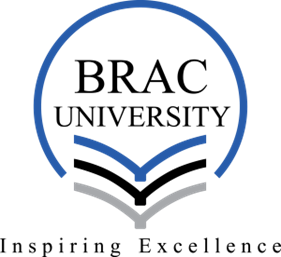
**Fall 2023**

**Final Examination**

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**School of General Education, BRAC University**

**CST 309: GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP**

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**Question 1: Hannah Arendt, in "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man," offers a profound analysis of the evolving nature of nation-states, particularly in the aftermath of World War I and the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy. In that context, identify how Arendt’s narrative captures the decline of the international political order based on the nation-state and why it brings the idea of a modern biopolitical space called Camp into the World to tackle the humanitarian crisis under the direct authorization of a totalitarian system.**

Arendt (1973) portrays that, the collapse of big empires like the Dual Monarchy following World War I destroyed the unity of the European nations. Dual Monarchy refers to the Austro-Hungarian Empire which was a major European power. Subsequently, the creation of newly independent nations and the redrawing of borders marked the emergence of nation-states in Europe. However, the war brought serious problems like inflation, unemployment, and civil wars. Additionally, people from other nations, including Yugoslavia, Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, were also uprooted, losing their rights, and becoming stateless. Due to this, victim groups such as minorities and the stateless lost their "rights of man," or the rights that are thought to be inherent to all people.

The defeated countries and new states formed after empires collapsed, faced conflicts between various groups, such as Jews in various European countries and Americans in Turkey, who had the highest proportion of statelessness. Also, the stateless and minorities were two groups who became victims, whom Arendt (1973) termed "cousins germane." Furthermore, minorities are typically groups that have a smaller population than the dominant majority in a given country. Consequently, these groups were not represented or protected, and they lived in lawless conditions. Evidently, due to the formation of new nation-states, millions of people found themselves living in territories that were not their own. As a result, minorities frequently faced discrimination and persecution from the majority population in their new homes.

According to Arendt (1973), the failure of nation-states to address the plight of stateless people and their exclusion from political communities contributed to the development of totalitarian systems where the state seeks total control over the individual, leaving no room for personal liberty or independent thought. Additionally, it was the inability or failure of the nation-states that led the stateless minorities to be differentiated from political communities. However, this isolation was one of the reasons for the emergence of totalitarian regimes, which used the situation of the minorities and displaced people for their benefit. Additionally, these regimes used denationalization to deprive people of their nationality and it made them stateless. Denationalization is the process by which governments take away an individual's citizenship, leaving them stateless.

Arendt (1973) demonstrated that the League of Nations' Peace and Minority Treaties were made to protect the rights of the minorities of the interwar period. However, these treaties failed for several reasons to protect their rights. Firstly, it did not find a solution for people who were stuck in another nation and couldn’t go back to their own or couldn’t find a community to be a part of. Secondly, they didn't resist the newly independent powerful nation-states to assimilate the minorities with the dominant majorities. Moreover, the creators of the treaties, the League of Nations, ended up being dominated by leaders who were more interested in backing the new governments. In the end, many minority groups and stateless individuals were left without a country with no real sense of belonging to any community which ended up in violation of human rights eventually. Because of these factors, the stateless minorities found themselves in a difficult legal situation, which was made worse by the emergence of totalitarian governments.

According to Arendt (1973), when naturalization which is the process by which one can become a citizen of a country, or repatriation to an individual’s country was seen as a potential solution to the problem of statelessness, the refugee crisis brought the realization that repatriation or naturalization were not viable solutions for refugees. Due to the large number of displaced people, the European countries' naturalization processes collapsed. Considering that the process of naturalization was intended to handle exceptional circumstances rather than mass migration, it became ineffective when the volume of refugees applying for citizenship exceeded expectations. Furthermore, the situation for refugees worsened as nations started to deny statelessness to newcomers as sending people back to their native countries proved to be ineffective. Moreover, Governments were afraid that removing people from their homes was only the start of a bigger issue. This fear was realized in 1938 when it became apparent that all German and Austrian Jews were at risk of becoming stateless. Likewise, statelessness was a particular danger for minority groups, especially Jews and Armenians, from which minority treaties intended to shield them, occasionally served as a means of expulsion.

Arendt (1973) effectively portrays the collapse of the global political order by highlighting the nation-state system's inability to uphold the rights of individuals and minorities in the aftermath of World War I. As a result, totalitarian regimes took advantage of this weakness in the traditional nation-state system to impose new forms of oppression and control on stateless people and minorities by introducing concepts such as concentration camps. As a result of the crisis, the emergence of the "Camp" demonstrates the breakdown of the traditional legal system. As the situation of the stateless worsened, many were placed in concentration camps for control and containment.

