

Rohingya Crisis: An Analysis on Indian Security Perspective

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By

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Under the supervision of

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DECLARATION

I declare that the project report entitled “**ROHINGYA CRISIS: AN ANALYSIS ON INDIAN SECURITY PERSPECTIVE**” has been prepared by me under the guidance of Dr. Bawa Singh, assistant Professor, Department of South and Central Asian Studies, School of Global Relations, Central University of Punjab, Bathinda. No part of project report has formed the basis for the award of any Degree or fellowship previously.

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ABSTRACT

Rohingya Crisis: An Analysis on Indian Security Perspective

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Ethnic conflicts are harmful for the whole societies and with the passage of time if they are not solved they are making a thread for the states. This study has tried to focus on the world's most persecuted minority Rohingya. They belong to the Muslim community of Myanmar. Oppression and persecution of Rohingya frequently occurs in Rakhine province of Myanmar by her own government. After the independence of Myanmar from colonial rule Rohingya Muslims are faced discriminated nature of different governments of Myanmar. Form the history there is so many events of violence took place. In August 2017, once again has terrible violence commenced by Myanmar's military forces against Rohingya Muslim. From the past they are deprived from their own citizenship, rights, education, home, jobs and even food. They have fled Myanmar to Bangladesh and looking asylum in some other neighboring countries. As far as India's concern, it came suddenly in limelight because government is planning to deport 40, 0000 Rohingyas settled in Jammu and Kashmir, Delhi and other state to Myanmar. Because of potential

Security threat and considering some additional things such as Economic burden, demographic misbalance, unemployment and over populated country like India has not directly offered shelter and asylum to these persecuted ethnic people. But it is comprehensible that if India would take any strong position in favor of Rohingyas can affect relations between two sides. India has been taking its steps very carefully. India is offering huge financial assistance and stuffs of basic necessities to Bangladesh on the Humanitarian ground and starting a “operation insanyat” and signed agreement with Bangladesh government. It has also appealed to Myanmar to take certain steps to finish the crisis.

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Gurmit Singh

(Signature)

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List of Abbreviations

Sr.No.	Full Forms	Abbreviations
1	Arkan Rohingya Salvation Army	ARSA
2	Association of South-East Asian Nations	ASEAN
3	Additional Solicitor General	ASG
4	Border Security Force	BSF
5	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation	BIMSTEC
6	Border Guard Police	BGP
7	Citizenship Scrutiny Card	CSC
8	General Administration Department	GAD
9	Harakah al-Yaqin	HAY
10	Harkat ul-Jihad al-Islami	HUJI
11	Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen	JMD
12	Lashkar-e-Taiba	LET
13	Medecins Sans Frontieres	MSF
14	Myanmar National Human Rights Commission	MNHRC
15	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	NATO
16	Non-Governmental Organization	NGO
17	National Democratic League	NDL
18	Rohingya Solidarity Organization	RSO
19	Sustainable Development Goals	SDG
20	Temporary Registration Card	TRC
21	United Nations	UN
22	United Nations Population Fund	UNFPA
23	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	UNHCR

Chapter 1

Introduction

Ethnic conflict is a conflict between two communities, religions, races or ethnic groups. The sources of ethnic conflict are the political, economic, social and religious. There are many theories to define the nature and causes of ethnic conflicts like as Primordialist, Instrumentalist or Constructivist. Constructivist theory of ethnic conflict is match with the Myanmar's ethnic conflict between Rohingya Muslims and Buddhist community. Rohingya crisis form the prospective of security of Myanmar and other South Asian countries is important. Because this crisis not security thread only for Myanmar also for other neighbor countries where Rohingya refugee take shelter. Rohingya Muslims have some terrorist groups like Arkan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) and also linked with other terrorist groups in other countries. That's by Rohingya Muslims involvement in terrorist activities thread for the security of states.

The Nation state of Myanmar is a post-colonial construction and the issue of national identity in multi-ethnic and multi-religious sitting has played an important role in state building. For Modern democratic Myanmar state from the multiple indigenous nations has not been easy task for the ruling elites to solve the tensions between the majority Bamars and the other ethnic groups especially on the issue of autonomy for those who held the protests against majority rule. The task is made more difficult by the ethnic rebellions. Event to prevent, manage and end the ethnic conflict by the Myanmar governments through constitutional arrangements, military suppressions and peace overtures failed to produce the satisfactory result until the present military regime decide to use a radical formula for peace-building. (Than)

Rohingya's issue is ethnic conflict which is recently happen in which Myanmar. Rohingya are belonging to Muslim community and they lived in the Rakhine province of Myanmar. According to some historians Rohingya

Muslims lived from the part of history 7th century. But according to Myanmar Government Rohingya's are mainly migrated people from India and Bangladesh from the time of colonialism. At that time Burma (Myanmar) was one part of India but in which 1 April 1937 Burma separated from India and make a separate state which is under the colonial rule. Burma got independence in 1948 after that Burma comes under the dominance of Buddhist people which are live there in majority. In which 1982 the law of citizenship passed by the government of Burma. According to that law they gave a citizenship to 135 ethnic group of Myanmar but they not give citizenship to the Rohingya Muslims. The government of Myanmar excluded them from the census of 2014. Government imposed some restriction over him like restrictions over education, employment, marriage, freedom of religion and movements etc.

There are so many issues of conflict occur between Myanmar government and Rohingya Muslims. In 1970, Government took crackdown against the Rohingya Muslims. After that in 1974s Emergency Immigration Act¹ and 1978s Operation Naga Min are all against the Rohingyas. 1991 under the government of National League for Democracy (NLD) party of Aung San Suu Kyi violence created by the military and hundreds of peoples fled from Myanmar killed and raped the women's. In 2011 when Myanmar under the military janta rule military taking action against the rape of Buddhist women by Rohinya Muslim persons and crackdown started by military. Thousands of Muslims fled from Rakhine and taking shelter is Bangladesh. In recent violence after the attack of Arkan Rohingya Salvation Army on army and police posts government announced the military crackdown against the Rohingya terrorists. In which this crackdown human rights violation, rape, mass murder, burn her homes and torture of peoples by army. The heavily populated villages burnt by the army. Horrific abuses have resulted in the displacement of nearly a half million ethnic Rohingya Muslims and the

¹ The Emergency Immigration Act of 1974 stripped the Rohingya of their national registration

burning of at least 150 villages. This violence according to the international community is genocide of Rohingyas. This is the wide spread crime against humanity.

India is one from the neighbor countries of Myanmar. After the crisis of 2012 and 2017 more than 40,000 Rohingyas come to India threw border and settled in India. They are living mainly in Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad, Delhi, Rajasthan and Utter Pradesh etc. After the crackdown of 2017 India silent over the issue but after some Home Ministry of India give a statement that Rohingyas are the illegal migrant in India and they deport soon. For the deporting of the Rohingya Muslims Indian government give a reasons like they are thread for the Indian security, India's largest population and unemployment are the main reasons behind this. There is so many questions raised related to Indian government policies and constitutional provisions. Some petitions also filed to stop deporting Rohingyas, but Indian government never wanted to compromise with country's security.

1.1 Review of Literature

For the study literature collected from online sources, Articles, books and news reports. Because of the recent issue not any book available related to conflict, but some books helps to makes understanding about the historical background of issue, most of the literature collected from articles and news reports. Review of Literature divided into three parts-

1.1.1 Ethnic conflicts theories and Security theory

Another work entitled "The Ethnic Security Dilemma and Ethnic Violence: An Alternative Empirical Model and its Explanatory Power" had written by Jiaying Xu (2012) in which author gave the definition of ethnic conflict and defined ethnic conflict theories. There are three theories related to ethnic conflict- Primordialist, Instrumentalist or Constructivist. With these theories we understand about the causes of the different types of ethnic conflict. He also mentioned that ethnic conflicts are effected the security of states. He used the

theory of security dilemma to understand the nature and impacts of ethnic conflicts.

