

THE PREPLANNED GENOCIDE OF MYANMAR GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE ROHINGYA

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Abstract

The paper aims to investigate the preplanned Genocide of Myanmar Government Against the Rohingya minority. According to the United Nations, the Rohingya, an ethnic Muslim minority in Arakan State of Myanmar, is the most persecuted and institutionally discriminated minority group worldwide. They have faced systematic genocide and the denial of their historical identities by the Myanmar government and still do. Since 1978, the Myanmar government has made several attempts to render them stateless and drive them out from Arakan State. The Rohingya people in Myanmar's Rakhine State have been subjected to a state-sponsored process of obliteration and annihilation. The Rohingya have deep historical roots in Rakhine State, Myanmar, and were officially recognized as both citizens and an ethnic group by three successive post-independence Myanmar governments. In 1978, General Ne Win's socialist military dictatorship initiated the first large-scale campaign against the Rohingya in Rakhine State with the objective of forcing them en masse

from Arakan State and subsequently legalizing the systematic erasure of the Rohingya ethnic group's identity, legitimizing their physical devastation, according to Dr. Maung Zarni (Founder of Free Burma Coalition). This ongoing process has persisted to the current day under the civilian-military rule of President Thein Sein's government, Aung San Suu Kyi's government (NLD), and military dictator Minn Aung Hlaing. Since 2012, the Rohingya have been subjected to successive waves of hate speech campaigns, accompanied by excruciating killings and blackballing, aiming to exterminate the Rohingya and permanently eradicate them from their ancestral land in Rakhine State. Mostly in 2017, the Myanmar government forced them to flee to Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh refugee camps.

Keywords- *Rohingya, Genocide, Myanmar, Government, Discriminatory policy, Myanmar government made stateless to Rohingya, persecution, Institutionalized Discrimination.*

Introduction

The Rohingya, a Muslim ethnic minority group in Arakan State (now Rakhine State), are considered among the most persecuted, vulnerable, and oppressed minorities in the world according to the United Nations. Recently, persecution, discrimination, and genocide against the Rohingya Muslims have escalated due to Buddhist nationalism, Arakan Army and the Myanmar government. "Rohingya" is an ethno-religious term referring to Muslim people whose ancestral home is Arakan State or Rakhine in Myanmar. The total number of Rohingya in Rakhine State is estimated at over one million, with the majority residing in four townships in the northern part of Rakhine State such as Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Rathidaung and Sittwe. The Rohingya continue to face various forms of restrictions and human rights violations in Myanmar, primarily stemming from being denied Myanmar citizenship. The identity of the Rohingya was recognized as an ethnolinguistic ethnic group under successive Burmese regimes after independence in 1948 but has been systematically erased by anti-Muslim military-controlled governments since 1962. In Myanmar's state media, official policy documents, and school textbooks, the Rohingya are labeled as Bengali, a racist local reference, portraying them as illegal economic migrants from colonial era, a narrative accepted by the majority of Burmese over the past six decades. In contrast, the international community continues to recognize the Rohingya as an ethnic group as stated in "The Slow-Burning Genocide of Myanmar's Rohingyas" by Dr. Maung Zarni and Alice Cowley, 2014. The state and the predominantly Buddhist community have collaborated to DE indigenize, illegalize, dehumanize, and annihilate the entire Rohingya community, whose ancestral land is originally western Myanmar, known as Arakan State. Over the past forty-five years, evidence points to a concerted effort to demolish the Rohingya people through assaults on their identity, killings during multiple pogroms, physical and mental harm, intentional imposition of life conditions designed to bring about mass extinction, and measures to prevent births. Myanmar's Rohingya people are victims of genocide carried out collaboratively by the central government and anti-Muslim ultra-nationalists among the Buddhist Rakhine people. The Myanmar government forced them into IDP camps (internal displaced person) and neighboring country Bangladesh, where Rohingya could not engage in economic, social, or other activities outside of their camps. The latest genocidal campaign, launched in late 2016 and 2017 against this Muslim minority, resulted in massive destruction of over 400 Muslim villages in Rakhine State being burned down to ashes due to Myanmar military operations according to (Human Rights Watch 2017), with nearly one million people displaced (Barry 2017).

Methodology

In this research paper, the methodology focuses on discussing the Preplanned Genocide carried out by the Myanmar Government against the Rohingyas. Research methodology refers to the logical development process used to generate theories, providing a procedural framework for the conducted research (Remenyi Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

et al., 1998). The data for this study has been gathered from both primary and secondary sources. Secondary data encompass articles, research papers, magazines, and books from various authors. The research includes data obtained from semi-structured interviews with Rohingya politicians and activists, aiming to acquire authentic sources and factual information on the historical background of the Rohingya genocide, their identity issues, and citizenship rights crisis. These interviews aimed to identify and investigate the factors leading to the preplanned genocide by the Myanmar government against the Rohingyas. Some interviews were conducted face-to-face with permission, utilizing the Zoom application, while others were conducted through written questions via email correspondence. Information and data from five interviewees have been compiled for this study. The utilization of both primary and secondary data enhances and qualifies the research paper.

