers are raping the ethnic women and girls with impunity. Women and girls from the Shan, Kachin, Chin, Karen, Mon, Karenni and Arakan states have long suffered under these state-sanctioned sex crimes. Rape incidents in ethnic areas are higher than anywhere else in Burma because they are part of the regime’s strategy to punish the armed resistance groups or used as a tool to repress various peoples in the larger agenda of ethnic cleansing.

Although rape has been used by the regime to control the population for decades, it took years and the courage of many women to document these crimes. In recent years, the different women’s groups operating in Burma started documenting the systematic sexual violence against ethnic women by the State army soldiers. The total number of rape victims documented in these reports from Chin, Shan, Karen, Mon and Kachin states totals 1,859 girls and women, with some accounts going back as far as 1995.

As a result of these reports, the UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in Burma has repeatedly raised concerns about the widespread use of sexual violence by the regime’s troops. However, the military regime and the “new”, nominally civilian government of Burma, has continued to deny this atrocity and the sexual violence continues. ¹

This report will look into the meaning of “rape as a weapon of war”, the way it is used by the Burmese military and the response that the Burmese government and the international community could provide to stop such practice.

¹ Rape in Burma: A Weapon of War, Cheery Zahau, The WIP, June 2, 2008

I. How can rape be used as a weapon of war?

Definition of rape and sexual violence as a weapon of war

War rapes are rapes committed by soldiers, other combatants or civilians during armed conflict or war, or during military occupation, distinguished from sexual assaults and rape committed amongst troops in military service. It also covers the situation where women are forced into prostitution or sexual slavery by an occupying power, as in the case of Japanese comfort women during World War II.

During war and armed conflict, rape is frequently used as a means of psychological warfare in order to humiliate the enemy and undermine their morale. War rape is often systematic and thorough, and military leaders may actually encourage their soldiers to rape civilians. War rape may occur in a variety of situations, including institutionalized sexual slavery, war rapes associated with specific battles or massacres, and individual or isolated acts of sexual violence. War rape may also include gang rape and rape with objects.

When part of a widespread and systematic practice, rape and sexual slavery are now recognized under the Geneva Convention as crimes against humanity and war crimes. Rape is also now recognized as an element of the crime of genocide when committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a targeted group. However, rape remains widespread in conflict zones. ²

Rape/gang-rape as a war crime/ crime against humanity

Crimes against humanity, as defined by the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court Explanatory Memorandum, are particularly odious offenses in that they constitute a serious attack on human dignity or grave humiliation or a degradation of one or more human beings. They are not isolated or sporadic events, but are part either of a government policy (although the perpetrators need not identify themselves with this policy) or of a wide practice of atrocities tolerated or condoned by a government or a de facto authority. Murder; extermination; torture; rape; political, racial, or religious persecution and other inhumane acts reach the threshold of crimes against humanity only if they are part of a widespread or systematic practice.

The use of sexual violence and rape in conflict has been reported from Burma since 1992 by a number of different UN bodies. There are several reasons why sexual violence and rape in Burma could be classified as a crime against humanity or a war crime: (1) the high occurrence of sexual violence and rape (although only a small minority of cases are believed to be reported); (2) that it has been prevalent for a long time; (3) that the cases reported are solely about Burmese soldiers attacking civilians and only civilians from the ethnic minorities; (4) that it is used as a way of punishing ethnic women for “supporting” ethnic rebel groups; and (5) that the cases are surrounded with an aura of almost complete impunity.¹

2. What abuses are taking place in Burma?²

The work of ethnic women’s groups and human rights groups from Burma has been crucial in highlighting the occurrence of sexual violence and rape in the country’s ethnic minority areas. A few examples from various reports and documentation of sexual violence and rape in Burma can be found below; the examples represent a far from complete list, however, they do serve to illustrate the nature of the atrocities taking place in various parts of the country.

The report that first brought the issue of sexual violence and rape in conflict areas in Burma onto the international scene in a major way was “License to rape” in 2002³. The report documents the use of sexual violence and rape by Burmese Army troops in Shan State between 1996 and 2001. It documents 173 cases of rape and sexual violence involving 625 women and girls. 61 percent of the documented rapes were gang rapes and 25 percent of the victims attacked died as a result. Below are just two of the many horrendous cases documented in the report:

When she became conscious, a commander dragged her to their bed in the hut and raped her and, after he finished, beat her unconscious again for some time. When she regained consciousness, she found herself lying with no clothes on and her sister was lying dead just outside the hut.

