

International Journal of Social, Political and Economic Research

IJOSPER

ISSN: 2667-8810 (Online)

ijosper.uk

OPEN  ACCESS

Original Article

Received Date: 29-08-2020

Accepted Date: 29-10-2020

DOI: doi.org/10.46291/IJOSPERvol7iss3pp743-761

The Rohingya Refugee Crisis of Myanmar: A History of Persecution and Human Rights Violations

MD MOSTAFA FAISAL

Dr., Department of Political Science
and Public administration, Gazi
University, Ankara, Turkey.
parvezbogra2011@gmail.com

Abstract:

The United Nations refers to Rohingya as one of the most persecuted ethnic minorities in the world, and this minority community from the Arakan state of Myanmar crossing by land into Bangladesh, while others take to the sea to reach Malaysia, Indonesia, India and Thailand to escape from persecution. They first arrived in the Arakan on 8th century and ruled this area from 1430 AD to 1784 AD. Rohingya Muslims, along with Burmese Muslims and Buddhists together participated in their Independence movement, participated in the national election and elected as parliament member. But all the achievements and collaboration became failed after a few years later of independence. This study aims to find out the origin and historical background of Rohingya Muslim and chronological state persecution against them. This paper concludes that Rohingya are not illegal settler and their presence in Rakhine state of before the arrival of Mongolian and Tibeti Burmans. After the independence, they are victims of numerous types of oppression, such as denied citizenship, excessive taxation, confiscation of property, mosque destruction, torture, extrajudicial killing, restrictions on freedom of movement and marriage, forced deportation, destruction of houses and villages.

Keywords:

*Rohingya, Crisis, Persecution,
Bangladesh, Myanmar*

1. Introduction

Myanmar is biggest refugee-producing country in South Asia (1.2 million), and Bangladesh is one of the largest host country for refugees (W. Siddique, 2019:1). Approximately 1 million refugees have taken shelter in Bangladesh only after 25 August 2017. Owing to state-sponsored ethnic persecution over the last six decades, the bulk of Rohingya fled their motherland to Bangladesh while others went to Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, India, Thailand, Indonesia, the UAE, and some other countries (Al-Jazeera, 28 October 2017). Historically, it has been proven that the Muslims first arrived in the Arakan area in the 8th century. They ruled (1430-1784) the kingdom of Arakan, Chittagong of Bengal, and parts of India for more than 350 years until the Burmese occupation of 1784. They are the soil son of Arakan state. Two communities lived together for hundreds of years. But the problem began when a Magh leader named Ga Than de welcomed Burmese military forces to occupy Arakan from Muslims Rohingya in 1785 AD. He became the governor of Arakan state. During British rule, the ethnic problems were also spread out due to their partiality though the Rohingya community participated in the Second World War in favour of Great Britain. When the British force surrendered to the Japanese army at Burmese point, about 100,000 Rohingya people were killed by the Buddhist Magh community, and 80,000 fled to the Bengal part of British India. Burmese Muslims participated in their Independence movement. They led the Student Union and have been elected parliament members, even minister of government (Mohammed Yunus, 1994:69). All the achievements, outcomes, and cooperation became a failure when Ne Win came to power in 1962.

Myanmar gained its independence from Britain in 1948 after the Second World War and was established mainly as a democratic parliamentary state. This democratic process failed when General Ne Win seized power in 1962. Parliament was declared dissolved, political parties were banned, and the rights of ethnic minorities were reduced. The military government justified the coup causing ethnic unrest of the Shan community, weak governance, and fragmentation of the country (S. Knssuters, 2018: 1). The first forced migration was held in 1978, and about 300,000 Rohingya people fled to Bangladesh for temporary shelter. Myanmar authority repatriated most of them very soon because Bangladesh and the international community had imposed pressure and condemned them. For the new citizenship law of 1982, the Rohingya community was treated

stateless and excluded from citizenship. The government declared them illegal in Myanmar. Several forced migrations were also carried out in 1992, 2012, 2014, and 2016. Many refugees crossed the border and fled to Bangladesh on 25 August 2017, leading to widespread ethnic persecution of the Rohingya minority (UNHCR, 2017).

2.1. Methodology

Research methodology points to that the reason of progress of the process used to generate theory that is procedural structure within which the study is conducted (Remenyi, 1998). The information of this article has been collected to obtain results for the purpose of this study. In this research, secondary data collected from the various sources of peer-reviewed journals articles, particular academic books on Rakhine state, Rohingya community, Chittagong division of Bangladesh and Myanmar, conference papers, newspapers, some feature from contemporary newspapers and television channels.

2. Demographical and Geographic aspects

The majority of the people were Rohingya, and they are followers of Islam. On the other hand, the Maghs (Rakhains) were a minority and believed in Buddhism. Undoubtedly Magh is of Bengali descent, but the ultimate source is not clear. They had links to the ancient Indian Magadha Raj Kingdom, which is a most satisfactory derivation. Before 1942, the Arakan was controlled by both Rohingyas and the Maghs in its territory. The Moslems of Arakan were driven south of the northern portion for anti-Muslim violence in 1942, and the southern half took over the Maghs, where they are now the majority. In Arakan, a small number of tribes live in the hills. They're Mros, Kamis, Chaungthas, Chins, Saaks, Ahnus, Chaws, Khaungtsos and Kons.