Framework of the Research

In Myanmar, specifically in Arakan State, a directed large-scale violence campaign against the Rohingya Muslim minority can be traced back to March 1997. The incident originated from an allegation of a Buddhist woman being raped by a Muslim man, leading to Buddhist monks investigating violence, which subsequently resulted in the burning of entire Muslim neighborhoods in Mandalay. This concurrent with the Mahamuni Buddha incident where Muslims were blamed of stealing a large ruby from the sacred Buddhist site of pilgrimage (Schober 2007, 58). The allegations of rapes of Buddhist women by Muslim men led to significant violence in June 2012, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of Rohingya Muslims in Sittwe, Rakhine State, as well as in 2013 and 2014 in other areas of Myanmar (BBC 2014). The escalating tension between ethnic groups, frequent outbreaks of violence, and support from the military junta and security forces for Buddhists to annihilate the Rohingya minority in Arakan state further exacerbated the situation. This negative impact resulted in forced ethnic enclaving by the government, leading to camps where Rohingya were isolated from other ethnics group and could not take part in economic, social, or other activities outside of their patrolled villages. The latest round of conflict erupted in late 2016 and 2017 continues at present, with the massive destruction of over 400 Muslim villages in Rakhine state being destroyed and burnt down to ashes due to military operations against this minority group (Human Rights Watch 2017), and tens of thousands being displaced (Barry 2017).

The crisis of Rohingya citizenship in Myanmar is a grave and complicated human rights issue that has resulted in the systematic marginalization, institutionalized discrimination, genocide, statelessness, and persecution of the Rohingya ethnic minority group. For decades, the Rohingya, a Muslim minority group primarily residing in Rakhine, have faced discrimination, restrictions on their fundamental rights, and have been denied citizenship in their own country. In 2017, the Myanmar Military committed a brutal crackdown, leading to mass atrocities, including extrajudicial killing, rape, and the burning of Rohingya villages. More than Seven hundred thirty thousand Rohingya fled to the neighboring country Bangladesh. This is because the denial of citizenship to the Rohingya community solidified them as stateless and denied them legal protection, implying that they are illegal migrants from Bangladesh. This discriminatory policy denied them access to fundamental services, education, healthcare, and basic human rights. The international community, including human rights organizations and the United Nations, has consistently raised concerns over the dire human rights situation faced by the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. In 1948, Myanmar got independence. After obtaining it, the Rohingya sought recognition as an indigenous ethnic group with a rightful claim to citizenship. However, successive Myanmar governments have often denied them citizenship, considering them as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, leading to discrimination, limitations on movement, and restricted access to education and healthcare. In 1982, the Myanmar government enacted a citizenship law that marginalized the Rohingya by excluding them from the list of recognized ethnic

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groups entitled to citizenship. Finally, this led to several waves of mass exodus of Rohingya to neighboring countries Bangladesh and other countries in Southeast Asia. Understanding the historical background of the Rohingya community is indispensable for comprehending the complexities and challenges they have faced in asserting their rights and identity in Myanmar.

Literature Review

Throughout the history of the Rohingya forced migration, there have been several major forced migrations which began from 1942 and continuing until today (Topich, & Leitich, 2013; Al-Mahmood, 2016), consisting unidentified numbers of Rohingya leaving their homeland in search of political refuge. Throughout the time 4th - 6th century, the Arakan kingdom with Dhanyawadi being the first city, developed economically. The etymology of Dhanyawadi is that it was came out from a Pali word Dhannavati meaning 'Blessed with grain' (Safdar, 2015). Dhanyawadi was a trading hub for traders from Persia, India and Arab because it is a massive trading network connecting the southern silk road. In the duration of 6th century, the city changed from Dhanyawadi to Vesali in 788 BCE by the founder, Maha Taing Chandra. Vesali thrived as a trading port among Persians, Chinese and others because of such wealth, they expanded their territory to Chittagong (Safdar, 2015). During the time, Buddhism excelled in Vesali and shrines, pagodas and temples were profuse. Simultaneously, arrival of Islam through Arab traders took place in Myanmar Arakan State (Walton, 2017). Between 9th and 14th century, Islam was adopted as the main religion due to the influence of Muslim Arab traders and interracial marriages between the Arab and local people. Therefore, the Arab and the Bengals maintain strong affiliation. In 1784, King Bodawpaya defeated Arakan and hundreds of thousands of Arakanese Rohingya escaped to Bengal. The Burman King devastated mosques, libraries, and houses in the annexation of Arakan with a huge deal of extermination. However, in the 1790s (Chan, 2005), Hiram Cox, a British diplomat, was deployed to assist the refugees and established a town in Cox's bazaar in Bangladesh which accommodated the Rohingya population. In 1824, the British siezed Burma, and it became a state of British India. During that era, people migrated in several professions (i.e. worker, engineers, carpenter etc.) to Burma from other provinces of British India. However, in 1942, the Japanese domination began and driven out the British away from Burma. During the period, the Burmese nationalists (Buddhist) attacked physically to the Rohingya Muslims, killing, slaughtering up to 40,000 people. This was because the Burmese believed that Muslims got advantage from the colonial rule. The Japanese as well were involved in the Arakan annihilation of 1942 (Crouch, 2016). In 1945, again, the British recaptured Burma from the Japanese occupation alongside Burmese fighters led by General Aung San and Rohingya fighters. After the victory, the Rohingya felt betrayed as the British did not keep their words to grant full self-government to the Arakan.

