Politicized Communal Groups and the Role of Organizations in Myanmar: Towards Recovery and Conflict Resolution for Rohingyas

Jusmalia Oktaviani
*Staf Pengajar Program studi Hubungan Internasional
Universitas Jenderal Ahmad Yani Bandung*

Teguh Puja Pramadya
*Staf Pengajar Program studi Hubungan Internasional
Universitas Jenderal Ahmad Yani Bandung*

Abstract:

The clash among Buddhist Arakanese, Myanmar's government and Rohingya Muslim runs nearly half of the century. The violation among them has been inevitable, and until now, there has no clear solution to overcome the conflict. Stateless and also repressed, many Rohingyas flee abroad, asking for sanctuary to Pakistan, India, Saudi Arabia, and some countries in Southeast Asia, like Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand. Even though, it looks complicated; Rohingyas also struggle for their problems through political channels, especially through organizations. This paper aims to examine the contribution of Rohingyas' groups to the struggle of the Rohingyas people in reaching their rights and the implication of these organizations in the ethnic-religious conflict in South-East Asia and how it may affect the regional security.
Keywords: Rohingya, Organization, Communal Group, Stateless

Abstrak:

Bentrokan antara Penganut Buddha di Arakan, Pemerintah Myanmar dan Muslim Rohingya telah berlangsung hampir setengah abad dan sampai saat ini belum menemukan titik terang. Dengan statusnya yang tidak diakui negara dan juga tersiksa, banyak etnis Rohingya yang kemudian melarikan diri ke Pakistan, India, Saudi Arabia dan negara-negara di Asia Tenggara seperti Malaysia, Indonesia dan Thailand. Selain itu, etnis Rohingya juga memperjuangkan nasib mereka melalui jalur politik, khususnya melalui organisasi. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui kontribusi dari organisasi Rohingya dalam memperjuangkan hak etnisnya serta implikasinya dalam konflik etnis di Asia Tenggara dan bagaimana hal itu mempengaruhi keamanan kawasan.
Kata Kunci : Organisasi Rohingya, Kelompok Komunal, Nir-Negara

Historically, the relationship between the Rohingya Muslim and Buddhist Arakanese was good formerly, but this changed, particularly since World War II, in the 1930s. The complexity of the ethnic issue had been around since a long time, where two ethnic groups felt that they were indigenous people who claim to be more entitled to live and inhabit in the area (Singh, 2013). Each party had its assumptions and arguments concerning the residence status in the area. The main argument held by Rohingyas based on their previous experience, while Myanmar was under British colonization and became an independent state, the British government had promises and policies for the provision of "Muslim National Area" on Muslims (especially for Rohingyas) in Arakan. Therefore, no wonder the Muslim community and non-Buddhist supported British at the time.

By contrast, the Buddhists Arakanese inclined to support Japan. The collapse of British Administration caused by the Second World War had raised racial tension and conflict between two sides became inevitable. Each party claimed that most casualties fell on their side, where the Rohingyas claimed that during World War II, Buddhists massacred more than 100,000 Muslims. On the other hand, Buddhist Arakanese people denied the charges given to them and claimed the same thing against Muslims (Singh, 2013). Sustainability of the conflict lasts until now, between the majorities of Rohingya Muslim *vis-a-vis* Buddhist Arakanese and also against the Myanmar government who supports the majority.

As the problem goes on, with the new development of democratization in Myanmar, the growing conflict between Buddhist Arakanese and Rohingya Muslims have become an international issue. The ethnic-religious conflict becomes a significant and serious issue, and the conflict cannot be regarded merely as a domestic issue, especially to the conflict-affected to thousands of Rohingya refugees who are forced to live in Malaysia, India, Bangladesh, and Indonesia without definite residence status and became stateless. One may find that the issue of discrimination and racial conflict may not be a significant concern formerly in Myanmar, especially in international level, however, since more and more Rohingyas flee away from Myanmar and live in refugee camps, these stateless Rohingyas then bring a new issue for the states around in Southeast Asia.

