

The Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar: Origin and Emergence

Md. Salman Sohel

Department of Public Administration, Jagannath University, Dhaka

***Corresponding author**

Md. Salman Sohel

Article History

Received: 21.10.2017

Accepted: 26.10.2017

Published: 30.11.2017

DOI:

10.21276/sjhss.2017.2.11.1



Abstract: A Rohingya young boy with the diplomat magazine 2014, named Mohammad rafique said that Burmese view to them simply, as “animals,” “non-human” or “aliens.” Many inflammatory Burmese politicians and authors refer to the Rohingya as a “virus.” Ordinary Burmese people view us as “Illegal Bengali”. Actually there have been decades of propaganda and brainwashing of the general public against Rohingya by various government and non-government organizations. History witnesses that they are being persecuted long after day by Burmese military. Rohingya often faces deadly discrimination since 1962. The Myanmar government treats with them as a ugly animals. Despite world authority’s evocation, they are driving persecution bulldozer on Rohingya minor community. Recently united nation has defined this killing as a textbook example of ethnic cleansing. Whatever, this paper focuses the conflict and Massacre which is running on Rohingya Muslims community. It also examines the origin and emergence of this crisis and current situation of Rohingya dearth. It discuss about ongoing military campaign against Rohingya ethnic community. This paper illustrates how Myanmar government implicating ethnic cleansing day after day .It also analyzes international response to protect Rohingya Muslims .This paper describe major clash between Myanmar and Rohingya group since 1962.

Keywords: Rohingya Muslims, Myanmar, Military, Genocide, Arakan, Burma

INTRODUCTION

Rohingya Muslim can be defined as a minor Muslims community who are living in northern part of Myanmar. We can consider the terms Myanmar In 1988 with the “Adaptation of Expression Law” (Art.2), promoted by the SLORC (State Law and Order Restoration Council) the official name of the State became “Union of Myanmar” and the old term Burma, used during the period of British domination, was replaced. Military referred Myanmar’s states soldiers who commit violence against Rohingya people. Genocide means massacre and killing which is facing Rohingya Muslim in Myanmar. as well as ethnic cleansing also define in this article, we know united nation’s top human rights rights officials called Myanmar rakhaine state as “a textbook example of ethnic cleansing. Arakan (Rakhine) is one of the borders with Bangladesh. The name Arakan has been historically used calling this area, while the name states of the present Burma (the Union of Myanmar), having approximately 275 km-long e Rakhine has been used by the Buddhist Arakanese as well as the present Burmese government. "Burma" is the official name of the country under the 1947 constitution. After seizing power in a coup in 1988, a military junta changed the name to Myanmar. see-, Brutality in Burma, L.A. TIMES, Feb. 25, 1992, at b6.

In South East Asia, within the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, in the northern part of Rakhine State, one of the most persecuted and forgotten populations in the entire world is striving to survive and to keep the right to live in the land in which their ancestors have been for centuries

The wide majority of the population indeed, together with the most powerful political, religious and cultural authorities of Myanmar has always labeled the Muslim Rohingya of Arakan as Bengali illegal migrants who trespass the border during the colonial period in which the British India was occupying Bangladesh and the entire Kingdom of Ava. [1]. The pattern of widespread and systematic human rights violations in Rakhine State may constitute crimes against humanity as defined under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Extra-judicial killing, rape and other forms of sexual violence, arbitrary detention, torture and ill-treatment in detention, denial of due process and fair trial rights, and the forcible transfer and severe deprivation of liberty of populations has taken place on a large scale and has been directed against the Rohingya Muslim population in Rakhine State (Wikipedia). According to Rachel blomquest, Ethno-demographic grievances define the conflict between Buddhist and Rohingya-Muslim populations in the Rakhine State of Myanmar. Nationalistic Buddhist leaders, such as the

controversial monk Ashin Wirathu, maintain that the Rohingya population's rapid growth and high fertility rates threaten to overtake local Buddhist populations, reflecting local Rakhine State sentiments. Although the Rohingya community faces deadly violence, this crisis did not get enough concentration to the world. But we are regularly screamed about democracy, rule of law, good governance etc. We know that aung saan suukye who is a de facto leader of Myanmar told often us, she and her government are struggling to ensure justice and democracy even she is popularly known as democracy fighter in the western world. But the role of aung saan suukye about Rohingya crisis, really shame to us. However, this studies, trying to find out real fact and history about Rohingya crisis in Myanmar.

OBJECTIVES

- To investigate the origin and emergence of Rohingya crisis in Myanmar
- To explore the Rohingya Muslims communities history and
- To identify the Rohingya genocide in Myanmar

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this research is descriptive analysis including relevant information, article facts etc. This paper is mostly literature based review such as daily newspaper, articles, international and national magazine, information from social Medias like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, various books etc. The work is done entirely on the basis of secondary sources data.

WHO ARE ROHINGYA?

Though the Rohingya issue actually exists, it is not so simple to answer the question that the Rohingyas are. One Rohingya historian who is an activist in Bangladesh explains that the origin of the name "Rohingya" derived from "Rohan", "Roham" or "Rosham", which in all cases were the old name of the capital of the ancient Arakan Kingdom, Mrauk-U, that is present Mrohaung. He explains that those names have changed to "Roshangee" and finally to "Rohingya" [2]. The Rohingyas have already written their own history in a few books, though all of them were written and published abroad by the Rohingyas in exile. The typical discourse of their history written in English is found in AFK Jilani's *The Rohingyas of Arakan: Their quest for justice*, which was published in 1999. He has written, Islam reached Arakan before 788 A.D. Since then the Rohingyas seem to have been residing there. The Rohingyas are not the British Era settlers. The history recounts that Arakan was the land where originally the Muslims lived as the majority. Rohingya language was the original lingua franca in Arakan used by both the Rohingyas and the Buddhist Arakanese. The Kingdom of Arakan (the Mrauk-U dynasty, 1430-1785) was a Muslim dynasty in essence, though they had some Buddhist influence. The Buddhist Arakanese was called Maghs in origin. Since they disgraced their name by themselves through committing piracy and dacoity against Hindus and Muslims for more than two centuries, they started calling themselves Rakhines in order to avoid their infamously of the past. Although the British promised to make the Rohingya state out of Arakan, it was not materialized. Buddhist Arakanese MPs in the post independence parliamentary era (1948-62) were always unfriendly against the Rohingyas throughout their tenure by branding Rohingyas as Chittagonians and never regarded them as fellow human beings [2].

