

Peace, Conflict- Rohingya A Case Study

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Abstract

Myanmar is a south East Asian country which holds important role in South East Asian Region. Rohingya Muslim community lives in Myanmar, which is a Muslim ethnic group. According to UNO Rohingya Muslim Community is one of the extremely persecuted ethnic group in the world. The Rohingya conflict is a humanitarian conflict result and challenge is peace building in Myanmar. This conflict resulted in far-flung human rights, abuses, mass exodus, refugee crises, genocide and loss of livelihoods. This conflict rooted historical perspective, Ethnicity and religious causes. Despite International attention that there is no peace and Rohingya continue to face significant challenges. In this paper we will approach to discuss and understand Rohingya conflict and peacebuilding.

Keyword

Conflict, Peace, Rohingyas, Genocide, Human Rights and Refugee.

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Introduction

Peace is state of harmony and tranquility with respect to a political state usually characterized by absence of violence and balance of justice, equality and fraternity among all citizen. Conflict on contrary may be defined as discourse between countries, communities, organizations over power, policies or religious differences. One such example of peace and conflict is in state of Myanmar where Rohingyas are in a deep conflict with other communities and state. Myanmar, also known as: Burma, Myanmar Pran, Myanmar, union of (1) Myanmar is the northwest most country of main land southeast Asia located on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, with an area of 676,578 Km². It is the second largest country in Southeast Asia. (2) Myanmar borders the five other nations of India, Bangladesh, China, Thailand and Laos. Naypyidaw- the capital and the third largest city of Myanmar is bounded by the Andaman Sea in the south and the Bay of Bengal in the southwest and Naïf River flows in Myanmar.(3)

Myanmar is a country full of diversity where 135 ethnic groups live. These groups have special respect for their own groups. This immense love for their culture, language and religion has created an environment that has given rise to internal unrest and dispute. Over time, this dispute has become stronger because the Burmese communities have not included these minority ethnic groups in the mainstream. If we talk about these ethnic groups, we find that one of the ethnic groups that is a victim of discrimination and oppression is the Rohingya Muslim community. Around one million Rohingyas live in Myanmar, while two to five lakh Rohingyas live in Bangladesh. This discrimination against Rohingyas is due to their being Islamic. According to the Myanmar Foreign Ministry, Rohingyas have no historical and current existence in Myanmar. In this way, such thoughts increase the Rohingya crisis.(4) Historically, the situation in Rakhine state has deteriorated due to the tense relations between the centre and the state. Due to which the people living there have been affected. Because this tense situation is inter-religious, which adopts a policy of separation towards the Rohingya Muslims. Due to which the Rohingya Muslims have had to flee many times and take refuge in the neighboring country. Incidents of genocide have taken place on a large scale. Due to all these incidents and the discrimination policy of the Myanmar government, Rakhine state is still underdeveloped. The violence in 2012 forced the Rohingya to migrate on a large scale. As a result, they had to flee to neighboring countries and take refuge and were forced to live in many inhuman conditions.(5)

Current Issue

As a result of the violence in August 2017, about 6, 55,500 Rohingya had to

flee and take refuge in Bangladesh. In August 2017, when five soldiers were killed in a violence incident between the Arakan Rohingya Army and the Myanmar Army, this incident of violence took place on a large scale. Because the people of the Arakan Army were suspected of raping a Buddhist woman. This incident that happened in 2017 was named ethnic cleansing at the international level. Because the Rohingya were legally expelled from the country and were made stateless. Due to which a large number of them are forced to live in refugee camps located in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh. While living in this refugee camp, they have to endure many inhuman hardships, due to which this incident has attracted everyone's attention at the international level. These incidents being carried out by the Myanmar government are a violation of all the resolutions that it has made regarding the development of human rights, sustainable development and disaster management which are linked to the Sendai framework of which both Myanmar and Bangladesh are signatories. The aim of these resolutions is the protection and development of human rights.(6) The Union of Burma, which came into existence on 4 January 1948, is a multicultural, multiethnic and multi-religious country in which many ethnic groups reside. The total area of this country is 2, 61,610 km². And it is divided into 14 provinces. The major ethnic groups here are Shan, Chin, and Karen, Kyah, Mon, Rohingya, Rakhine and many others. Among these, Arakan province, which is located in the north-west of Myanmar, is mainly inhabited by two ethnic groups - Rohingya and Rakhine. Rohingya are Muslims while Rakhine are Buddhists. Arakan is one of the provinces of Burma where the largest Muslim population lives. The Rohingya who reside in Arakan are not a community that came into existence suddenly, but historical evidence shows that their ancestors who were Arabs settled in Arakan 1200 years ago.(7)

