



RESEARCH PAPER

Invisible Citizens: The Rohingya's Quest for Identity

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ABSTRACT

The situation in Myanmar represents a distressing case characterized by the plight of the Rohingya, an ethnic minority group that has been systematically denied citizenship rights and forced to seek refuge outside their homeland. This vulnerable community has endured extreme hardships, including genocide, torture, killings, and sexual violence. This academic paper seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of the root and immediate causes of the conflict, shedding light on the principal actors involved in the Myanmar-Rohingya conflict. Utilizing the Gurr Model of ethnic conflicts, it endeavors to elucidate the multifaceted dynamics at play. The study reveals that the ethnic minority has been systematically deprived of fundamental rights related to personal development, security, recognition, and identity. These injustices have spurred the emergence of insurgent groups that have resorted to armed resistance to reclaim their lost citizenship status and fundamental rights. The military crackdown on the Rohingya population has led to their forced displacement from their homes, compelling them to seek shelter in refugee camps. A comprehensive analysis of the conflict underscores the necessity for active international community involvement in facilitating the restoration of the Rohingya's identity and legal status, a challenge influencing over a million individuals. Resolving this conflict hinges upon compelling major global powers and international organizations to pressure Myanmar's military regime to reinstate democracy and enhance conditions within the Rakhine state, thereby enabling the repatriation of the Rohingya minority. Moreover, the international community must engage in reconstructing essential infrastructures to provide these marginalized individuals with their basic human needs.

KEYWORDS Basic Human Rights, Ethnic Cleansing, Genocidal Intent, Minority Groups, Rohingya

Introduction

The nature of global conflicts has transformed conventional inter-state wars into a more complex landscape involving state and non-state actors fighting with each other. Numerous states have implemented discriminatory policies toward their citizens, resulting in prolonged conflict and the Myanmar case study best explains the case. Myanmar is among those states that have not only adopted such policies toward the Rohingya minority but have also supported ethnic cleansing against them. The Rohingya are a minority Muslim ethnic group residing in Rakhine state and have been subject to brutality and oppression by the Myanmar government since the country's independence in 1948. (United Nations, 2019). A violent assault on this ethnic community led to the loss of many Rohingya lives. As per a report by the United States, over 40,000 individuals including the elderly, children, and women from Rakhine state have been displaced from their residences. (Shepard, 2020.). The reason for their exodus was attributed to the state-backed military, which engaged in not only killing the rebels but also raping women and burning homes. The policies adopted by the state rendered them stateless, while simultaneously denying them citizenship status and forcing them to flee to neighboring states, thereby fueling the refugee crisis in Myanmar. The conflict emanated from the

state's decision to render the Rohingya community stateless and deny them citizenship status, categorizing them as illegal immigrants hailing from Bangladesh. International organizations such as the United Nations have condemned the government's actions as ethnic cleansing. Despite major states like the United States and the United Kingdom imposing sanctions, the Myanmar state continues to engage in mass murders and human rights violations with impunity.

Myanmar is geographically bounded by four states, specifically Laos and Thailand on its eastern and southeastern flanks, Bangladesh and India on the northwestern side, and China on the northeastern side. The nation that was formerly referred to as Burma underwent a change in nomenclature under the military junta's rule, leading to its present-day designation as "The Republic of Union of Myanmar" from the year 1989 onwards. (Jasper, 2019.). The country is the biggest in Southeast Asia, and it has around 55.44 million people living there. (Worldometer, 2023.).

The predominant religion in the country is Buddhism, while approximately 4% of the population practices Christianity, another 4% adheres to Islam, and almost 1% follow Hinduism. (Atlas, 2017). In terms of its economic history, the nation was once considered among the most prosperous countries in Central Asia, primarily due to its thriving open market, commerce, and abundant mineral resources. However, following the military's assumption of power, the centralization of both political and economic power led to a significant decline in the nation's overall prosperity, rendering it one of the poorer countries within the region.

The country is categorized under the United Nations' list of the least developed states primarily due to its underdevelopment, which was mainly attributed to the military's governance in the country. (UNCTAD, 2021.). After the year 2010, the nation began to exhibit a gradual shift towards a form of partial democracy, largely influenced by mounting pressure from significant global powers such as the UK and the US. These major powers also levied economic sanctions on the country due to concerns over the lack of democratic governance and human rights violations. It is noteworthy that in 2008, the Military drafted a constitution, wherein special privileges were granted to the military, thereby securing its predominant influence over the decision-making process.