Summarize of Rohingya Muslim

- Sunni Muslims
- Make up 1/3 of Rakhine state's population
- 1,100,000 in Myanmar
- Significant population in Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Thailand and Malaysia
- Government claims they are illegal immigrants from Bangladesh and rejects them as one of the nation's 135 official ethnic groups.
- Most live in MaungDaw and Bu ThiDaung townships.

Sources: warzone initiative-2015

Another sources, we know, the term Rohingya is used to distinguish an ethnic, linguistic and religious group who lived in the former Arakan State of Myanmar. Rohingya people are officially stateless and disowned by the Myanmar government, which argues that Rohingyas are not Myanmar citizens and that they

came originally from Bangladesh (MSF, 2010; Ahmed, 2010). The United Nations has described the Rohingya of Myanmar as one of the world's most persecuted people, with their situation being compared to that of the Palestinians or Roma, yet their situation has been rarely publicized by the Western media and their plight

little understood by the outside world. So who are the Rohingya and why are they in such dire straits? One concise definition is that of an IRIN News briefing document which states: “The Rohingya are a Muslim minority ethnically related to the Bengali people living in neighboring Bangladesh’s Chittagong District. They form 90percent of the one million people living in the north of Rakhine State in Myanmar, which borders Bangladesh .Associated Press writer Todd Pitman gives us a harsher “They have been called ogres and animals, terrorists and much worse when their existence is even acknowledged. Asia’s more than 1 million ethnic Rohingya Muslims are considered to be among the most persecuted people on Earth. Most live in an anachronistic purgatory without passports, unable to travel freely or call any place home.

ROHINGYA AND MYANMAR: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Rohingya people live in the northern part of Rakhine State, which is a mountainous area that is separated from the rest of Myanmar. While Myanmar has almost 140 ethnic groups, Rohingyas are not officially recognized as an ethnic group [3]. The Myanmar government has imposed various strict restrictions on Rohingya people, such as denial of citizenship, forced labor, forced eviction, land confiscation and restrictions on freedom of movement. These are violations of human rights [4]. The government of Myanmar, through its military forces, Arakan nationalist groups, and Buddhist extremists continue widespread harassment of Rohingyas, even though the government elected in 2015 is working to improve the human rights situation in Myanmar (Ganguly&Miliate, 2015). Almost 2.6 million Rohingya now dwell officially in the northern part of Rakhine State; but besides this official estimation it is believed that an additional million plus Rohingyas also reside there. Thus, the actual number of Rohingya in Myanmar is thought to be between four and five million [5]. There is considerable evidence that the Rohingya have inhabited the Arakan region, now called Rakhine state, for centuries. IRIN News, for instance, says that: “Muslims living along the coast of Rakhine State can be traced back to the eighth and ninth century’s when Arab traders settled in the area. Furthermore, influx occurred between the 15th and 19th centuries is due to the trading activities of Portuguese pirates and merchants and regarding thousands of human beings. In many cases the commerce of slaves encompassed groups coming from Islamic and Hindu areas, which were sold along the Burmese coasts of the Bengal Bay. The chronicles and the activities of the European missionary priests demonstrate that the Muslim slaves had shaped a wide community within Arakan a long time before the arrival of the Anglo-Indian invaders [1]. The last massive wave is the Mughals’ one, well described by Sir

Alfred Phayre and other eminent scholars expert in the history of Arakan. According to the chronicles indeed a fratricidal war between the heirs to the throne of the Mughal’s empire had taken the Mughal prince Shah Shuja in Arakan, while escaping from his younger brother Aurangzib. The entire family of Shah Shuja’s family was massacred by the same King Chandra Sudarma that had previously hosted them, but many of the surviving soldiers remained in the Arakanese territory, increasing once again the Islamic presence in the zone. Among them, three thousands Kaman archers constituted a distinct group that was destined to have a wide influence in the Mrauk-U court in the following decades (Sir Alfred Phayre History of Burma”, Trubner & Co, Ludgate Hill, 1883, London) Muslims and Buddhistshave historically lived on both sides of the Naafriver, which marks the current border with Bangladesh. The British annexed the region after an 1824-26 conflict and encouraged migration from India, including that of laborers, merchants and administrators.” Information, on the right of the Rohingya to be considered natives of Rakhine State may be found inan International Policy Digest article which states: “Rohingya Muslims, however, are native to the state of ‘Rohang’, officially known as Rakhine or Arakan. Ifone is to seek historical accuracy, not only are the Rohingya people native to Myanmar, it was in fact Burma that occupied Rakhine in the 1700’s. Over the years, especially in the first half of the 20th century, the original inhabitants of Arakan were joined by cheap or forced labor from Bengal and India, who permanently settled there. Furthermore define by allardk. Lowenstein in international human rights clinic, yale law school-“The Rohingya are a predominantly Muslim minority group in Rakhine State, Myanmar. Rakhine State, formerly known as Arakan, is located on the western coast of Myanmar. It borders Bangladesh to the northwest, the Bay of Bengal bounds it to the west, and a mountain range to the east divides Rakhine from the rest of Myanmar”. An estimated one million Rohingya live in Rakhine State. Rohingya community lives most of the population in the three northernmost townships, Maungdaw, Buthidaung, and Rathedaung. Myanmar, as a whole, has considerable ethnic diversity. Bamars, also referred to as Burmans, are Myanmar’s dominant and majority ethnic group, but a number of ethnic minority groups constitute forty percent of the Myanmar population. Myanmar’s ethnic diversity does not entail religious heterogeneity. A majority of the population in Myanmar is Buddhist, with smaller religious minority populations.