1.1.2 Myanmar and Rohingya Crisis

Meenu Roy (2010) wrote a book entitled “India and her Sub-continent Neighbors” in which author had discussed about the Myanmar’s history, geography, culture and different ethnic and religious groups. Mainly, the study has explored the basic understanding about the different ethnic groups of Myanmar. The work has presented substantial amount of statistical data about the population of these ethnic and religious groups in Myanmar. Moreover, it has shed the light on the issue of ethnicity and situation of minority ethnic groups over there. But the work remained away from discussion on policies of Myanmar governments.

Kusuma Snitwonges & W.Scott Thompson (2005) in his book under the title “Ethnic conflicts In South Asia”. They describe that the ethnic conflict in which neighboring countries have had cross border impacts in the form of refugee, displaced persons, illegal migrant labor or drug and arms smuggling. Such that types of impacts broken down the relationship between two countries. In which the chapter on Myanmar they describe that the formation of the new state upon independence, only related to inter-ethnic goodwill and trust for the Bamar majority depends on the Aung San, who’s assassinated prior to independence. In which this book they also mentioned the geographical conditions, strength of ethnic groups with population and where different ethnic races dominated.

Saiful Islam (2015)“ Rohingya issue more economic than identity crisis or religious ”.

In which this article author discussed about the factor of the Rohingya crisis. Rohingya crisis is not only ethnic or religious crisis also a economic crisis. There are a number of principle players behind the Rohingya issue including government, political parties, civil societies, religious groups, ethnic

groups, and the international community and so on. Rakhine is one of the natural resourceful states of the country. Despite being resourceful it is one of the country's poorest areas. The nature of the anti-Muslim campaign in Rakhine state is for its resourcefulness. According to him if government wants to solve the problem has to take the initiative to economic sufficiency and equal justices in the respective region.

1.1.3 Rohingya Crisis and Indian Security

Numerous works have done on India and Myanmar relations. Furthermore, some studies have also carried out on India's security concern from the Rohingya's point of view. But, these studies didn't dig into details on the particular issue. Out of these, some prominent studies have been reviewed and discussed below:

Kumari Anupama (2017) wrote an article entitled "Rohingya crisis in Myanmar and India's concern" in which she primarily discussed about the India and Myanmar relationship. Furthermore, she discussed about India's relation and policies towards Myanmar. Because, it is recorded in the history that India and Myanmar had a long and rich historical relations. On the other side, Myanmar had remained strategically important for India's concern. So on such critical issue, India cannot compromise with country's security and safety. Because, India is already fighting with numerous problems like unemployment, population, terrorism etc and the penetration of Rohingya into India can deteriorate the situation more. Due to this, India is deporting Rohingyas to Myanmar.

Sampa Kundu (2017), "Rohingya crisis need a Regional Solution".

In this article she pointed out that to solve the Rohingya crisis there is a need to working on regional level because this crisis is problematic for the whole South Asian countries. According to her there is need to step together with the help of regional organizations to maintain a peace in reason.

1.2 Knowledge Gap

There is an ample literature available on India-Myanmar relations in the form journal-articles, news reports and few books. But, the recent Rohingya Muslims ethnic uprisings in Myanmar reinforced a debate on Indian-Myanmar relations around security/refugee-protection binary. Therefore, the study explores largely unexplored area which has been ignored under existing literature on Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis and Security challenges for India.

1.3 Objective

- To examine the Rohingya ethnic problem through theoretical Underpinnings
- To analyze the role of Myanmar's Government in Rohingya Crisis
- Critically examine the India's response to the problem from its security point of views.

1.4 Research Methodology

The study has adopted the descriptive and analytical methods to substantiate the arguments. For the completion of this study, primary as well as secondary sources have been discussed. Primary sources include the first-hand information such as the reports of NGOs, reports of UNHCR etc. Secondary sources include books, articles, news reports and research papers etc.

Chapter 2

Ethnic conflict and Security Dilemma: Theoretical understanding

Throughout the history, ethnic conflicts have been a component of international politics. Today, ethnic war continues to be the most common form of armed conflict around the world. In recent years for example, there have been so many ethnic conflict taken place including ethnic war in Somalia, conflict between Hutus and Tutsis communities in Rwanda and recently happen genocide in Myanmar are all ethnic conflicts.

2.1 Definition

Ethnic conflict is defined as any episode of sustained violent in which national, ethnic, religious and other communal minorities challenge governments to seek major changes in a status. (Nguyen)

Samuel Huntington (1993) states that, "conflict of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating civilizations." According to him global communication increased civilization consciousness makes the difference between civilization and ultimately causing a clash of civilization. In twentieth century conflict not occur based on any ideology of state or civilization, neither on economic power, but there existence is there because of the differences in cultures and religions between civilizations (Patirica, 2017).

The word "ethnic" has been derived from the Greek word "ethnos" has come into usage in the era of post-World War II period, ethnic world has been used differently by different scholars.² Still, most of the scholars defined ethnicity as a "groups in an exotic primitive culture".

Over the past decades, ethnic conflict has become the dominant form of mass political violence. After the end of the World War II overwhelming majority of civil wars were fought in the name of ethno-national autonomy or

² P.R. Rajeswari, "Ethnic Conflicts in South Asia: Cases of India And Sri Lanka".
<https://www.idsa-india.org/an-sep-9.html> (Accessed on 25/4/2018).

independence. As for the example during earlier waves of civil wars in whole world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as during the Balkan wars³ or the dissolution of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. Since the 1950s, the number of ethnic conflicts increased. The trend of the ethnic conflict reached a peak in last decade of twentieth century mainly in 1993-1994 after the end of cold war. In recent years the intransigence of ethno nationalist politics had led to catastrophe in Bosnia, the dissolution of the Soviet empire exploded a bushfire of separatist battles at its southern borders, Burundi finds no more respite than does Myanmar's hinterland or southern Sudan. Parallel to these events, the desire to understand and to contain these conflicts has grown over the past decades and especially after the end of the Cold War. After the end of Cold War governments of the world and international organizations came to regard them as a security problem of global proportions. Ethnic conflicts became a testing ground for a new morality of promoting peace, stability, and protection of human rights across the world. There are several policy approaches to prevent, to decreased the number or peaceful settlement of ethnic conflicts have been formulated during the past years, both by international organizations such as the UN, NATO, the Council of Europe, OSCE, Regional organizations and by national governments and various NGOs. These include, first, several options to prevent and increased the causes of conflict in the pre-conflict phase. A number of techniques including early-action, roundtable diplomacy, and permanent field missions, and the like now fill the arsenal of governments and multilateral institutions (Wimmer, 2004).

The phenomenon of ethnicity is an integral part of socio-political realities of multi-ethnic and racial states in whole world. Today's politics is

³ The Balkan Wars consisted of two conflicts that took place in the Balkan Peninsula in 1912 and 1913. These Balkan wars originated in the aspirations of the nationalist states of southeastern Europe; having previously achieved independence from the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century, these states wished to incorporate members of their nationalities remaining under Ottoman rule and thus achieve their maximum nationalist claims.(Hall,2014)

ethnicisation of politics and politicization of ethnic communities has become very common and have diffused mutual tolerance, and thereby speed up ethnic consciousness among various communities (Rajeswari). The processes of socio-economic changes, the ethnic dimensions for power structure, government's policies, strategies and other tactics that are adopted by various governments in response to the desires and ambition which are pressurized by the different ethnic groups provide a ground for a clear-cut understanding of ethnicity, and dimensions of ethnic conflict. The concept of ethnicity has become an important variable in the formation and reforms of the states.

In recent years, ethnic conflict has become the most collective form of violence in the world. It means violent conflict among the groups that are different from each other's had been on the basis of their religion, culture, physical features or language.