Myanmar's military was notably powerful and affluent, with its business interests widely spread throughout the country. In the general elections of 2020, Aung San Suki emerged victorious. However, on February 1, 2021, she was arrested and placed under house arrest by the military establishment. (News, 2022.). The charges levied against her included corruption, and election fraud, causing a civil war-like situation within the nation. The overall situation resulted in a more severe clampdown on the civil population of Myanmar, who were protesting against the military's rule. (Reuters, 2020.). Despite efforts by the international community to resolve the matter, economic sanctions were the only feasible measures, as any attempt to pass a resolution against the military was vetoed by Russia and China, both of which exhibited little regard for the rights of either the Rohingya or Myanmar's civil population.

Rohingya Muslim: A minority Ethnic Group

The Rohingya community has an Indo-Aryan identity and predominantly resides on the periphery of Myanmar's Rakhine state, situated close to the Bangladeshi border. They have their distinct language, customs, and traditions, which sets them apart from the majority of the people in Myanmar, who primarily speak Burmese. Furthermore,

owing to their religious and cultural differences, the Rohingya minority has been involved in prolonged conflict with the majority of Buddhists in Myanmar. (Moira, 2023)

Historical Background of the Conflict

During the 18th century, the territory of Rakhine was governed by Hindu Kingdoms and was later annexed by the Burmese king. (Mohajan, 2018). Subsequently, Burma became a British colony, which facilitated the free movement of people across the subcontinent. During World War II, the Rohingya, a Muslim minority group, sided with the British in the hope of being able to join East Pakistan, while the Buddhist majority aligned with Japanese forces to fight against British colonial rule. Burma eventually gained independence, but the conflict between the Rohingya and the Burmese continued. After gaining independence, the Burmese authorities expected the Rohingya to relocate to Bangladesh, but the Rohingya resisted and instead settled in Rakhine state, which they considered their homeland. Minority groups in Myanmar have been subjected to marginalization, beginning with the labeling of some as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. Among the 135 ethnic groups in Myanmar, the Rohingya have been systematically denied citizenship by the state for several years. This denial is based on Section 3 of the country's civil law, which stipulates that only members of ethnic groups that had settled in Myanmar before 1823 are automatically eligible for Myanmar citizenship. (UNHCR, 1954). Furthermore, members of the minority group may apply for naturalization by providing compelling evidence that their ancestors arrived in Myanmar before 1848. Despite claims of Rohingya ancestry dating back a millennium to Arab traders, the state regards them as vestiges of British colonialism and, therefore, ineligible for citizenship. The state has dismissed their claims due to the lack of documentary or concrete proof. Subsequently, the Rohingya faced discrimination and, in 1978, took up arms against the Burmese government. In response, the government launched "Operation Dragon King," which resulted in the forced exodus of over 200,000 Rohingya refugees to Bangladesh. (Diplomat. 2023). The military employed force, persecution, and rape as means to coerce the Rohingya to leave.

Rohingya Became Stateless

The Rohingya minority group became stateless and lost their citizenship status in 1982 when the government enacted the Citizenship Act. This legislation granted citizenship to all 135 ethnic groups in Myanmar except for the Rohingya, leaving them without any legal status to reside in the Rakhine state. Consequently, the Rohingyas Solitary Organization, the largest paramilitary group representing Rohingya separatists, was formed. This separatist group allied with other factions and formed the Rohingya National Army to combat the oppression faced by the minority group. By denying them citizenship, the government also deprived them of access to healthcare, education, and employment opportunities. In 1991, the army launched "Operation Clean and Beautiful Nation," a brutal crackdown on the Rohingya, which resulted in almost 250,000 refugees fleeing to Bangladesh. (News, 2019).