Rohingya culture history has connections with the past of Myanmar. In South Asia, Myanmar is an ethnically dominant country, and officially 135 races are recognized, with only a few unrecognized. Traditionally Myanmar was known as a rich country, and it was called "Asia's rice bowl." Yet now 32% of people are living below poverty. It is rich in natural resources, including petroleum, coal, lead, timber, tin and hydropower (CIA, 2013). Due to internal political conflict, lack of human rights, international sanctions and lack of external investment, its economic status

has declined (Ganesan and Hlaing, 2007: 3). Myanmar has faced two challenges: a lack of democratic accountability and clashes in favour of minority rights. Myanmar has been included in the UN Least Developed Country List only for these problems since 1987. According to the UNDP Human Development Index, Myanmar is ranked 148 out of 187 countries (UNDP, 2016:9).

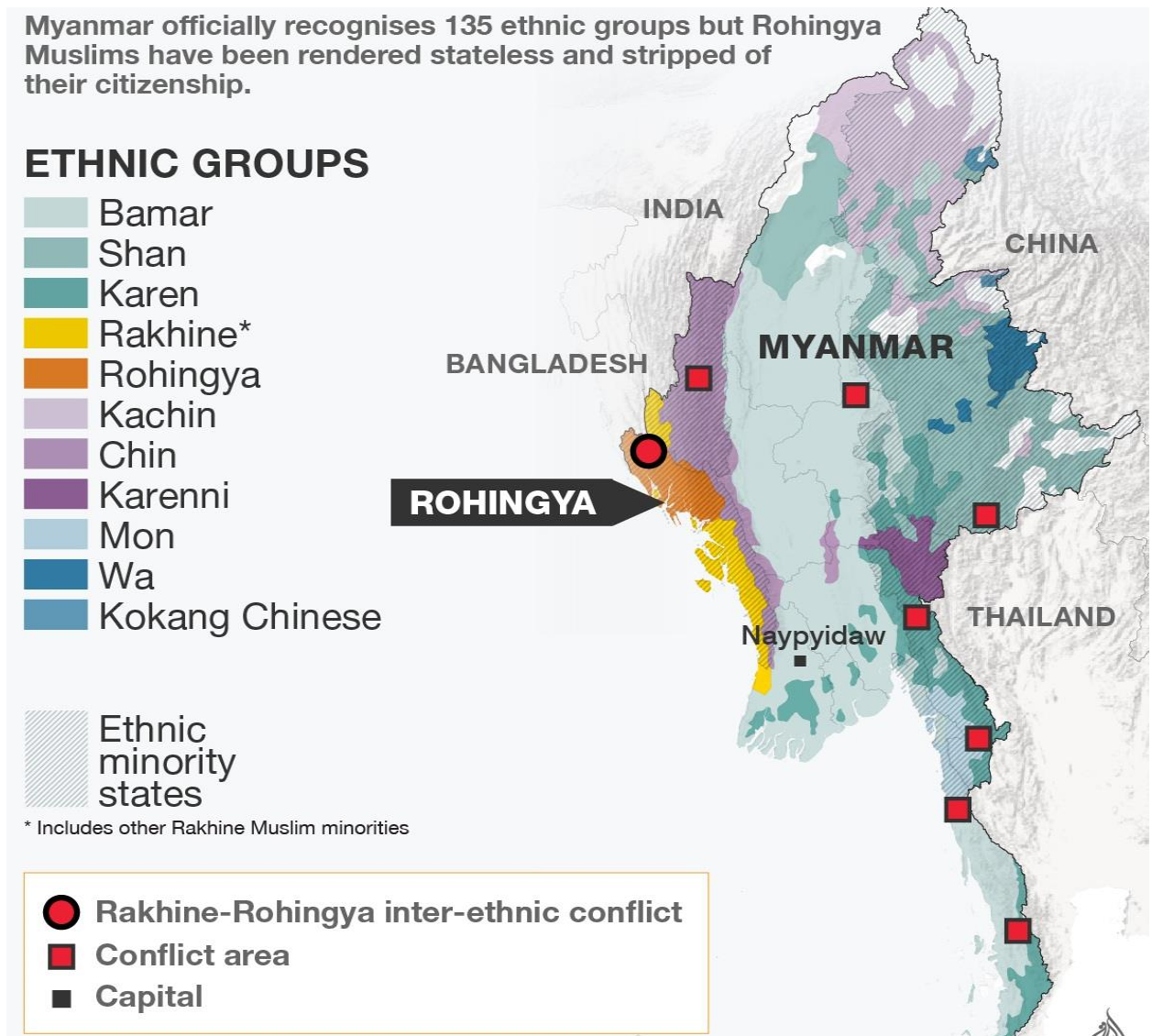
Map of Myanmar: Border Countries of Myanmar



Source: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/myanmar-signs-limited-truce-with-rebels-but-fighting-persists/>

There are eight ethnic races that the government officially recognizes. These are the people of Burma, Karen, Mon, Rakhine, Karenni, Kachin, Chin and Shan. Every ethnic group has a number of sub-ethnic groups. The Burman 9, the Shan 33, the Karen 11, the Kachin 12, the Karenni 9, the Rakhine 7, Chin 53, and the Mon 1, i.e. total sub-ethenic groups are 135 (Than, 2007: 172).

