

THE ROHINGYA CRISIS: HUMANITARIAN AND SECURITY IMPLICATION FOR INDIA

**Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
award of the degree of Master of Philosophy (Arts) in International
Relations**

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Certified that the thesis entitled, "THE ROHINGYA CRISIS: HUMANITARIAN AND SECURITY IMPLICATION FOR INDIA" submitted by me towards the partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Philosophy (Arts) in International Relation of Jadavpur University, is based upon my own original work and there is no plagiarism. This is also to certify that the work has not been submitted by me for the award of any other degree/diploma of the same Institution where the work is carried out, or to any other Institution. A paper out of this dissertation has also been presented by me at a seminar /conference at Jadavpur University thereby fulfilling the criteria for submission, as per the M.Phil Regulation (2017) of Jadavpur University.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

SI No	Abbreviation	Stands For
1	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
2	UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
3	IOM	International Organisation for Migration
4	UAE	United Arab Emirates
5	IC	International Community
6	LET	Lashkar-e-Taiba
7	RSO	Rohingya Solidarity Organisation
8	KMTTP	Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport Project
9	OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
10	UN	United Nations
11	GOM	Government of Myanmar
12	NDPHR	National Democratic Party for Human Rights
13	IDP	Internally Displaced Person
14	ARSA	Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army
15	NRC	National Registration Certificate
16	HRC	Human Rights Commission
17	ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
18	UNSC	United Nations Security Council
19	UK	United Kingdom
20	US	United States
21	UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
22	EU	European Union
23	NCA	Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
24	OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
25	RtoP	Responsibility to Protect
26	ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
27	SAT	Specific Adoption Theory
28	UNHC	United Nations High Commissioner
29	RIF	Rohingyas Independent Front
30	RIA	Rohingya Independence Army
31	RPF	Rohingya Patriotic Front
32	ARIF	Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front
33	ARNO	Arakan Rohingya National Organisation
34	AQ	Al Qaeda
35	AQIS	Al Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent
36	TTP	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
37	IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
38	AQAP	Al Qaedain the Arabian Peninsula
39	JMB	Jamma'tul Mujahideen Bangladesh

Continued

40	BOI	Bureau of Immigration Office
41	AIMIM	All India Majlis-E-Ittehadul Muslimeen
42	JUD	Jamat Ud Dawa
43	RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
44	PMO	Prime Minister's Office
45	ICG	International Crisis Group
46	JME	Jaish-e-Muhammad
47	CRPF	Central Reserve Police Force
48	JEI	Jamat-e-Islami
49	ICS	Islamic Chhatra Shibir
50	IS	Islamic State
51	MSA	Myanmar Security Advisor
52	NSA	National Security Advisor
53	NIA	National Investigation Agency
54	BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
55	NSA	National Security Consultants
56	SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
57	ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
58	DNDC	Department of Narcotic Drugs Control
59	ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
60	MOU	Memorandum of Understanding

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THE ROHINGYA CRISIS: HUMANITARIAN AND SECURITY

IMPLICATION FOR INDIA

INTRODUCTION

“No one leaves home unless home is the mouth of a shark. You only run for the border when you see the whole city running as well”.

The multi-talented writer and a teacher Warsan Shire wrote this reminiscent line in her poem “Home”¹. She actually wants to tell us that through the ocean including in the boat, why the people make a dangerous journey. Refugees made an unsafe journey on sea by the boat. They have no idea about their destination. At the end of this dangerous journey an unsafe border-land are waiting for them with lots of protections and surprises. The massive humanitarian crisis and violence all over the world are created in twenty first century. The displacement of massive population is the important factors of all. Including it the other important factor is aggravation of terrorism. The forced eviction data by UNHCR² is approx. 66 million and within it approx. 22 million are refugees and also approx. 10 million people lost their state permanently. This is not a day-night process. Some peoples who want to avoid conflict and violence they became statelessness by forced through the state itself and sometimes by nature. The global crisis of refugees is continuing process that has happened not a particular country but overall the world. According to Pope Francis, plaintive the inhuman behaviour of refugees around the world and the failure of nation-states to tackle the problem, calls the ‘globalisation of indifference’³. By UNHCR the word forced migration is a strategy of war that used by any state rather than it means the side-effect of any state.

The conditions of refugees were very poor after the effect of 9/11. The refugees who are floating from other countries through the seas have suffered from heavy surveillance and high security throughout the world. Most of the refugees in recent era who are searching shelter are Muslim. The situation of Islam phobia occurred after 9/11 mostly. Western and European

countries are mostly affected by this phobia for their regional security. The high alert condition created throughout the world after 9/11.

Refugees have not any rights or any state. Every human being enjoys their rights and protection which is given by their countries and its constitution. No one from others state cannot destroy their citizenship status. Hannah Ardent created a chapter that is "the right to have rights"⁴(1951) express that displaced people agonized the right which is vague i.e. citizenship. Every person by asset is reality. She questioned that how the right guaranteed? Further she suggested that one not only a person but a citizen also. She was expressed her critic for modern human rights situation especially Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). She believed that rights created by nation state which distinguishes the rights of the inhabitant other than their own citizens. Although contributing to Ardent chapter Stephanie De Gooyer calls this 'post -right' because at the time of arriving it has already displaced when it makes itself known⁵. This case is probably the Rohingya Muslim from Myanmar. For many years Myanmar build an organized operation for exposed the citizenship rights of the Rohingya an also their fundamental rights given by the state. Finally, they are displaced from their state. This Rohingya crisis is a disaster through all over the world. This was occurred in numerous periods. So many Rohingya Muslim communities in Myanmar, Rakhine state are escaped. Various UN agencies reported that in only 2012 approx. 1,68,000 Rohingyas have left Myanmar. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) also informed that 87,000 escaped to Bangladesh from October 2016 to July 2017. The violence is heartless in August 2017. After some month 2,70,000 are escaped from Myanmar and came for shelter in Bangladesh, Malaysia, Thailand, Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Saudi Arabia, and India⁶. In India most of the Rohingyas are came after 2012 Rakhine digester. Now the questions are why they escaped from their state? And after escaping what should they do?

In South East Asia Myanmar is the lowest advance country. Myanmar previous name Burma was continued so long time but when the military junta came in power the name Burma was changed by Myanmar. According to some scholars the name of Burma was taken from the Hindu Gods 'Brahma Desha'. Some others scholars believed that Burma is taken from the Bamar language of some ethnic majority groups that was used in the time of independence 1949. "The Republic of The Union of Myanmar" is the official name of Myanmar in 2008 constitution. Myanmar is the highly Buddhist based

country. Also, it is fact that Myanmar is multi religion country in South East Asia.88% of the total population in Myanmar are Buddhist.Rest of the people are Hindu, Muslim, Christian and so on. Muslim population in Myanmar is 15% of the total populations.Rakhine state in Myanmar, has 3.8 million public are Buddhist, 33.6% are the Muslim Rohingya. They are the combinations of miscellaneous ethnic groups like Arabs, Moghuls, and Bengalis. For the long time Buddhist people think that Rohingya Muslim people are the illegal immigrant of their state. They came from Bangladesh previous years ago. After some violence Rohingya Muslims lost their citizenship in Myanmar and became the refugees. Bangladesh and India are the neighbour country of Myanmar. These two states are the first choices of Rohingya Muslim for many reasons.

In November 2015, global news was the impressive success of National League for Democracy national election in Myanmar.This news is global news but in the point of Rohingya was not.I think it is because of the migration crisis in Europe that takes the position of all media in comparing Rohingya crisis.

The first chapter of my Research paper named “The Rohingya Crisis: Humanitarian and Security Implication for India” is, ‘The Historical Background of Rohingya Crisis’. The exodus community in the world is Rohingya. From thousand years ago the people of inhabitant Rohang community was lived in Myanmar are called Rohingya.Rohang is a Bengali community.At the time of 17th century the Bengalis Muslim used the word for identifying the king of Arakan. Now it is called Rakhine. Rohingya are the many ethnic minorities in Myanmar. Majority portion of their community are living in Rakhine state. Their posterity is Arab agents and they spoke with their local languages and follow their cultures.The Rohingya community are settled inside Arakan state in Myanmar. Now the Arakan state is also known as Rakhine state. Previous time in 1948-1962 Rohingya community considered as the citizens of Burma. Indian monarchies Dhannawadi and Asli create Kaladan and Lemro river valley in 4th century. This region is the followers of the Mahayana Buddhism and by religion they are Hindus. Arakan is the central point of the merchants who came from Arab region. They came to Arakan state and settled there.

There is huge discussion about the real originality of Arakan state and the community of Rohingya. Some of the scholars told that Rohingya are the illegal community from Bangladesh. Others say that Rohingya are inherent in Arakan and posterity of the original Muslim from Bihar. Well this controversy

is continued throughout time by time. But there is a valid point that most of the Rohingyas are Muslim and hundred years ago they are lived in Arakan. The Northern part of Rakhine state like Maungdaw, Rathedaung and Buthidaung Townships are Muslims areas where the conflict creates. Throughout the last few years the violence going to be an extreme level and it makes ethnic cleansing and genocide. Rohingya lost their citizenship, identity and their home land during some years. Many ups and downs happened and they finally had the name from international community is Rohingya Refugees and Statelessness people.

Second chapter of my research paper is, 'Recent Crisis and International Community Role'. In Rakhine state chaos was created with the name of Myanmar crisis. In August 2017, the suspected killings against community of Muslims who are lived in the outburst area have got the focus globally. In 1948 when the Burma get independence from the British rule, the citizen of those alongside outburst area enjoyed peace, stability and fundamental human rights. Myanmar internally faces the outcomes of violence and conflicts. After 2015 the constancy in the stage of politics and the pressure of military crops along with high level political stress is continued. Still the problem of Rohingya community has not been determined. From the very beginning of Burma's, the independence Rohingya Muslim people in the Rakhine area have been subjected to domination and disregarding policies. The official name of Burma is Myanmar. The Rohingya community crisis or the Rakhine state crisis is the same. International community gave the attention of the situation of Rakhine state crisis. They also noticed the problems of the civilians of that state and alongside the state. Many people of Myanmar lost their fundamental rights. They forcefully evacuated by their country. After 2017 incidents the situation are worsened. The sheltered countries cannot take the risk by giving them shelter. Peoples who already have found shelter have also faced the consequences. They are belonging in the middle position. None state cannot receive them even their homeland also. The serious problems of Myanmar and the statelessness status, their citizenship rights, constancy, security create many important factors. They became the fastest refugee by some incidents like conflict among Myanmar military and the Rohingya Muslim community, the brutal killing of them, harassment and sexual abuse of their women, the regional conflict with Buddhist majority people and so on. International community must deal with the most important factor in this crisis that is humanitarian crisis. They are refugees but

they are all human beings. We are not lived in an inhuman environment. Every one of their community are not criminal. So definitely I.C will be done any solution for them. Already UN, HCR, UNSC, Red Cross Society gave them some resolutions like humanitarian aids. The international community have urged Myanmar to speed up the process of repatriation, though concerns remain on the long-term political issues including “community reconciliation” and “citizenship status”⁷.

The third chapter of my topic is ‘India’s Position’. The serious humanitarian crisis that Rohingya refugees are escaping from Myanmar in the team has also affected India's regional stability and security. Initially, 'Rohingya crisis' is the reason behind internal conflict in Myanmar. The Buddhist majority community, which is largely responsible for this contradiction, has denied the acceptance of a multi-lingual and multi-disciplinary society. The Rohingya Muslim problem is also the result of this greater mentality. Rakhine 'ethnic group', which is basically Buddhist, and because of the relations between the political and socially influential 'Bamma-Buddhist' majority groups, gradually the Rakhine Muslim community of Rakhine region has become cornered.

There are two aspects of India's position in the Rohingya crisis. First, the impact of India's position on Rohingya refugees and second, India's role in solving the crisis. The international debate has given much importance to the first issue. As a result, many questions arise regarding India's views towards Rohingya. Two basic ideas explain India's position in the Rohingya issue. Though two things are different in most matters, neither does it differ in the fact that the lack of specific refugee policies and structures in India has made the Rohingya crisis complex. According to the first thought, currently there is a continuation element in the way of thinking about Rohingya in India, because it is consistent with India's traditional concept. For example, it can be said for instance, that while India gave permission to the refugees of India (East Pakistan) to stay in India during the war in 1971, after the war, the return to refugees to Bangladesh ensured the policy. As a result, it is understood that India does not support the permanent residence of the refugees, and at the same time, Delhi's views on a national refugee policy are quite complex. But the BJP-led government did not follow the old policies of Rohingya refugees in India. In the case of Rohingyas, the government closed the door, whereas India always welcomed the refugees in other areas. In the past, India did not consider any refugee to be a "terrorist threat". On the other hand, India is worried about the humanitarian condition of the Rohingya. It is the traditional

culture of our state. “Athithi Debo Bhavo” has made us extra ordinary throughout the world. We are accepted any refugees by heartily in previous years. Till now some of the cases we do exactly the same. Some humanitarian aids are providing for the Rohingyas through the scheme of ‘Operation Inshaniyat’.

Fourth chapter of my paper is ‘Rohingya Crisis: India’s Security Concern’. This chapter explains India's current status from the past in relation to Rohingya. The argument is that India's position in the Rohingya crisis is a passing point of view for security. This can create more security issues for India, which can lead to fundamentalist thought in India, which is harmful to India. According to this, the government's Rohingya policy will endanger thousands of Indians in many countries including Myanmar. Because Indians are minorities in all the countries of the world. Moreover, this view has reduced the long tradition of India's democratic society, where in the past India has kept its doors open for refugees. There is an idea that the Rohingyas are at the root of the BJP-led government's position, the proposed 2016 Citizenship Amendment Bill, where the 'Non-Muslim refugees' citizens are said to be recognized as citizens. It may be said that, when problems arose in Myanmar in 2017, people of Buddhist and Christian communities were sheltered as refugees in Mizoram state of India, while at the same time Muslim Rohingyas were not accepted as refugees. This dual policy of India has put India in question at national and international level. In the Cox Bazar area in Bangladesh, the Pakistan based terrorist group Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET) to affectionate and accomplished cadres of the Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO) and others rebel group, Indian security agencies independently took note of challenges. The youth continue susceptible to radical information because of the lack of education and recreational facilities they excepting occasional Bollywood music videos on mobile phones. In Kutupalong the Falah-e-Insaniyat substance, the LeT’s front organisation, has been involved in relief work in camps. That’s actually the concerning matter of Bangladesh Myanmar and India individually.

Last chapter is about conclusion and findings of the research. I personally believed that everything that has begun sometimes it will be an end also. Maybe it takes longer time. For Indian security the most significant part is Myanmar. But not only in security even success, stability also include with specifically Northern area of India. Myanmar denotes the Gate Way of Northern states of India to others countries of ASEAN. For connectivity enterprises and commercial purpose Myanmar is a vital partner of India. The

highway project of Trilateral highway from North East India to Thailand and outside through Myanmar and Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport Project (KMTTP) is the final stage of execution. To deny space and territory to Indian rebels in Myanmar, to carry out militant attacks Myanmar security forces are actively collaborating with India. Myanmar performs to the militant attacks against Indian civilians and security forces across the 1,640 km border with Indian States of Mizoram, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. The productive relations among India and Myanmar achieve the success of Act East policy of India. India is concern about the increasing participation of China with Myanmar.

On the contrary the relation with Bangladesh is also important for India. The best part of this relation among two countries is Prime Minister Modi and Sheikh Hasina's bold leadership. The most effected country by the refugees is Bangladesh. Opposite party of Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Jamaat-e-Islam this two have lean to Pakistan create pressure on Sheikh Hasina. If she didn't find any permanent solution on refugees 'issue, she is ready to face the uphill conditions. The condition of Myanmar refugee going to be troubled for Bangladesh if Myanmar couldn't control the crisis, India recommended Myanmar for that and also improved its (India) role for this crisis. Bangladesh wants that India takes any decision for solving the crisis and advised not to force others Rohingya for displacement and also make any policy to receive those stateless Rohingya in Myanmar.

For this Rohingya matter India is trapped by the balancing condition among humanitarian concern and national security threat. I hope India took the perfect solution for Rohingyas and also for itself. India must be remembered that the traditional view point for the needy community. On the contrary as an uprising country India achieved worldwide concern by its strategic power and diplomatic policy. Actually, this is a controversial dilemma. One side India is thoughtful about Rohingyas humanitarian way, other side India concerns for national security. One side India wants that the illegal immigrant Rohingya goes back to Myanmar after knowing the consequences. Other side India feels the pain of the statelessness people. This duel position makes India a global criticism.

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7. "U.N. and Myanmar agree outline of Rohingya return deal, no details", Reuters May 31, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya-un/un-and-myanmar-agree-outline-of-rohingya-return-deal-no-details-idUSKCN1IW2F2>.

Literature Review:

Md Al Amin in his article “Rohingya crisis: Identity of Rohingya Muslim in Myanmar” has highlighted the origin and development of Rohingya. He expressed in his paper that Arakan state was the homeland of Rohingyas. In ancient period to the post British period Rohingyas are deprived from citizenship law, voting right. He also explains the refugee issue in Bangladesh (December 2018). Haradhan kumar Mohajan in his article “History of Rakhine State and the Origin of the Rohingya Muslims” also, explains the origin of Rohingya. But he highlighted it’s with information and deals with recent tyranny in the Rakhine State of Myanmar (July 2018).AKM Ahsan Ullah in his article ‘Rohingya Migration: Is It a Function of Persecution’ describes the exodus community Rohingya deliberately excluded by Myanmar government. In this paper he points out that political and government pressure make them illegal immigrant. Further he comments that political pressure from the international community and local militants’ groups calling for the Government to stop the violence but no sign found there to stop the violence. K.Yhome, ‘Examining India's Stance on the Rohingya Crisis’ examines in his paper, Delhi’s approach towards the Rohingya crisis. He focuses on the role that India is playing to find a solution of the crisis. He stresses that perhaps Delhi able to recover its long tradition of behaviour with immigrants and makes space for taking control in the region. He also explains India’s stance for Rohingya crisis (July 2018).Arjun Soin, ‘Revamping India’s Answer to the Rohingya Crisis’ he critically examines convinced similar markets and the challenges in applying them in the world’s largest democracy. He further says the Refugee Resettlement Policy in India (2018).Niranjan Sahoo in his article, ‘India’s Rohingya Real politik’ briefly points out Myanmar humanitarian crisis. Including with it he explains the causes of Rohingyas exodus, international community concern about Rohingya crisis and finally he present India’s recent position about Rohingya crisis (October 31, 2017). Baladas Ghoshal in his article ‘India’s Responses to the Complex Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar’ very nicely presents India’s balancing policies towards Rohingyas. He describes that Rohingya is a threat of national security. On the other hand, India’s sympathetic nature on Rohingya also good. He expresses that New Delhi has to balance amongst its security anxieties and moralism on humanitarian issues. Yousuf Storai finds out in ‘Systematic Ethnic Cleansing: The Case Study

of Rohingya' is that important role in the policy approvals and formulations disk with respect to understanding and solving the long disagreement policy of Rohingyas (2018).