The tense relationship between the opposing groups persisted, leading to another outbreak of violence in 2012. The incident occurred after accusations of Muslim men raping and killing Buddhist women in Rakhine state. Without any investigation into the incident, extremist groups, backed by military forces, launched a massive crackdown on the Muslim minority group. Homes were burned, and a torture campaign ensued, resulting in almost 10,000 Rohingyas being displaced once again. Human Rights Watch condemned the persecution of the minority group, but their appeals were ignored as the

state sanctioned the violation of human rights, leaving no one accountable for such atrocities. The Arakan Salvation Army, a military group, emerged to avenge their families, conducting small-scale operations against the police and security forces in 2016. The following year, almost 30 police posts were attacked resulting in 12 police officers being killed, causing a crisis among Rohingya civilians. (McPherson, 2017). In response, security forces reacted with brutality and oppression, killing 6,700 Rohingya, including women and children. Innocent individuals were killed, and 288 villages were burned to the ground. (Sahani et al., 2021). Women were subjected to rape and torture, and the security forces slaughtered men. This resulted in a severe refugee crisis. According to a UN report "Since the beginning of the crisis in August 2017, about 400,000 Rohingya men, women, and children have fled their homes in Myanmar Rakhine state. (Wildman, 2017). The violent campaign of oppression and brutality has resulted in the fastest-growing humanitarian crisis of the recent past.

Aung San Suu Kyi, the de-facto leader of Myanmar argued, "50% of the villages of the Muslim population are safe and intact as they were before the crisis took place" (News, 2019.). When she says that 50% of Muslim villages are present in Rakhine state, it also means that 50% are gone and burned down. The military has also put landmines near the Dhaka-Bangladesh border to stop Rohingya from repatriating.

Ethnic Cleansing of Rohingya by Myanmar State

UN defines ethnic cleansing as a "purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographical areas". (Aung, 2018.). The deliberate assault by the Myanmar military on the Rohingya renders the Rohingya crisis a clear case of ethnic cleansing. The violence perpetrated against the minority group has resulted in the displacement of 10,000 individuals, who have fled to neighboring countries like Thailand, Malaysia, and predominantly Bangladesh. Oppression and violence have been an inherent policy of the Myanmar state against the Rohingya community since the inception of the conflict.

In 1962, following a military coup, the Burmese military abolished the existing constitution and established a regime of military rule. (Silverstein, 1967). The military junta opted to utilize the perceived threat of the Rohingya as a tool to unify the predominantly Buddhist population, a tactic commonly employed by authoritarian regimes. Despite the minority group's lineage dating back to the 15th century, the Rohingyans were persecuted by the state and branded as illegal.

Major Actors in Myanmar-Rohingya Conflict

It is imperative to analyze the various actors involved in the Myanmar-Rohingya Crisis. Recognizing the key stakeholders in the crisis is critical. The following actors are among the significant players involved in the Myanmar-Rohingya conflict.

Internal Stakeholders

State

- a) The primary perpetrator of atrocities against Muslims in the Myanmar-Rohingya Crisis is the Myanmar state itself. Since gaining independence, various

governments have rejected the historical claim of the Rohingya people and have failed to recognize them as a legitimate ethnic group within the country.

Buddhist Nationalist

- b) In the Myanmar-Rohingya crisis, Buddhist Nationalists constitute a significant stakeholder who opposes the voting rights of Rohingya. In 2015, they staged protests against Rohingya, which prompted President Thein Sein to temporarily invalidate their ID cards.

c) **Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) Militant Group**

Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, a terrorist group, carried out massive attacks against the military and police. Military in counter-offensive often targeted the unarmed and civilian population.

National League for Democracy: The Democratic Party in Myanmar

- d) The Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi head of the Democratic Party in Myanmar refuses to accept the Rohingya massacre by Army.

External Stake Holders

External actors are those who have raised concerns about the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar. One of these actors is the United Nations, which has repeatedly called on the government to address the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya. However, the government has refused to accept such claims. According to a 2019 report by the UN fact-finding committee, the situation in Myanmar remains deteriorating and there is a high risk of genocide. Additionally, the panel has called for the military leader to be prosecuted in the international criminal court for genocide. The UN Secretary-General has urged swift action, stating that the crisis has "spiraled into the world's fastest developing refugee emergency and a humanitarian and human rights nightmare." (Houda, 2020.)