RELIGION IN MYANMAR: CONFLICT BETWEEN BUDDHISM AND ISLAM

Rakhine is on the frontiers between the Islamic and Buddhist cultures of Asia as it is located in the tri-junction of Myanmar, India and Bangladesh. Today,

Myanmar’s population is 89% Buddhist. Almost all Burmans are Buddhist, while most non-Buddhists are part of a minority ethnic group. Burmese national identity has always been closely intertwined with Buddhism. Before colonization, Buddhist kings ruled much of Burma [9]. Besides 4% people embrace in

Myanmar with Islam .The Islam entered this region at first in 7th century by Arab traders and Mughal as well British Empire play significant role increasing Muslim in Myanmar. A religious pictoral of Encyclopedia Britannica as follows -

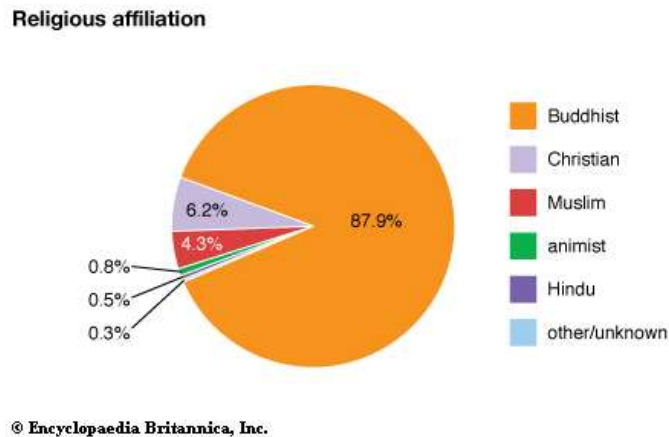


Fig-1

The Myanmar government has participated in racial and religious persecution of Rohingya. In 2002, Human Rights Watch reported that the government issued military orders demanding that unauthorized mosques be destroyed [8]. The government has closed mosques and Islamic schools and used them as government administrative offices. The government has also prohibited Muslims from repairing or renovating mosques. In 2001, mobs attacked at least 28 mosques and religious schools. State security not only did nothing to stop the attacks, but also participated in the destructions [7]. Religious persecution against the Muslim Rohingyas has increased drastically since 1990. The Burmese army has locked up and destroyed and Islamic schools (usually using forced Muslim laborers), beaten Rohingyas at prayer, prohibited most religious activity, and arrested and tortured teachers and students of Islam [6].

CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY²: ROHINGYA FACT

United Nations bodies have long acknowledged deportation, forced population transfers, and other abuses against Rohingya in Arakan State. Since the 1990s, UN special Rapporteur have identified these abuses in terms indicating the commission of international crimes, referring to the abuses as “widespread,” “systematic,” and resulting from “state policy.” The events of 2012 provide strong new evidence of such crimes [10]. The Rohingyas are now the world’s most persecuted minority without citizenship. In 2012 around 32,000 Rohingyas are

registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Bangladesh living in two camps in Cox’s Bazaar in Teknaf and Kutup along in Ukhiya near Teknaf. However, unofficially around 300,000-500,000 unregistered refugees are living in conditions of abject poverty and malnutrition outside the formal camp areas. Being unregistered, they do not have formal access to food, shelter or work permits in Bangladesh. In search of a better life, some of them are now being compelled to take to the seas in perilous journeys to the Southeast Asian countries [11]. Currently 2017 –the number of Rohingya refugee arrivals in Bangladesh sparked by recent spate of violence in Myanmar an estimated of united nations 4,80,000 (daily star - 28september 2017). Many of these serious abuses committed against the Rohingya and other Muslims in Arakan State since June 2012 amount to crimes against humanity. State security forces also participated directly in the forced transfer of populations by committing violent acts such as killings – in some cases, killings of children – and beatings. In June, attacks against the Rohingya Muslim population by state security forces. Occurred primarily in the state capital, Sittwe, and northern Arakan State [10].

2. According to Wikipedia, Crimes against humanity are certain acts that are deliberately committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack or individual attack directed against any civilian or an identifiable part of a civilian population. The first prosecution for crimes against humanity took place at the Nuremberg

trials. Crimes against humanity have since been prosecuted by other international courts – such as the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Court, as well as in domestic prosecutions.

See also: M. Zarmi, A. Cowley “The slow burning genocide of Myanmar’s Rohingya” Pacific Rim Law and Policy Journal, Vol. XXIII N. III.

For Further information See [www. dictionary.com](http://www.dictionary.com) as Crime against humanity can be define as crime or series of crimes, such as genocide, directed against a large

See,.S.N. Parnini, “The Crisis of the Rohingya as a Muslim Minority in Myanmar and Bilateral Relations with Bangladesh”, *Journal Of Muslim Minority Affair*, October 2013, p.492

See,The USA together with the European Union have promoted several sanctions against Myanmar, including arms embargoes and economic sanctions. In the last years anyway, as a result of the alleged positive results achieved by President Thein Sein in the democratic transition, both these entities decided to lift part of the sanctions. US sanctions: OFAC- Office of Foreign Assets Control, “Burma Sanctions Program, US Department of State, January 2014. EU sanctions: EU: “Restrictive Measures (Sanctions) in Force- updated to 19 March 2015”, p.59,60. Available at http://eeas.europa.eu/cfsp/sanctions/docs/measure_n.pdf

1. DENIAL CITIZENSHIP LAW³

The Burmese military government claim that the Rohingyas are not indigenous people but have

migrated from Bangladesh. However, even prior to 1962 Rohingyas were holders of government-issued identity cards and had also British-issued ration cards which affirmed they are citizens of Burma. Then on the pretext of checking these identity cards before the very eyes of the genuine holders of the cards, these old identity cards were forcibly taken and torn to bits just to deny them their legal identity [12]. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees comment on this lack of recognition in a report which states: “The Rohingya are virtually friendless among Myanmar’s other ethnic, linguistic and religious communities. They were not formally recognized as one of the country’s official national groups when the country gained independence in 1947, and they were excluded from both full and associate citizenship when these categories were introduced by the 1982 Citizenship Act.” In 1982 the Rohingya were officially declared as illegal’s and remain so to this day, whilst also facing periodic violence over the following few decades, Aljazeera report 8 September 2016. In 1962, General Ne Win implemented a Burmanization policy that was designed to centralize and legitimize the government while uniting the country under a single national identity. This policy intertwined social and economic mobility with assimilation into the Burmese culture, thus dismantling the successes that minority ethnic leaders, including the Rohingya, achieved under former Prime Minister U Nu. At this time, citizenship rights were also lost as the new administration issued Foreign Registration Cards (FRC) to the Rohingya. Operation Naga Min (Dragon King) of 1978, a demographic campaign aimed at discriminating between citizens, foreigners and illegal foreigners, further restricted Rohingya citizenship by identifying them as illegal foreigners [13]. There are three types of citizenship in Myanmar.

Table-1

1. FULL CITIZENS	2. ASSOCIATE CITIZENS	3. NATURALIZED CITIZENS
Burman, members of indigenous ethnic/linguistic groups, those who could prove they were descendents of Burma from before 1823	Those born in the country after 1823	Those who could provide Evidence that he or his parents entered and resided in Burma prior to independence in 1948 or have a parent with one of the three types of citizenship.