The root causes of ethnic conflicts had been in the policies that adopted since the colonial and post-colonial days. During the period of colonial rule, the empire-building was based on needs and required trans-border placement of ethnic groups. Even the geo-political boundaries were drawn in such a manner that ethnic groups left on both sides of the borders. This explained in which way internal ethnic turmoil passed through the border and received an international dimension. Ultimately what really happened was that the policies and decision of the governments that are run by majority elites made ethnic communities marginalized and politicized them, and they reacted against governments with demands for the equal rights, equal freedom to use resources, power and even territory, and hence virtual division. This is also happen with the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar which is the minority Muslim group lived in Arkan state. They are exploited by the other communities and also by government of Myanmar.

2.2 Theories of Ethnic Conflict

To more theoretical understand the ethnic conflict there is three schools of thoughts-Primordialist, Instrumentalist or Constructivist. (Xu)

2.2.1 Primordialist Theory

Primordialist thoughts opinion regarding to ethnicity as a collective identity deeply rooted in historical experience or biological traits. This school of thought believe that the number of people are growth in certain group, then form different various clans and ethnics later on. Basically, primordialists argued that human beings had usually been form in group with primordial characteristics that had given since they were born.

2.2.2 Instrumentalist Theory

They believe that identity or ethnic of someone can be change. For some reason such as political or economic reason or self-interest, they can change their identity or ethnic to get benefit. When someone has to choose their ethnic identity, they will choose which one choice had given more advantage. If the ethnicity of that group gives less advantage to him/her on economics or politics aspect, that person will choose other ethnic identity to gain the objective. They understand ethnicity as a tool used by individuals, groups, or elites to obtain some larger, typically material end. (Xu)

2.2.3 Constructivist Theory

The constructivist theory perceives ethnic identity as a socially constructed and fluid entity that can be formed through various means including conquest, colonization or immigration (Wimmer, 2008). Ethnic conflict, consequently, is the product of concrete historical processes and these influences in history affect relations between ethnic groups causing hostility between them thus

explaining the politicization of ethnic identities. They see ethnic identity as a social construction and thus each conflict has its special social origin.

Ethnic conflict in Myanmar sees from the point of view of constructivist theory. Then find out that causes of ethnic conflict which are defined in constructivist theory are having in Rohingya crisis. In Myanmar more than 135 ethnic groups are registered by the government. Rohingyas are not one from them. Rohingya Muslims have no citizenship right they are stateless peoples. Myanmar is under the government of majority Buddhist peoples. Rohingyas are one of the minority peoples which lived mainly in Arkan (Rakhine) State of Myanmar. Rohingyas are discriminated by the Myanmar government and by Buddhist communities. According to the international community Rohingya Muslims are the world's most prosecuted minority.

There are major root causes of conflicts in South Asian countries have been their colonial legacies and unsettled processes of post-independence nation and state building. Three sets of colonial legacies having considerable conflict potential were- (i) the creation of unnatural and absurd state systems, (ii) unresolved boundaries of these states and (iii) undefined status of a diversity of its ethnic and religious minorities and social groups (Muni).

In Myanmar diversity in ethnic and religious groups a one reason of violence of Rohingya Muslims. Minority population always discriminated by the majority. Difference based on population between minority and majority groups one cause of conflict and the behavior of government toward Rohingyas making more serious situation for concern.

2.3 Ethnic Conflict and Security Theory

Ethnic conflicts are dangerous for the internal security of state and it is also problematic for other neighbor states. Recent studies have proven that the theoretical frame of the security dilemma is useful when thinking about ethnic conflicts at the intrastate level. The application of the security dilemma was

first popularized by Barry Posen⁴. Posen articulates some interesting parallels between an international system and ethnic relations within a state from a realist's perspective. First, the collapse of imperial regimes produces the problem of "emerging anarchy." Second, ethnic groups behave as if they are states without the assurance of their security by the state and thus "the security dilemma affects the relations among these groups, just as it affects relations among states" (roe). Societal security, a dimension of state security that by itself can be a referent object, is viewed as very important for ethnic minorities. From the era of cold war ethnic conflict are presented as a thread for the security of world.

Societal security broadly captures traits relating to the preservation of group identity, including language, customs, and religious practices. One should notice that the security dilemma theory is mostly used to explain large-scale ethnic conflicts that ultimately result in civil wars or ethnic cleansings. Myanmar crisis from the security prospective Rohingya crisis is not thread only for internal security but also thread for neighbor countries like Bangladesh, India, and Thailand etc. Indian government also announced to depot Rohingya refugees from India because of Security of Country. They never want to compromise with security of state and civilians. There is always so many terrorist groups actively work that's by they never want to create more problems for state. Arkan Rohingya Salvation Army is one terrorist group which fights for the Rohingya peoples and this group linked with other terrorist groups which are active in Pakistan and in India. Today, terrorism is serious thread for the whole world's security. This is the reason by Rohingya crisis taking a serious topic of concern for India, Bangladesh and other South Asian Countries.

⁴ Barry Ross Posen (born July 13, 1952) An expert in the field of security studies. (Andrew L. Ross)

Chapter 3

Myanmar and Rohingya Crisis: An Overview

Myanmar was formerly known as Burma, which was part of India from the time of the colonial rule. Myanmar is considered a natural land bridge between South and South-East Asian regions. Myanmar having a land area of over 656,508 square kilometers and second largest country (after Indonesia) of the ten states of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which it joined in July 1997. Myanmar has a 1930 kilometer long coastline and shares land borders with five neighbors. All seven ethnically designated states of Myanmar are contiguous with these land borders.

Table: 3.1 Myanmar's Land Borders

Sr.no	Bordering Nations	Distance
1	China (North and Northeast)	2192 Km
2	India (North-West)	1331 Km
3	Bangladesh (West)	256 Km
4	Thailand (East and Southeast)	2096 Km
5	Laos(East)	224 Km

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_of_Myanmar

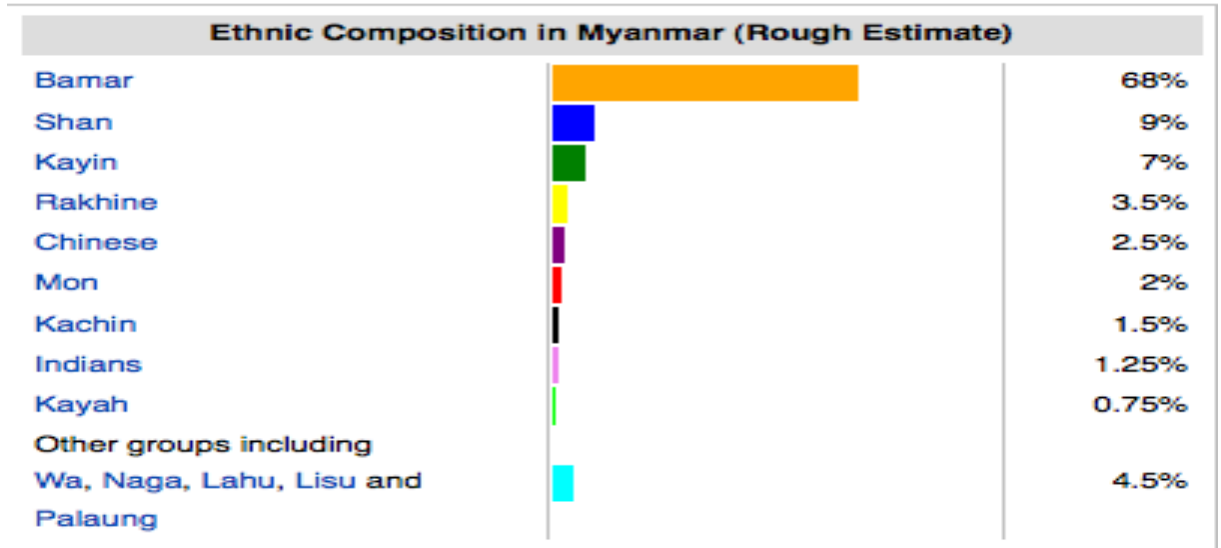
3.1 Population

According to the census in 2014, the Population of Myanmar is 60.98 million. Out of this, 51.8 are present females and 48.2 are present males. Sex ratio in Myanmar is 93 male from every 100 females. (Report)