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) has watched that villages, homes, and assets of the Rohingya across Northern Rakhine State have been demolished by Buddhist people in Rakhine. It also designates that Rohingyas are victims of murders, desertions, torture, and rape and other forms of sexual violence in Rakhine State (OHCHR, 2017). The UN Security Council finds out the international community role in Rohingya crisis. It discusses Bangladesh position and refugee implementation. Many international organizations are doing very well in this humanitarian, it explains (2018). Mixed Migration Centre / Briefing Paper, 'Rohingya migration to India: patterns, drivers and experiences' indicate that Rohingya is an ethnic majority Muslim. They escape from Myanmar. This is the largest refugee group. They are seeking shelter in neighbouring countries, India is one of them. This paper emphasizes on Rohingya migration to India; investigate the drivers, the defence risks the Rohingya feel on their journeys, and the situations these immigrants have in Indian cities (2018). Jayanta Kumar Ray, 'An Essay on the Rohingya Crisis', presented in his article that a national security threat is Rohingya and Indian intelligence bureau has strong evidence between the link with Rohingya and most active terrorist groups. India and others countries are also very worried. Some Political who are concern about Rohingyas condition they have to re think it (October-December 2017). K. M. Atikur Rahman has tried to find out the source roots and penalties of ethnic violence of the Rohingya in Myanmar. He stresses that the Rohingya violence started with mostly the rejection of distinct characteristics and denial of Rohingya citizenship (Rahman, 2015). Mudasir Amin in his paper 'Nobody's Children, Owners of Nothing': Analysing the Indian State's Policy Response to the Rohingya Refugee Crisis' in 'Policy Report' reported that India's policy answer to the Rohingya crisis, comparing its political and humanitarian features; survey distinct phases occupied by the government to scheme the Rohingyas as a 'threat to India's national security'; and looks at the answer, present an description about the original politics of humanitarianism (February – May, 2018).

Research Methodology:

'Research Methodology' indicates that the logic of development of the process used to generate theory that is procedural frame work with in which the research is conducted (Remenyi et al., 1998).I have used mostly Qualitative method to pursue my research. Qualitative method is mostly inductive and spiral in nature. It has a very distinct structure. This is based on scientific method to gaining knowledge and observation system. In some parts of my research paper I have used Quantitative method also. This method generally involves collecting and adapting data in numerical form for making statistical calculation. I have realised mainly government organizations as secondary sources and Newspaper articles as primary sources. Since the ongoing Rohingya crisis with the recent phenomena there are less books available which includes the recent development, thus reliable only on Journal Articles, Newspapers, Websites and Research reports.

Objectives of Research:

This research analyzes that who is Rohingya, origin of Arakan state and the background of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. My research explains recent condition of Rohingya as humanitarian prospective. Besides all these I have specific objectives in my research. These are

1. Know about Rohingyas.
2. What is Rohingya Crisis in recent era?
3. Identify the main policies of International Community towards Rohingya.
4. India's active position about Rohingya.
5. What threat India and others countries feel from Rohingya?

Research Questions:

In my research paper, 'The Rohingya Crisis: Humanitarian and Security Implication for India", has four questions. These are

1. Is Rohingya a threat of national security in India?
2. What can India do for the humanitarian crisis over Rohingya community?
3. How the Rohingya possibly creates the growth of transnational crime in India?
4. Is India wants to maintain the balance between Humanitarian Crisis and National Security Threat?

Chapter-1

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ROHINGYA CRISIS

Who are Rohingya?

According to United Nations (UN), the most victimized minority group in the world is Rohingya, a part of Muslim populations in Rakhine State in Myanmar, South East Asia¹. Myanmar is a Buddhist majority-based country. The Rohingyas are describing from fifteenth century when Muslim basically migrated to the Arakan state. Now the state is called Rakhine state in Myanmar. For long time British are ruled over the Myanmar and also in Bangladesh. After some years the Muslims of Bangladesh came to Myanmar and settled there². Majority portion of Rohingyas settled in Rakhine state. In Myanmar Rohingyas epitomize a major proportion of Muslim³. They have their own languages and culture. With this they wanted to settle permanently in Rakhine state and also categorize themselves as a different ethnic group. But the government of Myanmar (GOM) denied their proposal. They are evicted from 135 documented ethnic groups in Myanmar⁴. Not only that but also, they evicted from 1982 citizenship law in Myanmar. Now the Rohingyas are officially stateless community⁵.

The term 'Rohingya' is resultant from the word 'Rohai' or 'Roshangee', a language degenerates to Rohingya⁶. In the old Arakan's (Rohang/ Roshang/ Rohang) Muslim are called Rohai and Roshangee. The two different Muslim population area of Chittagong in Bangladesh are 'Chatganiya' and 'Rohai'. They have distinct cultural habit with same religion. In fact, 'Rohai' are those who are escaping from Arakan recently. The Rohingyas vestige from Arabs, Moors, Turks, Persians, Moghuls, Patthans and Bengalese derivation⁷.

Arakan State:

The former ruler of Burma demanded that the main eight ethnic communities like Burman, Shan, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Mon, Chin, and Rakhaing (Arakanese Buddhist) Burma are totally native population. These

eight groups are sectioned into 135 ethnic groups. These all 135 divided groups came from Mongolian races. But positively they avoided that Burma doesn't come any races belonging only to Arian stock including Rohingya (Arakanese Muslim).



Ancient map of Arakan state.

Source: bilderbest.com.

The name of Arakan is very ancient. The word Arakan is Arabic or Persian Origin, having the same meaning in both languages. First Buddhist missionaries called Arakan as "Rekkha Pura". In a Latin geography (1597) of Peta Vino, the Country was referred to as Arakan. Fray Manrique (1628-1643) mentions the Country like Arakan (Ullah, 1997)⁸. British traveller Relph Fitch

(1586) reported Arakan with the name of Rocon. Tripura Chronicle Rajmala mentions the name of Arakan as Roshang. The famous European traveller Francis Buchanam (1762-1829) in the accounts mentioned 'Arakan' as Reng, Rong, Rossawn, Russawn and Rung. The Rohingya Muslim peoples are belonging to Arakan, in western Myanmar which is officially called Rakhine state. This is a coastal area. At the very beginning it was called Rakhang in Baharistan-i-Ghaybi⁹. It is an area of 36778km². This state is totally bounded by natural corridors and other neighbour states. On the East side there is Magway region and Bago region are seen. On the West side it is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. In the North West there is People's Republic of Bangladesh and North side it is bounded by China. It has 4 districts 17 townships and so many villages. Around 2.9 million peoples are in there in the recent 5 years.

The Mughal Period of Arakan:

In 7th Century AD the first Muslim settlement is traced in Arakan which is the identification of the ethnic origin of the Rohingyas in Myanmar¹⁰. In the year of 1433, the king Min Saw Mon of Maruk Kingdom recovered the Arakanese authority. He was the backing from Bengali sultanate. In the year of 1431, the sultan Jalal Uddin Mahammad Shah helped the king, Min Saw Mon. His army head Wali Khan led about 20,000 crowds. He brings back Min Saw Mon to the authority of Arakan but he wanted to become a king of Arakan. Sultan Gaur Ghias -Uddin who protected the king Min Saw Mon on the previous day, sent another army to reinstate the king. Both two Army Generals are come from Bengal and probably remained back in Arakan. After that time, the king of Arakanese used to start Mohamadian titles.

Inhabitant Movement in the British Period:

Arakan was taking in slaves from Bengalin 17th century. Some of them are Mughal. Shah Suja came to Arakan with his family after being defeated by Aurangzeb on 26th August, 1660. King Sanda Thudamma forfeit Suja's gold in the same year in December. Suja was going to escape in Manipur but his family was murdered by some Arakanese. Arakanese were used to attack in some Bengali areas with the help of Portuguese. After that incident Mughals wanted to demolish Arakan- Portuguese piracy. The Northern part of Arakan was captured by Shaista Khan under the Mughal administration. Northern

Arakan became an area of Muslim people¹¹. In Bengali areas there are some king vassal state like Chittagong, Noakhali, Bakerganj and they engaged until 1666. Bengali and Muslim culture were influenced by Buddhist- Arakanese king's and priests at that time.

During 1760 the Kaladana River was the wall between Rohingya and Rakhine state. Konbaung dynasty was conquest Rakhine in 1785. As a result, in 1799 almost 35000 people fled to Chittagong¹². After that this region has gone under British Raj. Some people are deported to central Burma by Burmar and rest of people managed to survive in Rakhine. After that they called themselves Rohingya "the native of Arakan"¹³. Some refugees from India's different parts like Telegu, Tamil and others were filled in Arakan, the ancient state of Burma from 1885 - 1937. An ethical pressure was emerged in Burma after that entry. The Arakan civilians were getting an anti-Indian feeling. After that situation it was going to be a conflict. That was created hostility and collective fights among Northern Arakan Muslims¹⁴.

Aggressions are built among Muslim and Arakanese at world war time. After capturing the Buddhist popular area by Japanese military, the circumstances were degraded. Like British, the Muslim of Arakanese and Indian invented public were also separated. This cultural partition leads to eternal enmity¹⁵.

Post British Period and Numerous Refugees:

The non-Burmans wanted to create their rights through a boundless revolution in Arakan after the withdrawal of British. A border state was built from 1947 to 1948 by the campaign of Mujahidin which has two states, one side is Rakhine and another side is Burmese. The Rakhine civilians, Rohingya requested to Prime Minister U Nu for the fight against radicalization which started in Mayu border region.



Rakhine (Arakan) State in Myanmar

Source: Wikipedia

The first refugee condition appeared when 20000 refugees took shelter in East Pakistan in 1948 after the freedom of Burma. A Regional Council for the Mayu region was created by Prime Minister U Nu in 1961.

Clarence operation of the Myanmar Military Junta:

Until 1962, the Rohingya were acknowledged as native individuals. At the same year Myanmar military junta established their power. After this phase Rohingya Community was deprived for their political privileges. Indians were pressurised by Burma’s community for leaving their country. Due to some harassment and unfairness in the Ne Win administration, the Rohingya people started to escape from Burma. For the first time 2,00,000 Rohingya took asylum in the Bangladesh in 1978¹⁶. With the help of United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) most of the refugees were returned after sixteen months. Burma accepted almost the entire refugee people as "lawful residents of Burma" (Corr, 2016). In 1982, "1982 citizenship law" was enacted. According to this law the Rohingya were not recognized among 135 races. They were detained as the Bengali Muslim¹¹. Rohingya became stronger

in their homeland. In 1989 and 1990 was the remarkable year for Burmese and Arakanese because Burma was named Myanmar in 1989 and Arakan was named Rakhine state by the military junta in 1990. Rakhine was made only for Rakhines. During 1990s National Democratic Party for Human Rights (NDPHR) political party was banned, the people of Maungdaw, Buthidaung and Rathedaung were persecuted¹⁷. The Myanmar army forced worker removed house and properties, raped the women's and harassed religious priests. In 1991 and 1992 nearly 250000 refugees fled to Bangladesh. The military forces were reunited on the border from Bangladesh to Burma. Again, with the help of UNHCR a repatriation treaty was signed to send the refugees to Burma. In 1992-1993, Myanmar agreed to resettle residents in their homes and places of original residence so that they can continue their livelihood as citizens of Myanmar society. Nevertheless, the biased behaviour of the military junta continued to suppress the Rohingya people, which led to the uprising of riots and more oppression¹⁸.

In June 2012, a conflict aroused between Ethnic Rakhines and the Rohingya of Northern Rakhines. In 28th May 2012, a young Buddhist woman was raped by three young Muslim men in Ramri Township (BBC 2014)¹⁹. They were arrested without waste any time. After this incident the local Rakhine activist told the entire Muslim community of Myanmar was responsible for that. Myanmar is a Buddhist majority country. In 3rd June 2012, three hundred Rakhine had surrounded a passenger bus and killed ten Muslims beating them to death. After five days the Muslims began protests, burned houses of Rakhines. Seven Rakhines were died in the riots. In response, Buddhists also reacted violently; protested the expulsion of Bengali from Myanmar. The President Thein Sin has declared a state of Emergency in Rakhine and a military administration allowed. Therefore, the discomfort in Rakhine has increased; in the conflict 650 Rohingya were killed, 1,200 disappeared and more than 80,000 were displaced. Even the police and parliamentary forces sided with the Rakhine's; the military lashed the huge areas, Rohingya men and boys were arrested, women were raped by Rakhines and the military. The government refused to recognize 750000 Muslims in North of Rakhines as "Rohingya" and he referred to them as "Bengali". After sectarian violence, more than 100,000 Rohingya were confined to Internally Displaced Person (IDP) camps. IDP camps lacked no food, rations, water, clean and functioning latrines and medical attention. The Myanmar army and the citizens of Rakhine prevented humanitarian aid from reaching the camps. In 2015, thousands of

Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh by boat through Malacca strait and the Andaman Sea. The internal news called them “the boat people”. Nearly 8000 refugees were snubbed from Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. 300 refugees were missing in the sea. In October 2016 based on three-point attack in the Burmese borders the military force of Myanmar showed an offensive against the Rohingya. They called it “clearance operations”. They were killed, raped and burnt their houses and source of income were burned down. Even they didn’t spare children and unprotected women. Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) took the responsibility of the Burmese border attack in 17th October 2016. So, the consequences are the Myanmar Military detained above peoples including juveniles. Following the attack of ARSA Myanmar military were killed thousands of Rohingyas in August. They were evicted of their own country to the Bangladesh. They scorched their villages revealing degradations of humanity and the picture of ‘ethnic cleansing’²⁰.

The loose of citizenship:

Myanmar started drafting the constitution after the Second World War. Myanmar’s government considered those people as a permanent resident who lived in more than eight years in Myanmar. Rohingya Muslims were born in Rakhine and they were fulfilled the condition to get the permanent citizenship²¹. The National Registration Certificates (NRCs) were arranged to them. They also got the right to vote. Like other citizens of Burma, they equally participated in bureaucracy and other activities of government ministry. Such conveniences were mentioned in Union Citizenship Act 1948. In 1949 the Citizenship election officer of Burma, determined that the Muslims were not eligible for applying the citizenship certificate because they were not the citizens of Burma. In 1950s the higher judiciary of Burma projected a relevant idea. According to prime minister U NU in 1954, like Kachin, Kayah, Mon, Rakhine and Shan (Muslim majority area) Rohingya Muslims had equal right of nationality of Burma and also an indigenous race of Burma. A survey of 1961 presented that the Muslims of Maunagdaw, Buthidaung and Ratheedaung in the region of Mayu were recognized as “Rohingya”. Under the U NU government, a separate administrative sector was established for the Rohingya in this region. In 1962 the general Ne Win came to power. After that their rights were trespassed methodically. To disprove the rights of Rohingya two major acts were constitutionalized. Firstly, in 1974, “The Emergency

Immigration Act” and Secondly, in 1982, “Burmese Citizenship Law”. The National Registration Certificates (NRCs) was introduced in 1974. It was an ethnicity-based identity card procedure. This process accepted Rohingya from the ethnic races of Myanmar. The 1974 emergency immigration law discriminated against Rohingya Muslims because of making them eligible only for foreign registration card. Lot of schools and institutions have not recognized this NRCs card. The Rohingya have been left out from education and job opportunities. There was limited citizenship for those who had been both parents a national of Burma in 1974 constitution. Still some Rohingya have won eligibility to obtain NRCs. In 1982, the notorious Citizenship Law created three tiers of citizenship. It denied Rohingyas citizenship rights permanently. According to it they were rejected from all three tiers categories. Rohingya has adopted an ethnic language and they spoke each other with this language. They do not speak Myanmar national language. For that reason, government marginalised them by cancelling the NRCs. They had also no proof of their family’s historical background²². One kind of white card was issued for them but that cannot prove their legitimate citizenship of Myanmar. This white card was removed very early. They misplaced their properties, their education and also their financial opportunities. The Rohingya lost their voting rights and considered as a stateless ethnic community in 2015.

Rohingya refugee issue in Bangladesh:

Bangladesh has been feeling the Rohingya refugee problem from 1942. After coming from Myanmar, they were taking shelter in the south east district of Cox’s Bazar. In May 1978, the first huge upsurge came. From 200000 to 250000 Rohingya Muslim took accommodation in Bangladesh²³. Between April 1991 and May 1992 the second arrival was to flee from the organized genocide and ethnic cleansing program. Almost 250000 refugees came from Myanmar and started living in Bangladesh. Refugees had been sheltered in Bandarban and its nearest area over 30 years. Bangladesh initially received Rohingya as Muslims companions. The UNHCR, the Red Cross and other international agencies were requested to assist the refugees. This influx has continued incessantly and become an alarming problem for Bangladesh. For those refugees Bangladesh has opened its border but the true fact is that Bangladesh has not such a condition to comfort them economically and also

politically²⁴. Bangladesh cannot comfort Rohingya community with Bangladeshi economy and limited resources²⁵. The Rohingya are destroying the image of Bangladesh in the global world. Due to the obstruction which was created by Rohingya, Bangladesh government decided to close the refugee camp in 2005. But Bangladesh could not take the decision due to the mortality. Rohingya refugees are most persecuted vulnerable minorities²⁶.

Rohingya oppression was increased in Myanmar by some military with the help of some Myanmar citizens. Myanmar declared a state of emergency in the Western part of Rakhine on 10th June 2012. In 20th June approx. 90000 Rohingya escaped from Myanmar to Bangladesh. But Bangladesh government denied to entree. For the first time Bangladesh takes the decision for not entering them. Bangladesh turned back 16 boats carrying nearly 650 Rohingya from incoming. The main reason for this rejection was national security. On the contrary Bangladesh already overburdened refugees staying here almost 20years. This is already a threat for security, stability, prosperity, welfare and also overview of the state. Maybe they are involving some offensive and serious crimes like terrorism, human trafficking, smuggling, robbery and so on. In 2017 refugees are increased. They take shelter provides by the Bangladesh government. Government also commended food and health services and basic services from some international organization. They are fallen into poverty trick and food uncertainty²⁷ because of inaccessibility of employment²⁸. Rohingya refugee solution is the important task for Bangladesh. Refugee condition always effects on economy, security environment, biodiversity and ecology of any country.

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Chapter-2

RECENT CRISIS AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ROLE

In present history the most oppressed minority and stateless refugee group in the world is Rohingya. As a community they belong to Arakan, Myanmar. But they are lost their citizenship, left their own country forcefully by some military actions. This burning issue were never officially recognised. The history of Rohingya has been considered by mistreatment and judgment from 1960s¹. 300000 Rohingya seek shelter in Bangladesh in 1978 by 'Operation Dragon'². After one year they came back to their home land but the situation was never improved. After the recommendation of former UN secretary general Kofi Annan, Myanmar leader Suu Kyi specified that after verification, her government were ready to take back the refugees³. Under the 1982 nationality law they were given the statelessness status⁴. The term refugee has been documented in 1951 UN convention. They wanted to examine the Rohingya's number. Most of the countries introducing Rohingya refugees have not engaged the 1951 convention. Two south East Asian countries Cambodia and Philippines have less chance to receive these refugees by its geographical positions. These two countries have lack of international responsibilities and administrative background to introduce refugee matters. A new policy was adopted by Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. The policy was "help along policy". According to this policy those who are arriving by boat are provided with goods and sent them to another state. This has caused in a 'ping pong' strategy between two countries. These activities interrupt the principle of non-refoulement⁵ (peace and justice centre 2015). This non-refoulement involves that no refugee is to be barred or returned in any manner to the area where they fear threats of life or freedom (UNCHR 2010)⁶.

So as to better grasp the Rohingya face the problems and to depict the situation of Myanmar, the statelessness status needs to be shortly clarified and inspected. Statelessness threats a very significant role in their mistreatment and their continuous violations of their rights. Being statelessness mean a person or a community does not belong to any country. It directly interrupts the citizenship rights. Many other rights indirectly jeopardise which are derived from it. "Everyone has the right to nationality"

according to human rights. By not respecting this parameter, people who consider themselves stateless do not have the right to claim against a state. They remain on the margins of a state, people who have no one to turn off. They are considered as a victim in the eyes of the state due to their lack of 'existence'⁷.