The aggravated agitation in 1948 when the new independent Burmese government claimed Arakan state to be their own, while the Rohingya wanted 'Arakan to join Pakistan. The Burma government backfired by excluding all the Rohingya from being civil servants and also from getting position in political activities (Smith, 1999). In 1962, a coup dictators began in which General Ne Win and his Burma Socialist Programme Party took power and take away the parliamentary system which significantly impacted the Rohingya Muslims. As a result, the junta operation Nagamin conducted by the Burmese immigration and military authorities in 1977-78, intended at registering citizens and filtering minorities and foreigners out of the country (Tarabay, 2017). This attempt led the Rohingya to lose their official documentation which made them stateless with more than 200,000 fleeing to Bangladesh. However, the Bangladeshi government negotiated in a UN brokered deal with the Burmese government for Rohingya repatriation (Ullah, 2011; 2014). One form of discrimination is the deprivation of nationality and political and civil rights. The rank of deprivation was aggravated during the socialist epoch of General Ne Win in 1962 who introduced several reforms in the Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

period of 1962 to 1974 (Lall, 2016). The annotations of the elimination of government system has been widespread including the removal of Rohingya as members of parliament and from government offices. In 1982, a new immigration law redefined people who migrated during British colonial rule as illegal migrants which was applicable to the Rohingya population (John & Thomas, 2014). In the same year, a citizenship law was established which as well did not recognize Rohingya as one of the nation's 135 ethnic groups. Defending this exclusion, then General Ne Win's government argued that the citizenship law recognizes those persons as citizens whose families had settled in the country before 1948 (Ullah, 2016; Tran, 2015; Tarabay, 2017; Equal Rights Trust, 2014). The Burma citizenship law (Ullah, 2011) effectively denied the Rohingya recognition of their indigenous status. The law has three rank of citizenship where the main target is to accomplish the essential naturalized citizenship as long as the person's family lived in Myanmar before 1948 and familiar with at least one of the local dialects. However, the immigration law stated that people who migrated during British colonial rule are acknowledged to be illegal migrants which made them "resident foreigners" (Ullah, 2016:286; HRW, 2013). Section 6 under this law, Associate" and "Naturalised" citizenship was documented and stated that the persons who became citizens in 1982 would continue to enjoy their citizenship (Ullah, 2016). However, the lack of adequate documentation forced them to become non-citizens in their own country. Much debate surrounds the reasons that have forced Rohingya to migrate from Myanmar to Bangladesh (Amnesty International, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2017; Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2017; United Nations, 2017a; Unicef, 2017).

Continue discrimination, genocide, massacre, attacks upon, and widespread violations of the rights of Rohingya have led to flee Bangladesh refugee camps from Myanmar. In 1991, more than 300,000 Rohingya escaped to Bangladesh facing brutalities (forced labour, rape, gang rape, killing, persecutions, restricted mobility, extermination etc.) committed by NASAKA members (Ullah, 2011; 2016; MSF, 2008; 2009; 2012). In 1991-92 alone, discrimination, violence and the imposition of forced labour practices by Burmese authorities triggered an exodus of some 300,000 Rohingya into Bangladesh (Zin, 2015). Most of these refugees returned between 1993 and 1997 under a repatriation program brokered by the UNHCR. The Rohingya community has been persecuted by Myanmar authorities for years and, consequently, subjected to a process of genocide. Over the past three decades, the social establishments of the Rohingya people as a group have been eroded with each wave of repression. Economic dispossession, physical displacement, restriction of movements, restriction of speech, restriction of education, restriction of healthcare, the targeted persecution of intellectuals and professionals with ties to the community at large who wield communal influence, among other tactics, are part and parcel of the State's attempt to destroy the social base of the Rohingya community. This attempt is a part of genocide and trapped the Rohingya by destroying physical and social level. The Rohingya community has been stratified along economic, class, and political levels like other ethnic communities. Step by step, the existing class of educated Rohingya, which during the early independence period Myanmar (1948-1958) included parliamentary secretaries, cabinet ministers, members of the parliament, well-to-do merchants, scholars, writers, artists, broadcasters, journalists, professors and so on, vanished, while the new generation of Rohingya were denied citizenship and other opportunities to study medicine, engineering, law, political Science and Public Administration, Journalist and other tertiary/university level subjects considered professional subjects as opposed to arts or pure sciences. Cancelling access to formal education means exterminating the whole nation and the nation who cannot access to study quality education will be disappeared from the world gradually. Recently, Rohingya community leaders or educated persons have been systematically targeted for arrest and persecution. The highest profile arrests since the violence of 2012 are medical doctor Tun Aung, age sixty-five, and retired lawyer Kyaw Hla Maung age seventy-six, who remain in Sittwe prison under falsified charges. Even though Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

the international campaigning by Amnesty International and repeated requests by the U.N. and international governments for their release, they remain behind bars while Myanmar makes a show of releasing other political prisoners in other parts of the country. The recent violent crackdown committed by Myanmar security forces between August and October 2017 against Rohingya minority has attracted widespread but 'ineffective' attention from the international community.

Problem Statement

The main problem of this research is that the preplanned genocide perpetrated by Myanmar government against Rohingyas has not been under studied systematically. While many existing bodies of literatures studied dissimilar disciplines and also lack a comprehensive and depth scoped. Although many researchers and authors have investigated the Rohingya genocide, they have not sufficiently described the historical evidence and the preplanned nature of the genocide committed by the Myanmar government. The Rohingya people in Myanmar have faced institutionalized discrimination for decades within a predominantly Buddhist country governed by exclusionary citizenship constitutions. Despite being an indigenous ethnic group, the Myanmar government has persistently denied their citizenship and human rights. Additionally, although the United States has declared Myanmar committed genocide against the Rohingya, still there has been no accountability imposed on the Myanmar government. Since beginning in 2017, Myanmar security forces and the military have committed atrocious acts, including sexual violence, gang rape, racial extermination, mass murder, mass slaughter, and arson against the Rohingya Muslim minority. The genocide is still ongoing in Arakan State against the Rohingya people. The international community must penalize the perpetrators and hold the Myanmar government accountable for genocide. The United Nations, OIC, ICC, and ICJ are responsible to bring justice to the Rohingya people and resolve their crisis as soon as possible; otherwise, the situation may deteriorate further. The future of the Rohingya is uncertain, and the situation seems increasingly serious. The genocidal operations and discriminatory policies against the Rohingya people must end. The Myanmar government must restore the rights of the Rohingya minority, including basic human rights, and provide compensation for the lives lost and wealth confiscated and destroyed.