3.2 Officially Designated Ethnic groups in Myanmar

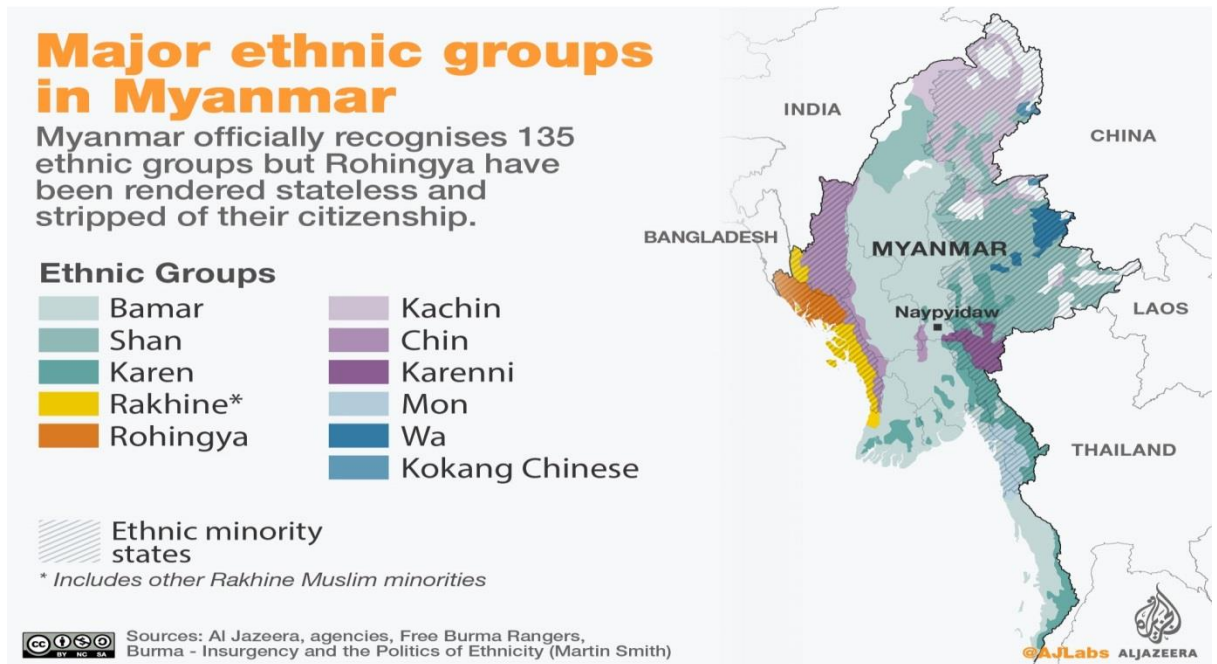
Myanmar is a home of huge ethnic diversity. According to 2014 census, Myanmar has 135 ethnic groups. These ethnic groups lived in seven states of Myanmar. Bamar is ethnic group which is related to the Buddhist religion is most populated ethnic group. In seven states different groups dominated. In these groups Rohingya Muslims ethnic group not mentioned in 2014's census.

Graph 3.1



Source: <https://www.oxfordburmaalliance.org/ethnic-groups.html>

Map 3.1



Source: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2017/09/rohingya-crisis-explained-maps-170910140906580.html>

3.3 Religion's composition of Myanmar

Myanmar has a home of many religions. Religious intolerance or discrimination on grounds of religion is nonexistent in the Union of Myanmar throughout its long history.

Table: 3.2 Religious Composition of Myanmar

Sr.no	Main Religion's	Percentage
1	Buddhism	89.2%
2	Christianity	5.0%
3	Islam	3.8%
4	Animist	0.8%
5	Hinduism	0.5%
6	Others	0.2%

Source: Burma Demographics Profile 2018

Historically, India and Myanmar had a common colonial past. Till in 1937 Myanmar was a part of India and on 1 April 1937, Myanmar was separated from India and making a separate state. After that Myanmar under the British rule and become independent in 4 January 1948. Inspired by the Indian freedom movement, Myanmar's leaders led their national movement on Indian lines to secure independence in 1948 (Roy).

Myanmar is a state with the diversity in culture, languages, religion etc. In Myanmar there are 135 ethnic groups but other than this there is one more group which is not mentioned in these groups is Rohingya Muslim. Rohingya Muslims are not officially recognized group that's by they are deprived from the right of citizenship. From the history, after the independence they have no rights, so many restrictions of there and they feel stateless peoples. In recent years there is so many acts of aggression and violence against Rohingya Muslims are recorded. After discussed about

Myanmar there is necessary to putting light on the main crisis so let's to know who Rohingya Muslims are and what is the issue of Rohingya crisis.

3.4 Rakhine State of Myanmar

Before coming to the Rohingya's crisis, it is very important to know about the Rakhine state of Myanmar. Rakhine is fertile, relatively well-endowed with natural resources, and strategically located. Yet, its economy is marked by stagnation, underinvestment and under-development. The state's poverty rate is 78 percent, almost double the national rate of 37.54 percent, which makes it one of the poorest parts of the country. All communities in Rakhine suffer from poverty, poor social services and a scarcity of livelihood opportunities. The bulk of the Rakhine economy is made up of farmers, fishermen, and family-run business and wages in the agricultural sector are low. Reasons behind the undeveloped area of Rakhine is the policies of government toward the peoples of state Because of there is majority of Rohingya Muslims.

3.5 Revisiting Rohingya's Origin

Rohingya are an ethnic group of Muslims peoples, who mainly lived in the western Myanmar province of Rakhine. They are different from Myanmar's dominant Buddhist groups religiously, ethnically and linguistically. They have their language and culture and say they are descendants of Arab traders and other groups who have been in the region for generations. They speak a dialect of Bengali, which is usually opposed to the majority spoken Burmese language. There are eight major ethnic groups in Myanmar- Bamar, Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Mon, Rakhine and Shan states and 135 ethnic groups which are recognized by government of Myanmar. Rohingya is not listed in which these groups. Rohingya Muslims population mainly lived in Rakhine state. These different ethnic groups dominant in different states of Myanmar like as the Bamar account for around (68%)of the population, followed by the Shan (10%), Kayin (7%), Rakhine (4%) and overseas Chinese (3%). Ethnic

minorities in the country prefer to be called ethnic nationalities to fight against the proliferation of the dominant Bamar people.

3.6 Historical Genesis of Rohingya Muslims

There is different type of thoughts related to the origin of Rohingya's in Myanmar. According to some historians and also Rohingya groups, they settle in this region from 7th century to 15th century when thousands of Muslims came to the former Arakan Kingdom. As researchers and activists have pointed out time and again, the first written reference about the Rohingyas of the Arakan appears in 1799 in Francis Buchanan's A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire. Penny Green in an article also mentions research from Australian National University that has dated stone monuments of the Rohingya community in Arakan back to the 8th century (Chakraborty). The Arakan Rohingya National Organisation said, "Rohingyas have been living in Arakan from time immemorial," referring to the area now known as Rakhine. In which 1784 the King Bodawpaya from Burman community conquered Arakan and after that thousands of refugees fled to Bengal. After that near the 1790 town under the name Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh established by Hiram Cox, which is a British diplomat. He sent assist for refugees, in this town many Rohingya still live today.

Many other Rohingyas arrived during the 19th and 20th century from the different Parts of today's India and Bangladesh. At that time Myanmar is also one province of India. During the 100 years rule of British there was significant number of migrate labor took place. Migration of laborers was considered negatively by the native majority population. In 1942 Japan attacked over British in Burma and pushed him out. After that under the control of Japanese Burmese nationalists attacked over Muslims communities who thought that they benefited from state in colonial rule.

In which 1945 Britain with the help of Burmese nationalists led by Aung San and Rohingya fighters they liberated Burma from Japanese occupation. Rohingyas believed that British didn't fulfill a promise of autonomy for Arakan. In 1948 after the independence of Burma tension between majority government and Rohingya Muslims. Rohingyas wanted to join with Muslim majority Pakistan but, Pakistan rejected him.