The totalitarian regimes made the exclusive judgment about who should be sent to concentration camps. For instance, if someone escaped a Nazi concentration camp and made it to another country, they would be placed in an internment camp. This illustrates how the idea of camps developed into a practical solution for handling stateless individuals who were stateless. In conclusion, the creation of camps was influenced by the conflicts of millions of displaced people in Europe after the totalitarian regimes openly implemented it. Moreover, when the non-totalitarian countries had an increasing number of displaced people, police rule was established by creating widespread concentration camps for these marginalized groups in many nations (Arendt, 1973).

The establishment of concentration camps was a strategic move by the Nazi government to suppress and regulate various segments of the population they deemed undesirable, including Jews, Romani communities, homosexuals, political adversaries, and more. Additionally, the first stage in building the Nazi concentration camps was the opening of the Dachau concentration camp in March 1933, shortly after the Nazi party came to power in Germany. Over time, the camps expanded their scope to detain not only political adversaries but also Jews and various other minority groups considered undesirable by the regime. Subsequently, the conditions of these camps were brutal as they involved forced labor, deprivation, illness, and severe mistreatment. Moreover, the camps were places for oppression and segregation by the totalitarian states to the minorities. However, due to a lack of legal protections as they were stateless, the oppressing groups had it easy justifying their torture of them. Moreover, the camp symbolizes biopolitics because the totalitarian regimes had control over the bodies and lives of the minorities. The controlling regimes had control to regulate people for exploitation and exclusion. Hence, people in these camps lose human rights, legal rights, and are brought down to a state of rightlessness (Arendt, 1973).

The refugee situation in Western Europe led to an increase in the power and authority of the police. Next, the police gained control over the minorities and brutally acted with them in camps. Arendt (1973) observed that, even though the prisoners were treated differently in different countries, the way police power was used in concentration camps of different nations was similar which she believed was a reflection of using common strategy by the totalitarian regimes to control and oppress the minorities by using police.

The minorities of the interwar period were deprived of the right to live as they were left rightless and outside all political communities. Moreover, people in these refugee camps were voiceless and their actions did not matter as they were living completely outside the law and were in violation of human rights. As a solution to this, Arendt (1973) proposed a solution that one has to have a community to have human rights. She also agreed with the idea of entailed inheritance given by Burke that to have inalienable rights one has to be part of a political community.

To sum up, Hannah Arendt offers a deep understanding of how nation-states change over time, especially in the wake of World War I and the fall of the Dual Monarchy, through her analysis of the nation-state's decline and the end of human rights. Moreover, Arendt's account illustrates how the nation-state system failed to uphold the rights of people and minorities, which resulted in the rise of totalitarian governments that ruled through denationalization and the establishment of concentration camps to imprison and control populations of stateless people and other marginalized groups. Lastly, Arendt's analysis emphasizes the need for implementing entitled inheritance or being a part of a community to address the issue of statelessness.

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**Question 2: Do you agree with Arendt’s solution to the human rights problem that aligns the concept of universal human rights with what Burke calls ‘entailed inheritance’ to uphold the status of migrants and refugees? State your opinion highlighting the Rohingya Refugee Crisis in Bangladesh.**

I agree with Arendt’s solution to the human rights problem that aligns the concept of universal human rights with what Burke calls ‘entailed inheritance’ to uphold the status of migrants and refugees as seen in the situation of the Rohingya refugees who go through similar deprivation of entailed inheritance like the minorities of the interwar period to end up without human rights.

As Arendt (1973) demonstrates, the Declaration of the Rights of Man marked a crucial change in the late 1700s. It said that from then on, man, not God or old customs, would be the source of law. This implied that people were no longer subject to outside authority. However, until the 19th century, the question of human rights was the question of national emancipation rather than universal emancipation. Thus, the idea of the Rights of Man evolved into an interconnected national identity rather than universally everyone being able to practice those.