Rohingya issue is gradually becoming a global concern because this issue could damage relations among countries, especially in Southeast Asia. The political policy 'non-interference' of ASEAN towards Rohingyas in Myanmar can be considered to have impact to the sustainability of the current political and security issues in Southeast Asia region. In fact, it can be said that ASEAN almost has no role in the case of the Rohingyas in Myanmar because of this

principle 'non-interference' (Wahidah 2014). The problem of Rohingya in Myanmar is not only about the presence of Rohingya refugees in other countries, but also about the threat of Myanmar government towards the Rohingyas and some ethnic minorities in Myanmar, like Christian Karen, Chin, Kacin, and Mon (Wahidah, 2014). What happened to the Rohingya is more than just the ignorance of one state to its community, but also the ignorance of human rights that make these neglected populations cannot live appropriately.

According to Weissbrodt and Collins, stateless is not only prone to gross violation of human rights, but also difficult in accessing basic rights relating to political, social, and economic, because the stateless have no issued document that is required to attain these basic rights (Weissbrodt and Collins, 2006). Singh mentioned some human rights abuse relating to Rohingya's stateless status. One of the consequence, Rohingyas are not considered as a citizen in the national census. Because treated as non-citizens, they are required to obey specific procedures and prepare some documents if they want to travel, even inside Myanmar. They also have no rights to participate in a general election (Singh, 2013).

Disconcertingly, the government of Myanmar also accused to have been executing the gross human rights violation to Rohingyas. The military junta not only disturbed Rohingyas to conduct religious worship, but also forcibly took away their money, livestock, or farm. They kidnapped, raped, and tortured the Rohingya, and some were forced into labor. These included the treatment of other countries to the Rohingya refugees, as a prisoner instead of as a refugee.

Because of the non-recognition policy towards Rohingyas by the government as mentioned above, Rohingyas have been forced to evacuate because of the Military Junta and Buddhists Arakanese's pressure. They fled to neighboring countries and asked for asylum. According to Refugee Council USA, there is an estimation that one million Rohingyas have fled Burma by boat, nowadays the refugees have to live outside Myanmar, living in Malaysia, Bangladesh, Thailand, and the Middle East. It is approximately more than 140,000 has remained internally displaced in Rakhine State.

As one of the response to deal with the racial and ethnic discrimination given by the government of Myanmar, the Rohingyas also seeks to fight the injustice by establishing some political organization. Unfortunately, from some organizations or movements, the famous actions are with radical ideas, which according to Singh, had made Rohingyas known as radical groups, even labelled as terrorists (Singh, 2013). It is less profitable because it strengthened the Myanmar government's justification to expel Rohingyas from Myanmar.

The fight among Buddhist Arakanese, Myanmar's government and Rohingya Muslim has been going for over half of the century and the resolution to the conflict is not yet resolved. National and international media had captured the worst conflict between the Buddhist Arakanese and Rohingya Muslim in 2012. This incident had caused the death of 90,000 people in both parties (Singh, 2013). Conflicts in 2012, allegedly originated from the acts of violence and news of the attack carried out by some of the Rohingya people against one of Arakan's women. No doubt, this incident had made their relationship became worse than before.

From the given background above, this paper aims to explain about the efforts of Rohingya's political organization in order to gain their basic civil rights, and how these politicized communal groups play the roles in the Rohingya's struggle, and also the implications for regional security especially in Southeast Asia.

Theoretical Framework
Communal Group

Human being has a wide range of communal identity. They base on various circumstances (such as historical experience, religious beliefs, language, and ethnicity). Differences of identity of this communal makes some group receive different treatment, either by the government or other communities. This different treatment could be in form of acceptance, which some groups get certain privileges, on the other hand, it also means rejection which make the communal group members more aware of the similarities that bind them. Ted Robert Gurr mentioned that the sense of communal groups is, "Communal groups are psychological communities: groups whose core members share a distinctive and enduring collective identity based on cultural traits and lifeway that matter to them and to others with whom they interact" (Gurr, 1995).