In 1970s the Rohingya started resigning Myanmar and started migrating to Bangladesh in 1990s. Under the management of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) they were expelled in Myanmar. Due to the judgement many of them reimbursed to Bangladesh and had to live in Myanmar⁸. Approx. 620000 Rohingya have escaped to Bangladesh after the violence to them in August 2017.

Refugee settlements in Cox's Bazar

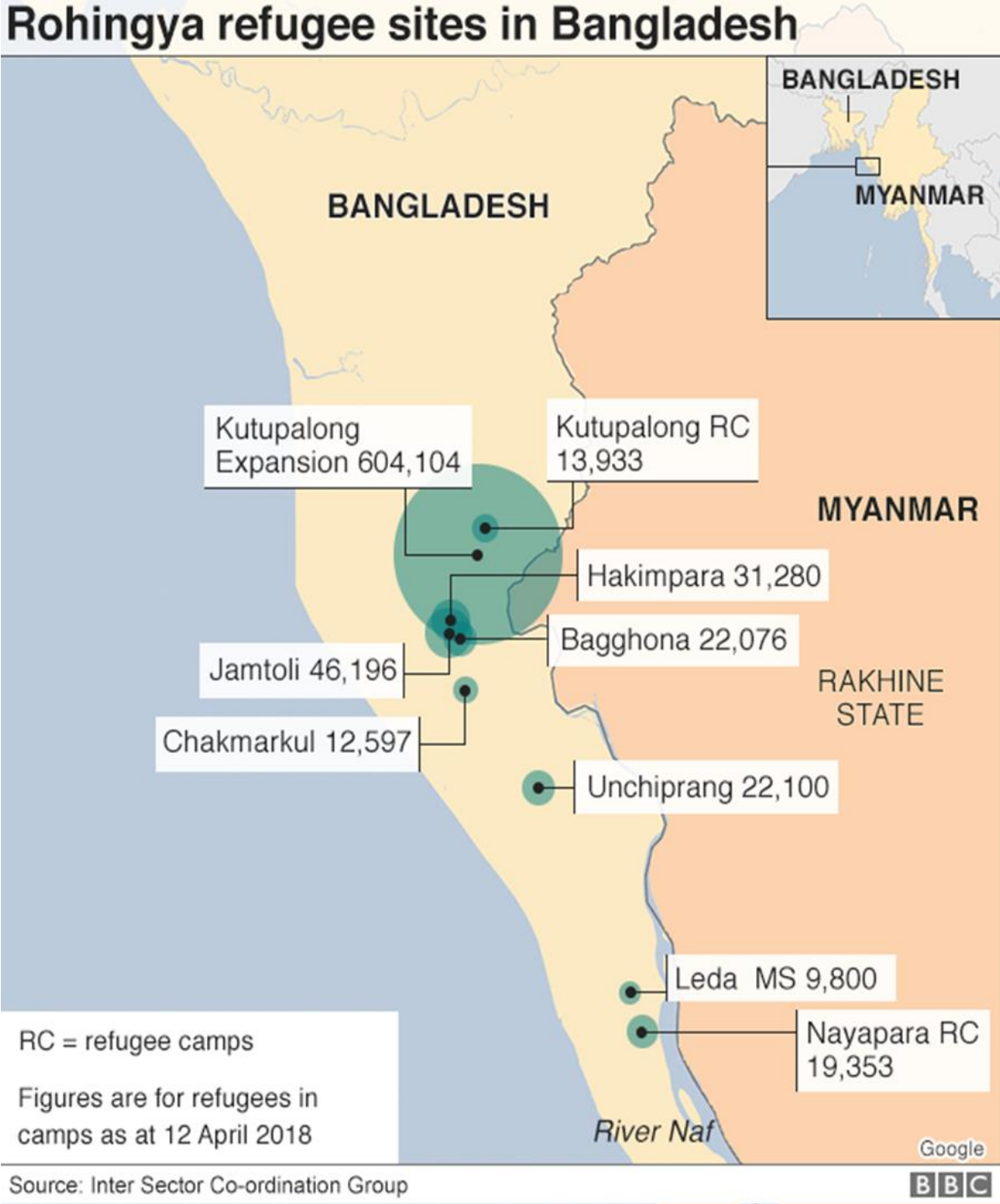
Around **605,000** Rohingya have fled to Bangladesh since August 25, 2017, mostly residing in temporary makeshift settlements.



Aljazeera.com. (2017). Rohingya crisis explained in maps⁹.

Most of the Rohingya are arriving in Bangladesh. Men, women and children with scarcely any properties-have hunted accommodation in Bangladesh

areas. They have got little accommodation but then they have face difficult condition. They have no food, safe drinking water, shelter and no health care aid. This picture explains that in Bangladesh area where they are mostly settled.



Source: Inter Sector Co-ordination Group.

The largest immigrant camp is in Bangladesh, Kutupalang area but space is limited there. Unprompted settlements have bounced up in the rural area and nearby Balukhali as refugees keep arriving. The refugee camp in Kutupalong area was decreased from high to low approx. 22,241 to 13,900. But the outside of the camp the number was increased from low to high approx. 99,495 to 604,000.

Recent crisis:

Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) attacked 30 police post and an army base which was located in the Northern area of the Rakhine state in 25th August 2017. The serious matter is that the arrival of an Islamic radical group in this area¹⁰. The purpose of 25th August attack was self-defence and the renovation of rights of Rohingya's, says ARSA representatives Abdullah¹¹. Ataulhabu Ammar Junjuni, an Imam who is the prayer leader of Rohingya people in Saudi Arabia was born in Karachi Pakistan is the chief leader of ARSA. In Pakistan, Taliban was provided training for guerrilla warfare¹². The ARSA's role behind the influx of Rohingya disaster is indisputable. According to media Burmese military hit back to the extremist groups and incinerate 1,000 houses and 10 areas of Rakhine state in the response of 25th August¹³. Myanmar military face counter strike from ARSA. ARSA offer to the military for negotiation with them. But Myanmar military rejected that proposal and turn down as it was reluctant to negotiate with the terrorist¹⁴. For sure ARSA extremist group are the main and steady cause for Myanmar syndrome. In Northern Rakhine, ARSA launched a surprise attack on Myanmar Security Force in 2018, 7 January¹⁵. The bad luck of Rohingya's was created by Rohingya terrorist group i.e. ARSA. For that Rohingya community face retribution by Myanmar army.

International Community Role:

Rohingya crisis is one of the long-lasting problems ever in the world. It affected South East Asia. The recent upsurge of this crisis has energized the interest of the United Nations (UN). The security council of the UN has not yet conversed broadly in Myanmar. The high body of the UN focused on it very

seriously. But others organization and many expert bodies especially Human Rights Commission (HRC) was very concerned about this problem. In recent years, natural hazards, climate change, international and civil wars have contributed gradually with the people who are fleeing their homes. Problems related to international migration, not just those specifically for refugees, they are no longer simply a national problem. On the contrary, such the problems pose challenges that can be faced effectively and humanly only with an international emphasis attention and concerted action.

In addressing the emergence of the Rohingya, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) could play an important role. One approach of ASEAN could be to exert economic pressure on Myanmar for progressively reduce the discrimination against Rohingya. At this point, ASEAN has influence, like its members. It represents the major investors in the country. However, the application of this pressure would require political spirit to use it, especially because the non-interference in the internal affairs of member states is a single founding principle of its. ASEAN, being the only regional international organization in which Myanmar participates, has taken a very moderate stance towards the recent crisis in the state of Rakhine. Bali process¹⁶ is one of the major approaches for ASEAN which work to establish a common regional framework in relation to illegal immigrants Refugees, which, at an early stage, may even differ from the Geneva Convention.

Some initiatives have already been organized in this sense, such as in 2015, May and December where two international meetings were held between the countries directly concerned, with the aim of tackling the problem Migration emergency¹⁷. At last December's meeting, representatives of South East Asia met Bangkok to define a common strategy on crucial issues, such as protecting migrants, irregular migration anticipation and fight against human smuggling¹⁸. In the long term, cooperation with the EU and the USA can be imagined. In fact, European states share similar experiences with ASEAN, but at the same time, they have established framework for regional cooperation. In this regard, the EU, in addition to support funding, which has already been granted, through international environments and cooperation, which can afford tools that will be used to address the management of refugees and migrants. Furthermore, as in the case of ASEAN, the EU and the USA could do so pressure in the region with authorizations that were previously applied against the junta in an attempt to mitigate the root causes of this migration emergency. Indeed, it is true that Myanmar is moving towards democracy, the

authorities should implement reforms against ethnic and religious group's discrimination, as well as the security of the ethnic areas. In this process, Myanmar was able to find Western actors as solid partners, who have humanitarian and economic interests in working with Burma.

According to the statement by ASEAN President issued on 24 September 2017, ASEAN Foreign Ministers accused the attacks enacted against Myanmar security forces and all forms of violence that resulted in the death of civilians, the destruction of property and the flight of a number of people¹⁹. They also noted the inter-community nature of the conflict, expressing support for the Myanmar government's initiatives to address the situation and achieve peace and stability in the area²⁰. However, the statement issued after the summit held in Manila in November 2017. It did not include more than a paragraph on the situation in Rakhine State, reiterating the need to provide humanitarian assistance to those affected. As well as once again the measures taken by the Myanmar authorities to stabilize the area and restore peace and the rule of law²¹. Nevertheless, the above, ASEAN is criticized for its silence against the suspected atrocities against the Rohingya²² even by its own members. In fact, Malaysia distinguished its opinion from the September 24 statement, while its representatives stated that there is no reference to the Rohingya and considered that the actions of Myanmar's military forces were acts of dispute.

The development of the Rohingya emergency will ultimately depend on the states concerned intentions. The ASEAN nations must choose between a temporary strategy with a program of immediate or lasting results, with the support of international actors, which could create a shared legal framework, compatible from a political and humanitarian point of view.

Specialized body of the UN; Human rights council (HRC):

Rohingya crisis is the most vulnerable humanitarian crisis ever. The UN constantly addressed the human rights situation of Myanmar and also protected the human rights. The HRC accepted Resolution 34/22²³ before the problem arising in the Rakhine state on 2017 March. An independent fact-finding mission on Myanmar was created by it. Government of Myanmar has taken some positive steps. It had stated its concern for the upsurge tension level in Rakhine state and to maintain security and stability and respect international humanitarian law. HRC added the problem caused but the

citizenship law of 1982 that ignores Rohingya from adopting nationality. They believe that as an important issue the return of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and refugees to their homes. To conduct a report HRC called a special reporter who delivered all report to the UN Security General. The UN HRC Resolution of 34/22 command this mission to cover investigation and reporting the facts and circumstance which was alleged violation of the human rights of ethnic and religious minorities residing in the State of Rakhine by officers of the military and security forces of Myanmar. This mission also inspects claims on torture, inhumane treaty, random deprivation of life, rapes and other sexual harassment, forced displacement and random detention. Throughout the 36th session of HRC²⁴ it has to process a verbal update. A comprehensive report will be submitted by this mission on 37th session. The mission has already completed visits to Bangladesh and Malaysia. According to published press releases, its results are more than frightening. Meanwhile, Myanmar has not yet approved to the Mission permission to visit again and conduct investigations in its area.

Role of United Nations Security Council (UNSC):

After the deteriorating of the crisis in the state of Rakhine, the escalation of violence on both sides, especially by the Myanmar security forces, as well as the influx of refugees fleeing from that region to Bangladesh and other neighbouring countries the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has included the situation in Myanmar on its agenda for the first time after eight consecutive years. Furthermore, until 2009, the main problem at stake was political instability in the country and the treatment of political prisoners, as can be seen from the press releases published at that time when the UNSC met for the last time in Myanmar²⁵. On the issue of violence against ethnic minorities, it was introduced at a UN Security Council meeting in 2007. However, a draft resolution mainly supported by the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US) was banned by the Russian Federation and China²⁶. At the same time the presidential statement published later contained no reference to the attacks reported to Rohingya and other minority groups in Rakhine State²⁷. On the contrary, after its first meeting in Myanmar after 8 years, on 28th September 2017, the UN Security Council deliberated three consecutive times (28/9, 6/11 and 12/12) after the outbreak of the crisis, worried about recent events in Rakhine State. While the council

has not yet achieved to arrange in a resolution on the topic under conversation. This discussion was made by UN officers. Besides the Declaration of Presidency of November 6, 2017²⁸, being the only concrete result of the three meetings. They are quite revealing of the position of the UNSC and its members.

28th September UNSC meetings: The first meeting of the UNSC after the serious growth of the Rohingya crisis was characterized by a broad meeting and the participation of United Nations Secretary Antonio Guterres. Concerning the situation of Myanmar all international actors are explained their views about these crises. Initially UN chief officer sheared his anxiety about the violence of the Rakhine state. In particular, he destined the attacks launched by the ARSA against Myanmar security forces, while provocative Myanmar's duty to end military operations involving extreme use of force. Myanmar involved this force to permit the entree of humanitarian assistance to the needy refugees, and to guarantee the return of refugees and other displaced persons, with due respect for their safety, their will and their dignity. Furthermore, he characterized the fact that Muslims in the state of Rakhine do not have the right to obtain citizenship as a problem²⁹. As regards the approach of the members of the United Nations Security Council; two different main opinions have been expressed. On the one hand, many member states have fated Myanmar's position against Rohingya and its omission to facilitate the facility of humanitarian assistance to people living in Rakhine state, while Myanmar has also been accused of acts of ethnic cleansing or genocide against Muslim populations. On the other hand, other members of the Council have supported the way in which Myanmar is facing the situation, appealing the need for the national government to steady the country against the actions of the combatants of the Muslim militia groups in Rakhine. As an observer Bangladesh and Myanmar also joined in the meeting and they acquiesced their opinions on the discussion matter³⁰.

6th December 2017 Presidential meetings: The UNSC meet again on the matter of Myanmar very soon after their first meeting given that the disaster has been continuing and constantly rising. Despite the fact that the members claimed on their positions, the Council managed to issue a presidential statement, which reflects the main parts of the agreement between the

members and, in particular, of the P5. In accordance with the aforementioned Presidential Declaration, the United Nations Security Council condemned the attacks that the ARSA had made against Myanmar's security forces and the situation of widespread violence within Rakhine State. Although there is no specific censure of the Myanmar authorities. The Council expressed concern about alleged violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by Myanmar's national security forces. They also are highlighting the various forms of which these violations are materializing. Also, it reiterates Myanmar's responsibility to ensure that its forces avoid excessive military strength and that they respect the obligations established in international human rights and international humanitarian law. The high number of refugees and inside displaced people fleeing Rakhine State is also addressed by the Presidency Declaration, while Myanmar is called to collaborate with international organizations and NGOs to address the large-scale humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State. Finally, the UN Security Council evaluated the measures taken in the meantime and welcomed some measures taken by Myanmar to improve the situation. As an instance, they signing of the MOU between Myanmar and Bangladesh on the return of refugees, as well as the decision of the Government of Myanmar to establish, "the union enterprise mechanism for humanitarian assistance resettled and development in rakhine"³¹.

12th December 2017 meeting of UNSC: During the third consecutive meeting of the United Nations Security Council on the situation in Myanmar, the Council was informed by the United Nations Deputy Secretary-General, Jeffrey Feltman and by the Special Reporter of the United Nations Secretary-General on sexual violence in conflicts, Mrs Pramila Patten. Once again, they failed to reach a specific result. But participating member states re-evaluated the measures taken to address the crisis and reiterated the basic indications of their position. For the United Nations, the under-secretary general stated anxiety about the extreme number of refugees fleeing Rakhine State and moving to Bangladesh. The remaining inadequacy of humanitarian assistance, while sharing with the Member States of the UN Security Council the basic thoughts of UN officials on the MOU signed between the two states involved and the potentials of their success. Furthermore, the Special Reporter revealed his findings on rape, sexual violence and other acts of sexual violence

against Rohingya women, committed by men from Myanmar security forces, thus evoking violations of international humanitarian law.

As for state approaches, the main blocs preserved their early positions, while the United Kingdom was the delegation that questioned the applicability of the MOU between Myanmar and Bangladesh, creating a series of serious anxieties about how and with what means it could be executed proficiently³².

United Nations General Assembly (UNGA):

In recent years, the UN General Assembly has addressed the human rights situation in Myanmar through the adoption of a series of resolutions based on the results and reports of specialized agencies and mechanisms of the United Nations, as well as on the work done. Of its 3rd Committee in light of the recent outbreak of the crisis and the worsening of the situation, the 3rd Commission of the United Nations has concluded a draft resolution, sponsored by Egypt, under which the government of Myanmar is called to act accordingly to restore stability and dissolve the crisis. In particular, it covers a great range of the issues arisen in the context of the crisis in the Rakhine state, such as the use of excessive military force, the obstacles on the delivery of humanitarian assistance, the necessity of guaranteeing the return of the displaced populations, the facilitation of the fact-finding Mission of the UN Human Rights Council, the issue of statelessness etc.

European Union (EU):

The EU's position towards Myanmar could be divided into two distinct phases. First lasted from 1988 until the beginning of 2011, when the military junta exercised the government, and the second was in 2011, when the democratic transition began. Assumed the multi-dimensional agenda of external relations between the EU and Myanmar, the former could not remain stagnant before the outbreak of the crisis in the summer of 2017, asserting that being backdated was practical. In the initial stage of 1990s, the EU condemned human rights violations in the area of Myanmar. In 1996 it accepted a common policy creating certain preventive measures. Including, all these the arms restriction, the ban export of equipment from EU Member States, which could be used for suppression, freezing the funds owned by

officials of the Burmese regime and their families, etc. The USA and many other Western states followed Myanmar approving policy about Rohingya. In spite of the allegiance of Myanmar to ASEAN and the concurrent evolution of relations between the EU and ASEAN, and the previous relations with Burma remained intense regarding the imposition of authorizations until 2011. In recent years, the democratic evolution under the sponsorships of a civilian government has led to a regular reduction and now to the end of the EU authorizations against Myanmar, excused from the arms ban which will be active probably in 2018 August. In the mean time EU signing a very important this creates a significant value in these situations i.e. the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) in 2015³³. However, the EU has upheld doubtful behaviour stating that there are still many challenges to be solved. In light of the above, in light of the new round of violence in Rakhine State, the Council of the European Union has reached some conclusions to address the crisis and shape the Union's position towards Myanmar, following the principles established by the UN. In particular, the Council worried the need to end all forms of violence, regardless of who carried them out. Also, it called for the protection of civilians and human rights, and repeated the responsibility of the Government of Myanmar to protection the undisturbed return of refugees and internally displaced persons. Besides it, to allow the provision of humanitarian assistance by the UN, the ICRC and others International NGOs³⁴. EU acknowledged its willingness for the Rakhine state by increasing its humanitarian assistance towards Bangladesh. It is also of utmost importance to remember that the Council of the EU decided by suspending all calls for Myanmar's military officers and re-evaluating all forms of self-protective cooperation due to the excessive use of military force by Myanmar forces. In addition to the current restrictive arms restriction measure, it acknowledged that the EU can assess its position by imposing further measures if there is no improvement against Myanmar.

Before the latest events, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini, welcomed the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between Myanmar and Bangladesh on the return of refugees and expressed the will to control it the implementation. In accordance with the rules of international law³⁵ as a humanitarian perspective EU played a vital role in this matter. The European Commission's civil protection and humanitarian assistance operations have funded aid programs in Rakhine State in Myanmar and in the Cox Bazaar district since

1994. The EU opened an office in Dhaka (Bangladesh) in 2002 and another in Yangon (Myanmar) in 2005 to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance from the EU. In 2018, the EU funded projects across Rakhine State in Myanmar to address some of the most urgent needs (such as protection, housing, health, water, sanitation, food and psychosocial support) for affected communities displaced by episodes of violence and host communities. Together with the associated humanitarian organizations, the EU continues to provide basic services. To provide this vital assistance, it is necessary to ensure the safety of humanitarian workers, in addition to unhindered access to affected communities.