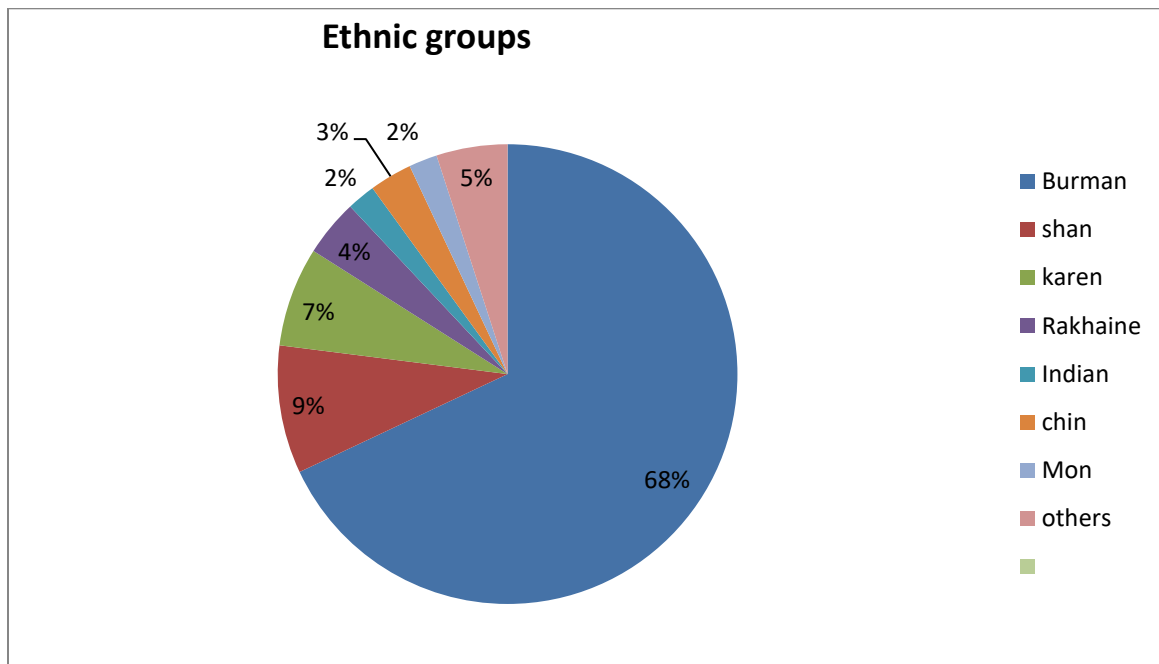
Ethnic Groups List and Position in Myanmar



Source: (Aljazeera, 14 March 2017)

Ethnic Burmans account for 68 per cent of the total population. Other ethnic groups include Shan 9 per cent, Rakhine 4 per cent, Karen 7 per cent, Chinese 3 per cent, Mon 2 per cent, Indian 2 per cent and other 5 per cent. They did not formally recognize the Rohingya people. The people of Burma live in the central geographic region of Myanmar. Kachin, Rakhine, Shan, Chin and other ethnic groups live mainly in the borderlands of the countries (HRW, 2013). Many minority ethnic groups live on both sides of the border with neighbouring countries.

Figure: Ethnic Groups Covered Areas (Ullah, 2011:5-20)



Myanmar is a state of Buddhism. Among the 60 million population, 89% are Buddhists, 4 percent are Muslims, 4 percent are Christians, 1 percent are animists, and 2 percent are others (Ullah, 2011:5-20). The majority of the population speaks Burmese. There are more than 200 languages and dialects spoken by different minority groups (Warzone Initiatives, 2015: 1-18).

3. Origin and emergence of persecution

Arakan's earlier name is Rohang. The word "Roang / Rohang / Roshang" is the corruption of the Arabic word "Raham" meaning the "place of the grace or mercy of Heaven." The shipwrecked Arabs washed ashore on an island on the west coast of Arakan called the land of Raham Borri, in Arabic, which means the land of Allah's blessing (A.F. Hazary, 1987:35). They are mainly religious Muslims and have their own distinct traditions, history and society. (R. Outcry, 1978, p. 20). They are one of Myanmar's ethnic groups, but they are somewhat distinct from other ethnic groups.

3.1 Early History of Arakan and Rohingya

This region was known to Arabian seafarers before the Islamic period. Different groups of people came here as merchants, including Arabs, Turks, Pathans, Moors, Central Asians, Moghuls and Bengalis. But others came as preachers, soldiers, and imprisoned by way of boat, sea, or shore. Many settled in Arakan and mixed with the local population. They have established the current supply of people known as Rohingya, and they're also Muslims.