Meanwhile, the term politicized communal groups used for communal group who experienced at least one of the following two criteria: the group is experiencing economic and political discrimination, and the group creates a political mobilization to gain support for their group. The difference in treatment of the communal group may encourage them to demand. Especially when the communal organizations face injustice, discrimination, and any other things. Various factors can encourage communal groups do the movement such as protest or even rebellion.

However, in an effort to mobilize these demands, communal group has a wide range of interests. Therefore, there are four things to consider related to it:

1) Collective interests of communal groups are not the same.
2) The existence of a political organization is considered crucial to express the collective interest.
3) Some political expression of communal groups is more authentic than others.
4) Group interests and goals vary according to the conflict.

Gurr also stated there are some factors encourage communal groups, especially minority, do the protest and rebellion (Gurr, 1995):

1. Grievances and Political Calculation

The assumption of this theory is the group's activities based on their anger or grievance regarding their status, aggravated by the desire to pursue the political interests, which is directed by the leadership group. The method base on two other perspectives in conflict analysis, relative deprivation and group mobilization, which public dissatisfaction is the primary motivation for political action, then there is a figure who use the situation and mobilize the group.

2. Group History and Status

a) Extent of Collective Disadvantage

The groups are said to have a disadvantage if they are in a situation of injustice. Collective disadvantage often leads to grievance or anger of one group to another. Three dimensions of collective disadvantaged are economic and political differences, discrimination group, as well as ecological and demographic pressures.

b) The Salience of Group Identity

The status of the group often can be assessed from its salience. For the indigenous people, their salience is usually stronger than any other groups that have assimilated into the community, but it also depends on the character, whether it is strong enough to be a reason for loyalty to the group.

c) Extent of Group Cohesion and Mobilization

Cohesive Group affiliated in dense networks of communication and interaction. Mobilization means the members of the group want to give their energy and resources to pursue common interests. Typically, cohesion would be stronger in the group are concentrated in one area rather than scattered group. The traditional structure group is relatively more cohesive than others. The basis for political mobilization can be a religious movement, economic associations, or political parties.

d) Repressive control by the Dominant Group

Communal group with subordinate status that experience violation may keep their anger against the dominant group. Assistance and political support to countries in the third world, for example, contribute to protecting the repressive power against minorities.

3. Opportunities for Political Action

The movement such as protest, campaigns and also rebellion, formed by a strategic decision, tactical, and through assessment by the leader or activist in communal groups. Therefore, the concept of political opportunity is crucial to explain this phenomenon. Another sudden factor can also contribute, such as the environment changes in a group-shifts in power and policy, the prospect of political alliances, and the availability of international political and logistical support. These factors affect the timing of political events, the demands that will make, and the choice of strategy will use.

4. Global Processes that Intensify Grievances

   a) Expansion of the state

New independent states tend to expand their power. The development is politically aimed to assimilate the communal group, to extract their resources, income, and labor for interest of the states. However, such expansion will increase the grievance of communal groups that are unable to protect their autonomy or to participate in a coalition government.

   b) The Development of a Global Economic System

The rapid progress of the industry that makes human exploit natural resources has given an advantage to several communal groups but harmed other parties. Indigenous people are often the most affected. Their resources and energy abundantly exploited for the interest of regional and international economy. Their reaction usually pretty harsh because their lives relies on nature.

5. International Diffusion and Contagion of Conflict

Modernization has worsened the disappointment of communal groups and encourages them to react defensively to protest or to rebel. One example of indigenous movements was the American Indian Movement in the 1970s.

6. Effects of State Power and Democracy on Political Action

Political context of communal group's action base on institutional and political capabilities. There are three significant factors in this political case: the state power, political values and institutional practices of democracy, and the destabilizing effects of democratization.