Data Analysis

Data collection entails skillfully acquiring and evaluating information on variables of interest in a methodical manner that allows researchers to answer research questions, test hypotheses, and investigates results. In this research the work will utilize secondary sources such as books, journals, papers, and reports along with interview conduction. It also incorporates sources like internet, literature, from scientific databases such as Google scholar, as well as sources from search engines and other related materials from interview correspondence pertinent to the subject matter. By the time collecting the data for this study, related secondary and primary data relevant to answering research questions shall be traced and located, and the data is then retrieved, and finally evaluated. This evaluation is to make sure that sources are authentic and in any cases traceable to the authors.

Discussion

Historical background of the Rohingya Genocide

In order to understand the historical background of Rohingya genocide we have to know the history of Arakan States (Rakhine State now). In Arakan State, there are two main different Muslim groups: i) the Kaman (Myanmar Muslims) and ii) the Rohingya. The Kaman speak Rakhine or Burmese language and follow traditional of the Buddhist population. Myanmar government recognized and granted them citizenship (Minority Rights Group International, MRGI, 2008). The Rohingya speaks in Rohingya or Ruaingga language Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

which has no written text before but now Rohingyas have their own written language. This language is distinct to others spoken in Arakan State and entire Myanmar. The current Rohingya Muslims, who settled in Arakan in the 7th century, were not an ethnic group at that period. It is widely accepted by scholars and historians that Muslims inhabited Rakhine State hundreds of years prior to independence where no Rakhines were exist (EBO, 2009). The interconnection between Chittagong and Arakan is influenced by geographical, ethnological, cultural, and historical considerations. Chittagong was under almost free Arakanese rule which is undoubtedly an essential period marked; a company of eight sovereigns successively ruled Arakan only with Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts with full dictatorial power from 1575 until 1666, for nearly a century (Scott, 2009). The colonial era made difference between the Burmans and minority ethnic groups. During World War II, the Burmans were with the Japanese, while ethnic minority groups, such as the Karen (Christian), the Kachin, and the Rohingya, were alongside the British. When the British retreated in 1942 many Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh (HRW, 2013; Ullah, 2011). Daniel Murphy (2013) cites that the British forcibly divided Burma along ethnic and religious lines. After the 1962 coup in which General Ne Win and the Burmese Socialist Party came to power, Rohingyas in Myanmar were deprived from civil, political, economic, and social human rights (Rahman, 2010; Ullah, 2011). In 1430, *Suleyman Shah* founded the first Islamic State in Arakan. From 1430 to 1784, Arakan was ruled by 48 kings. The most famous rulers are: Ali Khan, Mango Shah, Muhammad Shah, the Shah Jalal, Hussain Shah, and Salim Shah. During this precious period of Muslims in Burma, they dominated the business and had a lot of agricultural land and buildings. . During 1942–1945 Japan invades British-controlled Burma during World War II. People in Burma help contradictory sides of the encroachment. Members of the Rohingya Muslim fight at the side of the British, and many Rakhine Buddhists fight alongside the Japanese. In 1945 Burmese General Aung San and local leaders also fight alongside the British to defeat Japanese. Tens of thousands of people flee to Bangladesh after encountering violence according to (Burma's Path to Genocide).

On January 1947, General Aung San signed an agreement with the British that guaranteed Burma full independence within a year. General Aung San is elected as a leader of the transitional government. Rohingya are also elected as members of Burma's governing body, and the Constituent Assembly. In July, political rivals assassinated General Aung San and six cabinet ministers including a Muslim leader U Razak (Burmese Politician and Educationalist). Myanmar got Independence from British and people stand in a government building in 1948. *Prime Minister U Nu* took the oath of office in the Constituent Assembly in 1948, on 2th January Burma became an independent republic (Burma's Path to Genocide). The new Parliament established the Union Citizenship Act. It recognized all citizens of Burma are equal regardless of their religious, language and culture. This includes the Rohingya and other minority groups as the citizens of Burma. In 1949 Burma sets up its first form of national identification. The government begins issuing registration cards to all citizens, including the Rohingya according to (Mr Nay San Lwin, Co-founder of Free Rohingya Coalition). In 1951–1960 Burma held three general elections and all citizens have the right to vote, including the Rohingya. Many Rohingya were elected by voters as members of Parliament. In 1962 the Burmese military dictator General Ne Win, overthrown the elected government and established military rule and took away Rohingya citizenship. In 1974 Burma's military-run government created a new constitution and initiated committing preplanned genocide said (Mr Nay San Lwin, Co-founder of Free Rohingya Coalition). It established one-party governor and later that year, the Burma Parliament passed the Emergency Immigration Act. The law deprived the rights of Rohingya people and claiming Rohingya people are illegal immigrants "foreigners" from Bangladesh. General Ne Win government begin taking away Rohingyas' *national registration card* and their *documentary*. In 1978, Myanmar government forced 250000 Rohingya to Bangladesh, Cox's Bazar refugee camps. 10000 (ten thousands) Rohingya people died in refugee Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

camps due to food shortage or starvation and disease. In 1979, 5000 (five thousands) Rohingya left in Bangladesh refugee camps and remaining were repatriated to Myanmar said (Mr Nay San Lwin Co-founder of Free Rohingya Coalition).