Theoretical Framework

Gurr's Model

According to the Gurr model, when a group or individuals are marginalized and denied their basic rights. It leads to the development of grievances within that group. The unaddressed grievances of the marginalized group can result in mobilization against those in power, fueling discrimination and inequality. This mobilization can lead to rebellion, with the group resorting to offensive tactics to secure their rights. The powerful group, further escalating the conflict and violence, meets the rebellion with repression. This cycle can continue to repeat itself, leading to long-term conflicts that are challenging to resolve. (Gurr, 1993)



Fig.1 Theoretical Model: Linkages among the Core Concepts

The Gurr Model of instrumental theories perfectly explains the Myanmar state atrocities against their marginalized ethnic group. Many scholars have detected a decrease in political violence, but the causes of this decline remain unclear. As a contribution to this debate, we revisit the controversy over trends in conflict after the end of the Cold War. While many made ominous predictions of surging ethnic warfare, Gurr presented evidence of a pacifying trend since the mid-1990s and predicted a further decline in ethnic conflict in an article on 'the waning of ethnic war'. Leveraging more recent data on ethnic groups and their participation in ethnic civil wars, this study evaluates if Gurr was right about the decline of ethnic conflict and if he was right for the right reasons. The paper uses whether an increase in governments' accommodative policies toward ethnic groups can plausibly account for a decline in ethnic civil war. Our findings lend considerable support to an account of the pacifying trend that stresses the granting of group rights, regional autonomy, and inclusion in power-sharing, as well as democratization and peacekeeping. The Rohingya have long suffered from marginalization and lack of basic rights at the hands of the Buddhist majority in Myanmar. Since their independence, they have been denied access to education, healthcare, employment, and citizenship, and have been labeled as illegal immigrants. This discrimination has resulted in the mobilization of some individuals, who formed groups like the Rohingya Salvation Army, to end the violence and discrimination against themselves and their families. In response, the state authorities took action and targeted rebel groups like the Rohingya National Army and the Rohingya Salvation group. However, the authorities went beyond the rebel groups and attacked civilians, killing children, women, and the elderly, and committing acts of rape and slaughter. As a result, a large refugee crisis emerged, with many Rohingya fleeing to escape the brutality of the military. This cycle of violence and discrimination has led to an ethnic conflict, resulting in ethnic cleansing and genocide by the powerful against the oppressed, as was the case with the Myanmar military's treatment of the Rohingya population. According to Gurr's model, this is the result of unaddressed grievances leading to mobilization, rebellion, repression, and conflict that is difficult to resolve. (Cederman, 2017).

Genesis of Myanmar Ethnic Conflict

The historical background of the Myanmar conflict highlighted how the poor leadership and the particularistic interests of the elite have exacerbated the conflict where the minority Rohingya have faced discrimination and economic neglect by the authorities. The lack of access to public goods like health, employment, and education to a particular community shows the systematic deprivation faced by them as the authorities have snatched their identity as Myanmar citizens. (Lindsay, 2020.)

Underlying Causes

The indirect reasons that initiate a conflict are the underlying or hidden causes that can be socio-economic or socio-political, depending on the nature of the conflict. They might not be direct reasons for a conflict but are essential to understanding the true nature of the conflict. Some significant underlying causes contributing to the Myanmar conflict are as follows:

Structural Causes

After gaining independence, Myanmar was predominantly under military rule, resulting in the isolation of its economy, which hurt economic growth and development. Consequently, the state's focus on the welfare and living conditions of its citizens

remained limited. The military regime instigated nationalistic sentiments in Buddhist extremists, leading to state-sponsored discriminatory policies against Muslim ethnic minorities. Furthermore, the state faces intra-state security concerns due to some individuals taking up arms and joining rebel groups to combat the oppressive policies that deny them citizenship. (Lindsay, 2020). These security concerns have created a situation that forces minority groups to flee to nearby regions. In addition, their ethnic geography, which borders Bangladesh, presents further challenges. Due to the state's perception of them as illegal immigrants in a Buddhist-majority state, the affected minority groups continue to face severe difficulties.

Political Causes

The political landscape of Myanmar has not been conducive to the protection of human rights and individual liberty since the country came under military rule. The Buddhist extremist burnt the entire village of Rohingya and forced them to flee their area. The state has also adopted exclusionary policies favoring the Buddhist majority. Moreover, adopting policies against the Muslim minority Rohingya appeases the extremist and provide the military dictatorship legitimacy to control the state. The creation of rebel groups and inter-group politics between Buddhist nationalists and military groups have created a worrisome situation when one group has been marginalized and forced to flee the land that their ancestors inhabited. (Patel, 2017)

Socio-Economic Causes

The socioeconomic elements are essential to understand the discrimination faced by the ethnic minority in Rohingya. The economic policies adopted by the Myanmar government were discriminatory as a particular community is living in extreme conditions of hunger and unemployment. As per the World Bank report, Rakhine state is the least developed area with a poverty rate of 78%. These socio-economic conditions have forced some of the Rohingya to take arms and fight for rights but that has further aggravated the security concerns. Depriving them of citizenship status has led to their marginalization in an economic and social setup.