Sufficient documentation of their ancestor, origin or written historical records earliest inhabitants of Arakan is unknown to all. But some historians assume that Rakhine dwelt in Arakan from 3000 BC. People bearing aboriginal cultures of the Arakan exist in some South Asian, Australian and Indonesian countries (Azeem Ibrahim, 2016: 35). Some ethnic minorities such as Mru, Kumi, Sak, and Chin live in this area as early as 3000 BC. Archaeological findings suggest that for several years before the 8th century, Arakan was part of the Hindu dynasties. The historical documents, accounts, customs and chronicles of the present Kingdom of Dhanavati that was a Hindu land long before Arakan, and Chronicles document a line of kings that stretched back to the year 2666 BC (Mohammed Yunus, 1994:15). A Chinese pilgrim named Fa-Hein (405-411 CE) visited India during the reign of Guptas (320-455 C.E.) Another famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang (630 CE) also visited India or Hindustan before Chandras (788-957) was a hundred and fifty years old. According to M.S. Collis, "A town had stood in Arakan called Dhannavati before the early period of the Mongolian invasion. In 1924 I visited the hill; I have seen their numerous stone sculptures of the Hindu Pantheon in the Gupta style of the 5th century A.D" (Maurice Collis, 2008: 147).

3.2 The Progress of Muslim Settlements

The Arakan got the message of Islam mainly during 788 AD when the shipwrecked at sea. This kind of shipwrecks happened over and over in the coasts between Chittagong and Arakan. (Than, 2007:6) Many Islamic faqirs and saints also visit the coast of Arakan in parallel. 'Badr Moqam'5 is one of the well-known Muslim shrines on the Arakan coastline, originally founded by Pir Badruddin Badri-i-Alam followers (Yunus, 1994:17). Strong missionary zeal established by Arab merchants and spiritual Muslims, and superior moral character attracted large numbers of mass people to Islam converts (Yunus, 1994: 18). Upon Ikhtiar Uddin bin Bakhtiar Khalji's arrival of Muslim rule in Bengal in 1203, the Muslim population in Arakan rose. Muslim numbers grew

rapidly during the Mrauk-U dynasty (1430–1784 AD). Their power lasted until 1784 AD, around 350 years (Moshe Yegar, 1972: 18).

Narameikhla holds Islam, and as Solaiman Shah has changed its name. Naramaikhla came to power in 1430 with the aid of sultan Nadir Shah of Bengal. Arakanese kingdom officially began using Muslim names after the 15th century. Within a very short time, the Bengal Muslim Sultanate and the Arakanese Kingdom came into close relation. In their offices, they appointed Muslim officials, and the Kalima had engraved coins. This was a Renaissance period, and this relationship lasted for about two centuries. Arakan had joined with Islamic lands in a bond of friendship. In this way, the state of Arakan became Islam-oriented against the like Muslim State, and this area has become a separate Muslim state at the beginning of the 15th century. The prominent historian Dr Muhammad Enanmul Haq and Abdul Karim stated that,

“The Arakanese kings issued coins bearing the inscription of Muslim Kalema (the profession of faith in Islam) in Arabic script. The State emblem was also inscribed Arabic word Aqimuddin. The Arakanese court also adoption of many Muslim customs and terms were other significant tribute to the influence of Islam. Mosques including the famous Sandi Khan Mosque began to dot the countryside and Islamic customs, manners and practices came to be established since this time. About two hundred years, Muslim domination was seemed to have been completed” (Karim and Bisharad, 1935:4-12.).

3.3 The fall of Arakanese Empire

When Salim Shah II died in 1638, the grandeur of the Arakanese Kingdom becomes decline. Her son Meng Sani succeeded him. But sadly he was assassinated by the lover of the dowager queen. After his death, a general of the Mag Buddhist named Narapati who came through a conspiracy to the throne. He also attempted to capture Muslim control (Dr Mohammad Mohar Ali, 1985: 368). His brother Shah Shuja, Moghol Emperor Aurangzib, failed in his battle for the throne in 1660 and he is seeking shelter with the King of Arakan. The King of Arakan Sanda Thudamma (1652-84) given consent, and Prince Shah Shuja accompanied his family and followers to Arakan. Shah Shuja was promised the Arakan king to provide him with some ships to go to Mecca, which is Muslims' most important religious location. Shah Shuja and his beautiful daughter came to Arakan with half a dozen camels filled with gold and jewels. King Sanda Thudamma never before saw this richness

in Arakan. The King ordered Sandathudamma to seize everything. Prince Shah Shuja fled with some of his followers to the forest on 7th February 1661 A.D. They were pursued by the Maghs, who captured Sultan Shah Shuja and killed him. The King took all of his treasure and took his daughters into the harem, and the rest of the family went to jail. The Bengal ruler Shayista Khan was ordered by Aurangzib in 1665 AD Moghul Empire. In 1666 AD the Shayista Khan's force took Chittagong in 36-hours, 6,500 men and 288 vessels, and occupied Ramu town. It was a devastating blow to Arakanese's wealth and with it their century of grandeur ended. From 1685 until 1710 Arakan's political power was solely in the hands of the King of the Muslims.

This region was dominated more or less by "Ethnic Kamans," the supporters of Moghul Prince Shah Shuja, from 1666 until 1785. The feudal King of Arakan named "Ga Than de" requested Burmese King to conquer Arakan and grant him kingdom of Arakan. In 1784 King Boddawphaya sent 30,000 troops to conquer Arakan. The collapse of the Mrauk-U Empire was a deadly drive against the Muslims that devastated Islam in a significant and cultural way. (N M Habibullah: 89, 1995).