In 1982, Myanmar discriminatory government's Parliament established a new constitution, which based citizenship on ethnicity. The constitution excluded the Rohingya and other indigenous ethnic groups according to (Mr Nay San Lwin, Co-founder of Free Rohingya Coalition). The Rohingyas are discriminated because they are distinct in terms of their ethnicity, appearance, and religion, and language. Despite their significant presence in Arakan state since 7th century, they are systematically denied access to essential services such as healthcare, studying education such as Law, Political Science, Medicine and engineering and it's against (UDHR Article-26) because everyone has the right to education. Before establishing 1982 citizenship law there were 144 indigenous ethnic groups in Myanmar and that law excluded Rohingya minority and other seven minority communities from ethnic groups list. During 1989 the government declared that everyone needs to apply for *new identification* as, called *Citizenship Scrutiny Cards* but Rohingya were rejected and never receive this new cards. It is one of the main symbol of genocide according to genocide convention said (Mr Nay San Lwin Co-founder of Free Rohingya Coalition). In 1991 Burmese military launched a Operation Pyi Thaya, or "Clean and Beautiful Nation," that time Myanmar soldiers committed widespread violence against Rohingya minority and forced them violently 250,000 Rohingya flee to Bangladesh. At the period of 1991–1992 the government created a special border security force, called *NaSaKa*, to maltreat and persecute the Rohingya. At that period, Rohingya were not allowed to visit from village to village and town to town and their freedom of movement was banned. Rohingya people need government approval letter to visit from village to village and town to town. If the government get anyone without government approval letter, government penalizes him or her and demand money 1000000 kyats, 2000000 and so on. If he or she is not affording to fulfill their demand, they will be imprisoned five years, six years etc. According to (UDHR Article -13) "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country" but this kind of human rights were banned for Rohingya people. In 1992, Myanmar took back 150,000 Rohingya from Bangladesh refugee camps and remained 100000 in refugee camps of Bangladesh Cox's Bazar according to (Mr Nay San Lwin Co-founder of Free Rohingya Coalition). In 1994 the government of Myanmar started depriving Rohingya children birth certificates and from that year onward Rohingya children were deprived from getting birth certificate. In 1995, the government issued Rohingya a new form of identification, known as a temporary registration card or "white card." It has no proof of citizenship and it's a temporary residential card and made Rohingya minority stateless according to (Burma's Path to Genocide). June and October 2012 New Waves of Anti-Rohingya Violence clashed between the Buddhist and Muslim communities in Rakhine State detonated into state-supported violence against the Rohingya and it's was not a communal violence but in reality, it was majority attack to minority. In 2012 Some Buddhist citizens and monks establish "The 969," a Buddhist nationalist movement. That was both Myanmar government and Buddhist nationalist preplanned to exterminate the Rohingya people from the ground of Arakan state. After implementing their plan, the movement is later prohibited for encouraging violence against Muslims in the country according to (Mr Nay San Lwin Co-founder of Free Rohingya Coalition). In April, 2014, a national census is conducted for the first time in 30 years. The government excluded the Rohingya minority and banned Rohingya from 2015 election. Many members of Parliament of Rohingya were denied and deprived from election. The government invalidated Rohingya's white cards, in March, 2015 because it's one of their form to identification. The government forced Rohingya to accept *National Verification Cards (NVC)*. These cards are discriminatively identifying Rohingya as immigrants from Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

Bangladesh. Most of the Rohingya refused to accept that NVC. In October, 2016, ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army) attacked several Burmese police camps in Rakhine State. In response, the Burmese military launched a “clearance operation,” mass slaughtering, killing people, raping women, and burning Rohingya villages throughout northern Arakan State. In that violence conduction 12000 thousands Rohingya were killed and forced 93000 thousands Rohingya to flee to Bangladesh, Cox's Bazar refugee camps according to (Mr Nay San Lwin Co-Founder of Free Rohingya Coalition).

Finally, on 25th August 2017, Myanmar government committed genocide, crime against humanity and war crimes against Rohingya minority. That forced more than 730000 Rohingya to flee to Bangladesh, Cox's Bazar refugee camps according to (UNHCR report). Myanmar government has been committing genocide step by step and systematically since 1974 and have accomplished their preplanned. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum declared that there was compelling evidence that the Burmese military committed genocide against Rohingya in 2018.

Aim to Destroy the Rohingya Through Erasure of Their Identity and Historical Evidences

The reversal in recognizing the Rohingya as an ethnic group in official disquisition between the early independence years and the 1982 Citizenship Act came about as a direct result of the proactive push from the ultra-nationalist Rakhine intellectuals in General Ne Win's government. Members of the drafting committee for the 1982 Citizenship Law used the assumption of fixed and externally defined ethnic categories to map out a list that, drawing on colonial records, retrospectively fixed the races and ethnic groups of Myanmar in stone according to THE SLOW-BURNING GENOCIDE OF MYANMAR'S ROHINGYA (Maung Zarni & Alice Cowley, 2014). The late Rakhine ultra-nationalist historian Dr. Aye Kyaw, a proactive member of the 1982 Citizenship Act drafting committee under the direct encouragement of General Ne Win, made it clear that the Rakhine ultra-nationalists were determined to reclaim the Arakan for Buddhist Arakanese only, under the philosophical/ideological banner Taiyin-tha, (the “original indigenous people”). Furthermore, in contrast to the more loosely defined pre-colonial era “national races” in the citizenship laws of 1947, the committee fixed the ethnic groups that existed before 1824, ignoring the fact that the borderlands such as Northern Rakhine in those days were neither clearly demarcated nor effectively administered by any political power, feudal, or colonial nation. Capturing the essence of borderlands, the Bengali economist and philosopher Amartya Sen 304 perceptively remarked, “Burma came to the Rohingya, not the other way around.” Burmese leadership continued to confirm the structure of the 1982 Citizenship Act and deny the Rohingya as a distinct ethnic group through systematic and blatant erasure of group's identity. Successive military governments since General Ne Win's Socialist Programme Party government staunchly maintain that the Rohingya as an ethnic people never existed according to (Maung Zarni & Alice Cowley, 2014). This denial continues and persistent today. During a question and answer session at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London on July 15, 2013, President Thein Sein, when asked whether his government was ever going to restore full citizenship rights to the Rohingyas, denied the existence of the Rohingya in Burma: “We do not have the term ‘Rohingya’ (in Myanmar).” The Myanmar President is not alone in his denial of the Rohingyas' existence as a term or an ethnic group; this official position on the Rohingya extends throughout the State. In a Burmese language press briefing on the subject of Myanmar's 2014 Census held in Yangon in September 2013, the Minister of Immigration and former police chief ex-Brigadier Khin Yi was emphatic that no ethnic and cultural group will be recognized as a distinct national ethnic group except the ‘135 national races’ who were officially recognized by the 1982 Citizenship Act. Further, this state view is both reverberated and informed by prominent Rakhine and