In line with Gurr, Reilly also describes some reasons behind the growing problem in internal conflicts in one state. They vary such as the spreading of poor people; ethnically diverse countries; the effects of the expansion growth modernization and democratization; and international norms in the birth of new states. He also examines the impact of intra-state conflict upon the international security agenda: through the engagement of different actors; the internationalization of domestic and national problems; cross-border

movements of arms and people; increasing risks to maritime transport; and the possibility for increased superpower rivalry in the region. Reilly emphasized that it was no longer possible to see internal, regional and international conflict as separated problems (Benjamin, 2014). They connect and affect each other's.

ANALYSIS: Rohingyas and Politicized Communal Groups (PCG)

Racial and political discrimination in Myanmar have affected a lot of people and will lead and create a separatist movement to be bigger. Because they may use it as the justification for everything that they do. It does not bring any advantages to the Rohingya community and also to the other communities as well. Because if the injustice done by the government creates more problem, many people in Myanmar will face cultural and social instability.

The main demand of the Rohingyas is to be accepted by the government, fully and equally. They want to enjoy their basic rights as citizens. However, these needs have not been agreed by the government. The rejection came from the government as well as from the majority of Buddhist Arakanese. There are two efforts that Rohingyas do in order to get their needs be fulfilled by government; First is by focusing on the internal parties of Myanmar; the Rohingyas are trying to consolidate their will on the community in Rakhine and the government. Second is by gaining support from the international community to raise awareness of human rights violation towards Rohingyas.
To some extent, the first effort has met some failures because the Rohingyas are not able to reach out to the other Muslim community in Myanmar as the Muslim diversity in Myanmar. Inability to embrace Muslims community cause Muslims in Myanmar has no same vision or opinion towards Rohingya community. It hinders the Rohingyas because they cannot achieve the political support they need from the other Muslim communities in Myanmar.

In the other side, one of Rohingya's organization support, Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO) also have supported the opposition, by campaigning as anti-junta supporters and condemned crimes against humanity. They try to do so as a statement that they are one position with the opposition party. Eventually, this organization also hope that they will get supports from the opposition. They even make Aung San Suu Kyi as the icon of inspiration for the Rohingyas. However, this strategy also unsuccessful, as Suu Kyi herself did not approve Rohingyas demands. The opposition movements, other minorities, and other rebel movements only propose the condition that the government treat them well and fulfill their basic human rights, but there is no apparent support for recognition of Rohingyas as the citizen of the Myanmar. The recognition itself is vital because it means as a

chance for Rohingya to be able to participate in the national political level, so they will have a tool to speak their concerns and find the way out within the government for their vote in the future.

For the second effort, it can be said Rohingyas is successful in gaining international attention. The Rohingyas and Myanmar Muslims have been accepted by Islamic countries and organizations which give the mission of diplomatic and economic sanctions against Myanmar. In addition, after the Rakhine military operations in 1991, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Brunei criticized the policy of the Burmese government. Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) also issued a statement that the military regime must stop persecuting the Rohingyas. Some countries even delivered humanitarian aid to the Rohingyas. However, due to the criticism of the Muslim organizations and states, Military junta was suspicious that the external help from the international level had been intended as a means to control the government by foreign intervention, the military junta did not believe in Rohingyas and suspect them as agents of the Islamic countries' movement.

Singh explained the first Rohingyas organizations emerged in Myanmar was from mujahidin movement of the 1940s and 1950s. The Mujahid Party was the first organization in Myanmar, in northwestern Arakan in April 1947, led by Jafar Husain Kawal. This political party had a purpose based on its predecessor organization, the North Arakan Muslim League, which was to support the political agenda and policy to reclaim and reoccupy the Arakan area into East Pakistan. There are some Muslim's organization or related to Rohingyas that have emerged in Myanmar, but nowadays Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO), and the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO), are the most active ones. The junta military often accused both of organizations as part of Islamic extremist movements. They even blamed for silently establish Islamic State in Arakan. Even though some Rohingyas organizations often get funding from the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, who also support a pan-Islamic agenda, most of them do not want to be linked to terrorist groups or extremist in any form (Singh, 2013). In reality, many Rohingyas have been used to fight the extremists and sent to Afghanistan or other regions. Rohingyas' instability makes it easier for the community to perform radicalization inside and outside of Myanmar.