Sources-warzone initiative-2015

3. “The system anchor is the unconnected with any individual’s responsibility for having committed a criminal act. According to 1982 Citizenship Law, which in both design and implementation effectively denies the right to a nationality to Rohingya people?” B. Zawacki, “Defining Myanmar Rohingya Problem”, p. 18.

Benjamin Zawacki is the Senior Legal Advisor for South-East Asia at the International Commission of Jurists and member of the Council on Foreign Relations .9.NUI Galway- Irish Centre for Human Rights, “Crimes against Humanity in Western Burma: The Situation Of the Rohingyas”, 2010, p.41

1.1. TWO CHILD POLICY⁴

The Thein Sein government has continued to enforce policies to control the Rohingya population, including restrictions on the freedom of movement, marriage, childbirth, and other aspects of daily life in Rakhine. The International Crisis Group reported that many ethnic Rakhine and government officials feared that a growing population of Muslims would usurp the Buddhist majority population's political and economic power [14]. In September 2011, Minister of Defense Lieutenant-General Hla Min expressed the government's perceived fear of Rohingya population increase, proclaiming in Parliament that the Rohingya population was becoming "denser" and that "the [Rohingya] birthrate outnumbers the international standard at a breakneck speed (Fortify Rights). "Implementation of this callous and cruel two-child policy against the Rohingya is another example of the systematic and wide ranging persecution of this group, who have recently been the target of an ethnic cleansing campaign," said Brad Adams, Asia director at Human Rights Watch. "President Thein Sein says he is against discrimination. If so, he should quickly declare an end to these coercive family restrictions and other discriminatory policies against the Rohingya." The Arakan State spokesperson, Win Myaing, told the media on 26 May 2012 that local authorities had reaffirmed a 2005 regulation for Rohingya Muslims in Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships in northwestern Arakan State along the Bangladesh border. The discriminatory two-child rule has been enforced alongside regulations that require Rohingya couples seeking to marry to obtain permission from the authorities by paying hefty bribes. Couples often have to wait for extended periods, sometimes as long as two years, before receiving permission. Officials have also forced many women to undergo pregnancy tests as part of the marriage application process. The 2005 two-child regulation was an addition to longstanding discriminatory marriage restrictions on Rohingyas in Arakan state. Advance permission to marry came from the NaSaKa (in Burmese, Nay SutKutKwey Ye), a corrupt interagency border guard force comprising military, police, immigration, and customs. Rohingya couples seeking to marry have had to give a written undertaking that they will have no more than two children. Flouting the two-child restriction is punishable with fines and imprisonment [15]. The two-child policy emerged from this context and from local orders issued by the NaSaKa and other local authorities since the early 1990s. The NaSaKa, established as a border security force in December 1992, was tasked, among other things, with controlling Rohingya population growth [16].

4. See also: *Human Rights Watch, Burma: Revoke two-child policy for Rohingya. Coerced Birth Control Reflects Broader Persecution of Muslim Minority, 28th*

May, 2012,
<http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/05/28/burma-revoke-two-child-policy-rohingya>

See, The Art. 312, that belongs to the section "Of the causing of Miscarriage, of Injuries to unborn Children, of the Exposure of infants, and of the Concealment of Births" forbids the abortion in Myanmar

See, The Hindu, "2-Child Limit in Rohingya Towns," May 26, 2013, <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/>

More information, Christian Leuprecht, "The Demographic Security Dilemma," *Yale Journal of International Affairs* No. 62 (2010):

See, child-limit-in-rohingya-towns/article4752431.ece.

1.2. 969 MOVEMENT

"They (the Rohingya) are trying to improve their lives in our country and our lands.

So this 969 symbol and campaign is intended to defend ourselves. I fear that some Bengali Muslims are terrorists and have a mission to Islamize our country."

--

Sada Ma, 969 Movement's Secretary

"We are being raped in every town, being sexually harassed in every town, being ganged up on and bullied in every town," Wirathu said to the Guardian in 2013 in an interview from his home monastery in Mandalay. He also said, "In every town, there is a crude and savage Muslim majority." Wirathu has also called for the Buddhist majority to boycott Muslim-owned businesses. "Your purchases spent in their shops will benefit the enemy," Wirathu said in a 2013 YouTube video. "So do business with only shops with 969 signs," he added. 969 is a religious counter symbol to the popular Islam-based 786 signs regularly used by Muslim business owners. Such incitement and violence against Muslims in the past has some analysts, including Holocaust researchers, suggesting a prelude to genocide in the country is already in place. The most prominent figure leading the movement is Ashin Wirathu, a controversial monk who is known as the 'Burmese Bin Laden'. Prior to taking a leading role in the 969 movement, the military government jailed Wirathu in 2003 for 25 years for his role in inciting anti-Muslim hatred. Wirathu was released nine years later in 2012 as a new civilian-led administration came to power [17].

As disputes in the Rakhine State continue to fester and Rakhine-Buddhists' grievances remain unanswered, Buddhist compatriots have sympathized and vocalized their support through nationalistic propaganda and anti-minority rhetoric. Echoing the apprehensions of local Rakhine-Buddhists, politicized Buddhist monks and associations—such as Ashin

Wirathu anti-Muslim rhetoric. Ethnocentric Buddhists often claim that the Rohingya fears, sustained by the MaBaTha, and the 969 Movement—regularly exploit demographic by espousing by high fertility and rapid population growth rates, threaten to overwhelm local Buddhist communities in the Rakhine State. Pejorative phraseology such as “Islamisation”, “Bengali land grabbers,” and even “terrorists” are typical references to the Rohingya in anti-minority discussions. The vocalization of grievances, combined with the lobbying power of nationalistic groups, places pressure on the Myanmar government to address this perceived demographic problem.

9. *The name of the movement comes from a “numerological shorthand” for the special attributes of Buddha. It was shaped as counterpoint to the number “786”, used by Muslims in Myanmar to define Halal shops and restaurants. See also: International Crisis Group: “The Dark Side of Transition: Violence Against Muslims in Myanmar”, Crisis Group Asia Report n.251, 1st October 2013, Sect.D “The Role of the Buddhist Monks”*

10. *“The 969 movement has been particularly vocal in its extremist rhetoric, including making wild claims of a Muslim plot to take over the country”. International Crisis Group: “The Dark Side of Transition: Violence Against Muslims in Myanmar”, Crisis Group Asia Report n.251, 1st October 2013, Sect.D “The Role of the Buddhist Monks”, p. 17*

1.4. STATELESS COMMUNITY

The stateless Rohingya of Myanmar has suffered from extreme persecution and discrimination for decades. (minor rights group international). The Rohingya are one of the world’s most persecuted ethnic minorities and are internationally recognized as de jure stateless, The diplomat-25 October 2014. The Rohingya problem is really a statelessness problem’. So says Lilianne Fan, Research Associate for the humanitarian policy group at the Overseas Development Institute (Odi) lessness is a concept so alien to our modern world that we have little idea of how to make it work. People – refugees included – are supposed to have a parent country, somewhere they actually came from. And yet the Rohingya people find themselves tragically unwanted, with nowhere to go (Geographical week). The Rohingya crisis is a human rights crisis with serious humanitarian consequences. In Myanmar/Burma, the Rohingya have very limited access to basic services and viable livelihood opportunities due to strict movement restrictions [18].