United Nations has declared Rohingya Muslims as the most oppressed in the world. They have been facing this oppression and discrimination for a long time. The story of their exploitation begins during the Second World War. When the people of Arakan decided to support the Japanese in the Second World War. And the Rohingya decided to support the British. After this, when Myanmar was formed in 1948, anti-Muslim movements were launched and they were deprived of their rights. Large scale violence against Rohingyas was perpetrated by the government in 1978 and 1991. Due to which a large number of Rohingya Muslims migrated to neighbouring countries.(8) Arakan, now known as Rakhine State, is part of the Union of Myanmar. In ancient times, Arakan State was an independent state which was divided into two parts, North Arakan and South Arakan regions. These two regions were unified at the end of the 13th century. If we observe the geographical condition

of Arakan, then India is situated in its north, Bay of Bengal in the south-west and Yoma Hills in the east. Naf River forms a direct border between northern and western Arakan. Which connects both the regions with Bengal. Naf River determines the border between Bangladesh and Myanmar. Yoma Hills separate ancient Arakan from Burma. There are three major rivers in Arakan state Kalathan, Lemru, Mayu.(9) Yoma Hills separate Arakan/Rakhine region from main political and economic centers which is one of the reasons for its backwardness. Arakan is an underdeveloped and backward state of Myanmar. The historical development of this region has taken place in a different way and in isolation as compared to other parts of the country, until it was annexed by the Burmese kings in their empire. In 1785 AD, Burmese king Bodawpaya made it a part of the Burmese empire.

(10) At present, if we talk about Arakan/Rakhine state, its area is 20,000km². The estimated population here is close to 40 lakhs in which Rohingya and Buddhists reside in majority. The Rohingya community is a large part of the Muslim population of Myanmar. But in the last few decades, increasing violence and discrimination against Rohingya has forced a large number of Rohingya to migrate. As a result, these people have started living in large numbers in Bangladesh, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Malaysia, India, Indonesia, and Thailand. As a result of the violence in August 2017 and the operation conducted by the army, many Rohingya fled and crossed the border and went to Bangladesh. And took refuge as refugees. Thus, migration by Rohingya in large numbers became a disaster for their lives. To know the Rohingya problem or crisis, we have to study the origin of the Rohingya problem. (11)

There has always been a controversy over the origin and date of existence of the word Rohingya. Because there is no mention of it in government documents either before the colonial period or during the colonial period. The word Rohingya came into discussion in 1950. In 1960, the Official Burma Broadcasting Service ran a program for the Rohingya language three times a week. Apart from this, this word started appearing in magazines and school books for a particular group. In the period of 1950-60, 'Rohingya Student Organizations' were also registered in universities. The word Rohingya came into widespread discussion after the violence of 2012 when they became internationally known due to incidents of persecution and violence and were given the status of illegal Bengalis. (12)

The second historical account tells us that the 15th century was a time of great political turmoil in Arakan. The king of Arakan, Min-SawMun, was defeated by the Burmese king in 1406 AD to expand his kingdom and the king fled and took refuge in Bengal. Bengal itself had suffered many invasions at that time. At that time Bengal was ruled by Giyasuddin Azam Shah. Finally Min-SawMun sought