Myanmar academics, including those that are educated overseas according to (Maung Zarni & Alice Cowley, 2014).

Both Burmese Buddhist Chauvinist Group (“Thakhin” Group) and Rakhine Buddhist Chauvinist Group (Rakhine Thakhin group) started erasing Rohingya identity and their historical evidences in 1942. Several Rohingya villages were burned down to ashes and hundreds of Rohingya were massacred in Myo-Haung township area (now, Mrauk-Oo). Thus, Majority of Rohingya moved to Northern part of Arakan. This is why, population are dense in northern Arakan. This issue was raised by MP Abdul Gaffar in the First Burmese Parliament in 1950s said (Shwe Maung, Former Member of Parliament at Pyithu Hluttaw, President of AiPAH and a Board Member of APhR (aseanmp.org) and Founding member of IPPFoRB)). The erasure of Rohingya from official histories and their documentary in Myanmar has been accomplished through the mobilizing of popular and inaccurate assumptions about ethnic identity establishment. In Myanmar society nowadays, there is a general assumption that Rakhine Buddhist identity is one that has existed largely unchanged from before recorded history, and that Myanmar and her ethnic groups have been in existence with only brief intervals of colonial interruption. I strongly believe that Myanmar Government, Buddhist Extremists and Rakhine Extremists Groups planned and coordinated to annihilate Rohingya population from the soil of Rakhine state. Rakhine National Protection Group, headed by Buddhist Sayadaw Kay Tu and headquartered in Maungdaw Town, submitted a memorandum to the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC - Military Junta) in October 1988 that all Rohingya people should not be granted citizenship and they must be banned from travel freely according to (Memorandum to the Aljazeera Documentary Producer Phil Rees(“The Hidden Genocide” of Aljazeera.<https://youtu.be/dSkZlgk76-E?si=j1Kcja-uE58Pzir9>). The ultimate goal of Burmese government and Rakhine Buddhist Chauvinists is a Muslim-free nation and Rakhine State. They are extremely afraid that Myanmar and Rakhine State may be overwhelmed with Islam believers like Indonesia and Malaysia that is why they have been removing Rohingya Identity and their historical background according to(U Shwe Maung, Former MP,Member of Parliament at Pyithu Hluttaw), President of AiPAH and a Board Member of APhR (www.aseanmp.org) and Founding member of IPPFoRB).

Rohingya Faced Institutionalized Discrimination in Myanmar

The Rohingya minority has been subjected to institutionalized discrimination, violations of their fundamental human rights and faced persecution, including strict and discriminatory restrictions on their freedom of movement. For many decades, Rohingya people were deprived from right to nationality, cultural and educational right, right to social security, right to social work, right to freedom of religion and thought, right to equality, right to equal access to healthcare and right to marry and bear children. The latter include formal and informal restrictions on marriages and on the number of children a family may have. To make sure, these latter legal strictures are arbitrarily and inconsistently enforced and can often be circumvented through the payment of bribes to officials; nonetheless, they exist on the books, they were inspired by spurious concerns about over-population among the Rohingya and they are disproportionately invoked against the Rohingya. The hate speech and religious discrimination Started after world War II because Rohingya people believe in Islam. And also majority of the Rohingya people were uneducated and undeveloped politically said (Dr. Ambia Perveen chairperson at the European Rohingya council). The FFM report notes that the Rohingya are ‘portrayed as an existential threat that might “swallow other races” with their “incontrollable birth rates’ ‘The Rohingya have experienced several rounds of ethnic cleansing in the past. The process of repatriating and resettling large groups of refugees has helped to lay the groundwork for demonstrably false accounts that the Rohingya are illegal migrants. These often-forcible repatriations have also facilitated the Rohingya’s civic expungement. For example, largescale violence in 1978 spurred tens of thousands of Rohingya to flee Myanmar. When they returned, they had been stripped of many of their citizenship rights or deleted from Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