In 17th September 1825, General Joseph eventually captured the Arakan and Arakan was under British control. Upon this victory, Burma was incorporated as a British India district. The annexation led to a significant influx of Bengali into Burma. This resulted in a major labour need that was filled by workers who came from India, and many who are Muslim. The migration had a significant social impact on the people, mainly Buddhists. This contributed to numerous socio-economic concerns, which exacerbated religious tensions between the two Muslim and Buddhist cultures. Yet tensions broke out with the Muslims supporting the British during the Second World War, while the Buddhist favoured the Japanese. Both sides had struck one another. Muslims fled to the state's north while the population of Rakhine migrated south by separating Rakhine State along religious lines.

3.4 Rohingya community during British Colonial period

Arakan was annexed to British India in 1826, but their full control ensured in 1885. After the first Anglo-Burman war Burmese made plans to restoration. Governor of Pegu region misbehaved with East-India Company. Lord Dalhoisi attacked Pegu in 1852 when Burmese king refused to redress. Lord Dalhoisi dismissed Pegu governor, and Arther Piari became the first British commissioner in

Pegu. Burmese king imposed a penalty to “Bombe-Burma Trading Corporation”. In 30th October, 1885, British governor-general threat king to withdraw his order. British authority failed to pay attention from Burmese king and finally they made blockade his palace. After 15 days on 29th November of 1885, Burmese king surrendered and exiled to India (N M Habibullah, 1995: 96-97).

From the beginning of British period, Arakan was almost depopulated. There were only 100,000 people, among them Maghs were 60,000, Muslims were 30,000 and Burmese were 10,000. During 1784–1824, Arakanese Muslim entered Chittagong and settled in this region. They started to go back to their homeland when peace started in Arakan. But actual Bangladeshi was not interested in going Arakan because it was known as “lawless country”.

The British Government invited 24 delegates when the question of separation arose. From 27th November 1931 to 12th January 1932 the ‘Burma Round Table Conference’ held in London, and all the representative joined from various communities. Unfortunately, there were no representative of the Rohingyas community because they counted them within the Indian community. The Burma Moslem Society (BMS) decided to send their protest against the Joint Select Committee to the Indian Government on 13th December 1934, where they ignored the Muslims. An additional memorandum sent by the Burma Moslem Society (BMS) to Sir Samuel Hoare on 27th December, 1934. Sir Samuel Hoare was the Secretary of State for India. Burma Moslem Society (BMS) repeated the difference between themselves and the Indian immigrants, the historical rights of the Burmese Muslims, their loyalty to the British Crown and how they neglected and tortured by the Burmese Buddhists (M. Yeger, 1972: 63-64). Second Burmese Muslim organization named “General Council of Burma Moslem Associations” (GCBMA) was formed in 1936 at the city of Pyinmana.

‘Thakins’ had full control on the Burmese administration when ‘Home in 1937’ granted which separated Burma from British India. Anti Muslim riot again had begun in Rangoon in 1938. At that time Thakin’s leader Aung San, who was the father of Aung San Suki paid a secret visit to Arakan. He met Arakanese Magh leaders and discussed about the policy to gain freedom. He also discussed his plan for the Rohingya community. Independence of Burma was declared by its Governor when the Second World War has begun in Europe. Aung San, along with 30 comrades,

went to Japan very secretly where they train up and formed “Burma Independence Army”. They came back Burma along with the Japanese army in 1941.

At the beginning of the Second World War, Japan declared war against the British on 8th December 1941. The Japanese planes bombed on 23rd, 24th and 27th March 1942 in Akyab. This bombing killed British, Rajput, Gorkha and Karen soldiers. The two communities of Arakan were living together from many centuries before. But during the British colonial rule and due to their “divide and rule policy” hostility had developed among them. Some historians think that this massacre of 1942 in Arakan was a pre-planned and cold-blooded, not communal riot. The Mogh Buddhists have collected arms from Japanese soldiers, bought from misguided Karens and also collected some more arms left by of British soldiers. The Thakins made control over the arms of British Township officers, Police officers, and constables. At that time, Muslims were not united, and they had no central direction. Thakins realized that the Burmese independence would become very soon and after the independence Muslim community would be permanent headache of Burma. The Muslims licensed firearms seized by Thakins. The Magh Buddhists always saw Muslims as a great threat to their Buddhist religion. Finally, the Maghs were fully prepared to attack the Muslim community. Maghs and Thakins were well-armed, whereas the Muslims hadn't any arms except their spirituality.

After the British withdrawal, the Hindu and Chittagonian Muslim fled away and Maghs Buddhists plunder their shops. Most of the Muslims, including Rohingya, fled when the Japanese attack more strong. A group of soldiers of Burma Independence Army (BIA) attacked and looted the Muslim villages on 28th March 1942. They attacked in Kyaukpru District and Akyab district. The Muslims were armless, and they fought tooth and nail. They killed thousands of innocent men, women and children. They brutally killed the injured and half-dead people and cut into pieces. Rohingya girls and women were harshly murdered after being raped. Many people jumped into the river to safe them, but swimming people were shot dead. The Lemro River's waters changed into red with the blood of innocent victims. Some escaped them to hide in the forest or crossing risky mountains of Maungdaw. Muslim people's gold and silver were taken by the Thakin leaders, and Maghs looted cattles, rice, paddy and even clothes.