help from Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah, who was the Sultan of Bengal. With his help, he got his territory back and returned to Arakan after about half a century. During his stay in Bengal, he gained a lot of information and knowledge about Bengali, Arab, and Parsi people. He studied a lot of literature related to them. During his stay in Bengal in 1430 AD, a large number of Muslims came to Arakan from Bengal. Their main objective was to defeat the king. The purpose was to help in running the government. Even after the completion of this mission, they stayed in Arakan in large numbers. In return for this help, the king had made some agreements with the Sultan of Bengal. Such as accepting a Muslim title, transferring the capital to the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. Due to which people here established many mosques, temples, inns, libraries. (13) The last independent Rakhine state was established by Mark-U in 1430 AD with the help of the Sultan of Bengal and in return the Rakhine Buddhist kings had to adopt Muslim titles and issue coins in Muslim script. Some Muslims came from Bengal and settled in Rakhine. Rakhine became independent again in 1531 AD when the Mughals took over Bengal. However, they continued to adopt Muslim titles. After this the Mark-U dynasty became very powerful and prosperous. This dynasty established a powerful navy and demonstrated its power in the coastal areas. This period of power remained fluctuating for the next two centuries. The reason for which was the rise and fall of the power of the Mark-U dynasty. After some time European and Arab traders came to the shores of Rakhine, including the Portuguese. Who belonged to the bandit and plundering group. European and Arab traders along with Rakhine sailors launched a powerful campaign. And Muslims from Bengal were brought to Rakhine. So that the population of Muslims could be increased in the region. In 1600 AD, Mughal emperor Shah Shuja visited the king of the Mrauk-U dynasty and encouraged the king to settle Muslims in his region. After Shah Shuja's assassination, many Muslims came to Rakhine. They were members of the king's main army, the Kamans, and today these Kamans are a major ethnic group in Rakhine state. Many of them hold positions in the state such as doctors, teachers, bureaucrats and other positions. Struggle for power in the Mrauk-U dynasty brought it to the brink of collapse. In his quest for power, Burmese king Bodawpaya invaded Rakhine and annexed it to the Burmese state, ending the powerful Mrauk-U dynasty. The elites were deported to Upper Burma and about two hundred thousand Rakhines fled to Chittagong (Bengal). (14) In 1825, in the First Anglo-Burman War, the British defeated the Burmese in Rakhine State and annexed the state to British India. The British shifted the capital of Rakhine State to Sittwe. After this, in 1853, in the Second Anglo-Burman War, Lower Burma was annexed to British India. And Rakhine State was made its new province. The

annexation of Rakhine led to the arrival of a large number of Muslims from Bengal in Rakhine State. Along with this, Muslims of Bengal origin were already living in Rakhine on ancestral basis. The arrival of these Bengal Muslims created opposition among the Buddhists living there and the Muslims living in the north of Rakhine State. A large number of workers migrated from Bengal to Rakhine for British expansionist policies and large-scale cultivation of rice. Most of these workers were Indians and Muslims from Bengal. Most of these workers migrated for seasonal farming and employment. While some settled there permanently. In this way, migration changed the ethnic and religious equation of Rakhine state. As a result, socio-economic problems arose there. Due to such problems, incidents of violence occurred after the Second World War. In the Anglo-Japanese War, the Rakhine people supported the Japanese, while most of the Muslims supported the British. After the end of the Second World War, there was a Rakhine Muslim Mujahideen rebellion. These rebels tried to include Rakhine state in East Pakistan (Bangladesh). But their demand was rejected by Pakistan. After this, they Struggled for full citizenship and Muslim autonomy in Rakhine. Along with this, raised voice to stop discrimination being done by Buddhists. After this rebellion, the administration imposed a ban on the movement of Rakhine Muslims to Sittwe. About 1300 Muslims who were in Sittwe at the time of the war and were living in refugee camps were banned from returning and were declared illegal Pakistanis. (15) Myanmar became independent from Great Britain in 1948 and parliamentary democracy continued to function in Myanmar till 1962. But in 1962, the army changed power and took control of the government and took all the power in its hands. As a result, the civilian government was removed from power. General Ne Win dissolved the parliament as soon as he came to power and banned all political parties. Thus, Ne Win emerged as a dictator and abolished the rights of minorities. The difficult times of minorities started from his rule. Rohingya minorities, also known as Rohang, live in Rakhine, the western province of Myanmar. Earlier this region was called Arakan. Arakan was an independent state before becoming a British colony. Two lakh Rohingyas live in Myanmar and about 8 lakhs live in Rakhine state. Rohingyas consider themselves residents of Myanmar. But they are not accepted by the Myanmar government. And they consider them illegal immigrants. There are two views about the identity of Rohingyas, one is those who consider them to be residents of Myanmar and the other is those who do not. Those who consider them to be residents of Myanmar say that Rohingyas have been living in Myanmar since the 9th century. Since then Bengali, Turkish, Mughal and Sikh people have been living in Myanmar. Those who do not support them say that Rohingyas are illegal immigrants from Chittagong