The government of Burma took action against Rohingyas and removed Rohingyas from civil services. Some Rohingya resisted the government, led by armed groups called Mujahids. The insurgency gradually died down. In which 1962 under the military rule General Ne Win and his Burma Socialist Programme Party seized power and took a hard line against the Rohingya (Al-Mahmood). In 1977 Operation Nagamin or Dragon King⁵ launched, aim of the operation is to screening the population for foreigners. After that near about 2,00000 Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh and amid allegation on army for the abuse but, army refuge any wrongdoing. In 1978, Bangladesh returned a UN for returning refugees. The agreement was signed with Boram, under which most Rohingya came back. A new immigration law in 1982 redefined that people who migrated during British rule as illegal immigrants. The government applied this to all Rohingya Muslims and used the word illegal migrant for them.

3.7 Legal Status of the Rohingya

After the partition of Myanmar from India and his independence from colonial rule the government of Myanmar refused to grant the Rohingya citizenship and make them stateless. In 1962 under the military coup rule, situation changed for the Rohingyas. Government announced all citizens were mandatory to obtain national registration cards. Government not gives same identity cards to Rohingya Muslims as they given to other communities,

⁵ Operation Dragon King, known officially as Operation Nagamin was a military operation carried out by the Tatmadaw and immigration officials in northern Arakan, Burma , during the socialist rule of General Ne Win. That time innumerable Rohingya men, women and children have been subjected to massacres and eviction (Rights).

government only issued foreign identity cards. Foreign identity cards limited the jobs and educational opportunities that Rohingyas could pursue. Although they are living in the South East Asian countries for generations, but Myanmar considers them as peoples who migrated as a labor to their land during the Colonial rule. That's by government has not granted full citizenship to Rohingyas. According the 1982 Burmese citizenship law, only those Rohingyas are eligible for citizenship, if he/she provides proof that his/her ancestors have lived in the country before 1823. Under this law three categories of citizenship characterized by government – full citizens, associated citizens and natural citizens. Chris Lewa pointed out that this law was designed by government specifically to deprive citizenship to those of South Asian and Chinese origins (Lewa) (Chakraborty). But the government of Myanmar which is ruled by Buddhist majority denies the Rohingya citizenship rights and excluded them from the census in 2014, refusing to recognize them as peoples of the state and as a result they do not have any legal documentation, effectively creating them stateless peoples. It sees them as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh.

3.8 Restriction over Rohingya Muslims

Almost of the Rohingya lived in Myanmar's western coastal state of Rakhine. Rohingya are not allowed to leave without government permission. Because of the governments discriminated policies Rakhine is one the poorest states in the country, they lived in camps with the lack of basic structures, services and opportunities. Myanmar government has imposed restriction on education, marriage and family planning, employment and opportunities for jobs, religious choice and freedom of movement. If Rohingya Muslim wants to shift in new home and wanted to travel outside from their township they are not allowed to go without the approval of the government. Their movements are also limited within the Rakhine state. Rohingyas have no right to vote, and even if they advance the citizenship test, they must identify as

"naturalized" as opposed to Rohingyas, and limits are placed on them entering certain professions such as medicine, law or running for office.

3.9 Issue of Crisis from Past to Present

Rohingya Muslims are identified as the unwanted migrants coming from the neighbor countries during the colonial rule. Since the beginning of the 1940s, the Muslim-Buddhist conflict in Arakan state of Myanmar turned violent (Chambers, 2015). With the end of the World War II, struggle against colonial rule by Burmese liberation gained impetus with the Rakhine State as a major geographical flashpoint. The fact that the Rakhine State become a idol front in the 'great war' which acted as a catalyst between the Muslim and Buddhist part of the population that resulted in the formation of armed units along the religious-ethnic lines.

During the World War II, that area was occupied by the Imperial Japanese Army. Because of this, this battle became more effective. During the period between 1942 and 1945 by siding with the Arakan Buddhists, the Japanese started a safe hitting against the Rohingya peoples, killing many of them and pushing others out of the country. In contrast, Muslim Rohingya fought with the British not only against the Japanese and their local Arakan allies but they also conducted several massacres against Buddhists (Mirco Kreibich). The experience of Rohingya who supporting the British colonial rule followed by the tremendous inhumanities formed a painful among many Buddhists of the Muslim population areas as being 'Anti-Buddhist' as well as anti-national. After the end of World War II with the defeat of the Japanese, the granting of independence from colonial rule and the formation of a new government by the Buddhist majority, determined a decisive factor in various ways. Notable memory not only led to the understanding and implementation of new decision makers or government communal policies, but it also became an obstacle to the concept of development of anti-Muslim Muslims within the Buddhist society. Furthermore, this created an atmosphere which proved to

be beneficial for the emergence of a strong Buddhist fundamentalist movement.

After the independence in 1948, the Rohingyas had started an armed insurgency movement and demanded an independent Muslim State in Myanmar (Chakraborty). In this way they were supported by the military regime in the neighboring Bangladesh.⁶

The General Ne Win's Military government in 1962 was a time to changing for all ethnic minorities which are fighting against government for their rights. Since the 1970s, against Rohingyas a number of crackdowns in Rakhine State taking place. In these crackdowns they forced thousands of Rohingyas to flee to neighboring Bangladesh, as well as Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and other Southeast Asian countries.

The 1974's Emergency Immigration Act deprived Rohingyas from their citizenship right and gives him only foreign registration cards rather than national registration certificates. In 1978, government launched the Operation Naga Min in which unleashed a reign of terror on the Rohingyas.

In which 1989 government launched a Citizenship Scrutiny Cards (CSCs) with the color codes, pink cards for full citizens, green for the naturalized citizens and blue card for associated citizens. The Rohingya not issued with any cards. In 1995, under the pressure of UNHCR's Burmese government started issuing them with a Temporary Registration Card (TRC), a white card, pursuant to the 1949 Residents of Burma Registration act. The TRC does not mention the bearer's place of birth and cannot be used to claim citizenship.

In 1990 Operation Pyi Thaya⁷(prosperous country) was launched and the persecution of Rohingyas led to a second wave of out-migration to

⁶ <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/neighbours/story/rohingya-muslims-rakhine-myanmar-bordering-bangladesh>.

⁷Operation Clean and Beautiful Nation, officially known as Operation Pyi Thaya, was a military operation conducted by the Tatmadaw (Myanmar Armed Forces) in northern Rakhine State. In 1991,

Bangladesh. In 1991, More than 250,000 Rohingya refugees fled. According to army they were trying to bring order to Rakhine. Around the 230,000 Rohingya returned to Arakan in between 1992 to 1997, under another repatriation agreement. In 2011, Myanmar under the rule by the military junta and at that time violence against Muslims has continued over the years. The number of Rohingya refugees increased in Bangladesh, Since violence between Muslim Rohingya and Rakhine Buddhists in neighboring Arakan State in Myanmar erupted in June 2012. In this violence more than 140,000 internally displaced peoples attempt to flee across the border. A month later after this violence, President Thein Sein called for “illegal” Rohingya to be sent to “third countries”. Despite the government’s claim that it had taken the necessary measures to prevent the recurring violence, violent conflict broke out again on 21 October (Majumder).

After 2012 riots in Arakan state, the mass exodus of Rohingya in Myanmar was the most recent episode of decades of violence, persecution and forced migration. During such crackdowns thousands of Rohingya have fled to neighboring countries either by land or boat over the course of many decades, refugees have often reported rape, torture, burning and murder by Myanmar security forces. After the political reforms in 2011 things were changed little bit for the Rohingyas after that ultimately led to the first general elections in 2015, under the President Htin Kyaw democratic government has been unwilling to grant citizenship. Another round of violence broke out in October, due to which the government forcefully send around a million Rohingyas to refugee camps. Thousands of Rohingyas fled from their homes and taking shelter as refugee in neighboring Bangladesh, and other Muslim-majority nation. Some of them sought asylum in South East Asian nations of Thailand, The Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia. This ethnic conflict started up as religious violence spreading to the other states of Myanmar. It was finally contained after military intervention in 2013. In April 2013, Myanmar

was launched with the same purpose, resulting in further violence and another massive flow of 200,000 Rohingya refugees into Bangladesh (Ahmed).

government and Buddhist community was leading a campaign of ethnic cleansing against Rohingyas. But, government has consistently denied such allegations.