Cultural and Perceptual Causes:

Culture is always close to people as it depicts one identity. One of the reasons that led to the discrimination of Rohingya is their distinct cultural and religious identity from the rest of the Myanmar state. Rohingya speak a different language from the official Burma language and the state has devised policies that restrict them from following their culture openly. For instance, against Muslim practice before marrying, they have to show pictures to authorities without a scarf and a beard for bride and groom respectively. Moreover, they share a problematic history as they joined opposing camps in WWII, so hatred has existed since the very beginning, and Buddhists have never accepted Rohingya in their state and adopted all means to expel them. (Sudheer & Banerjee, 2021)

Proximate Causes

These are the direct reasons that led to conflict or crisis between two opposing parties. While the roots of the conflict can be traced back to Myanmar's independence, the situation has worsened in recent years due to the efforts of leaders and Buddhist elites to consolidate power and marginalize the Rohingya minority through discriminatory policies. The failure of democratic leaders like Aung San Suu Kyi to advocate for the

rights of minorities, under pressure from Buddhist extremists, has further exacerbated the situation. The policies implemented have resulted in insurgent groups attacking police officers, which in turn led to the use of brutal force by the authorities, resulting in a refugee crisis in Myanmar.

Rohingya Migration: Where Rohingya are Migrating?

Rohingya are migrating mostly to Bangladesh, which is close to Rakhine State. According to the UN refugee agency, almost nine hundred thousand refugees are in the country and live in Cox Bazar district, which has become the World's largest refugee camp. (Loy, 2019). Almost 100,000 refugees have also migrated to Malaysia but as they do not have any legal status, they are living in the worst conditions. (Ty, 2019). In India, Eight thousand Rohingya have registered although there are forty thousand Rohingya throughout the country. (UNHCR, 2022). Some Rohingya have sought refuge in Indonesia, and Thailand. Those who are present in Cox Bazar have now been sent to an island by the Bangladesh government where they are allowed to move but if they want to go to the mainland then they have to take permission from forces.

The Contemporary Situation in Myanmar:

Myanmar's military orchestrated a coup, reasserting its authority on February 1 following the general elections in which the NLD party led by Aung San Suu Kyi emerged victorious. (News, 2019.) The coup took place and the military took control when Myanmar Military commander-in-chief Min Aung Haling took power. He has received condemnation from International media, International organizations like the UN, and major powers like the US, Britain, and the EU. There are many protesters against the coup and the military has responded through curfew and attacks. The country has been in a Civil war situation where COVID-19 effects have added more fuel to the crisis. UN has warned that the attack on medical personnel had created problems for the COVID-19-response. The Rohingya community has been under great threat during the COVID-19 situation as the government is reluctant to provide these people with medical facilities. Following the atrocities committed against them by the Burmese Military, the Rohingya are presently residing in refugee camps located in Bangladesh or have been internally displaced and are living in various camps situated in Rakhine state.(Fishbein, Awng, Lusan, 2022). They lack basic facilities and are denied access to humanitarian aid, and in sanitary conditions, the risk of spread of infection is very high. After the outbreak of COVID-19, Myanmar and Bangladesh have been pressured by international and domestic actors to take measures that would prevent the spread of disease in Rohingya. However, the Rohingya have been on God's mercy and no one took serious action to control the problem. The Rohingya are still looking forward to world leaders playing their part. The United Nations has passed many resolutions against Myanmar's Military but permanent members of the Security Council China and Russia vetoed those. Moreover, the Bangladesh government is registering the Rohingya on the island so that their repatriation becomes easy. The governments of countries such as the UK and the US have extended support to the Bangladesh government by providing aid to improve the living conditions of the Rohingya in refugee camps. (Ahmed & Mohiuddin, 2019). However, being stateless and residing in refugee camps is not a sustainable solution to their situation. As non-citizens of Bangladesh, they lack basic rights, and they are unsafe in their homeland where the military has committed brutalities and forced them to leave. To resolve the conflict, the international community needs to facilitate mediation, rehabilitation, and reconciliation efforts