family household lists. The brutal military genocidal operation of 2017 mark the culmination of decades of state-sponsored discrimination and violence against the Rohingya taking many different forms. The most recent brutality must be observed in the context of prior efforts to exterminate this Rohingya population entirely from Rakhine State. Earlier attempts at ethnic cleansing have 'failed' in that members of the community have returned (sometimes under compulsion) to Myanmar after being purged, only to face heightened abuse according to (Determining the Commission of Genocide in Myanmar). This protracted persecution taking the form of legalized discrimination, physical segregation, infringements on births and marriages and physical violence ç has ratcheted up sharply over the years. Professor Penny Green and colleagues from the International State Crime Initiative argue that the genocidal nature of violence in Myanmar has been 'obscured by the gradual, multidimensional character of discriminatory and oppressive policies against the Rohingya, the historical unfolding of these policies over many decades, and the fact that they have fluctuated in intensity'. Indeed, it is important to examine events since August 2017 as part of a sustained progression whereby violence against the Rohingya has become normalized and measures short of mass extermination have significantly weakened the group through the erosion of its social, economic and civic foundations even if they have not yet led to its complete destruction within Myanmar. Myanmar government and buddhist have been trying to annihilate the Rohingya population since the world war II and Rohingya people were discriminated in various ways because of their distinct religion, culture, language and identities said (Dr. Ambia Perveen chairperson at the European Rohingya council). The majority of the Rohingya population were uneducated because the Myanmar government did not provide education past primary schools to Rohingya as with other ethnicities which are entitled to state sponsored secondary education that's why Myanmar government oppressed them intentionally and at that time there was no social media or media to express the world what kind of violation Rohingya people were faced. This coupled with the inability to travel freely have dire consequences for this population in terms of educating themselves to know their rights or enter occupations other than forced or manual labor due to the structural impediments of not being able to access education or other basic services which also in contravention of Article 26.1 (UDHR: Article 26.1). The Myanmar government deliberately committed racial and religious persecution on Rohingya. In 2002, Human Rights Watch reported that the government issued military orders demanding that unauthorized mosques must be obliterated. The government has locked the mosques and Islamic schools and made them as government administrative offices. The government has neither permitted to reconstruct the mosques nor to repair. Many kinds of violation Rohingya people have been facing both physically and mentally. The ability to freely move is highly curtailed, often needing permits to travel outside townships and Rakhine state opening up this population to systematic abuse and exploitation to those who have the means to travel. This practice stems from their disenfranchisement with the 1982 Citizenship law and inability to register as foreign residents thus relegating them to illegal immigrants (UNESCO 1995). This is in direct contravention of Article 13 of the UDHR which states "everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state" (UDHR: Article 13.1). According to our research findings there is no community in the world who can face such kind of persecution and discrimination that Rohingya community have been facing since 1974.

Denial of Rohingya Citizenship Rights by Myanmar Government

Myanmar discriminatory government passed a new Citizenship constitution in 1982 and that law systematically denied Rohingya Citizenship rights and nationality. The denial Rohingyas' citizenship in Myanmar is a complex and long-standing issue that has resulted in the Rohingya people being denied basic rights and freedoms, including the right to citizenship. The Rohingya are an ethnic minority group who have lived in Myanmar for centuries, but they are not recognized as citizens by the 1982 Citizenship Act in Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

Myanmar is described by its law which refers to 'national races' (CRUM, 2008: Article 15) and as well as delegates citizenship confirmation to organic legislation (CRUM, 2008: Article 346). Organic legislation specifically accredited to the eight major ethnicities as entitled to citizenship "Kachin, Kayah, Karen, Chin, Burman, Mon, Rakhine and Shan" (BCL, 1982: Article 3). After promulgation of 1982 Citizenship Act, dictator Ne Win government started revoking Rohingyas' citizenship rights. Since Burma's independence in 1948 till 1982, Rohingyas are officially recognized as bonafide citizens of Burma. Rohingyas enjoyed some basic human rights including political rights. When the military regime of Saw Maung and KHIN Nyunt started to implement '82 citizenship act, Rohingyas became defecto- stateless within the state & lost all kinds of rights including citizenship rights and political rights said (Mr Zaw Min Htut ,President at the Burmese Rohingya Association in Japan). The 1982 Citizenship Law in Myanmar had led a significant impact on the Rohingya minority, as it deliberately excluded them from the category of 'national races' eligible for citizenship. This exclusion not only left the Rohingya community feeling insecure and vulnerable, but it also served as a strategic legal tactic by the Tatmadaw to justify their discriminatory actions. By denying the Rohingya recognition through the law, the Tatmadaw aimed to legitimize various forms of symbolic, material, and physical violence against this marginalized group, further alienating them from society. This has led to the Rohingya being subjected to discrimination, violence, and persecution. In recent years, the situation has deteriorated significantly, culminating in a military crackdown in 2017 that forced more than 730,000 Rohingya to flee to Bangladesh Cox's Bazar refugee camps. The Rohingya citizenship crisis has a number of negative consequences. The Central Body composed of three ministers decides on citizenship applications (BCL, 1982: Article 67) based on Council of State determination of whether an ethnic group is a national group (BCL, 1982: Article 4). These state institutions in 1982 conferred citizenship to 135 ethnic groups (Zawacki, 2013: 18) of which the Rohingya were not included thereby effectively taking away all legal citizenship/nationality rights and making them stateless, even though their ancestral lineage predates 1823 as stipulated by the Citizenship law (BCL, 1982: Article 3, CORE, 2012: 23). Citizenship and nationality confer legal identity to groups and provide the basis for combine rights of a civil, political, cultural and economic nature. Without nationality individuals and groups are put in asymmetrical rank with the state and a socially and culturally substandard status in comparison with other national groups automatically creating the basis for othering. Coupled with latent discrimination, othering of an official nature provides the stimulus for negative stereotyping and violent behavior according to (William J. Jones +Thailand, author of Myanmar's Rohingya: Human Rights Abuses and Systemic Violence). Nationality and citizenship is a national issue which is a key marker of sovereignty in determining who is and who is not a part of your community as such it is very difficult for the international community to interfere on the foundation of citizenship laws. The intention of 1982 Citizenship Law was laid bare by then Chair of the New National Democracy Party who in protection of the law stated "the citizenship law is intended to protect our race' by not allowing those with mixed blood from making political decisions [for the country], so the law is very crucial t for the conservation of our country" (Green 2013: 96). More pointedly Lewa has argued that "deprivation of citizenship has served as a key strategy to justify arbitrary treatment and discriminatory policies against the Rohingya" (Lewa, 2013:12 "Everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality according to "(UDHR. Article -15) Depriving citizenship right and nationality is a big crime against (UDHR Article -15). After 1990 general elections in Myanmar, Myanmar military junta steps up Rohingya disenfranchisement programme by using'82 Citizenship Act snatching away their political rights, ethnic and minority rights.They subjected discrimination against Rohingya and violating their basic rights such as religious rights, rights to worship, education, health services, jobs and even marriage. Myanmar's successive governments has the ideology of pro-Buddhism. To be a Myanmar citizen must be a Buddhist. It is their basic ideology and tried to impose it on other minority religious groups not Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