in Bengal. The Myanmar government uses the word immigrant for Rohingyas. They are called as immigrants in Myanmar. They are considered foreigners. Thus, Rohingyas are stateless, stateless and minorities in Myanmar. These communities have been suffering from rejection for decades. Because Bangladesh also says that this is Myanmar's problem and Myanmar has the responsibility to solve it. Thus, Rohingyas are being persecuted on the basis of religion and caste. This is because Myanmar's population is predominantly Buddhist. (16) Sittwe is the capital of Rakhine province and according to the 2014 census, the population here is about 21 lakhs, of which 20 lakh are Buddhists and 29 thousand are Muslims. According to another report, about 10 lakh Muslim population of the state has not been included in the census. Because this population is of Rohingya Muslims. The Myanmar government considers them illegal immigrants. They have been excluded from the citizenship group by the Myanmar government, although they have been living in Myanmar for generations. Due to being excluded from the citizenship group and incidents of violence, a large number of Rohingyas have migrated to neighboring countries. A large number of them are living as refugees in the states of India - Assam, West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir. About 5080 Rohingya refugees are present in Delhi alone. (17) The biggest problem and pain of Rohingya Muslims is that the government of the place where they live has denied them the right to be citizens of Myanmar due to racial and religious discrimination. According to a UN report, out of the total population of 5 crore, 10 lakhs in Myanmar, 90% people are Buddhists. Christians are 4%, Muslims are 4% and the Rohingya population is 10 lakhs, out of which 8 lakhs live in Rakhine. And they are counted among the poorest people in the world. In 1982, the Rohingyas were removed from the list of registered ethnic groups by the Myanmar government and were made stateless. Along with this, children who were born in 1994 were deprived of citizenship. Birth certificates were denied. The government banned the use of the word Rohingya. This group was also excluded from the 2014 census. They were also excluded from the 2015 elections. The government denied them health services, right to protest, employment and education. (18) The 2014 census was conducted by the government after 30 years. There was no place for Rohingya in this census register. Rohingyas were written as Bengalis. The government forcibly asked them to accept that they are illegal immigrants who have come from Bangladesh. The government had given those White Cards which were cancelled in 2015. Due to which they were excluded from the elections to be held in November 2015. Although there was international criticism of not giving voting rights. But despite this, the government remained firm on its decision. Despite the existence of

Rohingyas in Myanmar since the 8th century, they are considered foreigners in Myanmar. The situation of dispute and conflict between the majority Buddhists and Rohingyas arose when a large number of laborers came to Burma during the British rule. This conflict continued till the 20th century and the situation became very pathetic during the rule of the British in 1962 AD. They were deprived of all rights by the Citizenship Act of 1982.(19) In 1977, the Myanmar Army launched Operation Dragon King to eliminate civilians and foreigners in three states and provinces. This operation started in 1978 in Rakhine province, which was against the Rohingya. During this operation, the Myanmar Army committed a lot of violence in Rakhine state and a large number of Rohingyas were forcibly sent to Bangladesh. At the same time, their houses were burnt by the army, violence was done and women were raped. In 1978, when the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh came to Myanmar, the President of Myanmar Ne Win proposed to send the Rohingya back from Bangladesh under a plan. This was a part of his foreign diplomacy. After this, when this operation ended in 1982, the Myanmar military government brought a citizenship law against the Rohingya. Under which they were declared stateless and without rights. The entire population of Myanmar is 'color-based'. Because under Operation Dragon, the entire population of Myanmar was classified and identity cards were issued to them. These identity cards were of many colors and citizenship was determined on the basis of these colors. Pink - Fully Citizen, Blue Associate Citizen, Green - Naturalized Citizenship, White - for foreigner. Rohingyas were not included in any classification here and neither were they issued any type of cards. Under Operation Dragon, for the first time a large number of Rohingyas were forcibly sent to Bangladesh. This was the first time they were expelled from the country. The second such incident happened 12 years later in 1991. Such incidents made the life of Rohingyas miserable and pitiable. In 1978 and 1991, they were expelled from the country on a large scale.(20) Thus, the result of the Citizenship Act of 1982 was that a large community of stateless people emerged in the world. They had neither a state nor any citizenship. Nwin's reasoning behind doing this was that these foreigners living in Myanmar can become a threat to the country at any time. Rohingyas were also banned from moving around freely. Along with this, they were also banned from getting married, having children, getting education, and many other activities of daily life. Because this Citizenship Act had deprived them of even the basic rights of life. The loss of ethnic identity of Rohingyas also created tension among the Buddhist majority living in Arakan state, due to which many violent incidents took place between Buddhists and Rohingyas in Rakhine. Because Buddhists were in majority there and they did not want to accept Rohingyas. Tension and violence