A 12-year-old girl was taking hay to feed cattle in a field near the relocated village of Nawng Kaw, Laikha township, when she was raped and shot dead by SLORC8 troops from the Kho Lam base. When some of her relatives heard the gun fire, they came to have a look and were stopped by the soldiers. When they asked for permission to bury her body, the soldiers said: “She must be kept like this as an example for your people of Shan State to see”.

In “Catwalk to the barracks” (2005)⁴, the use of sexual violence and rape by Burmese army troops in Mon State is documented. The report also describes how women are forced into sexual slavery for Burmese troops even in ceasefire areas; the women are required to work for the army in the daytime and forced to function as sexual slaves at night. The report clearly demonstrates the kinds of problems that result from a high military presence in an area, even when there is no outright conflict, and the threat this can mean for women. Below is the case of a 20-year old woman who was 5-6 months pregnant when she was taken by the Burmese troops and kept as a ‘comfort’ woman for two months:

She was brought by the Burmese soldiers (…) and repeatedly raped by both officers and soldiers. She was mostly gang-raped by the soldiers when they launched a military operation. She was brought from one place to another by the soldiers and they raped her at night time.

The use of sexual violence and rape by the Burmese army against ethnic women is unfortunately not a ghastly occurrence of the past, it has continued after the flawed November 2010 elections and the take-over by a new “civilian” government last spring.

In the summer of 2011, the Burmese army launched a renewed attack on the Kachin Independence Army in Kachin State in North Burma. As always with the armed conflicts, a number of human rights abuses followed, including the use of sexual violence and rape. The Kachin Women’s Association Thailand (KWAT) has documented occurrences of sexual violence and rape, among other human rights violations, in Kachin and northern Shan State between June and September 2011.

(...) Thirty four women and girls were raped by Burma Army soldiers or others associated with the Burma regime. Those raped range in age from only nine years old to fifty years old and many of the victims were raped repeatedly by multiple men. At least fifteen of the victims were subsequently killed.

As other human rights groups have stressed before them, KWAT means that the widespread use of rape, the brutality of the cases, that the documented crimes includes soldiers from 13 different battalions and that rapes are conducted in the open, all point to the fact that rape is used as a calculated and planned tactic of the war in Kachin state.¹

3. What can be done to stop it?

National mechanisms

Burma’s National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)

Probably as a response to the threat of an international investigation into human rights’ abuses in Burma, the Burmese government in September last year set up a National Human Rights Commission. The commission has been severely criticised for a number of reasons, not least because of its set-up with all 15 members of the commission appointed by then Prime Minister Thein Sein, all with a record of defending past human rights crimes by the regime. The mandate of the commission is not clear, and it is supposed to work in line with the 2008 constitution, a document that in itself guarantees impunity for human rights abuses conducted by the regime and the military.

Furthermore, little information has been provided to the public about this new body, and the process of lodging a complaint is complicated and can also be risky for the individual.

Nevertheless, some international stakeholders, like the European Union, have expressed some faith in this new national body. Although it is hardly the case that NHRC are set up as a genuine attempt by the government to investigate the number of serious human rights violations taking place in Burma, it should still be put under pressure to do exactly this, either independently or in cooperation with international bodies.

The chairman of Burma’s National Human Rights Commission said recently (Feb 14 2012) that it was premature for the newly established body to investigate allegations of human rights abuses in ethnic minority areas. “The national reconciliation process is political” said Win Mra, the chairman of the NHRC, speaking at a press conference at Thailand’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He added that “to investigate into conflict areas would not be appropriate at this time.” ²

If indeed the NHRC is shown to be a dead-end and just a front so that the regime doesn’t have to deal with human rights abuses in any serious way, the calls should be renewed for international mechanisms and investigations.

International and UN-led mechanisms

Campaign and support for the establishment of a UN-led commission of inquiry³

For twenty years the United Nations has documented human rights abuses in Burma which may be in violation of international law. In March 2010 the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Burma called on the UN to establish a Commission of Inquiry into possible war crimes and crimes against humanity. Later that year, with no serious moves being made to establish an inquiry, he repeated his call, stating: “Failing to act on accountability in Myanmar will embolden the perpetrators of international crimes and further postpone long-overdue justice.”

Burma’s democracy movement is also calling for a UN Commission of Inquiry, and human rights groups worldwide are supporting that call, including Burma campaign groups, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International. The issue of war crimes and crimes against humanity taking place in Burma is becoming one of the main issues discussed by the international community in relation to Burma.