only on Rohingyas but also on other ethnic groups such as Christian. But Rohingya became hard target and persecuted said ((Mr Zaw Min Htut, President at the Burmese Rohingya Association in Japan).

Myanmar government had tried several attempt to make stateless to Rohingya Minority since World War II, the Myanmar government had been used several policies to render the Rohingya minority Stateless, finally they achieved their goal. As widely acknowledged, the Rohingya situation is deemed stateless according to international law and the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons. Furthermore, given the nature of statelessness and displacement of Rohingya's to neighboring states the argument concerning legal obligations of neighboring states is moot given that neither Myanmar nor its neighbors have signed nor ratified the CRSSP (UN 1954). The basic human rights target the elimination of discrimination based on nationality which finds its source in the UDHR which states unequivocally that "everyone has the right to a nationality" and will not "be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality" (UDHR: Article 15). However, the struggles which the Rohingya people endure to obtain citizenship are via marriage which is hampered by intransigence of state authorities thus, rendering them essentially at the mercy of state officials which are against them (Fortify Rights 2014). The internal constitutional situation regarding Rohingya and their lack of nationality points to the ambiguous nature of their existence as human beings and vulnerability vis-à-vis the state as well as other antithetical ethnic groups wishing them harm. According to the history, special remarks on the indigenous status of Rohingya, the former first President of Burma Sao Shwe Theik stated, "Muslims of Arakan certainly belong to one of the indigenous races of Burma". we cannot be taken as indigenous races of Burma if Muslims of Arakan are not recognized as indigenous races. British colonial administration and all the governments that governed Burma from independence in 1948 never legally treated as foreigners .They freely practiced the right of franchise in all election of Burma and voted their chosen representative to legislative bodies or parliaments and different kinds of administrative councils. The remarkable fact that they were rendered stateless and denied citizenship in Myanmar due to their distinct religion, culture, and language leaves them without standing before national jurisdictions and mechanisms for justice, aside from that of the international community, which is not prioritizing their plight. Successfully, within the Burmese case the 1982 Citizenship law removes their historical evidences and rights to live in peace in their ancestral lands due to non-recognition of their existence prior to 1823 as well as places them in a disproportionately vulnerable situation with other groups in Rakhine state. Regional Mechanism for Support of Human Rights Rohingya displacement due to organized and widespread violence has led to spillover of a domestic situation onto the regional scene as fleeing persons have flee to Bangladesh, Malaysian territory seeking refuge from persecution (Bangkok Post 2014, Reuters 2014). Myanmar government had planned to make stateless to Rohingya minority before obtaining Burma independence and 1982 citizenship law is completely clear to make stateless and citizenshipless to Rohingya people .Making stateless to Rohingya minority was their preplanned and they had tried both directly and indirectly but 1982 citizenship constitution is directly appear that they discriminated Rohingya said (Mr Khin Maung, executive director of Rohingya Youth Association, RYA). Myanmar government have been using apartheid policy since war II and still now. Currently more than 1.2 million Rohingya refugees have to survive in Bangladesh, Cox's Bazar crowded camps.

Conclusion

This research paper is generally talk towards ascribing the Myanmar government's preplanned genocide that is committed against Rohingya by through several approaches. Despite the Rohingya people's effort and hard work to secure their identity, coexistence, peace and basic human rights in collaboration with other communities within Arakan state of Myanmar. According to the masterplan (revealed by ISCI), numerous policy amendments were taken by the Myanmar government to exterminate the Rohingya minority. They Mohammed Siraj_RAR-Institute

initiated complicated denationalization maneuver which automatically made them among the world most persecuted and oppressed ethnic minority according to (United Nations). Although the United Nations declared that Myanmar government committed genocide, crime against humanity and war crimes against Rohingya minority but necessary action has been lacking. Basically, 1982 citizenship law denied the citizenship of Rohingya and their existence.

The Rohingya minority in Myanmar's Rakhine State have encountered brutalities and continuous human rights violation including persecution, genocide, detention, rape and other crimes causing barbaric acts perpetrated by the Myanmar government, security forces, police, and local Rakhine actors. The big scale of these atrocities has increased precipitously since 2012 according to (PERSECUTION OF THE ROHINGYA MUSLIMS). The results of the 1982 Citizenship constitution have affected Rohingya since its enactment. Because Rohingya people are being made stateless, and prohibited to access to economic opportunities, education, and property ownership. The officials of Myanmar have methodologically denied the existence of the Rohingya ethnicity. Now, it is not time to wait for but it is time to call from the international community to hold Myanmar perpetrators and criminal actors accountable and arrest warrants for genocide, war crimes, and inhumanities have done systematically against Rohingya Muslims. It is the responsibility of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the International Criminal Court (ICC), and other international actors to take necessary action and ensure justice for the Rohingya.

Appendix

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