Table 1: History of the Establishment of organizations in Myanmar.
Source: adapted from Singh (p.50)

Organization in Myanmar	
1946	North Arakan Muslim League; Organization of Burma Muslim Mujahid established Party of Arakan.

1947	Mujahideen founded by Jami-all Ulema-e Islam to unite eastern Arakan with Pakistan
1963	Rohingya Independence Force (RIF)
1971	Rohingya Liberation Party
1974	Rohingya Patriotic Front
1980	Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO)
1986	Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front (ARIF)
1998	ARIF and Rohingyas National Council joined together to form the Arakan Rohingyas National Organization (ARNO) with a military wing called Rohingyas National Army
2012	RSO, ARNO, and the Arakan People's Freedom Party joined to form the Arakan Rohingya Union; Jamaatul Arakan, a branch of Bangladesh Jamaatul Mujahideen Bangladesh, was formed.

Discussion

Examining Myanmar deeply as Gurr stated above, as democracy autocracy state, the rise of ethnic Rohingyas insurgent movement was reasonable. As newly independent state, Burma develops in many sectors. When the development gives more access of resources for the majority, or in this case the Buddhist community, in the other side, there are minority groups who are oppressed because they do not have access to the resources, including Rohingyas.

If compared to the Buddhists majority, regarding the distinctive identity of the Rohingyas, with its different race and religion—governments and communities are easy to discriminate them in many ways. This discriminatory, even cruelly treatment, with a sense of communal disappointment against the Myanmar government, making their ethnic bonds became stronger. This retaliation, combined with the existence of organizations as their channel for the Rohingyas to commit political movement, including protest and rebellion. In the end, radicalization became the Rohingya's choice.

Historically, Rohingyas believed that they were entitled to live in Rakhine state, though in fact, they were not citizens of any country. This condition initiated them to identify themselves as ethnic Rohingyas, or as part the group they joined. That consciousness had driven justification for the Rohingyas to be loyal to the organization. Not surprisingly, the Rohingyas then did activities that related to terrorist activities.

The limited access to the Rohingyas had made them living in depressed conditions. Many of them were living in refugee camps, with less feasible conditions. Poverty eventually causes the children had no access to education, making the Rohingyas quickly recruited by the extremist organization.

Moreover, because they were marginalized in various countries, the education they got often provided by faith-based organizations. The limitation they got, had eventually caused the Rohingya community, wherever they were, to be very vulnerable especially towards faith-based education that sometimes infiltrated by extremist doctrine and ideology.

On the other hand, the humanitarian factors support and assistance from outside parties increase the Rohingyas' confidence to fight back. The activities undertaken by both organizations, such as ARIF and RSO, keep going due to the aid of other states. These aids can be used for so many needs, like to buy weapons for the militants.

According to Fan and Saleem, conflict between Arakanese and Rohingya in Myanmar's Rakhine state in 2012 has raised anxieties of growing radicalization and regional instability (Fan and Saleem, 2012). Nowadays, the world cannot deny or neglect their attention for the Rohingyas' problem that has spread significantly throughout the Muslim community over the countries. The initiative and movement from a diverse range of Muslim groups in showing their solidarity towards Rohingyas can contribute positive and negative impacts to this internal conflict in Myanmar.

The miscalculation to perceive this ethnic-racial conflict as an assault on Islam cannot be put down, especially among the Muslim community. In addition, the spill-over effect of this ethnic-racial conflict may threat the peace and security issue maintained in Southeast Asia region. Especially, Buddha and Islam are two largest religion in this area; Southeast Asia has 618 million in population, which consists of 42% or 240 million Muslims and 40% of them (around 150 - 190 million) are Buddhists. Buddhism has taken its root in Southeast Asia from the seventh - eleventh centuries, in the other hand, Islam came to Southeast Asia later on the 12th-15th centuries (Yusuf, 2014).