According to Arendt (1973), the connection between national identity and human rights became central to the struggles of the stateless minorities in the interwar period. Stateless people believed that losing one's national rights meant losing one's human rights. Due to this human rights violation, the minorities not only were deprived of their voice to speak but also did not get to decide whether to be a part of any community or not. Eventually, the number of rightless people increased as more people were persecuted by nation-states due to their innocence. As a result, individuals without a nation were left in a state of legal nonexistence. Additionally, their right to live was endangered when they were completely rightless as they no longer belonged to any community. Particularly, they were not oppressed rather no law existed for them which is why they did not have the human rights as if they did not exist at all. As a result, their freedom of opinion was not very important, and their lives were supported more by charity than by legal rights. Even though Individuals who are not subject to the law may enjoy greater freedom of speech and movement than criminals who are in jail, it’s better to be criminals in the sense that at least they are being recognized under certain laws. Therefore, human rights violations extended beyond issues of justice and freedom which meant due to not being part of any community one's actions had no consequences and one's opinions were not valued.

We can map and compare similarities between the minorities of the interwar period with the Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh. According to Mozumder (2020), the Rohingya community has been marginalized and rendered stateless as a result of the Myanmar government's persistent denial of citizenship and fundamental rights. Moreover, their exclusion stems from the 1982 Myanmar Citizenship Law, which removed them from the government of Myanmar's list of 135 recognized nationalities. Furthermore, the Rohingya people were left without a country to call their own because they were denied citizenship. This not only made them outsiders in their own homes but also paved the way for them to be treated unfairly and harshly. Moreover, they faced a lot of struggles in Myanmar, like being forced to work without pay, having their land taken away, and not being allowed to travel freely, marry, or even go to school. Furthermore, they suffered from violence and tensions with the Rakhine Buddhist community. In fact, life became so unbearable that many Rohingya had no choice but to leave everything behind and move to Bangladesh, seeking a safer life (Mozumder, 2020).

The Rohingyas face communal exclusion similar to the stateless people in Arendt’s book. According to Siddiqi (2020), In 1785, everything changed for the Rohingya when their home, Arakan, was conquered. Suddenly, the Rakhine people who lived alongside them started seeing themselves differently and cut off their ties with the Rohingya. This shift wasn't just about who ruled the land rather it was also shaped by other big changes like invasions, the spread of Buddhism, and changes in trade, especially for Muslims. All these events led to the Rohingya being isolated and excluded from the community. The Rohingya became stateless as a result of these changes and lost their acknowledged nationality. Additionally, there is a deep-seated anti-Rohingya sentiment among certain segments of the Myanmar population, fueled by historical tensions and nationalist narratives that portray the Rohingya as outsiders and threats to national identity.

The Rohingya faced exclusion from both Myanmar's political community and the Bangladeshi community. There are several reasons why Bangladesh does not grant them human rights. Firstly, Bangladesh, as a densely populated and resource-constrained country, faces significant challenges in providing for its population (160 million). Secondly, the influx of over 400,000 Rohingya refugees has put a significant strain on the country's limited resources. Furthermore, Bangladesh has expressed concerns about the security risks and illegal activities associated with the presence of Rohingya refugees, including the possibility of militant activity and arms trafficking (Nasir, 2015).

Crabtree explains in Nasir’s (2015) article about the camps that 'the refugee camps have been ranked among the world's worst due to reports of rape and corporal punishment by the local population. Likewise, Arendt (1973) argued that Nazi Germany's concentration camps were not only places of confinement but also sites of total dominance, where the state had complete control over the lives of the inmates. Similarly, the Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh are also places of total dominance, with the refugees confined and powerless over their lives.

As a result, the Rohingya, who have been denied citizenship and basic human rights in both countries, are comparable to the unwanted stateless minorities of the interwar period, as portrayed by Arendt (1973). Again, minorities' sense of belonging was challenged during the interwar period by both the League of Nations and nation-states. Moreover, the Minority Treaties of the League lacked enforceability and were frequently viewed as tools of assimilation. At the same time, nation-states excluded and marginalized minorities, viewing them as threats to national unity. Because of the complexities of nation-states involved, the concept of universal human rights cannot be implemented, which is why it is critical to implement Burke's Entailed inheritance to maintain the status of these refugees.

Hannah Arendt's theory of universal human rights is based on the idea that everyone has the right to be a member of humanity and to have rights. Moreover, she emphasizes the crucial concept of the "right to have rights," which states that everyone should be able to participate in the larger human community. However, Arendt (1973) acknowledges that incorporating this concept into the current framework of international law will be difficult. According to her, the concept of universal human rights extends beyond what is currently covered by international law. Furthermore, she argues that only providing with legal protection and political representation is not the solution to the minority rights issue. The issue to begin with is about the minorities being excluded from political communities which is the reason for them having no human rights. As rights to have rights are essential for these people, she proposes that they have to belong and be recognized in a political community.