Regional organisations of Islamic Arab world:

Organisation of Islamic cooperation: The Organisation of Islamic cooperation (OIC) condemned the unproven atrocities committed against the Rohingya, while its contact group on the Rohingya Muslims of Myanmar issued a statement in September 2017. After that it all over the Rakhine state crisis. Myanmar security force was blamed by OIC Foreign Minister for conducting ethnic cleansing against Rohingyas. OIC give the opportunity to the Myanmar government for ensure the protection of the effected people's human rights. Furthermore, OIC member states have worked in full to resolve the crisis in Myanmar³⁶. In particular, they played a crucial role in supporting the adoption of the draft resolution on the human rights situation in Myanmar by the 3rd committee of the UNGA.

Arab world: The Arab world has also spoken out to defend the rights of the Rohingya and condemn Myanmar for its actions against them in light of the recent military repression in Rakhine State. On September 6, 2017, the General Secretary of the Arab League held a press conference. He called on the Myanmar authorities to stop using violence against the Rohingya, to look for all those responsible for the alleged atrocities and to improve the living conditions of Muslim minorities living in the state of Rakhine³⁷.

International Committee of Red Cross:

The Red Cross has become the main provider of humanitarian aid to the state of Rakhine in Northern Myanmar since the United Nations had to suspend operations last September, following the government's accusations that its agency had supported the Rohingya rebels. Since 2012, the ICRC has provided humanitarian assistance in the regions where refugees and IDP live, in Bangladesh and Myanmar, respectively. After the outbreak of tension and the exercise of high-level military violence, the ICRC, in cooperation with local branches in Myanmar and Bangladesh³⁸, was able to provide humanitarian assistance to more than 40,000 people in less than two months. Among others, ICRC officials stress the need to support other humanitarian aid organizations and access to difficult areas³⁹, as well as the importance of creating an environment of peaceful coexistence between different ethnic and religious groups of the Rakhine state⁴⁰.



(ICRC volunteers give oral rehydration solution to exhausted Rohingya Muslim children, who spent four days in the open after fleeing from Myanmar into Bangladesh, near a relief distribution centre at Kutupalong refugee camp, Bangladesh, Oct. 19, 2017. Source: AP Photo).

International community particularly US, EU, ASEAN, UN have to protect Rohingya refugees from ethnic cleansing and genocide since the violence was started in Rakhine state. But international community are not fulfilling their responsibility under the UN “Responsibility to Protect” (RtoP) principle to protect the Rohingya from crime against humanity. To protect the Rohingya, the principle of RtoP is the most appropriate international standard that is applied to resolve human rights violations in Myanmar because forces states to protect their populations from crimes such as ethnic cleansing and the genocide. Under RtoP Myanmar government is responsible to protect Rohingya from refugee status “they are human beings living within the territory of Myanmar”⁴¹. An international response is needed in this context because the government of Myanmar does not want and is unable to protect the Rohingya. Furthermore, Rohingya refugees in Myanmar are negatively affecting at least four nation’s members of ASEAN and Bangladesh. Without any intervention by international community, serious violations of human rights against the Rohingya to continue. The RtoP standard emerged from the events of the 1990s, such as the Rwandan genocide and the atrocities in the former Yugoslavia. In both cases, the international community has not effectively prevented or responded to serious human rights violations perpetrated against the populations within the two sovereign states. These weaklings ‘events made it clear that state sovereignty alone should not prevent the community responds to humanitarian crises. The rule focuses on “victims “point of view and interests, rather than questionable motivations”⁴². To protect Rohingya from unexpected crimes international community come to legitimize the involvement of external effect in the issue of the state that “massively oppress and persecute their own people violently”⁴³. The government of Myanmar under President Thein Sein is failing meet their obligations to protect the Rohingya from continuous ethnic cleansing and Genocide according to the RtoP principle and the 1948 Genocide Convention. The government of Myanmar has pursued policies of ethnic cleansing against the Rohingya at least from the pogrom Nagamin of 1978; this analysis will focus on inadequate response to the recent crisis in the state of Rakhine. Lack of state protection the Rohingya of atrocities is evident through the active participation of state security forces in the 2012 massacres, the inadequate response of the government of Myanmar and investigation of the events, and their refusal or inability to protect the Rohingya. The President of Myanmar Thein Sein has not arrested the perpetrators of the massacres responsible for

their actions and has not reached a solution that protects the Rohingya of future violence. Human Rights Watch found no evidence that the government of Myanmar is taking any legal action against the perpetrators of the atrocities. Instead, the government intensified the situation, as state security forces prevented justice in supervising and ordering the excavation of mass graves and the discharge of Rohingya bodies near Rohingya's IDP camps. After the violence of June 2012, President Thein Sein announced in July 2012 that the solution to the crisis was to send Rohingya in any country that accepts them or in UNHCR refugee camps in other countries. At that time, public opinion supported his request for the expatriation of the Rohingya population as an acceptable political solution. President Thein Sen also sent a message Commission, led by a man belonging to the Rakhinese ethnic group, to the State of Rakhine to assess the conflict from June to July 2012. As expected, the biased committee responded that there were no government abuses and humanitarian needs were met.

This violence is continuing time by time. Myanmar has failed to prevent this violence against Rohingya. The international community has the responsibility under RtoP of pursue all peaceful means to resolve the plague of the Rohingya and supply Myanmar with sufficient capacity and assistance to end the ethnic and religious conflict. However, the West in general has chosen to turn a blind eye to ethnic groups in Myanmar cleaning and genocide against the Rohingya in favour of economic and political policy commitment to the government of Thein Sein. Public condemnation of Myanmar the treatment of Rohingya by Western and Eastern Asia was not up to the answer needed to influence change to protect the Rohingya. The international community, including ASEAN, must take strength coordinated action to protect the Rohingya under the RtoP doctrine. To date, the small attempts of the international community to resolve the conflict have not been effective, and the government of Myanmar has shown that it does not want or is unable to complete ethnic cleansing and genocide against the Rohingya. The international community should participate in a coherent and consistent promotion for Myanmar to solve key problems in the Rohingya conflict⁴⁴. Directed by the United States United States, EU, United Nations and ASEAN, that defines have the necessary influence and legitimacy to influence change. This kind of exertion “will put pressure on the Myanmar government to do more to ease the plight of the Rohingya people and prevent the situation from spiralling out of control”⁴⁵,

stated by Joey Dimaandal, the Program Associates for the South East Asia Committee for Advocacy.

In addition to a regional effort, international coordination is also needed to protect the Rohingya. In collaboration with ASEAN, the response of the international community should be a coherent promotion of the US, the EU and the UN so that Myanmar can do it solves key problems in the Rohingya conflict. Well said by Matthew Smith, Executive Director of Fortify Rights International, "regional countries should use their economic standing visa-a-vis Myanmar to human rights"⁴⁶. The international community is also necessary to use financial resources to improve conditions for the Rohingya. The United States and the EU should return to a slower normalization of relations with Burma until discrimination against Rohingya cases and there is no biased access to Nationality for all ethnic and religious groups.

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Chapter-3

INDIA'S POSITION

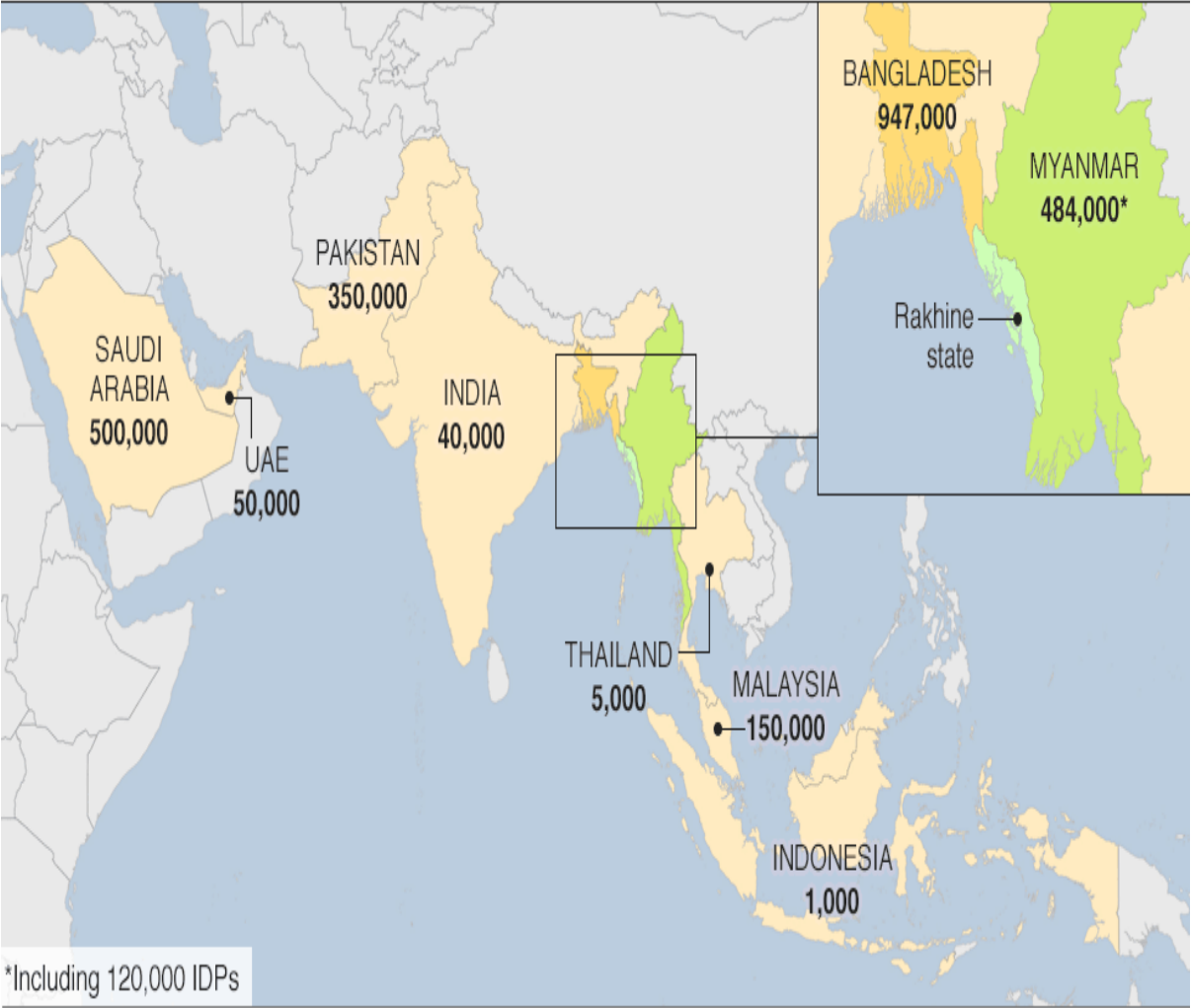
Each person has the right to live with self-respect and to obtain a state of nationality. It is a universal obligation of every nation that no individual should be abandoned in a stateless condition. The concept of nationality serves as a vital link between an individual and nation. Allows the person to guarantee certain rights and duties and to be insured by a particular nation to which it belongs. But in the case of refugees, it is not so. This happens because the refugees are those who have left their native country due to several reasons established by international law. They migrate to another country where will be given or not protection and rights according to the municipal laws of that one country to which they have migrated. India is one of the few countries that welcomes refugees with hospitality and has also discovered some rights to them for their safety. Over the past 500 years, India has given protection for several refugees from different countries such as Americans, Persians, Syrians, Palestinians, Ethiopians, Afghans and Christians. India does not have a specific legal framework for the status of refugees, but some fundamental rights have been extended to them. India is not a signatory to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and its member's protocol of 1967.

On the other hand, although measures have been taken under international law for the protection of refugee rights, these rights are not effectively applied between nations due to variations in the application of international laws within their territory. India is the supporter of the Specific Adoption Theory (SAT), according to which an international law that must be applied by advantage of its municipal laws wants to the adoption of its own principles through the appropriate legislation permitted by the Parliament of India.

The "Rohingya crisis" is a tragedy for which we prepared ourselves for several decades and refers to the difficult situation of hundreds of thousands of people belonging to the community of Rohingya-Muslim minorities in the state of Rakhine in Myanmar¹. Myanmar does not recognize community like its citizens and considers them "illegal immigrants" from Bangladesh. The recent violence in Rakhine state has displaced several hundred thousand Rohingya

within Myanmar and has expelled about 700,000 of them in neighbouring Bangladesh, after the military launched a bloody repression due to militant attacks on security posts in the end of the year 2017 August². UN describe the Rohingya crisis as a “textbook example of ethnic cleansing”³. The crisis has also acquired a security dimension with concerns about the infiltration of Islamic extremism among the Rohingya, who have become increasingly desperate for the difficulty⁴. The massive exit of refugees has created a serious humanitarian crisis that has implications on regional stability and security.

Spread of Rohingya inside and outside Myanmar



Source: The Arakan Project / October 2017



Source: The Arakan project, October 2017.

This image of Rohingya inside and outside Myanmar clear the approx. number of Rohingya community Myanmar and its outside countries. After 25th August 2017 ARSA attack and the consequences from GOM to the Rohingya Muslim, they escape to many countries. Here's the approx. data include.

India is concern about Rohingya crisis and desires to discover its solution. It is approaching in two ways to find India's stands on Rohingya and to obtain permanent solution for this. To find a permanent solution for this crisis is more important among other issues. India's anxiety is only for Rohingyas rather than other Refugees. India look after on Rohingya with various form like diplomatic, domestic, political compulsion, humanitarian, security and geopolitical consideration but the point is all these structures need to be changed time by time.

At home and abroad, there have been strong demands for India, the dominant power of the region and a country with a long history of provide humanitarian assistance to its neighbours, to carry out a proactive role in the crisis. India has a strong influence on both Myanmar and Bangladesh and could really make a difference. However, New Delhi did not increase for the occasion in the evolving humanitarian tragedy. Far from being supportive or sensitive to the plague of the Rohingya, the Prime Minister Narendra Modi called them illegal migrants who need deportation. Internal Affairs of India the ministry has commissioned the states concerned to identify illegal Rohingya and repatriation to Myanmar⁵. Furthermore, the government has already presented a counter-petition the Supreme Court of India declares that Rohingya is at the same time illegal immigrants and a threat to national security⁶. Arriving at a moment of great tragedy, when hundreds of refugees are on the run to die in desperate circumstances, the hard-line position of New Delhi has been criticized by the global community and in fact, the United Nations High Commissioner (UNHCR) for Human Rights⁷.

The Rohingya crisis could simply be seen as sympathetic of modern Myanmar that is long delayed in internal conflict. At the root of this conflict is the inability of the Buddhist majority community to accept that the nation is multicultural, bilingual and multi-religious society. In Indian concerns Rohingya crisis take a very vital role in Indian society. India's response to the Rohingya crisis has evolved rapidly. It has very crucial in three stages. Firstly in 2012, when the crisis had begun in Rakhine state⁸. Delhi considered the crisis an inside matter but sympathized with Myanmar. Then the Foreign Minister,

Salman Khurshid visited the state of Rakhine and announced a \$ 1 million aid package in Myanmar in 2013⁹. India has also allowed Rohingya refugees to enter the country and did not have a problem in his internal politics or in its bilateral relations with Myanmar. A few days later the minister Khurshid's visit to Rakhine, then the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees (currently UN Secretary-General) Antonio Guterres visited India to articulated "great appreciation for historical tradition of India's tolerance and considerate that manifested itself in his current protection and assistance refugees "and their" strict adherence to principle of non-refoulement and voluntary repatriation"¹⁰. In May 2014 the NDA led by the BJP government came to power the position of the UPA was tacitly approved government. The Rohingya crisis assumed a regional dimension when Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia rejected the overcrowded boats that carried the Rohingya trying to land on its banks, leaving hundreds on the high seas in 2015¹¹. There were calls to Delhi to help save the Rohingya¹², but India has decided to look the other way. This has arrived shortly after the devastating earthquake in Nepal, where India spread rapidly support. A mixture of factors seemed to have shaped India's approach. In the first stage, Delhi sided with Myanmar government because government was worried to pose the problem publicly could push Myanmar in China while it was under construction relations with the quasi democratic government. India also has economic interests with their holding's corporations in the Sittwe Gas field on the coast of Rakhine State. Along with energy interests and plans to build cross-border pipelines¹³, India also has a connectivity interest to connect its Northeast region with Bay of Bengal through the state of Rakhine under a project with Myanmar. This project includes development of the port of Sittwe, Inland-waterway on the Kaladan River and the highway construction to connect it with India's North East part. Delhi doubts that the instability inside the state of Rakhine would have negative effects in these interests. The offer of humanitarian assistance from India was a symbol of support for the government of Myanmar as much as it was for their humanitarian concerns in a neighbouring country. In this stage the main point is geo politics security economic interest and humanitarian concern that moulding India's Rohingya response.

Rohingyas have settled in many parts of India. Rohingya have settled in many parts of India. The number of Rohingya in India is very small comparing to Bangladesh. Supreme Court declared that in India Rohingyas number approx. 42000 but it is just an assumption. The recorded documents in UNHCR

in India reported that the Rohingya who are taking shelter in India is near about 18000. India can provide shelter for this small amount of Rohingya. But there are also others reason for which India can take the chances at all. Most of the Rohingya's location who is settled in India is Delhi. After that Jammu & Kashmir, Hyderabad, West Bengal and little bit of in Rajasthan. I have included a data which is collected from Rohingya Human Rights Initiatives (ROHRIngya) group. But this data is not matching the actual number of Rohingya in India.

Rohingya Refugees in different states of India

State	Places	Families	Total no of Rohingyas
Delhi	Shaheen Bagh	95	387
	Kalindi Kunj	50	225
	Khajuri	51	192
	Uttam Nagar / VIKASPURI	40	200
	Faridabad	37	150
	Purana Goan	17	61
Haryana	Punana	35	145
	Chandni-1	44	162
	Chandni-2	44	158
	Nangali-1	51	156
	Nangali-2	109	384
	Jagipur -7	74	280
Uttar Pradesh	Mirzapur/Aligarh	110	430
West Bengal	Kolkata	40	120
Punjab		10	50
Tamil Nadu		21	95
Telangana	Hyderabad (26 places)	1050	3705
Jammu	Jammu (22 places)	1350	5600
Kashmir	Kashmir (Khimber)	18	85

Source: Amin Mudasar Public Policy Scholar, Policy Report, The Hindu Centre for Politics and Public Policy, February 2018 May.