1.4 THE BOAT PEOPLE⁵

There is an uncanny resemblance of the Rohingya exodus with that of the Vietnamese boat

people in the mid-1970s. The Vietnamese had also sought refuge in Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia and Malaysia before being accepted by Europe, North America and Australia.¹³ The term ‘boat people’ was coined at this time while describing the escape of Vietnamese people from communist rule following the Vietnam War. The Vietnamese also fled in small boats, most often wooden fishing boats, after the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979. Before the latter exodus, no other incident of people fleeing in boats to seek asylum had drawn worldwide attention (A research group callcutta-2o15). India, Bangladesh and Myanmar were united or closely linked historically and shared a past before borders divided them into separate independent nations. The borders dividing these territories, however, have largely remained porous and the more governments try securitizing them, the more migration, be it ‘legal’ or ‘illegal’ takes place. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Rohingyas of Myanmar, in a milieu of ‘well-founded fear of persecution’ cross the Naf River to enter Bangladesh in search of a safe place to live. On the other hand, the second or third generations of the Rohingyas, already settled in either refugee camps or makeshift settlements in Bangladesh, are taking to the sea to seek jobs in the Southeast Asian countries. Rohingyas are migrating not only as asylum-seekers, but also as economic migrants from Bangladesh to mainly Southeast Asian countries over the high seas. The nature of migration is thus mixed. Despite the high risk of travelling in rickety boats with the assistance of middlemen, the accessibility of the sea, compared to land, seems easier. They are also trafficked to Southeast Asia, West Asia and even Australia. The precariousness of their journey to find a comparatively secure territory needs to be underscored. It has landed them in border detention camps, often on the road to death, or turned them into bonded labour. On April 19, 2016, a boat traveling from Pauktaw Township in Rakhine State sank off the coast of Sittwe, the state capital, killing more than 20 people, including nine children. Most of the individuals on the boat reportedly came from a camp for internally displaced [19].

5. *The term “boat-people” has been used by Amnesty International and by many relevant international media, in order to describe the emerge afflicting Rohingya people in overcrowded ships in the middle of the Ocean, striving to survive. Amnesty International, “South East Asia: ‘Boat people’ crisis summitan opportunity that must not be missed”, a Press Release.*

MASSIVE BRUTAL MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST ROHINGYA MINORITY IN MYANMAR

Over the last 50 years, the Rohingyas’ political status has been changed dramatically. Until 1962, the

Myanmar government recognized Rohingyas as an ethnic minority, providing them citizenship along with voting rights. In a few cases, Rohingyas were major participants in the Myanmar Parliament. But all of their rights ended in 1962, when the military took power and General Ne Win established an absolute military dictatorship. Under his dictatorship, a national effort began on December 12, 1977 to register citizens and exclude foreigners in a national census effort named "Operation Nagamin" (Dragon King) [20, 21]. All citizens were registered by the military and Rohingyas were excluded from that census [5]. As a result, Rohingyas were forced to migrate to Bangladesh. Almost 200,000 Rohingyas fled Myanmar and sought asylum in Bangladesh by May 1978 – known as the "first major wave" of Rohingya migration [5, 22]. A long - held goal of the Burmese military may be in sight-the full -scale expulsion of rakhaine state`s supposedly illegal immigrants. The military campaign has been brutal. According to eyewitness testimony collected by journalists and human rights advocates. Some major brutal operations are given below-

MILITARY OPERATION: GENOCIDE 1962

In 1962, General Ne Win implemented a Burmanization policy that was designed to centralize and legitimize the government while uniting the country under a single national identity. This policy intertwined social and economic mobility with assimilation into the Burmese culture, thus dismantling the successes that minority ethnic leaders, including the Rohingya, achieved under former Prime Minister U Nu. At this time, citizenship rights were also lost as the new administration issued Foreign Registration Cards (FRC) to the Rohingya. Operation Naga Min (Dragon King) of 1978, a demographic campaign aimed at discriminating between citizens, foreigners and illegal foreigners, further restricted Rohingya citizenship by identifying them as illegal foreigners (blounqist2015). Over the years the military regime which ruled Myanmar since 1962 made several attempts to drive the Rohingya out of Rakhine State.

MILITARY OPERATION: GENOCIDE1978

The most intensive effort being "King Dragon Operation" in 1978 which resulted in over 200,000 Rohingya fleeing to Bangladesh where they have since lived in appalling conditions in refugee camps [23]. In 1978, the Burmese army began a major offensive, referred to as Ye The Ha, against opposition groups in Arakan, including all Rakhine organizations (such as the Arakan Communist Party) as well as the Rohingya mujahidin. The army followed this offensive with the Naga Min operation: a campaign of murder, rape, and torture targeted specifically at the Muslim population, and designed to drive the "foreigners" out of Burma and "back to" Bangladesh. The army burned villages,

destroyed mosques, and herded people into fenced stockades. In April 1978, thousands began fleeing the province, and by mid-July more than 200,000 refugees were packed into ramshackle camps on the Bangladeshi side of the Naaf River. The Bangladeshi government did not allow any foreign diplomats or journalists to visit the UNHCR-supervised camps (European civil protection and humanitarian aid operations). Referring to the events of this period the pro-Rohingya NGO the Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief states: "The Rohingya were subjected to unlawful detention, torture and maltreatment. Communal prayers and Qurban ritual were banned. It is known that during the 1978 King Dragon Operation large numbers of Muslim women, men and elderly people were subjected to torture, imprisoned or executed. Arakanese Muslims are still facing arbitrary detentions, torture and mistreatment." In 1978 the military government led violent campaign in Arakan to push out Rohingya insurgents resulting in over 200,000 Rohingya being displaced, many seeking refuge in neighboring Bangladesh.