Repeated calls by the United Nations to the dictatorship to end human rights abuses, and for them to investigate abuses which have taken place, have been ignored. In 2011, the military regime broke several ceasefire agreements with armed ethnic groups in Shan and Kachin states, increasing the scale of serious human rights abuses in those areas. Although the government has taken steps to initiate peace and dialogue with armed ethnic groups, gross abuses committed against civilians are still being perpetrated by Burmese soldiers in all impunity. A Commission of Inquiry is a practical step which can help reduce human rights abuses in Burma.

• A Commission of Inquiry can help prevent human rights abuses by exposing what is taking place and ending the sense of impunity with which the dictatorship acts.
• A Commission of Inquiry will help promote dialogue with the dictatorship. Experience, such as with the International Labour Organisation, UN Security Council, and after Cyclone Nargis, has shown that when there is a credible threat the regime is more willing to respond to international concerns.
• Establishing the truth is an important step towards establishing a basis for national reconciliation.
• Victims of abuses want an opportunity to expose what has taken place.
• It can be an important step towards justice.
• A Commission of Inquiry can make recommendations which include reparations, and propose action should violations continue.

An Inquiry can be set up by resolutions at the UN Security Council, UN Human Rights Council, UN General Assembly, or by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. At the present time, the UN General Assembly is the most likely place where a resolution could be passed which includes establishing an Inquiry.

The European Union drafts the General Assembly resolution on Burma, so it is vital the EU includes establishing an inquiry in the draft resolution.

Support for an Inquiry comes from inside and outside Burma. Past and present Special Rapporteurs on Burma support an inquiry, the National League for Democracy, students who led the uprising in 1988, and many other political and civil society organisations from Burma support an inquiry. 16 governments have so far publicly supported an inquiry, including the USA, UK and 11 other European countries. Despite support from 16 countries, no country took leadership at the UN to make it a reality. Foreign government officials expressed their optimism about government reforms despite abundant evidence of continuing systematic repression.

Other international mechanisms

Before the idea of a Commission of Inquiry was introduced, a number of other international mechanisms were already set up to try and build a basis for the prevention of sexual violence and other abuses and the protection of women and children in armed conflicts.

- UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights in resolution 1994/45, adopted on 4 March 1994, decided to appoint a Special Rapporteur on violence against women, including its causes and consequences. The mandate was extended by the Commission on Human Rights in 2003, at its 59th session in resolution 2003/45. According to his/her mandate the Special Rapporteur is requested to:

• Seek and receive information on violence against women, its causes and consequences from Governments, treaty bodies, specialized agencies, other special rapporteurs responsible for various human rights questions and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, including women’s organizations, and to respond effectively to such information;
• Recommend measures, ways and means at the local, national, regional and international levels to eliminate all forms of violence against women and its causes, and to remedy its consequences;
• Work closely with all special procedures and other human rights mechanisms of the Human Rights Council and with the treaty bodies, taking into account the request of the Council that they regularly and systematically integrate the human rights of women and a gender perspective into their work, and cooperate closely with the Commission on the Status of Women in the discharge of its functions;
• Continue to adopt a comprehensive and universal approach to the elimination of violence against women, its causes and consequences, including causes of violence against women relating to the civil, cultural, economic, political and social spheres.

In the discharge of the mandate the Special Rapporteur: Transmits urgent appeals and communications to States regarding alleged cases of violence against women. Undertakes fact-finding country visits. Submits annual thematic reports.

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1 Human Rights Watch World Report 2012 http://www.hrw.org/world-re-}

port-2012/world-report-2012-burma
2 http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/women/rapporteur/
On February 2nd 2010, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon today announced the appointment of Margot Wallström of Sweden as his Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict. This is a newly created position to lead, coordinate, and advocate for efforts to end conflict-related sexual violence against women and children and bring more attention and action on this critical issue.¹

- CEDAW (Women Convention)

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Women’s Convention) is an international treaty adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979. There are nearly two hundred parties to the convention, including Burma. The Convention is intended to broadly address all forms of discrimination against women, which it defines to include “any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex . . . in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.” (Article 1) Among other topics, the Convention addresses gender-based violence, reproductive rights, economic inequalities between men and women, the right to education, sex trafficking, the right to vote, and rights to equal remuneration for equal work.

For several years, a number of human rights organizations and women’s groups, including the Women’s League of Burma, have contributed to documenting gross abuses taking place in Burma. However, in spite of all the testimonies and evidence provided by these organizations, no action has been taken by the UN to prevent and stop such abuses from taking place.²

- Beijing Declaration

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action was adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. The Platform for Action reaffirms the fundamental principal that the rights of women and girls are an “inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights.” The Platform for Action also calls upon governments to take action to address several critical areas of concern, among them violence against women. The Platform for Action states, «Violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace. Violence against women both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms. The long-standing failure to protect and promote those rights and freedoms in the case of violence against women is a matter of concern to all States and should be addressed.»