between these communities soon led to violent incidents between the Myanmar Army and the Arakan Army.(21) In 1988, the houses of Muslims in Rakhine province were forcibly taken over by the junta government without any compensation, due to which the stateless Rohingyas became homeless as well, who now did not even have a house to live in. In this situation, their status and identity became that of illegal immigrants. They were deprived of the basic necessities of life. Such as - education, health, employment, marriage, children etc. Due to being deprived of all these needs and exploitation, Rohingya Muslims turned to neighboring countries. Where their status is that of stateless people and they are forced to live the life of a refugee. Thus Bangladesh became the primary and nearest choice for Rohingya Muslims. Due to which the largest number of Rohingya fled to Bangladesh. The main reason for this was the close territorial border with Bangladesh and the second reason was Bangladesh being Muslim majority. The Bangladesh government has no record of Rohingya who came to Bangladesh after 1992. Due to the genocide in 2016, a large number of Rohingya were killed, women were raped and their houses were burned. Rohingya mainly reside in the three northern areas of Rakhine, Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Rathendaung.(22)

Rohingya refugees

Due to the operation conducted against Rohingya refugees, they were forced to go to different countries. A large scale migration of Rohingya refugees happened in 2017. And they took refuge in Bangladesh. But it is not yet clear how many people are still left in Rakhine state. Around one lakh Rohingyas are living in internally displaced camps in Myanmar. Where they are forced to live in a very pitiable and bad condition. Apart from this, they are living in displaced camps. Where they are forced to live in a very pitiable and bad condition. Apart from this, the countries in which Rohingya refugees have taken refuge like - Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Thailand and Indonesia. These countries are not able to help these refugees completely. Because they have violated the Refugee Treaty of 1951 and the 1967 Refugee Treaty.(23) The refugee protocol has not been verified. Due to which they are not able to get proper facilities. 28 The first exodus of Rohingya refugees began in 1978 when 2,00,000 refugees fled to Bangladesh. However, the Myanmar government denies the exodus of 1978 and does not hold itself responsible for it. The Myanmar government considers them to be refugees from Bangladesh. However, after this large exodus, the Myanmar government allowed those who were legally residents of Myanmar to return. After 1978, the attitude of the Myanmar government became very harsh towards the Rohingya. The statelessness of the Rohingya began when the Myanmar government excluded them from the citizenship

list through the Citizenship Law of 1982. The Myanmar government listed only a few citizenship groups such as Kavin, Karen, Chin, Burman, Mon and Arakanese, Shan who were living in Myanmar before 1823. In this way, different categories of citizens were determined and only 135 ethnic groups were recognized in the country. In this way, any Rohingya or Rohingya children were excluded from the citizenship list. In the 1930s, many violence and rebellions were carried out against Muslims in Myanmar. And nationalist ideas were encouraged. In 1930, nationalist and religious slogans were given like - "Burma for Burmans and to be Burm is to be Buddhist". In this way, incidents of violence continued against the Rohingya and on a large scale, it happened in 2012 and 2017 and many restrictions were imposed on the Rohingya. The incident of violence in 2017 started after the killing of 30 policemen by the 'Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army'. In retaliation, the government launched a campaign 'Cleansing Operatings of Terrorists'. As a result, 6700 Rohingya were killed. In which 700 were children. According to Amnesty International, many women and girls were raped in this incident. And 6,50,000 people fled and most of them fled to Bangladesh. Myanmar's State Councilor Aung San Suu Kyi described this statement as spreading hatred between Hindus and Muslims and she also denied the incident of massacre. (24)

Social and political rights of Rohingyas

The constitution of Myanmar recognizes the rights of only Burmese citizens, whereas Rohingyas are not citizens of Burma and hence do not have these rights. Rohingyas had some political and civil rights for some time, such as they had the right to vote in the elections of 1990. While in the 2008 elections, they were allowed to vote on the basis of White Card, whereas it is written in the constitution of Myanmar that "The Union shall guarantee any person to enjoy equal rights before the law and shall equally provide legal protection". Whereas Rohingyas do not have any equal rights and they were deprived of voting in the 2015 elections. Rohingyas do not have any civil rights. Rakhine province is the poorest province of Myanmar. About 78% of its population lives below the poverty line. Lack of education and lack of basic facilities has created a mistrust between Rakhine Muslims and Rakhine Buddhists. Rohingyas are the most endangered in this province. According to Human Rights Watch, many Rohingya women were raped in the violence of 2017. In an environment where life and security are at risk, self-preservation is more important than civil and political rights. (25)

Myanmar and Buddhism

In Myanmar, Buddhism was used to promote nationalist ideas and politically. The main objective of which was to expel non-Burmese people from the country.