MILITARY OPERATION: GENOCIDE 1992

This brought the second Rohingya exodus, which occurred between April 1991 and May 1992. The numbers of the refugees this time rose to over 250,000. In February 1992, corresponding to the strong request of international assistance given by the Government of Bangladesh, UNHCR started a broad relief operation in 20 camps along the road between Teknaf and Cox's Bazar. In April 1992, the Governments of Burma and Bangladesh signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on setting the terms of the repatriation program and allowing limited involvement of UNHCR. However, the Government of Bangladesh carried out repatriation by force without UNHCR involvement from September to December 1992. Similarly, a military operation in 1992 forced another 250,000 Rohingya into exile. By June 2012 it was estimated that there was a total of 1.5 million Rohingya refugees living in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India, Malaysia and Bangladesh. Religious persecution against the Muslim Rohingyas has increased drastically since 1990. The Burmese army has locked up and destroyed mosques and Islamic schools (usually using forced Muslim laborers), beaten Rohingyas at prayer, prohibited most religious activity, and arrested and tortured teachers and students of Islam. 64 Soldiers have seized Rohingya homes and moved non-Muslim Burmese into the appropriated houses. The army has even taken agricultural lands to use as housing project sites for newly arrived Buddhist residents 65 describing the situation for those Rohingya who managed to reach Bangladesh the Guardian states: "The Rohingya have not fared much better on the Bangladesh side of the border. The government in Dhaka has refused to allow

the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to register Rohingya arrivals since 1992. This means that all but 30,000 of the Rohingyas are denied refugee status.”

MILITARY OPERATION: GENOCIDE 2012

Major violence erupted in Rakhine State on 3 June 2012 when a bus carrying Muslim pilgrims travelling through the town of Taunggoke was stopped by a Buddhist mob that then beat ten of the passengers to death. According to overseas Rohingya rights groups the victims of this atrocity were not even ethnic another sources described-Rohingya are in a very difficult situation. They are trapped with no rights and nowhere to go. Their response is born of desperation. Since the violence in 2012, over 87,000 Rohingya have fled the country in rickety boats, putting their lives in jeopardy on a dangerous sea passage at the hands of human traffickers. Over 800,000 remain in harsh conditions in Myanmar, while over 300,000 live in Bangladesh where conditions are not much better. Reuter’s investigation found that organized attacks on Muslims last October were led by Rakhine nationalists incited by Buddhist monks and sometimes abetted by local security forces (REUTERS-2013). Others have escaped to Thailand, Malaysia, or Indonesia where they face deadly situation [1]. To European commission, In 2012 widespread violence in Rakhine left some 140 000 people, mostly Rohingya, displaced. While the authorities have initiated a limited return process, over 120 000 people remain displaced more than four years after the events, living in squalid camps with fast dilapidating shelter with only limited access to health care, education and livelihood opportunities. As for those who have returned, the movement restriction they are subjected to implies they continue to be aid dependent. Tensions and mistrust between the two communities continue (European civil protection and humanitarian aid operations Echo factsheet 2017). A Reuters investigation found that organized attacks on Muslims last October were led by Rakhine nationalists incited by Buddhist monks and sometimes abetted by local security forces (REUTERS-2013). Others have escaped to Thailand, Malaysia, or Indonesia where they face deadly situation [1]. To European commission, In 2012 widespread violence in Rakhine left some 140 000 people, mostly Rohingya, displaced. While the authorities have initiated a limited return process, over 120 000 people remain displaced more than four years after the events, living in squalid camps with fast dilapidating shelter with only limited access to health care, education and livelihood opportunities. As for those who have returned, the movement restriction they are subjected to implies they continue to be aid dependent. Tensions and mistrust between the two communities continue. (European civil protection and humanitarian aid operations Echo factsheet 2017).

MILITARY OPERATION: GENOCIDE 2016

The Rohingya persecution in Myanmar refers to the ongoing 2016 military crackdown by the Myanmar Army and police on Rohingyas in Rakhine States in the country's northwestern region. While the majority of Rohingyas are Muslim, attacks have also occurred against Hindu Rohingyas. The Myanmar army has been accused of wide-scale human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings, gang rapes, arson and infanticides, claims which the government dismisses as "exaggerations"(Wikipedia). Human rights groups have received reports of killings of unarmed Rohingya men by Myanmar soldiers, rapes of Rohingya women by soldiers in a number of villages, and beatings of Rohingya men held in detention in the town of Maungdaw. Before the latest attack, as many as 100 Rohingya civilians may have been killed, the groups say. (Newyork times 2016) On March 17, 2016, the U.S. Department of State issued the “Atrocities Prevention Report” mandated by P.L. 114-113 to describe violence against religious and ethnic groups in the Middle East and Burma. The report also noted the imperative for Burma’s government to address the myriad human rights abuses in Rakhine State. (USICRF COMMISSION). Myanmar’s violence is the most serious since hundreds were killed in communal clashes in the western state of Rakhine in 2012, and poses the biggest test yet for the eight-month-old administration of Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San SuuKyi [17].

MILITARY OPERATION: GENOCIDE 2017

“Leave, or we kill you all” an alarmed group of Rakhine Buddhist civilians told the Rohingya of one villages, according to an exclusive “reuters report” Burma in September 2017

CNN Spokesman William Spindler said 270,000 Rohingya had crossed the border since August 25, when clashes began .Yanghee Lee, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Human Rights for Myanmar, said Friday that at least 1,000 people had been killed in the violence over the past two weeks, though she said that figure is "very likely an underestimate." [16]. More than 4,80,000 Rohingya refugees have fled into Bangladesh since late August 2017 during violence in Myanmar’s Rakhine state. Recent satellite images released by Amnesty International provided evidence that security forces were trying to push the minority Muslim group out of the country. According to reports, the Rohingya crisis has left at least 1,000 people dead, including children and infants. Dozens of Rohingya Muslims drowned when their ill-equipped, overloaded boat capsized in rough waters (Arnelhecimovic- Sunday 17 September 2017). The reports came as Bangladesh’s government accused Burmese authorities of slaughtering at least 3000 people in a so called

campaign of “genocide” (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/09/told-us-not-run-suppose-trap-rohingya-describe-horror-attacks/) against the country’s Muslim Rohingya minority (the telegraph-2017). Furthermore ,a special report of Myanmar government - Two outbursts in Rakhine State last year killed at least 192 people and left 140,000 homeless, mostly stateless Rohingya Muslims. A Reuters investigation found that organized attacks on Muslims last October were led by Rakhine nationalists incited by Buddhist monks and sometimes abetted by

local security forces .(REUTERS 2013).The last report showed, that more than 400,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled from Myanmar since august 2017 .It is a humanitarian disaster of historic proportion [24].