The economic factors may drive the radicalization in some of the Rohingya organizations, rather than adherence factor to the religion itself. As known, the Rohingyas are paid if they join the group. RSO was one of the organizations that was believed recruiting many Rohingyas. The Rohingyas were given the most dangerous tasks in the battlefield, for instance, clearing mines. Bertil Lintner in Asia Times on 2002 mentioned, the recruited Rohingyas were being paid 30,000 Bangladeshi taka (US$ 525) on joining and then 10,000 taka per month ($175). RSO will pay the families of recruited Rohingya, which killed in action with the offering of 100,000 taka ($1,750) (Lintner, 2002).

Although the Rohingyas group often described as terrorists, but actually, there were some Buddhists extremist movement in Myanmar that contributed

to this horizontal conflicts in the community. One of them is 969 movements, led by Buddhist monk, Wirathu. The 969 movement originated from Buddha itself—9 individual attributes of the Buddha; six unique attributes of his Dhamma or teachings; and nine special characteristics of Buddhists monks.' Wirathu is the monk that against Rohingya and also Muslim. Even he is described as 'Burmese bin Laden,' as promoting violence against Buddha's enemy, or in this case, Muslims. This condition hold this long lasting-conflict within both parties is inevitable (Adipura, 2013).

As it goes on, in line with Reilly described before about the inseparable relationship between internal conflicts with the international level, the Rohingyas issue is changing rapidly, from ethnic-racial into ethnic-religious issues. The community, inside and outside Myanmar, perceive this conflict as the representation of Islam versus Buddhism. In Myanmar, besides the horizontal conflict in 2012, Fan and Saleem also mentioned the threats which spread into the humanitarian workers, deteriorating the suffering of Rohingya refugees (Fan and Saleem, 2012). What has occurred in Burma, eventually may lead to 'spill-over effect' in neighboring countries, in particular Southeast Asia region. Open violence, which became tangible riot and even bombing, between Muslims and Buddhists, has increased. Outside Myanmar, like in Indonesia, attacks on Buddhist temples and threats over Myanmar Embassy was subjected to show protest against Myanmar's policy (http://dw.de/p/1AjuA). Many protests were organized in Sulawesi against the attacks and many Buddhist temples targeted (Fan and Saleem, 2012).

The violent action also spreads toward several Buddhist home and temples in Bangladesh. At least eleven Buddhist temples in Cox's Bazaar region burned and seven other temples destroyed (http://news.detik.com/read/2012/10/06/102909/2056224/1148/forum.detik.com/pembakaran-kuil-buddha-biksu-myanmar-demo-di-depan-kedubes-bangladesh). In India, eight low-explotion bombs were placed in the Maha Bodhi temple in Bihar state, exploded on 7 July 2013, and wounding two monks. The terror was the first attack on Buddhists in India and suspected a protest against the conflict in Myanmar (http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/indonesian/2013-07-10/pemboman-kuil-budha-india-diduga-terkait-konflik-myanmar/1158986). Similar protests also took place in Thailand and Colombo, Sri Lanka.

In particular, in Indonesia and Malaysia, a number of Rohingyas advocacy groups or organizations raised to defend Rohingyas. In Indonesia, the organizations like *Nahdatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Hizbut Tahrir,* and *Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid,* asked Myanmar's government to stop persecuting Rohingyas Muslim. Radical groups such as the *Front Pembela Islam, Hizbut*

Tahrir and *Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid* in Indonesia claimed they are ready to go and fight in the name of 'jihad' for the Rohingyas.