UN official accused the government of carrying out ethnic cleansing of the Rohingyas. This was not the first time when such allegations were made.

Muslim militants in Myanmar conduct coordinated attacks on 30 police posts and army base in Rakhine state on August 25, 2017. The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA), a group also known as Harakah al-Yaqin⁸, which instigated the October attacks, claimed responsibility for the attacks. In the counter attacks launched by Army at least 59 of the militants and 12 security personnel were killed. The government reported that the militants killed 11 security force personnel during the attacks. The militants attacked the headquarters of the Western Command's Light Infantry Battalion 552 in Taung Bazar, about 10 kilometers north of Maung Nu. The government said that at least 10 militants were killed. One of the post attacks occurred early that morning close to the market in Hpaung Taw Pyin, just north of Maung Nu, when ARSA militants attacked a checkpoint manned by the Border Guard Police (BGP).

During the security crackdown by government troops were accused of human rights abuses including extrajudicial killing, rape and arson in villages were Rohingyas lived. But government troops denied these allegations. Aung San Suu Kyi's government denied the atrocities. According to the residents and activists, troops firing indiscriminately over unarmed Rohingya peoples. The government said that nearly 100 people were killed after armed men from the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) attacked on police outposts in the region. In February 2018, the Associated Press released a video in which they say this is the site of a massacre and there are five unknown mass graves of Rohingya in Myanmar. The UN's special rapporteur

⁸ The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) also known by its former name Harakah al-Yaqin is a Rohingya insurgent group active in northern Rakhine State, Myanmar activated from 2012.

to Myanmar said that violence against the Rohingya Muslims bears the hallmarks of genocide.

Since the violence erupted, some groups have documented fires burning in at least 10 areas of Myanmar's Rakhine State. According to the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), more than 5 lakh people have fled from violence, whereas thousands of people have been trapped between the two countries. The United Nations has also said that hundreds of civilians trying to enter Bangladesh have been pushed back by the Bangladesh army. Many have been taken into custody and forcibly returned to Myanmar.

After these violence's there is a huge number of Rohingya Muslims who fled from Myanmar - Since the late 1970s, nearly 1 million Rohingya have fled Myanmar due to government's widespread persecution. The Rakhine State was placed under the authority of Nasaka, a Burmese border guard force founded in 1992 and composed of around 1200 soldiers, police, intelligence, and other security officials. Many of the Nasaka members got recruited among the local Rakhine Buddhists, promoting a strong anti-Rohingya stand within this paramilitary border force (Wolf). Soon after formation, the Nasaka was known for being responsible for communal violence and an institutional of corruption and responsible for abusive practices against Muslims in the Rakhine State. In 2012 under the operation 'clean and beautiful nation' more than 168,000 Rohingya have fled from Myanmar. In view of increasing international criticism of the Nasaka's activities in the Rakhine State towards the Rohingya Muslims, on 12 July 2013, the Nasaka were disbanded by newly elected civilian government. However, in September they were replaced with a new, equally brutal organization named 'MaKhaPha', which can loosely be translated as 'Illegal Immigration Prevention Group' (Wolf). Many of the former members of Nasaka can be find within the rank and files of 'MaKhaPha', which are following the old anti-Muslim mindset and practices. Later, one must state that the policy of the use of violence against the rioting by the military rule of

Myanmar is continued by the next civilian governments. According to the International Organization for Migration, after last year's violence, more than 87,000 Rohingya fled from October 2016 to July 2017. Many Rohingyas have put their lives in danger for going to Malaysia in the Gulf of Bengal and Andaman sea boat. Between 2012 and 2015, 112,000 people made a dangerous journey. Prior to the violence launched in August 2017, the United Nations estimated that 420,000 Rohingya refugees in Southeast Asia. In Addition, it said there were around 120,000 internally displaced Rohingya. Since the violence start in Myanmar's northwest, more than 500,000 Rohingya have fled to Bangladesh. It reported that more than 1,000 people, mostly from Rohingya community, may have been killed in Myanmar.

When Myanmar soldiers and Buddhist mob attacked villages, burned villages and killed civilians coming to a district cox-bazaar area in Bangladesh. At least 6,700 Rohingya, including at least near 730 children under the age of five, were killed within the month after the violence broke out, according to Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF).

According to the Amnesty International, Myanmar military also raped and sexually abused Rohingya women and girls. The government, which has a death toll of 400, claims that "clearance operations" were set against the militants ended on September 5, but BBC journalists have seen evidence that they continue even after that date. According to an analysis of satellite imagery by Human Rights Watch, 288 villages in the northern territories after August 2017 were incomplete or completely destroyed (BBC).

Not only those who had recently fled from Burmese military campaign of ethnic cleansing, but Rohingyas those who have fled previous government crackdowns, were either directly forced to leave their homes within killings and other assaults and destruction of their property.

Things turned ugly in January, when Rakhine nationalist commemorations to mark the 233-year anniversary of the fall of the Arakan

kingdom to Burmese invaders in the Rakhine heartland town of Mrauk U ended in violence. After demonstrators tried to seize the local General Administration Department building (GAD) in Mrauk U, the security forces responded by shooting dead seven ethnic Rakhine protesters. The incident highlighted the historical conflicts between the 2 million-strong Rakhine ethnic group and Myanmar's armed forces, even if they sometimes cooperate as well. With ethnic tensions in the state sent through the roof in the aftermath of the massacre, Mrauk U's former town administrator was later murdered and his body left to be discovered by the side of a road.

Myanmar's security forces are exploiting the late August events to push the Rohingya out of the region. The majority Buddhist community of the Rakhine region considers the Muslim minority as a security threat.

The emergence of Buddhist fundamentalism in Myanmar finds its expression predominantly in the so-called '969 movement' (Wolf). The three digits are supposed to symbolize the virtues of Buddha, Buddhist practices, and the Buddhist community. All three elements determine key elements in the process of collective identity constructions to promote the unity of Buddhists in Myanmar. The strengthening of this unity is essential for the survival of Buddhism in Myanmar which is increasingly challenged by the Islam religion. The latter one is clearly identified by the 969 movement and its proponents as 'the enemy' which should be vanquished (Marshall). The 'MaBaTha', along with the 969 movement, is an organization for the protection of caste and religion, which is a very fundamentalist and nationalist organization under the leadership of a very fundamentalist saint Ashin Withathu, who is one of the most decisive religious people in contemporary Myanmar and, as stressed by Hannah Beech from the Time Magazine (2013, July 1), she is also referred to as 'the Face of Buddhist Terror'. (Bagchi)

3.10 Myanmar Government's Response on Rohingya Crisis

To address the Rohingya crisis, the Myanmar government and its de-facto leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, ⁹have taken a few steps. In September 2016, Suu Kyi appointed an advisory commission, comprised of six members from Myanmar and three international members, led by former Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, to investigate the situation in Rakhine State. However, the commission was not mandated to investigate individual or specific cases of alleged human rights abuses. A few hours before the ARSA led attack in Rakhine State on August 25, the commission released its final report recommending the government to 'review' the 1982 citizenship law, ensure 'freedom of movement for all people of Rakhine State mainly for Rohingyas ', ensure access to education and health care services, adopt a 'holistic anti-drug' approach, ensure representation of the 'underrepresented groups', strengthen 'inter-communal cohesion', train the Myanmar military to deal with the humanitarian crisis and 'monitor their performances' in conflict areas, amongst other things.

However, it seems that Myanmar may take several more years to even begin to discuss the possibility of granting citizenship to the Rohingyas. In most speeches and documents delivered by government leaders and officials, the Rohingyas are referred to as Bengalis who have migrated from Bangladesh. Hence, one way of handling the situation might be considering aspects of citizenships to the Rohingyas who are living in Myanmar for centuries now.