Conflict Management in Myanmar: Solutions to the conflict and Analysis

The Rohingya have experienced severe mistreatment following Myanmar's independence, including instances of state-sponsored ethnic cleansing and denial of citizenship status despite their long-standing lineage and history in Rakhine state. The state has not just violated human rights but left the poor and downtrodden Rohingyas on God's mercy snatching their basic rights. The dire human rights situation demands quick action by the International community to mediate and apply the principle of Responsibility to Protect R2P. (Adams, 2019). It entails that when a state fails to protect its citizens from oppression, war crimes, and genocide, the responsibility to protect shifts on the International community to protect those citizens and intervene in the state affairs.

The ongoing human rights violations in Myanmar have brought into question the effectiveness of international organizations in their role to prevent such abuses and maintain conditions for peace and security in the region. (Amnesty International, 2022.). Despite the UN's public condemnation of state-sponsored ethnic cleansing, concrete action has yet to be taken to hold the oppressive regime accountable for its treatment of ethnic minorities.

Restoration of democracy is essential for peace in Myanmar and for improving the living conditions of Rohingya as the Myanmar military has extended the state of emergency, which has worsened the situation for the poor Rohingya people. The state of emergency, which has been extended by the Myanmar military, has worsened the situation for the Rohingya people. The international community, including world leaders and international organizations such as the UN, should assist Myanmar in reestablishing democracy. Together, they should create a favorable environment for the safe repatriation of Rohingya back to their state by holding the military leadership accountable through strict sanctions. Upon their return, the Rohingya should be granted citizenship so that they can lead a life with dignity and respect. (United Nations, 2019.)

The rebel groups should be encouraged to take part in peaceful dialogue and they must be assured of the provision of equal rights. Internally displaced Rohingya should return to their Rakhine state and reforms should be introduced to deal with their grievances and problems.

The Rohingya who are residing in refugee rehabilitation centers in Bangladesh are facing numerous challenges such as restricted movement and lack of access to quality education, thereby perpetuating their impoverished situation. The international community must ensure that adequate health and educational facilities are provided to them, as Bangladesh alone may not be equipped to provide a standard of living for refugees. Additionally, host states' cooperation and support are necessary for international organizations to continue their refugee programs without getting overburdened. (Lewis, 2021).

If all efforts to resolve the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar fail, it may be necessary to consider providing them with a separate state where they can live according to their cultural and religious practices. The international community should prioritize human security both in refugee camps and in Myanmar. In refugee rehabilitation centers, the provision of quality education, healthcare, and basic needs such as food, water, and shelter are necessary to ensure that they have a decent standard of living. Moreover, any initiative to provide a separate state for Rohingya should take into account the opinions

and preferences of the Rohingya community themselves. It should be done through peaceful negotiations and dialogue, and in compliance with international law and norms.

Conclusion

Despite the sanctions and condemnation by International actors, the condition of Rohingya in Myanmar has not changed and those who are still living in the Rakhine state are stateless with no security, recognition, or personal development. The Myanmar authorities should start a dialogue with insurgent groups of Rohingya and provide them with citizenship so that their grievances can be met and conditions can be improved. An international organization like the UN and major powers US and China should mediate and impose sanctions on Myanmar state for human rights violations against an ethnic minority. The condition of the Rohingya could only be improved with the help of the international community where state authorities should be dealt with coercion from International actors. Human life and the dignity associated with it should be respected at all levels without any discrimination. The international community must launch aid and support programs to improve the living conditions of Rohingya who are forced to live in inhuman conditions. For a dignified life, they must be provided back with citizenship status so that they enjoy their basic rights like other Myanmar citizens. The International community must play its part in bringing back democratic government in Myanmar as the military has been conducting oppression and violence against ethnic minorities and these illegitimate means have created rebel groups in Rakhine state that are hazardous for the political stability of the state particularly and the region generally. Even in the 21st century, living a life without any state identity is hard and raise question about the integrity of International organizations like the UN that were built for the protection of human rights and peace in the world.

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