They continued their barbaric anti-Muslim massacre. Maghs attacked Lombaissor on 29th March, Raischaung and Pankha on 1st April, Baharpara of Kyauktaw on 8th April 1942. Due to their persecution, more than 100'000 Rohingya Muslims were massacred, 80,000 Rohingya Muslims fled from Arakan to India (Now Bangladesh) and 376 villages were fully damaged (N M Habibullah, 1995: 107). After the Second World War, the Rohingya community talked to the British Government to grant their separate nationality and regional autonomy. As a different ethnicity, their historical background and recent situation of Rohingya were clear to the British Government. Karens, Kachins, Shans, Kayahs and some more ethnic group's demanded either regional autonomy or full independence of their respective areas. Primarily, they did not support Aung San due to their past experience and unexpected approach from Burmese people. Aung San promised to British to take the consensus from all the nationalities because it was a precondition to accept independence. Aung San travelled around the country, and he talked with the leaders of different nationalities. Under the theory of 'Unity in Diversity,' he promised to ensure full freedom, security and fundamental rights.

Aung San called a conference to discuss with the different communities in post-independent of Burma. This conference held at Pang Long, Shan State on February 1947. They invited all the nationalities except Rohingya. The Maghs from Arakan state had already surrendered their independence to the central authority of Burma, and they demanded to eliminate the Rohingya Muslim community of Arakan. Rohingya fought tooth and nail for gaining their legitimate political rights, whereas Maghs were kept silent for their regional issues. But in this conference, a Magh Buddhist named U Aung Zan Wai represented whole Arakan. After this conference, Arakan went under the control of Central Government which dominated by Burmans. As a result, the Muslim authority sent a delegation to meet Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who was the founder of Pakistan, and at that time he was fighting for the Muslim community. They requested Jinnah either to fight for the Muslim majority area of north Arakan like Pakistan movement or force to the Aung San, to allow the autonomy of Rohingya Muslim. But before them, U Rashid as the representative of Aung San met Jinnah. He promised Jinnah to ensure the constitutional rights of Arakanese Muslims. So Mr Jinnah guaranteed the Muslim delegation that they had nothing to worry as they promised about their rights. At the same time early on 20th May, 1946, U Razak warned the Muslims community

not to show any sympathy to Pakistan movement. He also advised them to be a strong community in Burma, but without hampering the national development of the country (M. Yeger, 1972: 76).

The first general elections of Burma held on April 1947, but they intentionally expelled elections of Maungdaw and Buthidaung where 98% Rohingya Muslim of the total population lived. The communists and Peoples Voluntary Organisation (PVO) and ultra-nationalist Maghs organization went underground and continued their radical activities for independence. Within a very short time, most of the area of Arakan went under the control of extremist organizations. Jafar Kawal, who was one of the famous Muslim singer, first organized Mujahid Party on December 1947 in Buthidaung Township. His demand was a Muslim Autonomous state in north Arakan.

Aung San was killed by opposition just before a few months of independence on 19th July 1947 with his six cabinet members including Muslim delegate U Rashid. After his murder he succeeded Thakin Nu. British Prime Minister Clement Attlee and Thakin Nu agree on 17th October 1947.

3.5 Rohingya under Military Rule: from Myanmar's Independence through 2019

Eventually, as of 4 January 1948, the Republic of the Union of Burma has become an independent country. After independence, communist-backed underground groups engaged Arakan in political violence, rebellion Rakhine Muslim Mujahedeen and followed with other armed rebel groupings. That same year, the 1948 Union Citizenship Act was passed which included a list of Burma's indigenous races qualifying for citizenship that does not include the Rohingya. The unrest further strained Muslim-Buddhist relations. In 1961, the Mujahedeen militants were defeated, with the Mayu Frontier Administration established by the national government. Frontier populations were describing themselves increasingly as Rohingya. (Crisis Group International, 2014).

3.5.1 Crisis during Ne Win's period

The military junta's rise to power in 1962 led to further marginalization of the Rohingya. "The junta also began giving documentation to fewer and fewer Rohingya children, refusing to recognize new generations of the Rohingya population. (Lowenstein, 2015: 18). In 1974 a new law further limited the rights of the Rohingya, particularly in employment and education wherein citizens need to obtain a National Registration Card since they are not citizens; they are only issued with a Foreign Registration Cards. But Schools and employers do not recognize these cards. The

most notorious Rohingya ethnic cleansing action named “The King Dragon Operation” began on 6th February 1978. Within three months more than 300,000 Rohingyas went Bangladesh and took shelter in camps of Cox’s Bazar district. In 1982, the government effectively rendered the Rohingya population stateless after it passed a new citizenship law which prohibited them from equal access to full citizenship. The law continues to affect the Rohingya to this day; besides, Myanmar officials, according to Human Rights Watch (2015) routinely deny the existence of the Rohingya ethnicity.