Burma’s regime has been participating at women’s forums at the UN since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. SPDC sent a delegation led by a male military officer to the Beijing Conference. In 1996, it established the Myanmar National Committee for Women’s Affairs (MNCWA), whose patrons were all men. Working committees were formed at different levels: state, division, district, township and ward/village. Almost all were led by wives of SPDC personnel. Other government organized women’s organizations [GONGOs] were formed, namely: the Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association (MMCWA); the Myanmar Women Sports Federation (MWSF), and the Myanmar Women Entrepreneur Association (MWEA). In December 2004, the MNCWA was renamed the Myanmar Women’s Affairs Federation (MWDF).³

- Convention on the Rights of the Child

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (commonly abbreviated as the CRC, CROC, or UNCRC) is a human rights treaty setting out the civil, political, economic, social, health and cultural rights of children. The Convention generally defines a child as any human being under the age of eighteen, unless an earlier age of majority is recognized by a country’s law.

Nations that ratify this convention are bound to it by international law. Compliance is monitored by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child which is a human rights treaty setting out the civil, political, economic, social, health and cultural rights of children. The Convention generally defines a child as any human being under the age of eighteen, unless an earlier age of majority is recognized by a country’s law.

Governments of countries that have ratified the Convention are required to report to, and appear before, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child periodically to be examined on their progress with regards to the advancement of the implementation of the Convention and the status of child rights in their country. Their reports and the committee’s written views and concerns are available on the committee’s website.

¹ http://www.stoprapenow.org/page/specialrepresentativeonsexualviolenceminconflict/
³ http://www.stopvaw.org/Beijing_Declaration_and_Platform_for_Action.html
The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention and opened it for signature on 20 November 1989 (the 30th anniversary of its Declaration of the Rights of the Child). It came into force on 2 September 1990, after it was ratified by the required number of nations. As of November 2009, 194 countries have ratified it, including every member of the United Nations except Somalia, South Sudan and the United States of America. Somalia's cabinet ministers had announced plans to ratify the treaty.

Two optional protocols were adopted on 25 May 2000. The First Optional Protocol restricts the involvement of children in military conflicts, and the Second Optional Protocol prohibits the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography. Both protocols have been ratified by more than 140 states.

In December 2011, the UNGA adopted the third optional protocol to the CRC, allowing individual children to submit complaints regarding specific violations of their rights under the Convention and its first two optional protocols. The Protocol opens for signature in 2012 and will enter into force upon ratification by 10 UN Member States.

- Resolutions from the United Nations Security Council
Since 2000, the United Nation Security Council adopted a number of resolutions reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace-building and in post-conflict reconstruction. They call on all parties to conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict.

The resolutions also call for the protection of women and girls in refugee camps and secure humanitarian access. They recognize a direct relationship between the widespread and/or systematic use of sexual violence as an instrument of conflict and the maintenance of international peace and security; commit the Security Council to considering appropriate steps to end such atrocities and to punish their perpetrators. Some provisions include the strengthening of monitoring and reporting on sexual violence, the retraining of peacekeepers, national forces and police, and encourage States to design strategies to address the needs of women and girls during post-conflict situations, including access to education, socio-economic conditions, and gender equality.

These resolutions aim at constructing tools and teeth to combat impunity and outline specific steps needed for both the prevention of and protection from sexual violence in conflict.

For a detailed list of UN Resolutions on the protection of Women and children in armed conflicts, see the appendix.

Conclusion
As this brief has shown, the use of sexual violence and rape in Burma has been prevalent for a long time and has been used as a tactic by the Burmese regime in their war on the country’s ethnic minorities. It is clear that the regime has not yet shown any willingness to investigate or hold people accountable for these crimes, and in fact does its best to deny them and cover up for the perpetrators. The new National Human Rights Commission is clearly an attempt by the regime to mislead the international community and avoid an international investigation into possible war crimes and crimes against humanity in Burma, a tactic that unfortunately seems to be working for the moment. The international community should put substantial pressure on this new human rights body to conduct serious investigation into alleged human rights crimes, including the use of sexual violence and rape in conflict. If the government of Burma is serious about wanting national reconciliation, it will need to work towards establishing the truth for past crimes (cf. citation Quintana) abide by UN resolutions calling for the prevention of sexual violence and the protection of women and children in armed conflicts and ratify all related conventions to ensure that in the future, the human rights of the people of Burma are guaranteed.