⁹ Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is the leader of National League of Democracy party in Myanmar, diplomat and Noble prize laureate. From 2012 to 2016 she was an MP for Kawhmu Township to the House of Representatives.

Chapter 4

Rohingya Crisis: India's Security Perspectives

Rohingya crisis emerges on the land of Myanmar but its impact has been seen in international relations mainly in neighbor countries of Myanmar like India, Bangladesh, Thailand and Indonesia etc. In this chapter study pointed out the Rohingya crisis and problem of Rohingya refugees in India taking a serious concern from the security perspective.

4.1 Strategic Relationship between India and Myanmar

India and Myanmar have good strategic relations with each other. Myanmar is also an ASEAN country that shares a land border with India. Cordial relations with Myanmar have both, security and economic implications for India. India has adopted a pragmatic and practical approach when it comes to its relationship with the Myanmar government and all stake holders, involved in the safeguarding of peace and continuing progress in Myanmar. India and Myanmar's relationship officially got underway after the Treaty of Friendship was signed in 1951, after which the foundation for a more meaningful relationship was established during Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit in 1987. Bilateral ties received another significant boost when the two countries signed a trade agreement in 1994. During Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's state visit in 2012, many new initiatives were announced and around a dozen MOUs were signed, along with a line of credit for \$500 million. Many Indian companies made significant economic and trade agreements in infrastructure and other areas. Some of the major projects taken up by India include the resurfacing and upgrading of the 160 km Tamu-Kalewa-Kalemyo road and the Kaladan project that will connect Kolkata Port with Sittwe Port in Myanmar which is still in progress.

Apart from affecting upon Myanmar's internal security, the Rohingya crisis is also posing a security challenge to the South and Southeast Asia. Rohingya crisis is a thread for the Myanmar's neighboring countries like India, Bangladesh, Thailand and Malaysia etc. In South Asia most of the countries

heavily populated and also have some security problems like terrorism. In South Asian region terrorist activities thread for the internal and external security. India played a role of big brother country in South Asia. India's response to the Rohingya issue is calibrated on an understanding of the history and complexities of Myanmar politics of ethnicity and legitimacy. Indian government has to balance between its security concerns and moralism on humanitarian issues.

4.2 Rohingya Refugees in India

In India from the history Rohingya refugees come and taking a shelter. According to the Ministry of Home Affairs report entitled there are approximately 40,000 Rohingyas living in India including 15,000 who are registered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (Kazmi). They are mainly living in New Delhi, Jammu, Hyderabad and some parts of Haryana. They are reached India through the land route from Bangladesh over the years. Kiren Rijju, Minister of State Home Affairs, recently informed the parliament that all the Rohingyas in India were “illegal immigrants” and they will be deported from India soon, many have surprised the Indian record of accepting refugees. Without mentioning Rohingyas, the Home Ministry said in a state consultation that besides the burden on the limited resources of the country along with infiltration from Myanmar state of Myanmar, security challenges have increased in the country.

Rohingya Muslims coming India threw Bangladesh and there is some reasons why they want to sit in India. These reasons are-

- India has a good picture as a safe country by living a peaceful life.
- Good opportunity of work.
- There is no restriction over movement.
- Indian government helps refugees.
- They know that in India already some Rohingya peoples lived.

In Supreme Court case is pending with the petitioner requesting to the Union government to stop with its deportation plans. The Supreme Court has asked union government to make a balance between humanitarian concern for Rohingya community staying in India and country's economic and national security interests. The apex court unlined that both executive and judicial cannot be totally unaware to condition of women and children among Rohingya refugees and said that crisis has thrown up an extraordinary situation. With this the status quo held by government continues even though the court gave the community liberty to approach it in case of any contingency.

The Supreme Court was hearing on petition filed by two Rohingya Muslim refugees for protection of the life and liberty of their community challenging union government's move to deport them from country. Petitioners in their plea had mentioned government's move violated constitutional guarantee that India state should protect the life and liberty of every human being, whether citizen of India or not. As per petition government proposed deportation is contrary to Indian constitutional protection guaranteed under Article 14 (equality), Article 21(right to life) and Article 51(c) (respect for international law and treaty obligation) of the Constitution.

On January 21, 2018, the Supreme Court asked the Center to respond to a fresh petition by two Rohingya refugees, who were accused that BSF was using "pepper and stent grenades" to prevent refugees from entering India. A Bench headed by Chief Justice Deepak Mishra gave the Central Government four weeks' time to respond to the application for intervention by two Rohingya refugees, which had alleged that the Border Security Force (BSF) had introduced new refugees to children, disabled Forcibly prevented persons and pregnant women, from entering Indian passes. Two refugees first approached the High Court against the government's decision to deport Myanmar's Rohingya Muslims. The Bench, in which Justice A. M. Khanwilkar

and D.Y. Chandrachud also said that the lawyer has filed a sensitive application for writ petition writers. Additional Solicitor General (ASG) Tushar Mehta, appearing for Union of India, has been told on the prosecutor's behalf. The ASG will respond to this application within four weeks. List matters on March 7.

4.3 Bali Declaration: India's Concern

India has refused to be a part of Bali Declaration held on 7 September, 2017 in Bali (Indonesia). Bali Declaration adopted a conclusion of world Parliamentary forum on Sustainable Development and to show of solidarity with Myanmar. It was not adopted because it carried "inappropriate" reference to violence in Rakhine State from where 1,25,000 rohingya have fled to Bangladesh and was not in line with agreed global principle of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The part of the declaration to which India objected spoke of the forum expressing "deep concern on the ongoing violence in the Rakhine State of Myanmar, amongst others."

In this declaration they calls all parties to contribute in stability and security exercise maximum self-restraint from using violent means. To respect the human rights of all people in Rakhine State regardless of their faith and ethnicity and facilitate safe access for humanitarian assistance.

India objected part of declaration highlighting deep concern on going violence in Rakhine State of Myanmar. India repeated its stand that purpose of convening Parliamentary forum was to arrive at mutual consensus for implementation of SDGs which required inclusive and broad based development processes. Therefore proposed reference to violence in Rakhine in declaration was considered as unsuitable and not consensus based. Moreover, country specific amendment to declaration added at the eleventh hour by selective countries dilute the objective of these Forums which require unity and focused.

There is some question raised related to the deportation of Rohingya Muslims refugees. Indian is a country which is always sensitive toward refugee problems. In past years India helped refugees like Tibetans, Muslims from Afghanistan, Christians and Hindus from Pakistan. After the violence of 2012 India's external Affairs Minister visit to Rakhine state and donate 1 million dollar for relief. Then why India's behavior changed for Rohingya Refugees. Indian Home Ministry taking a point of security thread.

India is trying to keep away from the Rohingya issue reasons behind this are-

- India considers the Rohingya crisis as an internal matter of Myanmar.
- India does not want a conflict of interests with the new regime in Myanmar-Myanmar has a key role in India's Look East Policy.
- Indian believes that ASEAN has an undeniable responsibility to resolve this crisis.
- According to them Rohingyas are threat for Indian security and India also have some other problems related to terrorism, over population, unemployment etc. India not is position to give permission to 40,000 Rohingyas to settle in country.
- Existence of Rohingya terrorist groups and links with other terrorist group.
- The Rohingyas are indulging in illegal/anti-national activities i.e. mobilisation of funds through hundi/hawala channels, procuring fake/fabricated Indian identity documents such as PAN and voter ID cards for other Rohingyas and also indulging in human trafficking.