3.5.2 SLORC’s Crackdown in Arakan

Chief of Army Staff, General Saw Maung came to power in 18th September, 1988 by a dramatic military coup. They formed the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). At that time, the pro-democracy demonstration started in Myanmar. SLORC strictly control all kind of political activities. They killed more than 3000 pro-democracy protesters. In Arakan, many pro-democracy activists were arrested, tortured and killed. Many protesters crossed the border and joined revolutionary groups. All the business establishments of Rohimhya were seized.

SLORC declared a "Political Parties Registration Law" on 27th September, 1990. Election Commission did not grant any party by the name of Rohingya community. But Muslims had their political parties named "National Democratic Party for Human Rights" (NDPHR). Before the national election SLORC authority arrested Muslim candidate Mr Kashim for the pro-democracy protest and, they punished him 14 years jail. Muslim won 5 seats from Arakan. But they refused to accept the election result of Rohingya Muslims. At that time military forces crossed the boundary and attacked Bangladesh border post. Some soldiers were killed and had taken their arms. When tension increased, the SLORC border forces began their brutal brutality against Muslim Rohingya. They attacked the villages of Muslim, destroyed the mosques and madrasas, detained thousands of Muslims, abducted the women, raped them and killed others. Through April 1992, 300,000 people crossed the border above Rohingya and fled Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh (Amnesty International, 2004:3). The UN General Assembly criticized the Rohingya oppression in its annual resolutions of 1991. UN-appointed Special Reporters on Human Rights to Burma, with the assignment of reports and investigations about the violation of their human rights (Oberschall, 2007: 95). The two governments were agreed to reduce the tension and a bilateral

agreement was signed in April, 1992. A total of 229,877 Rohingya refugees were repatriated to Arakan on 29th April 1992. UNHCR and SLORC signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in November, 1993. Finally, "United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees" (UNHCR) entered into Myanmar.

3.5.3 Persecution from 2012-2017

Violence began in June 2012 and continued till October. Their systematic attempt at ethnic cleansing to push the Rohingya Muslims either to leave the state or to join the Arakan area refugee camps. On 9th October 2016, some Rohingya rebellion ambushed Border Guard Police (BGP) in Maungdaw and Rathedaung district. Nine police officers killed, and 10,000 rounds of ammunition and 62 weapons ransacked. Once again, they killed 4 Myanmar soldiers during 10–12 October 2016 (International Crisis Group, 2016). Security forces fired from helicopters and hundreds of Rohingya people killed. They also destroyed 1500 Rohingya homes and fled to Bangladesh, 90,000 people above Rohingya (International Crisis Group, 2016).

Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) was founded by some Arakanese youth to safeguard the Rohingya community and their rights. On 25th August 2017, they targeted 30 security camps and killed 12 Myanmar Police officers (Anadolu Agency, 2017). Massacres were begun all over the Arakan following this incident. More than 620,000 Rohingya refugees have migrated to Bangladesh from 25th August 2017 to the end of 2018, and have taken shelter in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh refugee camps (Mohajan, 2018:12). Around 354 Rohingya villages in the state of Rakhine burned, houses looted, and widespread rapes committed (Wright & Westcott 2017). Approximately 24,000 Rohingya people killed, including 730 children, 34,000 thrown into flames, 40,000 victims of bullet wounds, 114,000 injured, 17,718 women and girls raped, 115,000 houses destroyed, 113,000 vandalized, mostly women and children (Anadolu Agency, 19th August 2018).

4 Conclusion

The historical and archaeological evidence shows that the Rohingya Muslim community is the aboriginal of Arakan state and a large number of Muslims resided there from generations to generations since the 8th century. During the Vesali Kingdom (788 to 957 AD) and pagan period (1044-1287AD) the highly spirited Arab merchants, saints, dervishes and fakir carried out

missionary activities, and many indigenous people accepted the message of Islam. Muslim populations have been increased in Arakan when Ikhtiar Uddin Bin Bakhtiar Khalji conquered the Bengal on 1203 AD. Number of Muslims grew fast and their cultural development established in Arakan when Muslim ruler Solaiman Shah came to throne and began Mrauk-U dynasty which lasted about 350 years until 1784 AD. The conflicts between two communities, i.e. Muslim Rohingya and Buddhist Maghs began when Burmese authority occupied the Arakan in 1785 AD, and this conflict became stronger during the British period. They have historically been excluded Muslims from the mainstream from 1785. Historically, Rohingyas in Myanmar subjected to decades of persecution and enshrined discrimination, both in law and in practice, that has influenced every aspect of their lives. Hundreds of Indians and Muslims killed in Burma during the anti-Indian (including anti-Muslim) unrest in 1930-31, and 1938. Muslims property demolished and burned under the “Burma only for Burmese” movement. In April 1942, about 100,000 unarmed Muslims were massacred by armed Rakhine, in connivance with Burmese nationalists. Politicians dedicated themselves actively to racist and xenophobic schemes to marginalize and exterminate them. Muslim Rohingya led the Independence movement like other ethnic groups, and they elected parliament member until the General Ne Win seized power. This long history reveals that Muslim Rohingya is the “sun of soil” of Arakan state and they aren’t illegal Bangladeshi or Indian immigrant who came during Indian partition of 1947 or independence war of Bangladesh on 1971. Nevertheless, Myanmar authority is using the term “illegal immigrant” to legalize their illegal and brutal activities against the Rohingya community.