Ethnicity and nationalism were used to strengthen Buddhism politically. Buddhism of Myanmar can be considered similar to the distortion of Islam and Hinduism. On the basis of this idea, Rohingyas were considered non-Burmese and were excluded from the Buddhist nation. Under the Citizenship Law of 1982, the people of Myanmar were divided into three parts – citizens, associate citizens, naturalized citizens. Those who came in the category of citizens were included in the main group called National Races and their number was 135. They were recognized by the government but Rohingyas were not included in it. And it was difficult for Rohingyas to prove that they are residents of Myanmar and their ancestors were living in Myanmar since 1823 AD. Rohingyas also lacked sufficient sources to be included in the other two categories. In reality, it was difficult for the Rohingya to prove these conditions for joining any group. (26) Myanmar's Buddhist monks have played a major role in the incidents of genocide. Because Buddhist monks have a prominent place in Myanmar's society. Their respect and work for humanity is the reason why they have immense support of the public. The speeches given by them are followed by the Buddhist people of Myanmar. They are aware of their position in the society. According to a Buddhist monk Ven Pannasiha, "There are over 5, 00,000 monks in Burma. There are only 4, 50,000 soldiers... religious leaders have the power to grab people and attract them. And so, if the Monks are united, the military cannot withstand it. Monks know that. The 'Sangha' campaign was run by Buddhist monks for the purity of castes. This led to feelings of violence and hatred on caste-religious grounds. Large scale anti-Muslim activities were carried out by the monks. Such as encouraging people to vote on the basis of nationality. Two large groups of Buddhist monks known as 969 and NaBaTha spread hatred on a large scale. Their ideology is nationalist and anti-Muslim. Their main focus is to protect the Burmese race and Buddhism. (27) 969 is a group of Buddhist monks and their followers who are anti-Islam and oppose Muslims on caste-religious basis. MaBaTha is another Buddhist monk group which includes all Buddhist monks and monks of 969 group. This group is also based on anti-Muslim ideology. Their aim is Protecting and Promoting Buddhism. Islam is considered the biggest threat to Buddhism in Myanmar by them. In June 2015, a conference was organized by MaBaTha in which some restrictions were imposed on the Muslim community in view of the threat from Islam. For example, a ban was imposed on Muslim girls wearing headscarves in school. Along with this, Rohingya Muslims were considered more dangerous than another community living in Myanmar, the Kamman. Hatred was also spread against Rohingya Muslims through music and cultural means. For example, in the rallies of 969, the song Song to whip up religious blood was played against Muslims. People

were also prepared to oppose Muslims through magazines and generals.(28) Arab Muslims expanded their trade in the 9th and 12th centuries and established their colonies in South and South- East Asia. They made Bengal their centre and expanded their trade with Burma, Maldives, Ceylon and Malacca. In the 12th century, the position of Muslims in North Arakan was quite strong. After this, the British rule continued to control Burma for 62 years. In order to assert their authority, the British first conquered Arakan, after which they took control of Pegu and Upper Burma by 1852. During this period, the British, following their policy of ‘divide and rule’, started dividing the minorities in Burma and their division started from here. Historically, caste division started from the colonial period.(29)

Political and social exploitation of Muslims

Rohingya Muslims living in Rakhine state have always been marginalized by the Myanmar government. As a result, they are politically and socially deprived and have not been able to develop themselves. In contrast, the common Muslim community enjoys full citizenship and all the necessary conditions for a good life are available. The Citizenship Law of 1982 made Muslims stateless. Those who had old identity cards were rejected and denied new citizen cards. Instead, they were issued a Temporary Registration Card (TRC) through which they were given some facilities. Initially, they had the right to vote on the basis of TRC, but after some time, this right was also canceled. All these laws promoted discrimination against Rohingya. Even couples were allowed to have only two children. There were many restrictions on the freedom of TRC holders such as ban on movement, government actions such as restriction of services, forced labour, extortion and acquisition of their land which there was total discrimination. (30) Rohingya women face domestic and external violence and exploitation while living in refugee camps. Women have to face harassment from their husbands, fathers and men. They do not get security even while living in refugee camps. Rape by other men outside the refugee camps is a common occurrence. Polygamy is a common occurrence in these camps. In the refugee camps located in Bangladesh, they also face the problem of food. The problem of cooking is faced most by women. This is done because they have to go out to ask for fuel and food grains for food. Rohingya Muslims are not allowed to buy goods outside their camps. They have to buy goods from the shops which have been designated for them. ‘Food Card’ has been arranged for the Rohingya registered in the camps. Cards have been given to every family. Through this food card, items like pulses, rice, chilies, potatoes, turmeric etc. are made available to them. Rohingyas are also facing the problem of lack of basic necessities of life like health, housing, and education. There is no provision of women health facilities in refugee camps.