The announcement of the government's plans to deport the Rohingya and the second stage of India Rohingya approach has begun in mid-2017. In 9 August 2017, while answering an issue in Parliament, the Interior Minister of India, Kiren Rijiju said the government was planning to deport the Rohingya from India because they are "illegal immigrants"¹⁴. The minister later clarified that the expulsion plan "was not yet has taken hold"¹⁵. According to media reports citing Government estimations, the number of The Rohingya in India were 10,500 in 2015 and increased four times to 40,000 in the next two years¹⁶. A month after the announcement of the expulsion plan and shortly after the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) –the Rohingya rebel group was formed in 2013. They organized attacks against the police and army outposts North Rakhine State. Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Myanmar in 2017. The common Declaration issued during the visit "condemned the recent terrorist attacks "in Rakhine, but remained silent on the Rohingya refugee crisis¹⁷. They didn't discuss on Rohingya's topic. The independent position of the Indian government had to be nuanced when Bangladesh, the country that has suffered most for the departure of refugees, asked for help from India¹⁸. India launched "Operation Insaniyat" on 14th September 2017 to deliver relief assistance for Bangladeshi refugee camp¹⁹. Delhi decision to spread the aid adapts to its desire to discourage Rohingya refugees entering India. The West Bengal government has taken a position against the central government expresses its own support for Rohingya refugees²⁰. On 9th October 2017, Foreign Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj visited to Bangladesh capital Dhaka to reassure supports from the Delhi government²¹. The last part of second stage point out a vital issue. The socio-economic development in Rakhine state. It's a long-term solution. Hence, the need for support and mobilization of resources for the development itself, in addition to asking the international community to participate the development effort in Rakhine was priority. Delhi support that would be constructive commitment in Myanmar and Bangladesh, and the international community needs to manage the situation in moderation, taking into account the welfare of the inhabitants. BJP-led government thought that the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh was perhaps an indication for "illegal immigrants" problem in Dakha. The BJP government defended for the entry of "Illegal immigrants" from Bangladesh to North East part of India. In his 2014 election manifesto, the party has promised to "address the problem of infiltration and illegal immigrants in North-Eastern region as a priority basis"²².

The Delhi approach in the third stage was probably driven by the need to find a role for itself in the search for a solution to the crisis by support its silent diplomacy. The stage started soon after China intervened with its "three-step solution" for the Rohingya²³ crisis and the following signing of the repatriation agreement between Bangladesh and Myanmar on 23rd November 2017. The evaluation of Delhi perhaps was shaped by its calculation that any delay in intensifying its role could allow other players to take advantage of the situation for geopolitical earnings, at the expense of their own interests. Foreign Secretary S. Jaishankhar visited Myanmar and signed a MoU on 23rd November 2017 of understanding on the development of the Rakhine state Program with the Ministry of Social Affairs of Myanmar targeted welfare, relief and resettlement to "Socio-economic development and means of subsistence in Rakhine State" which included a project to build prefabricated houses in Rakhine State to meet the immediate needs of chronic people²⁴. Under the MoU, India promised US \$ 25 million for five years development scheme in the state of Rakhine²⁵. Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Myanmar in early May 2018 along with three other neighbours including China, Laos and Thailand and joined the UNSC delegation after warm invitation from the Myanmar Government²⁶. During the visit of Minister Swaraj to Myanmar 10-11 May 2018, highlighted the importance of "safe, rapid and sustainable return of people displaced in the state of Rakhine"²⁷. This indicates a step ahead of the previous position where "restriction" was requested in manage the situation in Rakhine²⁸.

Despite a massive humanitarian effort, led by the government of Bangladesh with international support, most of the Rohingya immigrant in Bangladesh, living in a sudden and unhygienic crowding camps²⁹, where access to clean water, food security and medical care are limited but all were desperately needed. Since the Rohingya are traditionally a community separated by gender, the conditions in the refugee camps are particularly difficult for teenage girls who are facing sexual violence, forced prostitution, forced marriages and human trafficking³⁰. Rohingya migration in India accelerated for the strict principle in Bangladesh towards Rohingya. The majority of those respond had lived or spent time in Bangladesh before arriving in India. These respondents cited the conditions of poverty in the camps, the rare employment options, local hostility and the population as the main reasons why they left Bangladesh for India. In 2018, the Indian migration researchers conducted a study. The researchers found the main factors considered by the

Rohingya when they select a country for asylum are also search for security, community and economic opportunities³¹. To increase economic opportunities and desire to unite family as the main reasons to seek refuge in India. Some refugees think that due to large Muslim population in India, they would have a tolerant environment, if not accepting by the State. In India there are two main outlines of Rohingya refugees, from Bangladesh West to the State of West Bengal in India³² and North East in Indian States of Mizoram and Meghalaya. In both of these tracks, the Rohingya are vulnerable to exploitation due to the lack of official identification documents, inability to speak the local languages and lack of financial resources. They worried as they travelled from Bangladesh to India because they feared being arrested by the security forces of the Indian border. Many of them experienced a shortage of food or water during their travel. The violations and accidents often occur during Rohingya journeys from Bangladesh to India, as the sexual assault of Rohingya women by the security of the Indian border and the theft of Rohingya individuals and families. They are all stateless human being.

There are some ways in which a host country can reply for stateless people. The host country does nothing, they can reply positively or they can reply negatively. The radical nation that all human beings have the same value, regardless of race, class, caste, ethnicity or nationality to which they belong, and deserve a life of respect and dignity, it is "much more an aspiration than a reality"(deTorrente2013). In most cases, the assistance provided is not sufficient, timely or fair. This is due to strategy and politics. The interests determine the functioning of the humanitarian assistance system. These "most disadvantaged refugees" (Lancet 2018) have live "medical care bias" in India and some Asian countries³³. An outbreak of diseases such as measles, cholera and diphtheria were reported among the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh with high levels of post-traumatic stress disorder. They are considered as foreigner, stateless, Muslim, suspected, illiterate and so on in India. In the Supreme Court, therefore, one of the reasons why the Rohingya have status for the provision of basic services. Their lawyer asked the Court to provide facilities as par with other refugee groups, in particular the Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu. After court declaration nodal officers investigate with protest (health care, sanitation, education water etc.) on Rohingyas existing in Delhi, Kalindikunj and Haryana. This was done after the government has presented a report on the basic services available for this Community in the places where they live. The government, in its report, it argues that the

Rohingya have delivered basic needs on a par with other citizens in a humanitarian consideration.

Operation Insaniyat:

In spite of commitments for global and national programs to improve human suffering and the need to build its image as a growing power leads the resolution of a regional crisis, the 'humanitarian space' of India it was mostly limited by its strategic and political interests. The government is hostile; International humanitarian agencies receive little or nothing without access, even as a state-sponsored violence against the Rohingya Myanmar has continued persistent. Like other countries they have closed their borders to prevent the Rohingya, fleeing xenophobic violence by the Myanmar army to enter its territory, more than half a million (6,71,000) has fled to Bangladesh who was already close to three lakhs, who had arrived there in the past, to escape the previous repressions. International aid agency and foreign governments posted help to Bangladesh, Cox Bazar. India has delivered a shipment of humanitarian help of 53 metric tons of "family bags", consisting of basic elements such as rice, pulses, sugar, salt, cooking oil, tea, pasta ready to eat, biscuits, mosquito net for the Rohingya refugee in Bangladesh. This was called "Operation Insaniyat" –humanitarianism. Extending its support for the government of the country, the ministry also stated: "India is holding ready to provide any assistance requested by the government of Bangladesh at this time of need. Bangladesh requested for help to declare that the entry of immigrants caused an extra load for the country and the helping material scheme from India for the refugees. Bangladesh currently hosts over 400,000 Burmese citizens of Rakhine State, who in the past have left their country due to frequent and civic violence. Despite the fact that the refugees who were already in India did not receive support either the assistance required. It is interesting to note that the first press release of the MEA in "Operation Insaniyat" mentioned the word refugees in Bangladesh, but again avoided the use of the word "Rohingya". In response to the humanitarian crisis that is faced due to the great the arrival of refugees in Bangladesh, the Indian government has decided extend assistance to Bangladesh (MEA September 2014)³⁴.After visiting to Myanmar, the prime minister of India has, a public opinion against India in Bangladesh outshines the bilateral relations between the two countries³⁵.May be 'Operation Insaniyat 'was designed, therefore, in

the context of this dissatisfaction, since India could not afford to give more ground to China who had already assumed a role during this humanitarian crisis as a regional leader and even brokered a repatriation agreement amongst Dhaka and Nay Pyi Taw later. In May 2018, India sent a second shipment of 373 tons below "Operation Insaniyat" containing 104 tons of powdered milk, 102 tons of dried fish, 61 tons of baby food, 50,000 waterproof and 50,000 pairs of rubber boots (PTI). But the decision to send help to the Rohingya Bangladesh was considered guided by the geopolitical interests, instead of being a sincere humanitarian effort. But India failed to deliver humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya in India, lacking the empathy that was probable to show (Sahoo 2017).

Humanitarian aid is necessary for those who has no home, food and no wearing materials, no security eventually no identity. After Operation Insaniyat India again send second package of helping materials for statelessness Rohingyas in Bangladesh. Even also Indian Navy Ship INS Airavat navigated from Vishakhapatnam to chattogram where reprieve package was given to the Disaster Management minister Mofazzel Hussain Chowdhury Maya by the Indian High Commissioner Harsh Vardhan Shringla.



Source: www.teligraphindia.com

Rohingya refugees stretch their hands to receive aid distributed by local organisations at Balukhali makeshift refugee camp in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh.



Source: www.firstpost.com

India's attitude on Rohingya crisis:

Absence of national strategy agenda on refugees has complicated India's behaviour on Rohingya disaster. The flow of Rohingya approach has some elements of continuity. Since it is dependable with its traditional unwillingness on automatically to elect asylum seekers as refugees³⁶. India has predictably "created discouragements" for Refugees to "remain permanently in India", mentioning the case of refugees from Bangladesh (East Pakistan then) during the 1971 war. India wanted to help Bangladesh but has not taken into account those who flee the country as refugees and India "assured their return" to Bangladesh after 1971 war³⁷. This may not be the wrong decision taken by India. India discourages permanent settlement of refugees and that the absence of a complicated national refugee strategy approaches to words the Rohingya crisis. There are huge differences to manage refugee problem between older decision by former government and present decision taken by

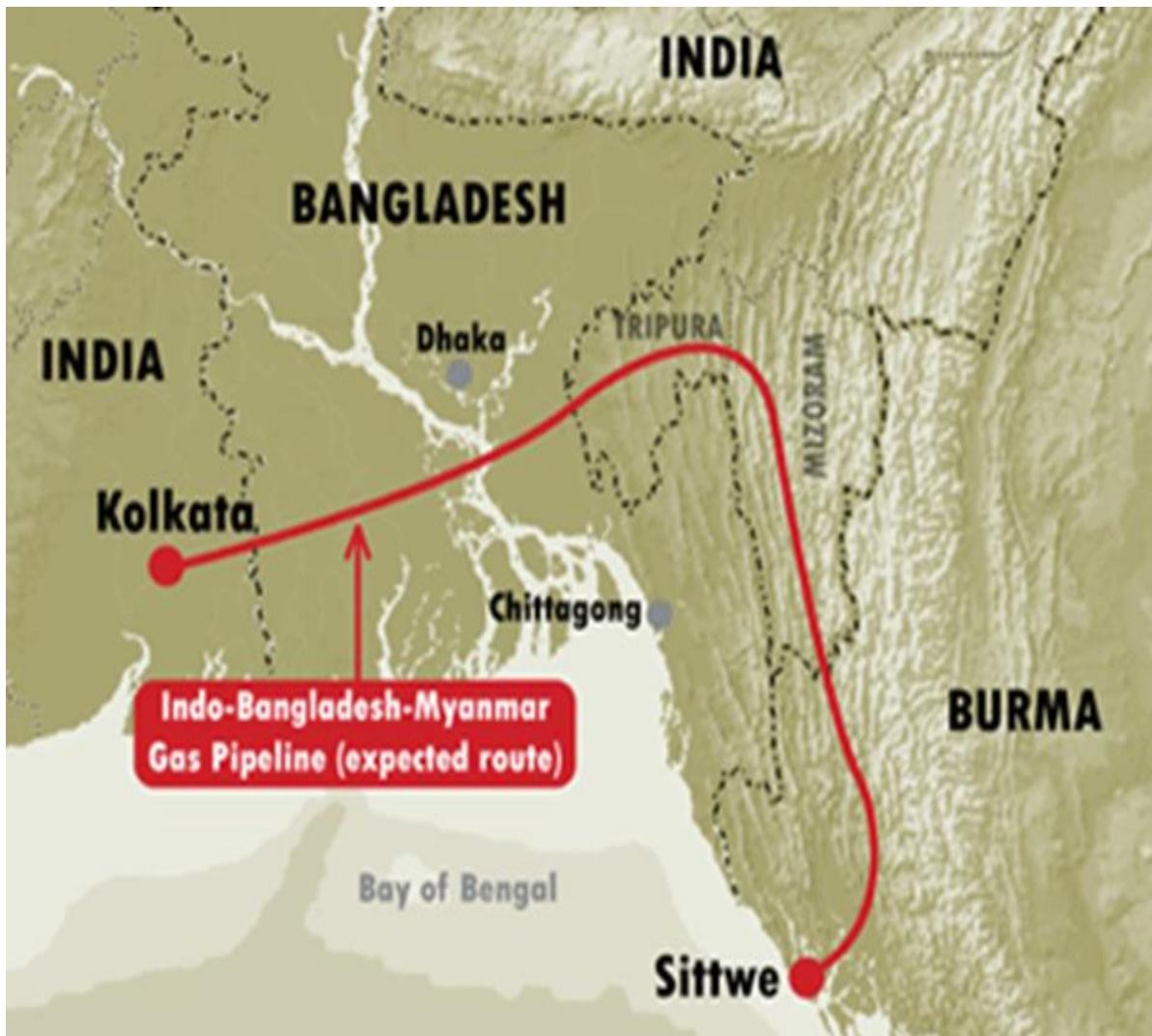
existing government. In Rohingya's cases, the government has shut its doors whereas India had always received refugees into others cases. On the other hand, no refugee in the past had seen as a terrorist threat, whereas security was the vital Government dispute in the case of Rohingya.

The classification of the Rohingya crisis through the security argument is as short-sighted as it could be creating more security challenges for India. It also includes "further radicalization" of are pressed community that could have importance effects of "overflow" in India³⁸. According to this government's Rohingya's concern put at light the thousands of Indian Diasporas lives in others countries including Myanmar³⁹. Government's silence attitude stalling a chance to other countries to take the lead role for Rohingya crisis⁴⁰. There is also a notion that the Rohingya approach could have been driven by a "trend" under the guidance of the BJP government towards Muslims. Citing the Bill of Amendment to Citizenship 2016 which recognizes "non-Muslim refugees" an Indian as "citizens" of the country⁴¹. This impression gained at the end of 2017, in a moment when security was reinforced all the time Indian states bordering Myanmar at the bar Rohingya refugees, the Indian government allowed hundreds of refugees, above all Christians and Buddhists, fleeing violence Myanmar to enter its North-Eastern state of Mizoram⁴². Some warned India means "losing not only its good name, but also opportunity to help transform a vast region that is devastated by the ethnic struggle, Poverty and backwardness "⁴³.

India's position on Rohingya crisis, is saying that it can't be drift away from the consequence of this shocking condition. The central government of India has not yet taken any initiative regarding the Rohingya Muslims. Later, some debates and discussions began between writers, thinkers, security analysts and even political leaders on the role of government in the international platform. The most worrying thing is that, despite the adoption of courageous measures regarding the Rohingya, the Indian government has tried to raise the issue of deportation of Rohingya refugees from the country. The declaration initiated by the deliberate deportation of the unfortunate Rohingya refugees would have undermined the image on the international situation. Many questions have arisen about Indian foreign policy in the Modi regime. Has India forgotten the idea of India, which is known as the home of refugees? It is a country that has offered the house to Parsi, Tibetans and Jews cannot deport minorities where this group is already persecuting, oppressing and tormenting. India has made this kind of insensitive steps against the idea

of "Athithi Devo Bhava". At that time India can take decision very wisely. No doubt that India has a unique history to give the shelter for refugees in previous years. Now a day's India has not much capability to give much more shelter for all refugees. Because it already an overpopulated country. India must follow the culture of 'Athithi Devo Bhava'. But it's also has a limit of Athithi. It is impossible to accommodate handed of thousand refugees shelter without gating any tension⁴⁵.

If we are looking at the economic perspective, we observe that if India gets them shelter, it became the cause of huge economic problem. Some of the leaders have claimed that the country is unable to admit the weight of Rohingya Muslim. But stability in Myanmar is very necessary due to several reasons. The pillar of the North-Eastern economy of India is agriculture. The small scale of industries such as the plywood factory, sawmills, fruit conservation, etc. exist, but their small role in the economy is not very important. Myanmar can provide security services to consumer goods and can meet the basic needs of the peoples of the North-Eastern states of India. It will take less time and less cost to meet the needs of this region than any other route in the Indian region. Another factor is that the region of North-Eastern India is rich in natural resources in terms of forests and minerals; India envisages the creation of special economic zones in its North-Eastern region and plans to invite foreign investors from ASEAN countries .From an energy point of view, Myanmar has abundant energy deposits from natural gas resources in coastal areas. One of the most significant offshore area is locates in Rakhine province namely the SittweGas field. China has made a plan to excerpt natural gas from this area. India can also get the advantage from this field⁴⁵.



Source: Irrawaddey online magazine open source image.
<http://blog.nationalgeographic.org>

Pipeline proposed route that mitigate risk and cost.

India is unfriendly with Rohingya to arrival in Indian Territory, but India also takes some positive activity like 'Operation Insaniyat' for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.

Current connectivity between India, Myanmar and other ASEAN regions is not fully developed. A lot of projects are underway. The Trilateral Road Project is one of the most important projects in three countries involved; in particular India-Myanmar-Thailand. This project was initially launched under the auspices of MGC, but was later unified within the BIMSTEC transport sector. Basically, the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) is a group of six

countries in which India and Myanmar are members of both sides, including four other countries from the ASEAN countries. In terrestrial connectivity, Myanmar's rail network allows access to rail transport from Kalyan to Thanbyuzayat. India and Myanmar have important projects to increase physical connectivity between two countries. Another important connectivity project is the Kaladan multimodal transport structure that displays the connectivity between the Indian port in the Eastern Sea and the port of Sittwe in Myanmar. The main cause for concern is that Sittwe is in the province of Rakhine, in Myanmar. Unless there is stability in this region, no project will progress; especially the development work will be interrupted in North-Eastern India. For hydropower, India has shown great interest in the construction of a large hydropower plant in Tamanthi, an estuary of the Chindwin River in the Sagain region of Myanmar.

India's silent response to the Rohingya crisis, under the excuse of geopolitics, cuts its personal global desires. Contribution of limited material assistance to Bangladesh, an expert called "some bags of rice" cannot replace for a more proactive response⁴⁷. It is a calculated and insensitive reaction to a humanitarian disaster in individual neighbourhood paints the country in a dim light, diminishing moral circle of an ancient civilization and diminishing its long-time history of humanitarianism. It is important to note that such a position actually undermines India's ability to differentiate itself from China and encourages serious doubts among its neighbour India's commitment to democratic and humanitarian values. Although India must carefully crush the increasing radicalization inside the Rohingya community and also connected efforts of the Islamic State and other Islamic jihadists, a great democratic power assuredly cannot inactively realise a humanitarian tragedy takes place on the gate.

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Chapter-4

ROHINGYA CRISIS, INDIAN SECURITY CONCERN

“The power of a king lies in his mighty arms...

Security of the citizens at peace time is very important because state is the only saviour of the men and women who get affected only because of the negligence of the state.” Chanakya.

We cannot identify that who is our friend and who is our enemy. But we can protect ourselves to take some important decision in the crucial time. India has the same feelings to protect its nations and its citizens from some unexpected enemies who have no worry for any nation's state and their citizens. We all know the humanitarian over view of Rohingya refugees. But we cannot overlook of those Rohingyas who want to spread violence over IDP camps and those nations which gave them shelter.