After the independence, the government of Bangladesh first hosted 300,000 Rohingya refugees in 1978 when Myanmar military government began “The King Dragon operation”. Besides, Bangladesh again 300,000 refugees received during the 1990’s due to the SLORC’s crackdown. But government of Bangladesh successfully repatriated first two influxes under bilateral cooperation and most of the Rohingya refugees return to Myanmar. Rohingya people lost their citizenship right due to “Citizenship Law of 1982”, and they could not take part in the formation of the nation, even they could not access education or medical treatment or exercise the right to vote. The violent crackdown, apparently in response to attacks on police and military posts by the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) on 25 August, took their misery to an unparalleled level, causing thousands of people dead and forcing those who remained to flee to Bangladesh.

Several factors have studied about persecution and massacre. Humiliation and brutality towards this community have reached an extent that it has gone beyond tolerance. Not only has the international community been unaware of this practice of systemic violence, but the brutal regime has never given any attention to the international community's pressure to respect human rights. Thus, human rights violations for state-sponsored brutality continued to the highest magnitude.

5. References

- Anadolu Agency, (19 August 2018). New report: Myanmar army killed over 24000 Rohingya. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/new-report-myanmar-army-killed-over-24-000-rohingya/1235442>
- Ali, M. M. (1985). History of the Muslims of Bengal. Imam Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd Islamic University. p.168, 368, 866.
- A.F. Hazary, Burma an Arab Land of the East by in the Dacca Review, 1987, p. 35
- Anadolu Agency, (25 August 2017). <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/12-killed-in-rohingya-militant-attacks-in-myanmar-west/893434>
- CIA (2013). The World Factbook. East and South East Asia: Burma
- Collis, M. S., & Bu, S. S. (1925). Arakan's Place in the Civilisation of the Bay. Journal of Burma Research Society 50th Anniversary Publications, (2), 486
- Council on Foreign relation, (25 March, 2016). <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/understanding-myanmar>
- Fox, M. (2016). AZEEM IBRAHIM: The Rohingyas. Inside Myanmar's Hidden Genocide. *Internationales Asienforum*, 47(3-4), p.35
- Habibullah, N. M. (1995). History of Rohingya Nation, Bangladesh co-operative book society publications, Dhaka. p. 89, 96-97.
- HRW (2013). All You Can Do is Pray. Crimes against Humanity and Ethnic Cleansing of Rohingya Muslims in Burma's Arakan State. http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/burma0413_FullForWeb.pdf

International Crisis Group (2016). Myanmar: A New Muslim Insurgency in Rakhine State. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/myanmar/283-myanmar-new-muslim-insurgency-rakhine-state>

Karim, D. E. H. O. A., & Bisharad, S. (1935). Arakan Rajshabhay Bangla Shahitya, pp.4-12

Knuters, S. (2018). Political Buddhism and the Exclusion of Rohingya in Myanmar: Exploring targeted religious nationalism using Myanmar's Muslim Rohingya minority as a case study.p.1.

Ali, M. M. (1985). History of the Muslims of Bengal. Imam Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd Islamic University. p.168, 368, 866.

Mohajan and Haradhan, (2018). History of Rakhine State and the Origin of the Rohingya Muslims, Munich Personal Repec Archive, p.7, 12

Than, T. M. M. (2007). Mapping the Contours of Human Security Challenges in Myanmar. Myanmar: State, Society and Ethnicity. ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore, p. 6, 172.

Ullah, A. A. (2011). Rohingya Refugees to Bangladesh: Historical Exclusions and Contemporary Marginalization. Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, p. 15-20

Ullah, A. A. (2011). Rohingya refugees to Bangladesh: Historical exclusions and contemporary marginalization. Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 9(2), 139-161.

UNHCR, (2017). Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2017." UNHCR accessed 07 Nov, 2018, <http://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2017/>.

Outcry, R. (1978). Demands, Rohingya Patriotic Front (RPF), Arakan (Burma), 1976. *M. Sahabuddin, Arakan in Historical Perspective, The Monthly Bulletin of the Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs, 1(4), 20*

Remenyi, D. S. J., Swartz, E., Money, A., & Williams, B. (1998). Doing Research in Business and Management: An Introduction to Process and Method. SAGE Publications, London.

Warzone Initiatives, (2015). Rohingya Briefing Report, 1–18

Wright, R. & Westcott, B. (2017). CNN, September 8, 2017. At Least 270,000 Rohingya Flee Myanmar Violence in 2 Weeks. <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/08/asia/rohingya-myanmar-refugees-drowning /index.html>

Yeger M. (1972). Muslims in Burma during British Rule: a study of a minority group, Otto Harrassowitz Wiesbaden publication, Germany, p. 18.

Yunus, M. (1994). *A history of Arakan: Past and present*. University of Chittagong. p.15, 17, 18, 74