Due to which many times they die. Along with this, they do not get any facilities for living and education. In fact, it is very difficult for stateless people to get basic facilities of life like health, employment, education, freedom of movement. Lack of nationality oppresses a person at every level. There are about 10 million stateless people in the world, out of which about 1.5 million people are forced to live in stateless conditions in refugee camps. Rohingyas are residents of Myanmar who are the most oppressed in the world. A large population of Rohingyas has been made stateless by the Myanmar government. (31)

Bangladesh and Rohingya

In the last few years, Rohingyas have entered Bangladesh on a large scale. In 1948, 1978, 1991, 1992, 2017, 2021, Rohingyas have fled to Bangladesh in large numbers. The first migration was at the time of Burma's independence, the second was due to violence against Muslims in Myanmar and other migrations also took place due to anti-Muslim incidents. As a result of the migration in 1991-92, 20 camps were set up in Cox's Bazar. In this migration, about 2, 50,000 Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh. (32) Kutupalang refugee camp in Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh is the most densely populated camp. It has been established without any planning. Here Rohingyas make their own houses made of plastic and bamboo. They are forced to live in houses built by them. Kutupalong is the most densely populated refugee camp on earth where more than one million people are living. (33) COVID-19 pandemic and the Rohingya: Cox's Bazar is the world's largest and most densely populated refugee camp located in Bangladesh. Being Myanmar's neighbouring country, a large number of Rohingya Muslims have taken refuge here. When a nationwide lockdown was announced to prevent the spread of Covid-19, the people living in the camp had to face great difficulties. Because when the WHO declared Covid-19 a pandemic on 11 March 2020, a lockdown was declared all over the world. And a national emergency was declared. Emphasis was laid on physical distancing, hygiene and quarantine to prevent the spread of Covid-19. Which was difficult to adopt in this high-density camp. The first Covid case in Bangladesh was found in the refugee camp of Cox's Bazar and by July 2, the total number of cases rose to 54. The number of Covid cases in Myanmar was 326. The outbreak of Covid in Rakhine state was also a matter of concern, due to which many people also died. Because maintaining hygiene, cleanliness and physical distancing in three large camps was a difficult task.

(34) According to 'Human Rights Watch', incidents of violence in the past years have made the condition and life of Rohingya Muslims miserable. Due to the violence in 2012, 40 people were killed and many people had to leave their homes.

This exploitation and oppression of Rohingya Muslims by the Myanmar government has been going on since 1962 when the army took power. Rohingya refugees face problems of proper housing, health facilities, clean water and toilets in refugee camps. The solution to this problem by the governments of Myanmar and Bangladesh is that some other country should take them to their country.(35)

Conclusion

ASEAN can play an important role in solving the Rohingya crisis. In the past few years, events like natural disasters, climate change and civil war have forced people to migrate from many countries of the world. This problem of refugees can be solved only with international cooperation. To help the Rohingya community overcome this crisis, ASEAN member countries should impose economic and political sanctions on Myanmar as it is deprived of human rights. ASEAN should abandon its policy of non-interference. (36) The Rohingya conflict is not only a humanitarian crisis but also a grave violation of international law and human rights in democratic world. Myanmar's actions have targeted the rohingya community through the denial of citizenship, military violence, and genocide and force displacement. There is a need of permanent solution for this conflict. There is a urgent need to ensure legal recognition and citizenship rights for rohingya community, guarantee for safe life, financial aid for supporting country and ensure a long term solution. This conflict can be solve with the coordination and efforts of international agencies. International agencies like UNO, ICC, ICJ, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL WATCH and human rights watch and neighboring country should take steps to solve this conflict and peace restoring.

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