The Rohingya crisis is entrenched in past, in its current appearances have an extensive impact on the Myanmar-Bangladesh boundary. This confined, located on the north coast of the Bay of Bengal, and is in risk of becoming a new breeding ground for ferocious of extremism. The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA), a Rohingya militant group, launched an attack on police and military posts throughout the Rakhine Region in retaliation for previous clashes happened with the Myanmar army (Tatmadaw) in October 2016 and August 2017. The Myanmar army response to control a military operation against the groups that have instigated over 800,000 Rohingya to leave the country just after 25 August, 2017. Like many about 7,000 Rohingya citizens have been murdered by violence. More than 700,000 Rohingya have become refugees and they crossed the border to Bangladesh to join half a million Rohingya of previous affluences. The Rohingya are today one of the largest refugees' inhabitants in Asia. The situation of the Rohingyas has evoked strong emotions in the Muslim world that attracted Daesh and Al Qaeda terrorist group.

Firstly, we must know how the security threat occurred. Why India, Myanmar and Bangladesh feeling unsafe from Rohingya refugees? After Burma's independence before getting name Myanmar the relationship among the Muslims of Northern Arakanese or Rohingya Muslims and the Buddhist counterparts of Myanmar went over different times of conflict but it has never been appropriately succeeded. Postcolonial Arakan has seen numerous Rohingyas political activities, for several steps of autonomy. In the regime of prime minister U Nu a sequence of armed revolts controlled to some concessions¹. Rohingyas Independent Front (RIF) was found in 1964 to create an independent Muslim sector for Rohingyas. RIF has reformed its title with the name of Rohingya Independence Army (RIA) in 1969. Farther it has changed its name with Rohingya Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1973. Basically, it is an ethno-nationalist group who are fighting with limited military power for their own rights. But however, searching for self-rule is a challenge for departure in the Ne Win administration. This struggle will ultimately be handled seriously by the organized direction of the state and it going to the deterritorialization of the Rohingya. As an example, the state began to deny the Rohingyas identity by consider them as outsiders. A military Operation was launched by Myanmar called Operation Nagamin (Operation Dragon King) in 1978 by which thousands of Rohingya were murdered a dejected 200,000-250,000 Rohingyas, who took asylum in neighbour state Bangladesh². The Citizenship law of Myanmar in 1982 doesn't identify Rohingya as an ethnic migrant. After that this citizenship law exposed Rohingyas citizenship rights and made them refugees. The loss of citizenship, elimination and deficiency has controlled them to new identity which is built on religion and draws the attention of Islamists benefits for rescue and relocation. In mid-1980s the RPF divided in two organizations which is more Islam centric. The Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO) was created in 1982 and Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front (ARIF) was created in 1986. In mid 2000s RFO was more energetic at Cox Bazar in Bangladesh. Also, it was active in Karachi, Pakistan. RSO controlled an important collection of light machine guns, AK-47 assault rifles, RPG-2 rocket launchers, Claymore mines and explosives³. The RSO and RPF created Arakan Rohingya National Organisation (ARNO) in 1998. This organisation was very active in Cox Bazar and Chittagong, Bangladesh and it connected all others group. ARNO's another name was Rohingya National Army (RNA). RNA created a solid bond with so many groups who are fighting

against Myanmar militaries. RNA creates an alliance with Arakan army and continues till 2001.

On 17 August, 2012, the first investigation of Rakhine Commission was built under the authority of the executive order of President Thein Sein. Its aims to discover the root causes of civic violence and deliver references for anticipation the occurrence of violence in the future and the promotion of passive cohabitation⁴. This commission's report was unable to provide a meaningful modification that Myanmar was unsuccessful to resolution the causes of the conflict. After the rise to power of Aung San Suu Kyi, there were other initiatives. At the request of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in September 2016, the State Councillor of Myanmar, the Kofi Annan Foundation and the Office of the State Councillor create an Advisory Commission in the State of Rakhine. In August 2017, the Kofi Annan commission has proposed some practical explanations and submitted its final report. At that time a little-known organization name Harkat al Yaqeen (Movement of Faith) had emerged below the command of Ata Ullah Abu Ammar Jununi, a Rohingya born in Karachi, Pakistan and raised in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. The name of this group is Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA). This group was working for the rights of Rohingyas. The ARSA, in its video messages, declared, it was "not a terrorist group" and that "has no connection with anyone terrorist groups from anywhere in the world"⁵. Despite their criticism the group appears to have adopted terrorism as a method to advantage credit. The group took responsibility for the attacks on border posts in Myanmar who left nine border military officers and four dead soldiers in October 2016. Follow-up the counter-offensive produced 87,000 Rohingya to escape to Bangladesh. In this tense condition the ARSA again has launched a corresponding attack against 30 police post in the state of Rakhine, and murder 12 security officers on 25th August 2017⁶. The resulting counter-insurgency campaign left 6,700 Rohingya dead and 700,000 were forced to leave Myanmar and took asylum on the other side of the border of Bangladesh. In 25th August 2017, Myanmar's Central Committee for Counter Terrorism published report and acknowledged that armed aggressors and ARSA as terrorist groups in accordance with the counter terrorism Law of the country⁷. Bangladesh sources believe that the ARSA was behind the May 2016s murder of a fighter leader and the plundering of 11 weapons to the Shalbagan Ansar quarters near a Rohingya camp in the Mochni area Teknafupazila from the Cox Bazar district. Some of these weapons were probably used by ARSA for its Myanmar operations.

ARSA was hurtled when they escaped from Myanmar; they drop down the weapons in the Bangladesh border and run-away to India. There is no clear signal of the ARSA linking to any terrorist group; however, these possibilities cannot be discarded. Although it is difficult to estimate the strength of ARSA, several sources have specified that it had less than 200-foot militaries. ARSA does not enjoy extensive backing inside the Rohingyas community. Many Rohingyas remark that they are the cause of their misery. However, there is a role of support to ARSA, particularly among those who see violence as the only one way to get recognition. A lengthy disaster will rise with the possibility of the reappearance of ARSA. The land in Myanmar-Bangladesh-India the boundary triangle is remote, mountainous, often unreachable and appropriate for terrorist and insurrectional activities. This zone is also notorious for the availability of small and light weapons.

A big concern for India and Bangladesh is the large number of Rohingya in its area. Mass population and lack of resources in India and Bangladesh does not permit to take the Rohingya as a permanent settlement in its area. So, the country highlights the safe expulsion of the Rohingyas in Myanmar. The authorities of Bangladesh convey that if the Rohingyas feel confident to return to Myanmar, they will stay inside Bangladesh and some of them will certainly be engaged by organizes criminal groups and therefore characterizes a threat not only to Bangladesh, but India and others country also. The Rohingya crisis has a lasting effect on the threat of the border between India-Bangladesh and Bangladesh-Myanmar. Not only has the possibility enlarged of lengthy instability of the border area, but also created chances for violent terrorist groups to upsurge their activities, including staffing and increase funds. The condition of the Rohingya minority has been gain the attention of violent regional and international terrorist groups for a long time. The Rohingya militants have also strained to accept Islamist rhetoric to obtain peripheral support from non-state transnational actors.

The militant organizations of the Rohingyas, namely RSO and ARNO, create a link with terrorist group specifically focused on Al-Qaeda in South Asia, South East Asia and the Middle East after the 1991 crisis. This connection was much infirm after the 9/11 terrorist attack. Bangladesh has carried out numerous operations to demolish the Rohingya uprising networks of RSO and ARNO within their own territory. It also arrested three Pakistani peoples who came to deliver training to the Rohingya. Though, Bangladesh-India border appears to be facing new challenges, particularly after the communal violence of 2012

June in Rakhine State and recent violence in 2017. Presently, more than a million the Rohingya live in Bangladesh and Bangladesh-India border as refugees and illegal immigrants. So many of them also live near the border area between Bangladesh and Myanmar. An increasing presence of local and foreign contributions in this refugee's camp areas. It is not tough for terrorist organizations to penetrate below the humanitarian standard. Therefore, the delay of the observation so many people are in challenge.

The former name of the Islamic Terrorist Organisation ARSA is Harakah-al-Yakin. This group want to build an Islamic state in Myanmar. The most responsible part of Myanmar crisis is ARSA. Collecting resource from Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, and some number of Arab states this group had done the operation in Myanmar⁸. Bangladesh creates the role of patronising of Rohingya terrorists for long time. The local Rohingya youth are arms trained providing by RSO in Chittagong area. RSO took help from Imam Abdul Karim of Markaz-e-Islam situated in Neela, Rakhine border area. RSO meet their others members in hospital, Rabta-Islami in Chittagong area⁹.

29000 Rohingyas immigrated to Bangladesh due to the consequences of revenge by the military of Myanmar after 25th August 2017 attack told Joseph Tripura, presenter of UN refugee Agency¹⁰. The interesting part of this matter is 66% of total Rohingyas are women and remnant are old, sick, men, whose age maximum 18 years. Almost all the men from their group joined ARSA for fight against military of Myanmar¹¹. For this reason, 18-40 aged men are not immigrated to Bangladesh¹². Bangladesh government have faced most trouble because in Cox Bazar area approx. 18000 women are pregnant and children who have already take birth around 200¹³. Bangladesh also face the security problem from Rohingyas and it also the matter of concern.



Link to others terrorist group.

Source: www.indiadefencereview.com

Al Qaeda:

Al Qaeda (AQ) is present in South Asia and South East Asia network of local associates arisen in the feeble of the Soviet Union Afghan war¹⁴.The group, with a continued existence in the region, looks to be nearby entrenched and have a long game focus instead of Daesh. Although Daesh has managed to eclipse AQ over the declaration call "Caliphate", it is known that AQ is silently bouncing and strengthening its own different branches¹⁵.The launch of Al Qaeda in the Indian subcontinent (AQIS) to cover a huge territory that includes Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Myanmar as a good example.Because the AQIS narratives are based largely on local complaints. The Muslim minorities, therefore, was not a surprise that they showed new interest in the Rohingya matter, particularly in 2012Juneregionalviolence in the state of Rakhine. Since then, the group, as well as its Local partners and followers of the region have issued many reports and have published audio and video

conferences about Rohingya, accent the situation of the Rohingya and the obligation of a jihad armed inside Myanmar. These groups contain Ansar al Islam, Jemaah Islamiyah, Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)¹⁶, Afghan Taliban, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)¹⁷ and Jama'ah Ansharut Tawhid. These materials have been disclosed online and gave broad coverage to groups and at the same time it has built a moral explanation via ferocity over the recognition of the Rohingya against Myanmar. They repeated calls from an influential ideologist linked to AQ, Abu Zar al-Burmi (a Burmese origin Pakistani citizen), for armed jihad against Myanmar¹⁸. Burma is known to have contact with TTP, IMU and the Islamic Party of Turkistan (TIP), which is the key jihadist platform for Uighurs.

In June 2017 publication, Al Qaeda identified Myanmar as part of its stage of operations and specifically identified Myanmar army as one of its vital objectives. The group has clearly displayed its three goals in Myanmar. These are: (1) "Helping and defending" Muslims in Myanmar, (2) "Avenging" the subjugation of Muslims in Myanmar by the army and (3) "Retaking" the Islamic Arakan of the "occupying" army¹⁹. The group expressed interest in working with jihadist groups in India, Bangladesh and Myanmar in this regard. It is interesting to note that Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) has invited AQIS leaders to support the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. On 12 September 2017, AQ Central has issued a statement calling for punishment for revenge attacks the government of Myanmar for the torture of the Rohingya minority peoples. The group urged Muslims worldwide and especially in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and the Philippines to support Rohingya in Myanmar economically and physically. This increases the possibility that India and Bangladesh area are used by residents and foreigner's terrorist groups. Bangladesh has a series of groups focused on AQ that can be influential to mobilize support for the Rohingya activists. The Ansar al Islam, Jamma'tul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) and Harkat ul Jihad al Islami Bangladesh (HuJI-B) are specific cases. Although these three groups are expelled in Bangladesh, they have considerable functioning capacity. Between these three groups, Ansar al Islam is officially recognized by Al Qaeda as part of Al Qaeda in the Indian sub-continent (AQIS) and as representative of AQ group in Bangladesh. In recent years, Ansar al Islam has tried to send fighter teams in Myanmar, but have not been as successful as Bangladesh police agencies foiled the attempts²⁰. JMB presumably taken an IED attack on Kalchakra Maidan, Bodh Gaya, India to avenge murders on Rohingya in Myanmar²¹. Ansar al Islam has

an important subsequent in Bangladesh and the group was mainly involved in targeted killings. Ansar al Islam is controlled by Ziaul Haq, a fired commander from the Bangladesh army.

AQIS launched for the first time in September 2016 a Bengali journal name Al Balagh. To join AQIS struggle against oppression it called many Muslims. The journal has published a special topic on the Rohingya crisis in 2017. Ansar al Islam, Al Qaeda provided training and support for RSO Rohingya activists in many brunches at Bangladesh. Ansar al Islam is active in South-Eastern Bangladesh, in North-Eastern India and in Myanmar. The Bengali platform of Al Qaeda which was known as Titumir Media has published a video in Bengali to ask for revenge for the harassment of Arakan Muslims over an armed struggle on 10th December 2016. If the Rohingya crisis remains, it will not be difficult for Al Qaeda and its local associates to join from refugee camps. According to some sources, an AQIS, JMB, the ARSA connection is developing in the Eastern and South-Eastern areas of Bangladesh, mainly in Bangladesh-India and Bangladesh- Myanmar Borders. There are no police agencies present and the land is also suitable for terrorist groups as a sanctuary as a training ground.

Daesh:

Daesh is not so much popular as AQ. In the context of eastward development Daesh has only interested in important Rohingya crisis²². Daesh, at the starting, used the theme of Rohingya as chronicle. On 1st July 2014, deliberating a speech it announced the launch of the caliphate, the leader of Daesh Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi stated to the Rohingya as be among the worried Muslim populations all over the world that Daesh was trying to pull off²³. Daesh's Furat Media was published an article entitled "Bangladesh and the Caliphate Declaration" in September 2015. The article advised Bangladeshis to curse commitment to the leader of Daesh, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi called for the release of jihadists from the country's prisons and, significantly, asked to lead an armed jihad in Myanmar from Bangladesh. He also called the battle Gazwatul Hind-the final battle to put the Indian subcontinent under the "Islamic" rule. Resounding its policy in the southern Philippines, Daesh habitually over its Dabiq online publication, said it plans to create a base in Bangladesh and launch revenge attacks against the Myanmar government for its treatment of Rohingya Muslims. For example, Dabiq 12th issue come out in November 2015 and it revealed that the strategy to develop South Asia

creating a base in Bangladesh. The group articulated its purpose to use this base as a trigger for its expansion in India and Myanmar. It also claimed to have found a "new leader" in Bangladesh. The article praised the founder of JMB, Abdur Rahman. In 14th issue was published in 2016 April. This also combined an interview by Daesh the leader Abu Ibrahim al Hanif. This paper specified that Bangladesh part has the capability to work with different parts of Daesh, including Wilayat Khurasan. It invited the Muslims of Bangladesh and Muslims of neighbouring areas to join Daesh and fight for their wealth and life. This pointed out that Bengal was an important region for Daesh in where they create the global jihad due to its strategic environment allocation. Also, clearly articulated that having a strong base in Bengal would be useful to carry attacks on India and Myanmar. This could result in another Long-lasting conflict in South East Asia, after the Southern blockade Filipino city of Marawi from Islamic activists. Some Rohingyas has already joined in Daesh to create some terrorist attacked their so-called Jihad in India-Bangladesh and Bangladesh- Myanmar border²⁴.

India's security concern from Rohingya community:

After getting knows the terrorist view point about India, Bangladesh and Myanmar, the government of those countries are very concern about their national security, state policy and foreign policy towards the world. Refugee problem of all these countries are at the main point. Both three countries have connected with each other state with many vital issues. Their foreign policy also connected with both. Now the point is what they should do about this problem. They are concerned from the humanitarian side of all refugees specifically Rohingya community on the other side they are worried of national security of the state.

Though the victimize state of Islam terrorism, India cannot responsible if the position of this crisis is favourable to the GOM. An open threat by a Sunni Jihadi Council Cleric name Ashraf Ali Jalali, a jihadi who used Myanmar Muslims and children for his so-called jihad activities to Indian P.M Modi and Suu Kyi that they should be hanged²⁵. An interesting fact that these so-called jihadi organisations not only hate the military of Myanmar and GOM or others states Governments but also, they are against some Hindus. Through the time

of Buddhist Muslims violence some Hindus was murdered by Rohingyas. In Rakhine state 28 Hindus are murdered by Rohingyas says Myanmar military²⁶. In Bangladesh, Cox Bazar area Hindu refugees face violence from some Rohingyas. A Hindu refugee Rabintra Pal was murdered by Rohingyas²⁷. These peace loving Rohingyas couldn't accept non-Muslim human being if they are Hindu or Buddhist doesn't matter.



Source: www.indiandefencereview.com

The sudden upsurge in the number of Rohingya Muslims who settled in India meant that security agencies sounded among security agencies and the Bureau of Immigration Office (BoI) states that more than 10,000 families have

settled in India with the highest number is Jammu and Kashmir. The security agencies suspect that the actual number of Rohingya remaining illegally in India may be much higher than the available data and represents a more serious threat to internal security for India, even compared to Maoists and other subversive groups.

According to available official data, there are about 6684 Rohingya families settled in Jammu and Kashmir, while 1755 is reported in Andhra Pradesh. The problems have recently been addressed by the Centre with States, after NSA deputy Arvind Gupta met in June 2015 on the increase in Rohingya's infiltration of India from Myanmar. The government has also asked states to formulate the list of families, immigrant camps, their profession and their residence of origin in Myanmar.



OFFICIAL FIGURES OF ROHINGYAS IN INDIA

STATE	Rohingya population (in Families)
J&K	6684
AP	1755
Haryana	677
Delhi	760
UP	111
WB--including Siliguri	351
Punjab	50
Rajasthan	162
Maharashtra	12
Andaman and Nicobar	03
TOTAL	10,565

Source: hinduexistence.org

These Rohingya refugees in India enjoy the support of various Muslim groups in India, including All India Majlis-E-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIM) and some of them have become proactive on the Rohingya issue in international forums. AIMIM has always been in favour of the rehabilitation of these Rohingyas in the Assembly of Andhra and in the Parliament of India. The unfortunate thing is that in India some political parties only for their vote bank politics they provided asylum for Rohingyas after knowing that Rohingya has a connection with terrorist group. As an example, a Rohingya Muslim name Muhammed Ismail was arrested in Hyderabad who has issued birth certificate from Dum Dum in Kolkata. He was an immigrant to Myanmar from Bangladesh. After that he came in Kolkata. The interesting part is that he has the entire document which proved that he is an Indian like Aadhaar Card, Voter Card, Pan Card, and an UN approved refugee card²⁸. This is an ultimate evident which proved that no foreigner gets any Indian originated documents without helping some politician. Many of Indian states openly help the illegal Rohingyas after knowing the consequences. They give them shelter illegally and they disobey any circular or order related to Rohingya from central government. In recent 400000 Rohingya infiltrators are settled in several states in India. So, the increases of Rohingya population in India are forth time higher.

We all know that Myanmar is very important for Indian national security. This has put India in a problematic condition. When Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Myanmar on 5th and 7th September 2017, after returning from China to attend the BRICS Summit, he big-heartedly admired DASSK leadership and expressed his full support of terrorist attacks against Myanmar security forces. DASSK in under intense international pressure expressed great gratitude for the unequivocal support of the largest democracy in the world. Myanmar is very important for Indian national security, constancy, opulence especially in the North Eastern part of India. Myanmar represents the gateway in the India's North-Eastern part towards the other ASEAN countries. It is a vital partner in India's commercial and connectivity enterprises. Several main connectivity missions that include the Trilateral Highway from North-Eastern India to Thailand and beyond, through Myanmar and the Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport Project (KMTTP), are at an advanced stage of enactment. Myanmar security forces actively collaborate with India to reject space and area to the Indian rebels of Myanmar will carry out militant attacks against Indian civilians and security forces in 1,640 km border with the Indian states of

Mizoram, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. The Act East policy's victory depends mainly on industrious relations with Myanmar. Now the concern of India is increasing existence of China towards Myanmar. This requires a strong influence on Myanmar and its leadership.