When it comes questioning about the role and involvement of ASEAN as one of the most influential organizations in the region to resolve the conflict in Myanmar. But ASEAN with its principle 'non-interference', can not interfere in the Rohingyas issue, as it is an internal affair of Myanmar that should not be interfered with. ASEAN member-states was agreed not to let their domestic affairs interfered with external parties. Yet as developing country with a high diversity, the countries in this region are very vulnerable to internal conflict. Arnold and Parks in Asia Foundation have emphasized the notion about the relationship between internal conflicts and non-interference. According to them, the countries with the history of internal conflicts tends to be the active supporters of non-interference principle, and there is a little possibility that they will support intervention towards sovereign state, in order to maintain the security or human rights. This non-intervention norm has been prevalent, especially in the end of the Cold War. Moreover, southeast Asia now has developed rapidly, and their government are very confident to refuse the external pressure to overcome the conflict. However, Arnold and Parks also mentioned about the limitation of this high tradition towards Asia's roles into global level, especially in security. It makes Asia's country less-participated and limited in global security (Arnold and Parks, 2011).

The call for ASEAN to involve in the conflict resolution has increased especially since this issue has become a transnational issue as mentioned earlier. The involvement of ASEAN also is a game of chance for the organization's credibility. Although ASEAN has tried to invite Myanmar in dialogue, Myanmar repeatedly declined the invitation because the Rohingyas issue is the internal affairs (Wahidah, 2014). However the development of this transnational issue somehow make the countries in Southeast Asia finally make some initiative, such as when Indonesia requested assistance with UNHCR to take care of stranded Rohingya refugees in Indonesia. Or like Thailand, that provides protection to the Rohingya refugees.

The latest progress in Myanmar was the establishment of 2014 national census that recorded the Rohingyas as part of the country, unless they call themselves as 'Bengali' instead of 'Rohingya'. The establishment of this first census that funded by UN in the last 30 years was controversial. The census only focused counting 135 recognized ethnic groups, minus 1.2 million people from several ethnic groups in conflict areas, such as Northern Rakhine, Kachin and Kayin. The day before the counting begins, presidential spokesman Ye Htut, prohibited the use of the word 'Rohingya'. For those who claim themselves as Rohingya would not be counted in the national census. The

government identified them as Bengali, as if calling Rohingya as illegal immigrants who came from Bangladesh though Rohingyas have lived for centuries in the country. It means, Myanmar's government indirectly did not recognize this ethnic existence in the country. Quoted from Reuters, the Minister for Immigration and Population U Khin Yi, announced that, the results of census reach 51.4 million, which is lower than 10 million people estimated (Alamsyah, 2014). The government also failed to do its duty from UN to make the classification of several ethnicities, including Rohingya in Rakhine.

Conclusion

Conflict in Myanmar should be a lesson for other nation-state, especially in Southeast Asia, not to let the ethnic conflict in the countries protracted. Moreover, the countries in Southeast Asia are very diverse in terms of racial identity, culture, religion, and language, so the region is very vulnerable to internal conflicts. Amnesty International stated that, the poor condition of human rights in one country have direct consequences for neighboring countries (Robin, 2000). So the conflict in one state, especially the gross violation of human rights, must be a shared responsibility at the regional or international level. In addition, the more unstable a country, the more also the rights of every citizen are neglected. This neglect, whether intentional or not, will gradually lead to new problems come to the surface. Moreover, if not prevented early, it will cause prolonged loss for both the state government and also the people who live under the region.

In addressing the conflict in Myanmar, ASEAN should take part in helping Myanmar. Primarily because this Rohingyas problem had become a regional problem that needs collective cooperation, not just relying on 'ASEAN Way' which means quiet diplomacy and solving the problem in bilateral way or 'behind the scenes' (Robin, 2000). On the other hand, it would be a strategic decision if ASEAN could also invite other parties, such as Bangladesh, as one of the central actors in this conflict. In terms of the Rohingyas refugees, the nation-states in this region may ask the favor of UNHCR. This conflict required the thorough conflict-resolution, before the conflict is too complex to resolve.

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