If the government of Burma fails to act in such a way, it is the international community’s responsibility to renew their calls and use all available mechanisms including COI.
Resolution 1325: The Security Council adopted resolution (S/RES/1325) on women and peace and security on 31 October 2000. The resolution reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Resolution 1325 urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all United Nations peace and security efforts. It also calls on all parties to conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict. The resolution provides a number of important operational mandates, with implications for Member States and the entities of the United Nations system.1

Resolution 1820: During its June 2008 Security Council Presidency, the United States focused on follow-uto SC Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security, with an emphasis on sexual violence insituations of armed conflict. On June 19, Secretary Rice chaired an open Security Council thematic discussion on that topic. The debate was a resounding success, culminating in unanimous adoption by the Security Council of UNSCR 1820 which confronts sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations. Key provisions of the resolution recognize a direct relationship between the widespread and/or systematic use of sexual violence as an instrument of conflict and the maintenance of international peace and security; commit the Security Council to considering appropriate steps to end such atrocities and to punish their perpetrators; and request a report from the Secretary General on situations in which sexual violence is being widely or systematically employed against civilians and on strategies for ending the practice.2

Resolution 1888 was unanimously adopted on 30 September 2009. It specifically mandates peacekeeping missions to protect women and children from rampant sexual violence during armed conflict, as it requested the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative to coordinate a range of mechanisms to fight the crime. Among other measures, the resolution called on the Secretary-General to rapidly deploy a team of experts to situations of particular concern in terms of sexual violence, to work with United Nations personnel on the ground and national Governments on strengthening the rule of law. By other terms of the text, the Council affirmed that it would consider the prevalence of rape and other forms of sexual violence when imposing or renewing targeted sanctions in situations of armed conflict. To enhance the effectiveness of measures for the protection of women and children by peacekeeping missions, the Council decided to identify women’s protection advisers among gender advisers and human rights protection units. Other provisions of the text included the strengthening of monitoring and reporting on sexual violence, the retraining of peacekeepers, national forces and police, and calls to boost the participation of women in peacebuilding and other post-conflict processes.3

Resolution 1889: Through the unanimous adoption of resolution 1889 on October 5, 2009 on the occasion of an open debate marking the 9th anniversary of resolution 1325 (2000), the Security Council reaffirmed its commitment to the women, peace, and security agenda. Resolution 1889 aims to strengthen the implementation and monitoring of 1325. The resolution reiterates its mandate for increased participation of women during all stages of peace and decision-making processes and reinforces its call for the protection of women and girls during armed conflict. Its key provisions include:

- Urges for the participation of women in peace processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peacebuilding.
- Emphasizes the responsibility of States to protect women and girls in armed conflict, including from sexual violence, and to prosecute perpetrators of violence.
- Calls for the inclusions of provisions related to gender equality and women’s empowerment when renewing the mandates of United Nations missions.
- Requests that all country reports to the Security Council include information on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, and their needs in post-conflict situations.
- Encourages States to design strategies to address the needs of women and girls during post-conflict situations, including access to education, socio-economic conditions, and gender equality.
- Calls for the protection of women and girls in refugee camps and secure humanitarian access.
- Requests the Secretary-General to submit a set of indicators to track the implementation of resolution 1325.4

1 http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/
2 http://www.state.gov/s/we/c26140.htm
4 http://wikigender.org/index.php/UN_Security_Council_Resolution_1889
Contributors

The production of this briefer has been a joint cooperation between Info Birmanie and the Swedish Burma Committee, with contributions from Burma Campaign UK, Cheery Zahau and with the help of FIDH.

To learn more about our respective organisations and our work, please visit our websites:

**Info Birmanie:**  [http://www.info-birmanie.org/web/](http://www.info-birmanie.org/web/) (in French)

**Swedish Burma Committee:**  [www.burmakommitten.org](http://www.burmakommitten.org) (for information in English: [http://www.burmakommitten.org/?page_id=23](http://www.burmakommitten.org/?page_id=23))

**Burma Campaign UK:**  [http://www.burmacampaign.org.uk/](http://www.burmacampaign.org.uk/) (in English)

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**FIDH:**  [http://www.fidh.org/](http://www.fidh.org/) (French/ English)

If you want to get involved in the struggle for human rights and democracy in Burma, there are many Burma support groups around the world working in support of the Burmese democracy movement. To find out if there is a Burma support group in your country, you can send an email to karin.valtersson@burmakommitten.org