At the same time, India's relations with Bangladesh are equally important. Because of the bold direction of Prime Ministers Modi and Sheikh Hasina's relations between the two countries are the best after 1975. Bangladesh was the most affected nation by the refugee disaster. More than 370,000 refugees in the last 2 years were accepted by Bangladesh. As a host country their ability to giving refugees shelter is exploding. Sheikh Hasina worried under increasing pressure on this issue by opposition parties. Specifically, Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Jamaat-e-Islami, which are prone to Pakistan. Chinese upsurge its financial influence in Bangladesh to damage the Indian traditional record and cordial relations is cause for concern. If prime minister doesn't have found any solution to resolve the Rohingya issue, then there have much more consequences.

Indian intelligences agencies report that, a serious security threat in India are Rohingyas. Intelligences agencies have many evidences that proved the link between Pakistani terrorist group like Lashkar-e-Taiyaba and Hijbul Mujahidin. Any time a 'lone wolf' attack will be occurred in India by ISI²⁹. This data was sent to the Supreme Court by central government when two Rohingyas case for shelter of them³⁰. Rohingya has a link with Jamat Ud Dawa (JUD) of Hafiz Saeed, says Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India to the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and others intelligent agencies in India confirm to the link with ISI or IS and Rohingyas. Ignoring the national interest opposition group's demand to the Indian Government to give asylum for Rohingyas. Some Islamic organisation are supporting Rohingyas in India like the Zakat Foundation of India, Jamat-e-Islam, Hind etc³¹. A famous Congress leader Mani Shankar Aiyar claims that India should open the door for Muslims like Hindus whereas Muslims based countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan denied to accept Rohingyas for their terror links³². Even a marriage between a Rohingyas and a Bangladeshi is a punishable offence with 7 years' imprisonment. More interesting fact that Rohingyas are Chittagonians, Bangladesh didn't believe that.

On the others like Brussels based think tank International Crisis Group (ICG) confirms that Rohingya terrorist group has strong link with Saudi Arabia and

Pakistan³³. This is also proved that Pakistan use Rohingyas for their self-help to threaten India. Ashraf Asif Jalali a Sunni Jihadi Council Priest in Lashkar-e - Taiyba (LET) has decided that they should recruit one lakh young jihadist from many refugee camps including Rohingya and others parts of the world for the attack in India³⁴. In Bangladesh, Cox Bazar area Lashkar-e-Taiyba and its closest organization Falah-I-Inshanayat are very energetic and this is a matter of thinking³⁵. As a report from Thailand intelligence agencies that in Southern part of Thailand some jihadist recruits some Rohingya immigrant for jihadist activities in globally. Jihadist makes some grand plan for terrorist activities in many parts of the world³⁶. After knowing all the information central government has no option but have to inform Supreme Court to consider them 'illegal immigrant' who has a serious security threat for India³⁷. BJP leader Subramanyan Swami approves in Indian constitution article 2 India control some rights for its national security³⁸.

Like others terrorist organisation like, Pakistan's Jamat-Ud-Dawa , Jaish-e-Muhammad (JME) who recently came in front and attack to a military convoy by a suicide bomber at Lethpora in Pulwama district, Jammu and Kashmir in India, 40 central reserve police force (CRPF) were dead in this attack, next is Lashkar-e-Taiyba (LET), Jamat-e-Islami (JEI), Islamic ChhatraShibir (ICS), JEM Bangladesh (JMB) all in Bangladesh and Myanmar's Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami in Arakan. The activities of all these organisations are apparently existence in three countries arranged by Pakistan's ISI and Al Qaeda. Their aim was to fulfill the objective advocated in 2014 with a videotape of Al Qaeda Amir, Ayman, and Al Jawahari. They want that in 1989 what they done in Kashmir are repeated in Assam in 2019. Jihadi group cooperated with ISI and Al Qaeda for the operation in Assam 2019. For that they want to impacts directly NATO countries particularly in Turkey, to campaign for Rohingyas restoration.

This is very crucial problem for India. Because it has proved that almost Rohingya immigrants are the member of ARSA and create a link with AQ, Islamic State (IS), Jammat-ud-Dawa (JUD), Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET) etc. It is also informed that the Pakistan ISI is active in the formation of terrorist elements among Rohingya refugees. This rises to a serious security challenge in India. Therefore, it declared intention to deport 40,000 refugees who have come to India. The government of India informed the country's Supreme Court in response to a petition presented by two refugees that the Rohingya constitute a serious threat to the security of the nation. It is the social tension and public order problems. Radical activist was found among the refugees. It was

temporarily established in Jammu, Delhi, Hyderabad and Mewar. India does not want to expose the country to terrorist threat to accept these refugees. India has warned Myanmar that Pakistan-based militants were exploiting the radicalization among the Rohingya community, which it has raised a security risk for both countries and the region³⁹. India has asked Myanmar to find a political solution to deactivate the "ticking bomb", naming information that militants among the ethnic minority community was encouraged by terrorist group like Lashkar-e-Taiba⁴⁰. When Myanmar Security Advisor (MSA) U Thaung Tun visiting to India for the first time, Delhi conveyed this information to him⁴¹. He was meeting with Indian National Security Advisor (NSA), external ministry officials and defence. New Delhi believes that security actions are necessary, but the repression of the minority community alone would be counter-productive. Myanmar is under growing international burden action approx. 1 million solid Muslim Rohingya, who face official and social insight in the Buddhist majority country. Even as Western and Islamic countries and human rights bodies have made the action of Rohingyas a central anxiety in their engagement with Myanmar, India has selected limitation and discretion, given the compassions of both the military and Aung San Suu Kyi on the matter. Soldiers have improved their violent in the North-West of Rakhine State in a repression against the Rohingya, which sparked a new round of violence. India had the right intelligence to confirm the role of Lashkar, operating first through his so-called charitable avatar and then through the leaders "in the state of Rakhine, said the Indian official⁴². India began to suspect Lashkar in 2012-2013, that completed the Mumbai terrorist attack in 2008 which resulted in 166 deaths, participation in Myanmar. New Delhi has received contributions from Bangladesh, and alleged that the Rohingya and Lashkar militants had a hand in the explosions which shook Bodh Gaya, the leakiest place in Buddhism. Hafiz Saeed the Lashkar-e-Taiba creator, has repeatedly suspect India of helping the Myanmar government in its harassment of the Rohingya, which are considered as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, even when they have their families lived in Myanmar for generations.

A 28-year-old British Rohingya terrorist name Samiun Rahman suspicious to helping AQ in Syria, was sent to India will recruit and organize young people to fight for the reason of the immigrant Muslim community, the National Investigation Agency (NIA) declares. Probably he had planned to arrive in Myanmar through Mizoram and then Chittagong in Bangladesh⁴³. The NIA

denounced AQ plan in the Indian subcontinent on its allegation sheet against Rahman, who is being tried for terrorist acts. The allegation sheet provides information on his journey to India from London through his channel of Syria. The NIA has attached a total of 536 chats recovered from Telegram and other secure messaging app contact with the alleged associates of Rahman AQ in India, Bangladesh, Syria and other countries⁴⁴. The defendant, who supposedly was allocated the task of guarding and fixed on the lines of defence of AQ base in Syria, where he struggled different groups for two weeks, was sent to Bangladesh in sight of his enthusiasm and knowledge of the local language and was allotted the task of launching his own base in the Indian subcontinent, says the allegation sheet⁴⁵. At the time of arrived in Dhaka in 2014, he went to his familial village from where he created a Facebook page, aid to Syria, to increase consciousness of the Syrian crisis. He also connected with the son of a high court judge name Asif Adnan and son of a bureaucrat name Tanzil, to inspire them and train them to radicalize. At the time of his living; he travelled Silhet, Nabiganj, Dhaka and other places in Bangladesh to radicalize young persons. Then he sends them to Syria and Myanmar. He and his terrorist connections arrested in Bangladesh and sent to prison from October 2014 to April 2017. According to the NIA, India and Bangladesh are the main priorities for AQ after US and Israeli targets⁴⁶. India is the main protector of the secular government claims the expelled terrorist organization and secular activities in Bangladesh delivers all types of support to "blasphemers". India is assumed to strong partner of America, Russia and Israel against Islamic and jihadist emerging in Kashmir and other Indian states, Bangladesh and Myanmar. After his release on bail, Rahman would stay in touch with AQ terrorists' group to establish a base in the subcontinent and fighting for the Rohingya crisis.

Probably he arrived India without documents across the border of Beenapole, in West Bengal, in July 2017. Rahman told Delhi police that in the first week of July 2017 he contacted Abu Akhter, a Bangladesh national and active AQ member who was aware with the cities of India. After crossing the border Akhter and another associate organized his entry into India. Abu Akhter took the defendant in Hazaribagh in a vehicle. Later he boarded a train to Delhi from Ranchi. Supposedly he remained in Delhi for 54 days. The Delhi police gate evidence Raju Bhai who was planning terrorist activities in October 2017. This expelled to be Rahman. He exposed that in April 2017 he encountered the AQ terrorist Mahin in Bangladesh. He was helping him to get

volunteers for their group. In London Rahman was sent to prison in 2011 for a traffic violation. He was influenced by Islam during his stay. After his release, he went to Syria for the first time to help the refugees and returned to live London after almost two months. Then, he definite to learn Arabic and again went to Syria in December 2013 and connected with the front of Al-Nusra. He gets physical and arm training, contacted AQ and struggled against the Syrian army.

India's advancing step:

After knowing that the problems are coming, any state can take the risk to accept anything or any ones with welcome gift. There is huge chance to terror attack in India by the terrorist who are involved with Rohingyas and who are settled in difference places in India, Bangladesh and Myanmar. To avoid this risk, India takes some tough decision about Rohingya immigrants. But if India takes the chance it will through India's tradition in the front of criticism by world community. These problems require serious attention by political leaders. Even it doesn't apprehension the whole Indian method, in specific the aspect of which role the nation can play in smoothing lasting solutions for the crisis. These unit trials develop some ideas on this aspect to go ahead. Obviously, India will take the quiet diplomacy instead of sound diplomacy. The question is how India can make its method work more successfully to confirm that it helps to stop new conflicts in Rakhine, helping to harmless return of refugees to Myanmar, moderate any possible activity connected to terrorism involving the Rohingya immigrants. India can choose a progressive way for solving this matter. It will be beneficiary for Indian state. As an international concern India must assure that when the condition of the Rohingya immigrant will secure in their position then India can return them to their home state, Myanmar. The Supreme Court's any step to expel the Rohingya will be complex in the situation of the Rohingya immigrants⁴⁷. It will be critical to ensuring elementary refugee services initially. At the starting of February 2018, a terrorist attack in a military camp at Sunjuwan of the city of Jammu has triggered a debate on the participation of the Rohingya as many had been established around the asylum⁴⁸. This attack gave the opportunity to fuel the strengthen movement ask Rohingyas to leave Jammu. If the culprit found he defiantly punished.

Each state has the right to precession its own security. India has also to do so. Though the security issues should consider the Long-term integral penalties, the problem is not about security concern over the humanitarian matter, but it may be productive, stayed a specialist⁴⁹. Furthermore, assumed the traditional feeling towards refugee defence, India must increase to the instance and prove that it is not motivated only by limited internal political benefits. On a bilateral level, Minister Swaraj visited in Myanmar in May and has unlocked more space for India to expand its role. Preservation a beneficial engagement with Myanmar, Delhi was able to transmission in Myanmar authority that the only solution to the Rohingya crisis is the returning Rohingyas in Myanmar safely.

In December 2017, India signed a MoU to understand the state of Rakhine Development program⁵⁰. Delhi continuous support to Dhaka with relief assistance for refugee camps in Bangladesh; an instant necessity is facing the impact of the monsoon. In security sector India has functioned carefully with Myanmar and Bangladesh. To avoid terror connection with Rohingya refugee's camp, both states must share some information and need some security cooperation. The vital things are to confirm that they, Myanmar and Bangladesh also very careful to discover solution about Rohingya. When they can't do anything, they just blame with each-others⁵¹. Delhi will have to use its decent offices to confirm things don't come out of spread. These efforts can be made similar develop mutual devices that allow prepare the ground for expulsion after it occurs. At the local level, Delhi has not exposed attention in being part of the Rohingya problem program of the sub-regional group, Bay of the Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC). Even India couldn't call any of seven BIMSTEC state for any meeting for this purpose. The hesitation of Delhi to start any document the BIMSTEC cluster may have been influenced by his experience in SAARC where bilateral issues, the continued hostility between Delhi and Islamabad, has prevented the progress of the Association. Myanmar and Bangladesh are both members of BIMSTEC and bilateral the angle of the Rohingya issue could affect the BIMSTEC works. In this context, a positive development in BIMSTEC that should encourage member states to work more carefully in the field of security. BIMSTEC has mechanism for National Security Consultants (NSA) of member states. In early 2017 the first BIMSTEC-NSA meeting was happened. It acknowledged the essential for vital events to counter and prevent the spread of terrorism, violent extremism and radicalization has also obvious to take

concrete dealings for improve cooperation and coordination between its law application, intelligence and security organizations and improving capacity building⁵². In the last week of August 2018, BIMSTEC summit held in Nepal. Delhi can use this stage for strengthen the increasing security of the group and proposal for economical support to BIMSTEC Secretariat for playing a humanitarian role Assistance and socio-economic development in Bangladesh and Myanmar. The motion can deliver a chance in Delhi to highlight the role of collaboration between BIMSTEC members and make an instance in how the sub-regional assemblage is approaching bilateral matters affecting its member states.

Even when BIMSTEC members try to find ways to reinforce 111 rcecollaboration, especially in the ground of security, India requires working closely with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). The block of incapability creates various problems, including the Rohingya crisis has been subjected to strong condemnation⁵³. Though, despite its errors, today there is no other group that enjoys the same situation in the region as ASEAN. Furthermore, the strength of the alliance lies in the very limited organizations. This organization enjoys the assurance of Myanmar. The necessity for a local approach was discussed by the nature of Rohingya crisis⁵⁴. The difficulty of this matter requirements coordination and collaboration between countries of the region. In that case Delhi is more advantageous to work with ASEAN even Delhi is involved with both two state Myanmar and Bangladesh.

India and ASEAN share their comparable situations with each other about Rohingya. Both countries see the prism of authority. They also have intensified Socio-Economic expansion in Rakhine State. Both believe that positive assurance is more practical in the search for a solution instead of sound diplomacy. Beyond they have similar strategies; the risks are huge for both India and ASEAN. Reputation and international situation of India has been exposed to inspection. The efficiency of ASEAN as a regional body it has also been interrogated. Both India and ASEAN are conscious about the consequences of any terrorist activity issued by radicalization between Rohingya. The positive approach of India and ASEAN are created on the confidence that the loneliness of Myanmar will not solve the Rohingya problem. The migration crisis of 2015 connecting the Rohingya, ASEAN has taken the main role in finding a solution⁵⁵. Both they work with each other to find a solution. They worked to create a policy harmonization with UN and others international organizations. They took any step in the field of Rakhine

state jointly rather than individually. They gain more power with connecting Bangladesh, Myanmar and others state to involving them in the security issue and share them the information related to security issue. These efforts can go increasingly putting pressure on the Government of Myanmar. At any time getting support it is important to speed up expulsion procedure, confirming the non-recurrence of the in Rakhine state conflict and the rapid implementation of the mention to the advisory commission of the state of Rakhine.

On the purpose of Rohingya digester India always connected with ASEAN and BIMSTEC. A mixture of both bilateral and regional assurances and coordination may operative in tangible invention outcome. Critical two members in ASEAN and BIMSTEC are Singapore and Indonesia and other side Bangladesh and Thailand. Bangladesh is certainly a target of the crisis and will have to be part of every determination in find solutions. Thailand has sharing of the long land border with Myanmar and as a Buddhist majority nation. Thailand has its concerns experience in conflict management for years and took the guide to finding a solution to migration crisis involving the Rohingya in the past. Indonesia has actively participated, Humanitarian and socio-economic expansion development to assistance in the state of Rakhine. As an ASEAN's biggest Muslim nation, Indonesia's role is important. At the point of Singapore, it is the current important state of ASEAN. Delhi could exploit its close relations with the bilateral city-state. Globally, Delhi improves its approach to recover missing place. Sometimes India will essential to influence the West that the agreements are unlikely to work because Myanmar has an alternative 51 financial and commercial bonds with China. Like past it was not functioned now. India must involve in with Naypyitaw and Dhaka⁵⁶. ASEAN and India continued with their plan to solving the Rohingya problem. They cooperate with each other in many ways.

The national security situation of India is still in complex, impassioned and extremely challenging. Observers of the Line of Control (LoC) unnecessary activities, China have raised the mail to the East and regularly connect with the Western border to get the warmth outside Pakistan. Although the President of USA Donald Trump would like increase heat in Pakistan. China will do every possible thing to decrease or defuse pressures.

Transnational Crimes-Terror Fixture:

A frequently ignorant consequence of the Rohingya crisis is the cause of growth of transnational link between crime and terror on the India Bangladesh border. The land on the border is favourable to transnational crime, while it cuts through hills, forests, rivers, canals and the sea, which facilitates border management difficult for Bangladesh. Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, due to their extreme need for sustenance, they are often involved in various ways transnational crimes, such as human trafficking, drug trafficking and arms trafficking. The important reason of human trafficking in borderland is growth of Rohingya refugee. Statelessness and the long life of the refugee the Rohingya are a powerful force for them who are desperately trying to leave the border in search of a better life abroad. According to Bangladesh it is known that the sources of more than two dozen trade unions are trafficked be active in the seaside region of Bangladesh and Myanmar, carrying boats people in South East Asia. According to the UNHCR, thousands of Rohingya they made irregular sea journeys in the Bay of Bengal to Thailand and Malaysia, and several hundred have died in recent time's years during the journey⁵⁷. Although the crime-terror connection is not new in the border area between India and Bangladesh, the susceptibility of the Rohingya certainly, the threat is even more complex. Myanmar is a main creator of narcotics; the most important, from YaBaa (Methamphetamine). The border region between Bangladesh and Myanmar was identified by the Bangladeshi Department of Narcotic Drugs Control (DNDC) as an important entry point for narcotics. There are at least 10 YaBaa factories in the border area within Myanmar that manufactured illegal drugs that are being trafficked into Bangladesh. The Rohingya are employed as transporters, mediators or traffickers⁵⁸.

Most of the Rohingyas have no proof of identity and therefore could not use official means transportation to entry in India. To minimize the dangers of irregular cross-border immigration, they usually travel in India in groups- minimum 10 persons groups or maximum 25 individuals. The group has created with known and trust worthy peoples. Most of the traveller went to India with family members or community members, and otherwise some contracts smugglers to establish the trip and navigate in risks on the road. The role of smugglers to help travel the Rohingya from Bangladesh to India was regularly learnt in the news⁵⁹. According to the expert, this is impossible for

Rohingya to travel to India without a smuggler, since it is too difficult to navigate if they have not travelled before these routes. The smugglers choose only Bangladeshi and Indian Rohingya refugee for travelling. The smugglers of Bangladesh and Rohingya to be hired from those Rohingyas who want to move from the fields of Bangladesh to India. Whereas the Indians smugglers operate only in India-Bangladesh boundary to simplify the crossing of the Rohingya in India. Bangladesh's smugglers announce that this destination is an immigration opportunity in India to the Rohingya in the camps in Bangladesh. The payment for taking Rohingyas the journey is usually provided to smugglers and pays a commission to other smugglers who are engaged in India-Bangladesh Border smugglers. Bangladesh and Indians smugglers simplify the Rohingya crossing to India. Although the smugglers have created a crucial role in smoothing cross-border migration, they too contribute perpetrators of human rights violations against the Rohingya. Many smugglers are also workers contractors who capture Rohingya at work agreements as a forced labour until they pay for their journey to India. The reports indicate that the cases of forced labour involving Rohingya but did not obviously indicate if the smugglers who involved them⁶⁰. There has also been information in the media that Rohingya girls are trafficked and sold in prostitution or marriages in India⁶¹. This information is consistent with the declarations of the Rohingya women in the focus group discussion, who said Rohingya girls, are often sold by Rohingya and smugglers from Bangladesh to the men in Kashmir and other countries.