4.4 Rohingya Terrorist Groups

After Burma's independence, Burma is coming under the rule of majority Buddhist peoples. At that time Muslim 'Mujahideen' group emerged in Arakan State demanding equal rights and a separate Islamic area. Although, this rebellion was not going long but, it gave birth to several armed rebel groups in subsequent decades. One of the more prominent of such groups was the

Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO), which was active in the 1980s. More recently, the Harakat al-Yakin (HaY), later renamed as Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) came into prominence with the October 2016 attack on government establishments that led to the death of nine police persons. HaY was set up in 2015 by Attullah Abu Ammar Jununi, a Pakistani national trained in Saudi Arabia. ARSA is still a small group and mostly depends on money earned from drug trafficking and training and support from a few Rohingya immigrants who are settled in Saudi Arabia. The ARSA's aim is to 'defend, salvage and protect' the Rohingyas who are facing oppression by the state for decades. ARSA believes that it is working for 'self-defence' of Rohingyas. While the Rohingya rebels have indulged in violence, it needs to be noted that there are other Muslims, both in Rakhine state and elsewhere in Myanmar, who do not indulge in militancy.

4.5 India's Security Concern

After the independence not only in India is all over South Asian reason terrorism is a serious thread for the security and stabilities of government. Rise of terrorist groups and cross border terrorist activities in South Asian region increased in last years. Funding of terrorist groups and links between two or more terrorist groups is more serious matter for all. This is the main point why India taking a decision of deportation of Rohingya Refugees. There are some Rohingya terrorist groups which work for the rights of Rohingya Peoples. India too fears a jihadi nexus. According to the intelligence services of India there is close links between the ARSA, Bangladesh's Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen (JMB) and the Indian Mujahideen, all apparently backed by Pakistan's Lashkar-e-Taiba a terrorist group which is active in Pakistan and involved in the 2008 terror strike on Mumbai. Lashkar-e-Taiba is taking a responsibility of so many activities in Kashmir.

India, through its intelligence agencies and embassy in Rakhine's capital Sittwe, has long been keeping tabs on the influence of foreign Islamist radical groups on the Rohingyas, and warned Myanmar of possible attacks by

the ARSA prior to the August incident. In February, India had also warned of an increased presence of Pakistan-based and funded terror organizations like ISI and Lashkar-e-Taiba, seeking to exploit Rohingya resentments. Also the influence of Bangladeshi radical organizations such as the Jamaat-e-Islami initially, and then its youth wing, the Islamic Chatra Shabir, within the refugee camps is causing alarm in both Dhaka and New Delhi. Even organizations such as the Rohingya Students Organisation (RSO) were known to have links with other terrorist groups such as the Harkat ul-Jihad al-Islami (HuJI) along with Hizb-e-Islami of Afghanistan and the Hizbul Mujahideen. On India's decision to deport 40,000 Rohingya refugees, the government, in its affidavit to the Supreme Court, said that some of the Rohingyas with militant background were found to be very active in Jammu, Delhi, Hyderabad, and Mewat. Prime Minister Narendra Modi during his visit to Myanmar in September described India and Myanmar as partners in their concern over "extremist violence" in Rakhine State.

4.6 Rohingyas Involvement in Terrorist Activities in India

In 2013 in the context of the blast in Bodh Gaya, Rohingyas come into the spotlight. Obviously, by the Indian Mujahidin group, it was seen as a reaction to Buddhist persecution of Rohingyas of Myanmar. A Times of India report after the Bodh Gaya blasts of 7 July, entitled 'Rohingyas in Hyderabad live in fear', talks about fear of police harassment (Bagchi). In this case, the 18-year-old boy was convicted for imposing explosives.

According to the some researc s and news reports in India there is not find and involvement of Rohingya Muslims in any terrorist activities. According to the survey in India only seventeen First Information Reports (FIRs) filed. Cases of FIRs are- illegal border crossing, eight cases on lack of visas, two cases on rape, one case on cow slaughter, one case of causing injuries and one for the selling goods in black market. There is no single case filed against Rohingyas related to terrorist activities. According to a senior advocate Fali Nariman, If government had any information about any

Rohingya persons being terrorists, those persons could be excluded from the applicability of the Refugee convention and dealt with separately by the agencies concerned.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Rohingya crisis is coming in limelight after the recent violence, but this crisis is not a new it has a historical background from the time of independence of Myanmar. The systematic deprivation and gross violations of basic human rights have forced Rohingyas to flee their native land and seek refuge in neighboring states including Bangladesh, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and India. They have been unable to rebuild their lives in most of these countries due to the lack of opportunities provided by the host nations to contribute to the economy of that country even through semi-skilled and unskilled labor work as well, due to the growing fear of their linkages with Islamic extremism.

The statelessness of the Rohingyas and the lack of empathy towards the plight of the Rohingyas have contributed to the adoption of extremist methods by them. If not addressed pragmatically, the Rohingya crisis will only cause more violence, leading to more refugees and chronic instability in the region. ASEAN, India and Bangladesh need to discuss the Rohingya crisis together to work for an optimum solution to the problem. The first step would be to convince the present government in Myanmar about the benefits of well-coordinated cooperation between ASEAN members, India and Bangladesh to tackle the issue.

The platforms of the regional and sub-regional institutions including ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectorial, Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) need to be more effectively used to convince the National League for Democracy (NLD) government in Myanmar to discuss the issue openly and take advantages of the experience of countries like India and

Thailand who have long experience in dealing with insurgency and terrorism. Here, ASEAN needs to push aside the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a member country as the Rohingya crisis is not a one-country problem.

The Rohingyas is a long history of unresolved political conflict for recognition of ethnic identity and citizenship in the wake of colonialism's retreat from Southeast Asia. India, as a member of the international community, must do its bit to ensure that the roots of the conflict are addressed and the rights of the Rohingya safeguarded. Only a peaceful neighborhood can ensure India's national security.¹⁰

International community taking a step and helps to solve out that humanitarian crisis threw international humanitarian law. For the maintenance of peace and to the protection of human rights international community pressurized Myanmar's government. After that if government not taking a step like that then another way for the international community is putting some sanctions over Myanmar.

This is not just as a issue because of the active participation of terrorist groups, this is thread for Myanmar and other South Asian countries. If this issue not solved in time then the face of terrorism in Myanmar is something different, because links between terrorist groups and they get powerful links with the passage of time. This is also problematic for Indian security, India facing problems of terrorism by Muslim extremists. There is a need to solve the issue for the avoidance of the in future threads and security of states.

It is one thing to be concerned about national security and quite another to criminalize an entire community. To ensure national security cannot be to

¹⁰ Bela Bhatia (2017) "India is complicit in the Rohingya suffering".
<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/india-complicit-rohingya-suffering.html>

ignore all the Rohingya who have already taken refuge in India or others who may be at our borders and need our help. This anti-Muslim and anti-Rohingya attitude is causing insecurity within this community and polarization in society. Rohingya came in India with the hope that India helps them and gave him shelter. India helps Bangladesh and gave him funds for the take care. Bangladesh is a country which is also having same problems like India but they provide a shelter to Rohingyas. This is the question on Indian government, if Rohingya's thread for the internal Security of India then it is also a thread for Bangladesh's security. If it is a thread for security of Bangladesh then by India not helps them to come out from this thread.

There is another argument that is given by Indian government that Rohingya were an internal problem of Burma. However, due respect to sovereignty of a nation cannot extend to turning a blind eye to human rights excesses within its boundaries. Moreover, the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India require the State to "promote international peace and security" (Article 51a) and "foster respect for international law and treaty obligations" (Article 51c).

Rohingyas involvement in terrorist activities is having specific reasons. Rohingya peoples deprived from the basic rights and they living in the worse conditions. These types of the living conditions creating a aggression in minds of peoples. When peoples from that types communities taking an action against the discriminated nature of government they are terrorists for the state governments. For the protection of our peoples they choose a path of violence. In the context of India, India providing shelter to Rohigya refugees and fulfill basic needs. Then there is less possibilities of involvement of Rohingyas in terrorist activities against India.

The countries of South and Southeast Asia need to ponder whether it is rational to push Rohingya refugees back to violence-torn Myanmar. Regional countries need to take into account the fact that the Rohingya crisis is not just Myanmar's internal problem; rather, its spillover effect into their

own territories is already evident. The Rohingya crisis is a regional issue and it needs to be tackled at the regional level in a more comprehensive way.

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