TEXTBOOK EXAMPLE OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

“How can it be ethnic cleansing? They are not an ethnic group”

- Mr. Win Myaing, the official spokesperson of the Rakhine State Government, May 15, 2013.

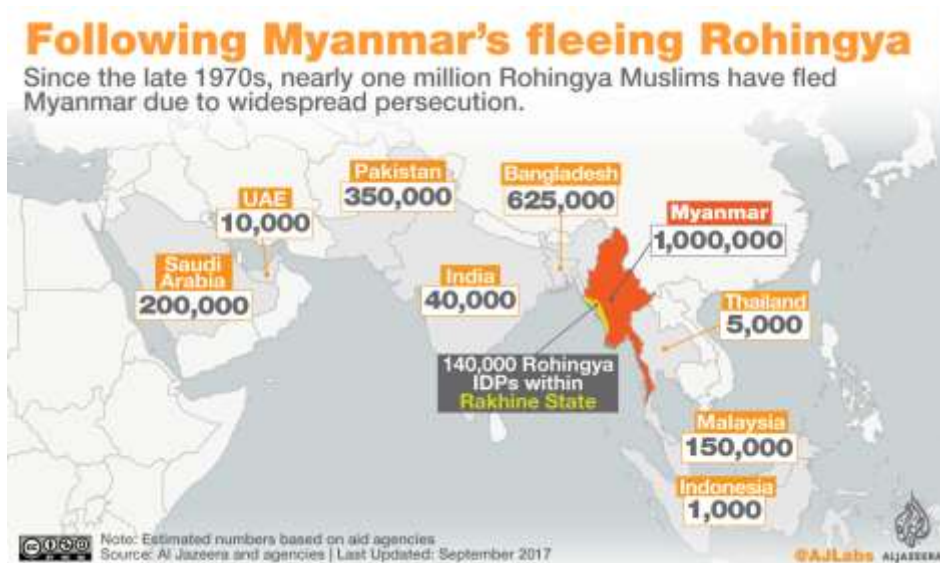


Fig-2
Sources: Ajazeera –September, 2017

Within Myanmar there appears to be a decisive state policy designed in the interest of the government, military junta, Buddhist Rakhine, nationalist parties another ethnical factions With the 1978 ‘ethnic cleansing’ propaganda targeted against the Rohingya community [25]. More than 5,82,000 Rohingya refugees have fled into Bangladesh since late August 2017 during violence in Myanmar’s Rakhine state. Recent satellite images released by Amnesty International provided evidence that security forces were trying to push the minority Muslim group out of the country. According to reports, the Rohingya crisis has left at least 1,000 people dead, including children and infants. UN also confirmed by satellite image, 288 Rakhine villages has burnt and destroyed. Dozens of Rohingya Muslims drowned when their ill-equipped, overloaded boat capsized in rough waters (Arnel hecimovic- Sunday 17 September 2017) “The evidence is irrefutable –the Myanmar security forces are setting northern Rakhine state ablaze in a targeted campaign to push the Rohingya people bout of Myanmar no mistake: this is ethnic cleansing”-(Tirana hasan, amnesty international’s crisis response director).A bloody

military crackdown that a top united nation’s official described as “ a text book example of ethnic cleansing “in another sources of international human rights group said in Los angels times “the Myanmar army has responded with severe force, shooting civilians, and setting fire villages”.in an another address to human right councils in geneva, zeidra’ad al Alhusein denounced the “brutal security operation” against muslims minority in rakhine state. (the guardian 11 september).”The international community is saying it is a genocide .we also say it is a genocide” according to Bangladesh foreign minister Abulhasan Ali. Furthermore, we can know united nation’s top human rights official called Burma’s ongoing military campaign against Rohingya muslim minority group in that country’s rakhaine state “a textbook example of ethnic cleansing “(max bearak, lariskarklis and timmeko washignton post 18 september) the secretary general of united nations , Antonio Guterres called the situation for the Rohingya refugees "catastrophic" and "completely unacceptable", acknowledging that the minority group was being ethnically cleansed in the Buddhist-majority nation [17].

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

“It is difficult for anyone who has never been forcibly displaced to imagine what it is like to be a refugee.”

- Kofi Annan

This study focuses the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar and it is reality that Rohingya crisis in Myanmar is escalating day by day. But it is crucial reality that a big amount of people do not properly know about this crisis which used *Rohingya* in their name. Myanmar governments are campaigning apparent and deadly genocide against Rohingya community in day of light. Recently (7 September 2017) a report published by B.B.C reporter Jonathon hed where we have seen Burmese Buddhist civilians has been burnt Rohingya villages by the help of Myanmar police. But it is regret that aung saan suukye who is de facto leader of Myanmar said that her government ensuring safety and the situation is normal. Actually if we do analysis this situation, we will get clear notification that Myanmar government and military want to oust Rohingya from their home land. To be understand hatred plan ,we have to see the remark July 2012 of ex-president the insein in Myanmar times where he comment that it is a solution of Rohingya problem that they (Rohingya) have to be sent any third country or they have to sheltered in UNCHR camp inside Myanmar. Besides So to be solved this long after crisis world authority have to be come ahead. Especially Muslims world have to be play vital role. Already turkey president Ricep tyeeep Erdogan play important role to solve the problem as an OIC president. Though Malayashia, Indonesian always maintain let alone intervention policy to another country, they regularly keep pressure Myanmar government to stop violence which is very mentionable and praise worthy. We know that middle east have world acceptably in entire world especially Saudi Arabia ,United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Quiet etc .Therefore they should have combine pressure on aung saan suukye government in Myanmar. Actually, it is proved that a bid genocide entailing on Rohingya community. Most of house, village's mosque, social infrastructure has been burnt. As a result, they have fled to save their life to Bangladesh. Then, it is a light of hope, international authority's are regularly blaming to this killing. They are now more conscious than previous day we have shown. The secretary general of United Nations Antone guteres described this massacre as an ethnic cleansing. Besides human rights watch, amenesty international, human rights group etc also marked this killing as a textbook example of ethnic cleansing. Recently, Jeromy korbin leader of Britain labour party called aung saan suukye to stop violence. Every day world leader condemned this genocide. In the beginning of September 2017, French president Emmanuel macron