These all are smugglers activities. At the human trafficking concern, it is more shocking than smuggling. These traffic networks are also presumably linked to several terrorist groups in the area. In feedback this terrorist groups deliver security and tax traffickers. Terrorist groups also depend on transnational criminal unions for the acquisition of weapons in Bangladesh authorities. We believe there is a link between transnational crime and terrorism on the border between India and Bangladesh and this unless the Rohingya problem is solved, the connection will survive. It is interesting to note that Bangladesh is conducting regular drug operations; however, success is limited. Both countries need to improve security cooperation, to address the challenges of drug trafficking, violent extremism and border control.

After knowing the all consequences India take the very diplomatic stance. Like Myanmar, Bangladesh is also significant for India's counter-insurgency efforts and Act East policy. The massive wave of refugees has provoked an internal reaction by the opposition against Sheikh Hasina's government, which is perceived to be prone to India. An unnecessary Indian attitude alone would have exhausted Hasina's position in Bangladesh and strengthened her rival Khaleda Zia, who is known to have taken positions against India. There was a story of Hasina's rivals, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party of Zia and Jamaat-e-Islami, working with Pakistan and anti-India intelligence agency Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI).

India risked putting Bangladesh in a narrow corner. Dhaka is struggling to cope with the massive influx of the Rohingya refugees more than 400,000. New Delhi refusal to show public solidarity with stateless Rohingyas and decision of deported illegal immigrants has played a huge role in local politics. Partly to strengthen Sheikh Hasina's hands and support a key ally a strategically sensitive state, India has transmitted, even if in private, its own concerns about Bangladesh on violence.

Undeniably, from all the discussion no one can deny that Rohingya immigrant are the serious of national security threat in India and obviously others countries also. No matter is the state multi-religious or not, multi-cultural or not. If the terrorists are thinking above these they never can attack in India because India is multi-religious and multi-cultural. Farther, none country cannot give the advantage to the terrorist group to destroy their nations state. None country cannot take the risk to accepting Rohingyas with accepting unexpected man-made disaster so called terrorism.

In 20th December 2017 India acquired a positive decision. India signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Myanmar i.e. Indian purpose to support Myanmar in accomplishing regularity in Rakhine state. In Rakhine state India want to create a pre-fabricated residence. Suggestively, distinct Muslim or Western countries, India has not exasperated to apply any unwanted pressure to apply authorizations⁶².

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Chapter-5

CONCLUSION

No one can't birth with the identity of refugee. Situation, state condition, government decision and their bad luck make them the status "Refugees" or "Immigrants" or "Statelessness" people. In the case of Rohingya the same formula had followed at the very beginning they suffered with this condition. At the time when they became the name "The Rohingya Community". In 1962 when they got their identity proof from Burma's government and British issued ration card, authorities forcibly snatch their id proof at the time of their checking. Authorities do so for deny their legal identity. So, they are organised refugee by the system. After that incident in the case of citizenship law they again deprived of citizenship of Myanmar due to their non-citizenship. As the case of full citizenship, they just gained foreign identity card for which they can never be permanently settled, marriage, region, and right to vote etc was restricted due to 1982's citizenship law.

Myanmar is basically a Buddhist majority-based country. Some Buddhist extremists are not allowing the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar state. The Rohingya Muslims are not only suffered from identity crisis, political and economic rights but also suffered from anti-Muslims sentiment from 1990s. Myanmar is a Buddhist majority county and it should be protected by Buddhist people from any other convictions, this was the main point of 969 movements which was built by some Buddhist monk in Myanmar. So, the Muslim people are sided by this movement. Similarly, Ma Ba Tha campaign was also an anti-Muslims campaign build in 2015 at the time of general election. Consequences have been started among Buddhist and Muslims people in Myanmar. Before two years ago some Muslim peoples were suspect for raping a Buddhist woman. The major problem was started then. Buddhist people were very ferocious. Both two religions was the most enemy with each other. The situation was going to be a violence place.

This violence was going to be worst time by time in Myanmar. This violence snatches so many innocent lives and gave so many families the identity statelessness. Thus, maximum Rohingya Muslim people were victim of the

situation who is not involve with all of this including women and children. In 2017th massacre was the worsened in the century. The ARSA attacked 30 security police spot along with Bangladesh border area in 25th August 2017. ARSA was murdered so many Burma's police man and the solders to Tatmadaw. Myanmar called ARSA as a terrorist group for accepting this massacre by ARSA. First time in ever Myanmar government took a bold decision for Rohingya community. Tatmadaw and Myanmar government were fired approx. 620000 Rohingya refugees to the Bangladesh from Myanmar. Myanmar government gave their jobs to the Buddhist people. They closed all Islamic institution, schools etc in Myanmar. Squatting their property and throw them as useless product. Myanmar called this digester an Ethnic Cleansing.

Rohingya immigrant basically called an ethnic minority in Myanmar. The legal resident became an illegal immigrant through the unexpected situation. According to UN, Rohingya community is the maximum victimized minority in the world. Myanmar cannot reject their carelessness for Rohingya peoples in previous years that also partially made them statelessness. They became 'boat people' in the Bay of Bengal after leaving their homeland. Each day some group are coming by boot in Bangladesh from Myanmar. Not only Bangladesh, a huge amount of Rohingya immigrant is taking sheltered in India's many parts. Also, they have settled in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Australia, Thailand and many countries.

Several types of restriction, violence are the daily matter of their life. Various types of illogical taxation, land repossession, demolition of mosques, torture and ill-treatment, extra legal implementations, restrictions on movements, forced ejection and house demolition, forced labourers on roads and at military camps, and financial limitations on marriage was also ad in their life after the massacre. They are going through it at 1970s to till date. They are also going through the condition in which have no food, no safety for women and adolescence girls and children, lack of drinking water, lack of shelter, unhygienic atmosphere for their lives. Increasing population is another crisis for the refugees. History repeats again and again for the Rohingyas.

Rohingya crisis is the most debatable issue in the recent era. Every state has concern about that matter. The source of Rohingya massacre is ancient Burma and after gating independence it's Myanmar. International community forum is tensed about the brutality of Rohingya ethnic cleansing. According to

International community it is a matter of threat for peace, security and stability. Security concern of any state may cause of humanitarian lost. Myanmar does the same. Consider ARSA a terrorist group they hurt the ethical structure of the state. It the source of international human rights observation of Myanmar state. But in the case of Rohingya is not the current issue. It is the matter of decayed. Suddenly it came in front of globally that's why it is remaining a very important matter for international community. Otherwise at previous years international community were speechless and remain silent for the matter of Rohingya crisis. When this community lost a little bit of things and international community has the power to solve this problem, they did not do anything. Rohingya were killed, tortured, forcibly thrown of their state international community was not aware of them. But international community look after to this community when they already lost their everything. They have nothing to lose for next time. This inhuman situation was called genocide by many observers. Now a day's international community ensure to help them as a humanitarian point of view. But in the case of state security it's the matter of state concern. International community cannot remain silent any more. Myanmar's act on them is too violent and even when they flee to another state, they do not accept the refugee rights on the shelter country like Bangladesh.

The most effected countries after Myanmar is Bangladesh and India, the two-neighbour state of Myanmar. It is obvious that has own rules, regulations and specific law for immigrants. As a humanitarian consideration Bangladesh gave shelter to the boot people. In Bangladesh's Cox Bazar area most of the Rohingya are getting shelter. Now almost 1.1 million Rohingya are settled in many parts Bangladesh. In 2017 the Rohingya camp in Bangladesh was 858,590¹. This cross-border crisis was effect on regional state. Every regional state fines a permanent solution on it. But no one state finds any suitable solution for them. This crisis effect on state economy also. As the reason of economy many Rohingyas were travelled to many other states as a worker. In that case Bangladesh government provide them a travel document. They can use it when they travel another state for searching work. It would be the influence of Bangladesh economy if the workers send money to their families.

A repartition agreement was signed by Myanmar and Bangladesh government in 15th January 2018. The processing of that agreement was started in November 2017. This is a repartition programme for Rohingyas in Bangladesh to Myanmar. But this is a deliberate nature agreement which has

many loopholes. At the very first, a political issue Myanmar government will not accept those Rohingyas wholeheartedly. Internal and external pressure makes the situation to sign this agreement. Otherwise they didn't do that. Suu kyi totally denied the matter of ethnic cleansing during an interview to the BBC. Secondly Rohingya's personal safety issue. The recent news says that an agreement was already create and Myanmar government is agreeing to accept the Rohingyas. But now the case is turned away. The Rohingyas minority community are not ready to go back to Myanmar. They are all scared to loss their life. According to them, they have nothing to else in Myanmar, so why they go back? They also thought that the Myanmar civilians will kill them if they are going back to Myanmar. But the government of Bangladesh is too much worried about state policy and national security. India and Bangladesh have a good relation in recent era after khaleda Zia's government. These two states have signed many agreements for their state and their citizenship. The increasing population of Rohingya make a long-lasting tension in Bangladesh India border area.

At the case of India, the Rohingya problem is very crucial, sympatric, humanitarian and security agenda. If we look in past, we noticed that many people came in India and settled down here. Our culture always teaches us that "Athithi Devo Bhabo". Indian philosophy of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbkam' that is the key note of 'one world' concept of India. For us guest is a God. We always receive them with respect. Refugee are including with them. India's post-colonial period make India as an accommodating state for some stateless people who gate fixed nationality status and get nation automatically. After partition India get shelter for millions of statelessness people. India is not the part of Eurocentric international convention for the immigrants. But still it never disappointed for those displaced people. Refugees from neighbour state of India like Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Tibet, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burma, Pakistan and so many people from another nation of world have come in India and settled here. India can deny none of them. They have lived in India without any fear and freely. But still now India has no specific Refugee Law. Those immigrants are treated as foreigner not as refugees. The open-door strategy was followed by India. At the time of confirmation as a foreigner UNHCR played a vital role for the state. All these foreigner or outsider from so many states not only settled here and concerned about their self-matter but also, they are engaged with Indian cultural matters and make India more colourful and involved with its development.

The supreme document of India is 'Constitution'. It creates some rights for Indian citizens and also, others citizens. Some rights for refugees also....

- i) **Right to Equality:** Article 14 of Indian constitution builds Equality for all. That means, the citizens of India and individuals of other states consider as equal manner. Foreigner and refugees also include with it. According to these rights foreigners and refugees can used firm pleasure in India but they cannot claim permanent citizenship from India.
- ii) **Right to Life and Personal Liberty:** Article 21 of Indian constitution creates right to Life and Personal Liberty for all. According to this right each person to live a peaceful life irrespective of his/her contest, conviction and nationality etc. no person will deprive under this right.

Indian constitution gives some rights for displaced people in India. Rohingya are among of them. An Indo-Aryan ethnic community group in Rakhine state and the most victimized peoples in this origin is Rohingyas. As a humanitarian level many refugees who are settled in India very comfort rather than others area of the world. Rohingya are also one of them in previous year. But the recent crisis which was happened in Myanmar 2018 august they are noticeable by the government. Considered those as illegal immigrant government of India expel them. According to Indian government Rohingya community is the national threat of security. Before 2017 Rohingyas entry in India through border is not of concerned issue. But after 2017 government closed their entry in India through border area. Now India has no prove that how much Rohingya people are in there. According to government the amount of Rohingya in India's many parts around 40000 but UNHCR reported that the registered Rohingya in India is approx. 16000.

Now India trapped in a very problematic condition. Myanmar and Bangladesh are two important states for India in many matters. India was worried about Rohingya problems. India cannot ignore this matter as a privet matter of Myanmar. With South East Asian state India builds many MoU, Mekong Ganga one of them. Ignoring Rohingya is a crucial step for Indian

government. As an uprising state what is the step India taken for Rohingya crisis, every state of the world watching it. So, it is also a prestigious issue on the one hand. And the other hand India is much more concern about the internal security of it. On the refugee matter worldwide, India is a caring state. Financially, geopolitically and strategically India and Myanmar are two important partners with each other in Asia. Now Myanmar well concerned about the step of India towards Rohingyas.

The growing encouragement towards South East Asia India can't afford to destroy the relation with Myanmar. India and Myanmar's Kaladan multi-model transit transport project in Rakhine state is affected for getting a wrong decision. So, it is now a political dimension. Apart from the eco-political point India has the name of culture, respect, the nature of sympathy and humanity. Our in born nature, our tradition is in our blood. As a humanitarian approach India never spoiled the Rohingya community. If I over look all of this National security is the first priority of India.

Through Bangladesh border Rohingya came to India. After Bangladesh, India is the second host for the Rohingya refugees. More than 40,000 Rohingya are stable here. It is overloaded in environment, economy, and security. Because the number of Rohingya community are increasing. India is not able to give all of them shelter. Most important reason is when it is confirmed by security agency that most wanted terrorist group Al Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Taiba has a strong link with many Rohingya and ARSA's then India want to deport them to their home land. There are many reasons for deporting them from India. Like,

1. Increasing number of Rohingyas is the serious nation's security concern.
2. The link between Rohingya refugees and Pakistan's ISI and others terrorist group who spread violence many times in India.
3. Rohingya who are belonging to rebel background are very strong in Jammu Delhi, Hyderabad and Mewat. And they are connected with ISI.
4. Their illegal entry in India through border is another issue for their deportation. They are engaging with smuggling human trafficking, drugs supplying, engage in transnational crime, making fake passport, voter ID and Pan Card.
5. In North East India they are actively involve with border terror with ARSA link.
6. The possibility of attacking those Buddhist people who are live in India.

In the third chapter of my research paper I found India's role on Rohingya's humanitarian crisis. India continued a balance between humanitarian and security concern in one side and other side higher geopolitical awareness since August 2017. When the Rakhine crisis started. As the humanitarian over view India launch many schemes for Rohingyas. The Athithi Devo Bhava nature makes India different from others. Rohingyas basic needs, India and Supreme Court gave them food, health package, and education by a nodal-officers in 2018 May. The officers check basic needs of the Rohingyas are fulfilled or not. He visits camp to camp. Some NGOs are working with them. They provide them humanitarian aids. India giving them humanitarian aids by "Operation Insaniyat". In Cox Bazar and Kutaploug area in Bangladesh have the highest majority of Rohingya people settled. India provides them some essential materials for their daily life. Basically, they are settled in unhygienic condition. So, they have struggled with morbid. Some medical materials also provide them.

In the fourth chapter of my research paper I found that Rohingya Muslim community create transnational crimes in many border areas in India. They have strong political support from India's many states. So they have no fair for arresting or some others consequences. They actively doing their best for creating crimes in borderland areas in India. In those border areas BSF are active but when the matter is on political issue, they have nothing to do. In this chapter I also clarify the Rohingya is a serious security threat in India. Some terrorist activist was noticed in these areas where the requirement of basic needs is mandatory. Many women have no idea about their families thinking. India should identify the group and get them imprisoned. Terror is one thing that must be destroyed in world wide. We have no idea how and when the terrorist group were spread their violence. But we should aware and make plan for destroy their plan. India defiantly verifying the Rohingya's ID proof or work card or the motive of their entering in India. India also observed their activities and connection with others state or persons. If we are all concern then the violence must be ended.

Undeniably, from all the discussion no one can deny that Rohingya immigrant are the serious of national security threat in India and obviously others countries also. No matter is the state multi-religious or not, multi-cultural or not. If the terrorists are thinking above these they never can attack in India because India is multi-religious and multi-cultural. Farther, none country cannot give the advantage to the terrorist group to destroy their

nations state. None country cannot take the risk to accepting Rohingyas with accepting unexpected man-made disaster so called terrorism.

India takes a diplomatic strategy and a balancing protocol for dealing with Rohingya refugees. India connected with Myanmar for a permanent solution of this crisis. Also provide humanitarian aids to Bangladesh to resolve their problems. India can do so many things to find a permanent solution for the Rohingya crisis. This is the vital step of determining India's stand regionally and globally. During the time of visit at Myanmar foreign minister assured that as an active partner Delhi support them at the end of this problem. The uprising condition of India and traditional history for refugee globally it took the important position.

Some important things I have found in my research paper. As an exodus community of Rohingya is very diplomatic in itself. Because some of the areas I found that they are helpless food seeking, health aid seeking and importantly shelter seeking people in India and others country. Parallely, on the others side they take advantage from nation state. Not every Rohingya is a terrorist but it is well known fact that religion is more dangerous for those who are very sensible and blind about their religion. If some people told particular to this conservative people of doing anything for their religion, they defiantly do that. We all know very well in some previous incidents about that. As for example, most popular terrorist let Ajmol Amir Qasab also a fanatic person. He did his terror attack on 26/11/2018 in Mumbai. After that pathetic attacks he caught by police. When inquiring officers asked for the reason of this attack he bravely answered, for his 'Allah'. He was a Muslim person but he doesn't know that what 'Allah'. Peace is the main agenda of any community. But some terrorist organization for only their own interest they washed the brain of some young men through religion and make them terrorist, suicide bomber in any country. Rohingya refugee had no food even no shelter. Most of the Rohingyas are Muslim. So, it is the best time for those terrorist organization to fulfilling their interest and spread out terror in the world through Rohingyas. It is undeniable that Rohingya crisis is also humanitarian crisis. So many countries want to help the in this purpose but they are all seared about their nation's safety.

Country could not take any decision emotionally. Every country defiantly makes some plan for handling Rohingya matter. India has evident to the active connection between Rohingyas and active terrorist organisation that

proved, Rohingya is a serious security threat of India. Smaller transnational crime has occurred every day in Border area. Crime is increasing with increasing population of Rohingya. Most of the Rohingyas do not want to go back in Myanmar. They're afraid to go back. According to them, Myanmar military will kill them if they go back. International community are thinking about them and took some decision for helping them.

Actually, India is trapped by the balancing condition among humanitarian concern and national security threat. I hope India took the perfect solution for Rohingyas and also for itself. On the contrary as an uprising country India achieve worldwide concern by its strategic power and diplomatic policy. Actually, this is a controversial dilemma. One side India is thoughtful about Rohingyas humanitarian way, other side India concern for national security. One side India wants that the illegal immigrant Rohingya go back Myanmar after knowing the consequences on other side India feel the pain of the statelessness people. This duel position makes India a global criticism.

In 20th December 2017 India acquired a positive decision. India signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Myanmar i.e. Indian purpose to support Myanmar in accomplishing regularity in Rakhine state. In Rakhine state India want to create a pre-fabricated residence. Suggestively, distinct Muslim or Western countries, India has not exasperated to apply any unwanted pressure to apply authorizations.

Recommendation:

As a growing force, and in the interest of resolving refugee problems, India needs to be more responsible. It is not necessary to say that India can play a significant role in resolving many more problems worldwide including refugees. India has to find out solutions to the status of Rohingya and the source of the solution. In South and South East Asia, if India has to maintain its dominance, then India's sympathy is to be associated with regional problems. As a democratic state, it is normal for India to look after democracy in other countries that is normal.

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Annexure

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