Hannah Arendt (1973) proposes Edmund Burke's notion that he gave after the Declaration of the Rights of Man during the French Revolution. Edmund Burke used the term "entailed inheritance" in his critique of the Declaration of the Rights of Man during the French Revolution to explain the importance of inalienable rights inherited from the nation. He argued that rights are deeply embedded in the specific traditions and histories of nations, inherited from ancestors rather than universal. Furthermore, Burke thought that relying on the entailed inheritance of rights, which are passed down to one's children like life itself was far wiser.

As articulated by Hannah Arendt and Edmund Burke, the concepts of "entailed inheritance" uphold the status of migrants and refugees. Additionally, the idea of "entailed inheritance" is about inalienable rights that cannot be taken away. It is passed down within a community or nation through generations. People will get these inalienable rights inherently. This idea is crucial for the Rohingya crisis. However, their denial of citizenship in Myanmar means they're cut off from the traditional rights passed down within the country. It's like they're missing a key part of their identity that ties them to a nation. Without a nation to call their own, defending their human rights becomes a huge challenge. Now, refugees in Bangladesh continue to face the harsh reality of living without these inherited rights, underscoring the importance and difficulty of human rights protection for stateless people.

To sum up, both Arendt’s solution to universal human rights and Burke’s entailed inheritance align with the concept of having a community before having human rights which can uphold the status of the migrants and refugees. By adopting their solutions, minorities can gain land, property, and community of their own which should help them get a sense of belonging. Without being part of a nation or community, safeguarding their rights is quite challenging. Hence, it's vital to realize the importance of Arendt and Burke's solution to resolve the migrant and refugee crisis.

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**Question 3. What critical perspective does Agamben offer to understand the Rohingya camps in Bangladesh as a spatial arrangement that ‘remains constantly outside the normal state of law’ and acts as ‘the hidden matrix and nomos of the political space’ in regional power politics?**

State of exception, which refers to operating outside the bounds of the law, is just as relevant to contemporary life as it was to historical camps, as demonstrated by Arendt's example in The Decline of Nation States. Introduced by Agamben (2000), the concept of the camp as a place that consistently exists outside the bounds of the law and that acts as the hidden matrix and nomos of the political space, emphasizes the characteristics of the camp and its significant influence on the political environment.

The camp's concept of existing beyond the law highlights the fact that it exists in an exceptional state where political and legal norms do not fully apply, leaving the inhabitants to a condition of bare life living only in the ethical considerations of the dominant community. Additionally, the second idea of it acting as a hidden matrix suggests that the camp has a crucial but hidden influence on the political landscape. For instance, as no law is applied here, the authority can internally control people in these camps even though it might seem like a place for people to call home from the outside. Together, these concepts highlight the camp's significant influence on the larger political scene, not just as a place of exclusion but as a revolutionary force in the political system.

The Rohingya people in Bangladesh face extremely brutal situations as the Rohingya camps are completely outside the political and legal norms of Bangladesh. According to Mozumder (2020), the conditions in which Rohingyas are stuck in the refugee camps are much worse than it seems from the outside. To elaborate, Rohingyas experience a lack of legal protection, identity of their own, and any acknowledgment of their existence which makes them live outside the law giving control of their lives to the authority. Furthermore, they are living based on our ethical considerations as they rely on humanitarian aid and international charity for essential needs, including food and emergency medical care which all highlight the ideas of Agamben’s (2000) concept of camps that are at a state of exception

There have been many instances of violence by the local authorities and communities with them as well. Uddin (2020) highlights the risk of assault and exploitation faced by the Rohingya due to their stateless status by mentioning cases of rape of Rohingya females by local Bengalis and security forces. Additionally, Mozumder (2020) reported 365 Killings, 2 rape cases 3 abductions, and 3 missing cases in the Rohingya camps. The Rohingya people in the camps were subjected to severe violations of their human rights, just as Agamben (2000) talks about in the hidden matrix of camps.

According to Siddiqi (2020), the Rohingya crisis has revealed the political motives and power struggles since Myanmar's military faces accusations of genocide against the Rohingya, Bangladesh is overwhelmed by refugees, and China is criticized for backing Myanmar's military. Thus, these actions reflect the underlying power dynamics and interests of regional actors, which are shaped by Agamben’s (2000) concept of the hidden matrix and nomos of the political space.

Hence, Agamben's critical perspective provides a framework for understanding the Rohingya camps in Bangladesh as a spatial arrangement that exists outside the normal state of law and operates as the hidden matrix and nomos of the political space in regional power politics.

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