strongly condemned the attacks on the Rohingya minority by the Myanmar army, calling it “genocide”. Earlier September 2017 UN secretary general Antonio Guterres had admonished aung saan suukye, saying it was her last chance to stop the Myanmar military offensive against the Rohingya in Myanmar. Recently seven countries including United States, France, Sweden, Senegal, Egypt and Kazakistan requested to UN Security Council meeting and from this meeting UN secretary general condemned the humanitarian nightmare. And demanded that the Myanmar government to end military operations and open to humanitarian access to it's conflict wracked western region. In 17 September 2017 72nd UN general assembly held where priminister of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina proposed creating UN –supervised safe zones inside Myanmar to protect Rohingya Muslims who are fleeing military crackdown to seek refugee her country Bangladesh which is very hopeful to solve this long after day Rohingya crisis. We strongly believe that if a state is manifestly failing to protect it's a community; the international community must be prepared to take collective action to protect them. It is clear and apparent that slower and planned ethnic cleansing going on Rohingya minor community. They are suffering since 1962.In this study, it is tried to show the real picture about Rohingya people in Myanmar. Yes, it is high time to stop genocide and sustainable solution of this crisis. Otherwise this violence will spread in other countries especially south Asia. International community should take effective step to end violence. People believe if European union, United nations, Arab league, OIC, NAM, ASEAN and many others influential organization make combine role ,then next world will not see any violence in Myanmar. Besides it is crucial reality that a big amount of people do not properly know about this crisis. Yes, it is true, a several organization involved armed movement, if we analysis researcher kei Nemotoa article where he showed that, there have existed altogether six major armed organizations which used *Rohingya* in their name. Those were the Rohingya Independence Force (RIF) which was active from 1963 to the middle of 1970s, he Rohingya Patriotic Front (RPF) which was in action between 1975 and the beginning of 1980s, the Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front (ARIF) and the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) which existed from the beginning of 1980s until 1998 when they both merged into the Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO) which is active still in the present days .Actually various researcher study shows us , a very small portion of Rohingya people involved this armed movement. But these organizations always demanded, they are not militant rather they are freedom fighter.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author likes to thank for Jagannath University and Department of Public Administration, Jagannath University, for giving convenient access to their libraries. Valuable suggestions of Prof. Dr. Zahid Hasan Mahmood, director of centre for research on semi-conductor technology and Adrita Zaman Ritu, Assistant Prof. Department of Public Administration, Jagannath University, Dhaka are thankfully acknowledged.

REFERENCES

1. Marzoli, R. (2015). Department of Political Science, Master in International Relations, Libera universita' interna zionale degli studi sociali.
2. Jilani, A. F. K. (1999). The Rohingyas of Arakan: Their Quest for Justice. (Place of publication unknown). Ahmed Jilani (published by).
3. Nurul, I. (2006). Facts about the Rohingya Muslims of Arakan. Retrieved from <http://www.rohingya.org/portal/index.php/learn-about-rohingya.htm>
4. Bridge Asia Japan. (2003). *Brief report on activities, April 2003*, Maungdaw, Myanmar
5. Ullah, A. A. (2011). Rohingya refugees to Bangladesh: Historical exclusions and contemporary marginalization. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 9, 139–161.
6. Ragland, T. K. (1994). Boston College Third World Law Journal, Volume 14, Issue-2, Article 4 6-1-1994 Burma's Rohingyas in Crisis: Protection of "Humanitarian" Refugees under International Law."
7. Lowenstein, A. K. (2015). Persecution of Rohingya Muslims: Is Genocide occurring in Myanmar's Rakhinestae-A legal analysis, International Human Rights Clinic, Yale LAW School. October-2015.
8. Human Rights Watch, (2002). *Crackdown on Burmese Muslims*, p. 11. https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounders/asia/burmese_muslims.pdf;
9. Warzone initiative. (2015). Rohingya Briefing Report -2015(www.warzone.cc)
10. Human Right Watch. (2013) ISBN: 978-1-62313-0053 "All You Can Do is Pray" Crimes Against Humanity and Ethnic Cleansing of Rohingya Muslims in Burma's Arakan State.
11. A Report by Calcutta Research Group. (2015). Rohingyas: The Emergence of a Stateless Community. Web: <http://mcrg.ac.in>
12. Parnini, S. N. (2013). Published online. The crisis of Rohingya as a muslim minority in Myanmar and bilateral relations with Bangladesh, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*
13. Blomquist, R. (2016) Ethno-Demographic Dynamics of the Rohingya- Buddhist Conflict, Georgetown Journal of Asian Affairs, fall 2016.
14. International Crisis Group. (2014). *Myanmar: The Politics of the Rakhine State*, p. 15, [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/burma-myanmar/261-myanmar-the-politics-of-rakhine-state.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/burma-myanmar/261-myanmar-the-politics-of-rakhine-state.pdf).
15. Human Rights Watch. (2000). Burma/Bangladesh Burmese Refugee In Bangladesh: Still No Durable Solution, 12, 3(C).
16. Rebecca Wright and Ben Westcott, CNN, September 8, 2017 At least 270,000 Rohingya flee Myanmar violence in 2 weeks,
17. Siddiqui, U. (2016). Muslim Minorities in Peril: The Rise of Buddhist Violence in Asia, Aljazeera centre for studies.
18. European commission. (2017). European Civil protection and humanitarian Aid Operations Echo factsheet.
19. US Commission on International Religious Freedom (2012). USCIRF Annual Report 2012 - Countries of Particular Concern: Burma.
20. Smith, M. (1995). The Muslim Rohingya of Burma. Paper presented at the Conference of Burma Centrum Nederland.
21. Human Rights Watch (HRW). (2000). Burmese refugees in Bangladesh: Still no durable solution. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2000/05/01/burmese-refugees-bangladesh/still-no-durable-solution>
22. Coutts, E. (2005). *The Rohingya refugee situation in Bangladesh*. Retrieved from <http://www.rna-press.com/data/itemfiles/9bcc51b07210277172cfaca50dd60ff6>
23. Goggins, D. (2013). The Rohingya of Myanmar- The worlds most persecuted people? Refugee Documentary Centre, April 2013, page no:14
24. Sarah Wildman. (2017). The world's fastest-growing refugee crisis is taking place in Myanmar. Here's why. <https://www.vox.com/world/2017/9/18/16312054/rohingya-muslims-myanmar-refugees-violence>.
25. Hukil, R., & Nayantara Shaunik. (2013). Rudderless & Drowning in tear, the Rohingyas in Myanmar, Institute of peace and conflict, brief issue.