

# Between Truths and Misconceptions about the Rakhine State

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**Abstract:** False information can often have a severe impact on policymakers and civil populations alike. The duty of the political scientist is, therefore, to serve her society by finding and explaining the truth, even when it would go against the agenda and desires of her own people. The issue concerning the Muslim population in Rakhine State is not only a recent affair but also something, which has been going on in Myanmar for many years. Often the foreign onlookers will take side with the minority because the idea that a privileged majority is oppressing the minority is a commonly occurring belief in an unequal relationship. Before we lay blame and demand repercussions it is important to seek the truth of the matter and determine who bears responsibility and where guilt truly belongs. In doing this, we need to go back into history and trace the line of events leading up to the present situation in order to find a way to resolve it. This article seeks to examine what is currently happening in Rakhine State, what has happened in the past, who bears responsibility for the situation, and who truly knows the truth about the issues?

**Keywords:** Myanmar, Rakhine State, Rohingya.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Who are Muslim People in Rakhine State? If someone asks the people from Myanmar, they will say; “They are Bengalis who came from Bangladesh illegally and live in Rakhine State.” On the other hand, people from Bangladesh would say, “They are refugees who fled from Myanmar and live in Bangladesh.” So if someone hears about that he or she would start to feel pity for them without reflecting on the question: who made these people get into this situation? Therefore, we have to know exactly who the Muslims in Rakhine State are, where they come from, why the ethnic people in Rakhine does not trust them, and why are they different from the other Muslim societies throughout of Myanmar country. There are eight major ethnics group and 135 minor ethnics groups except for Muslim People in Rakhine State, Myanmar.<sup>1</sup> Apparently, Bengalis came to Myanmar since the colonial period but most of them have been arriving after the independence of Myanmar. (Aye Chan, 2005:1) Rakhine state is the poorest state of Myanmar and native ethnic people and Muslim society have suffered long years of poverty. Making the issue worse is the fact that neither of the two societies has any higher levels of education due to the poverty and they harbor mutual fear for each other especially during the former military government. Under the erstwhile military government, the whole country was poor and could not maintain control over its borders. Yue C. & Mensah BL (2017:473) explains that Muslim people in Rakhine State and native Rakhine ethnic minority group have very different lifestyles, culture, traditions, and languages.<sup>2</sup> Poverty and loss of trust have caused many conflicts and hatred between different societies for decades in this area. This article explains who the Muslims in Rakhine are, what has happened to them historically, what the real situation looks like and how it can be resolved. It is important to note that no matter who they are and regardless of what has happened, we need to find a viable solution for the ethnic people and Muslim people in Rakhine State.

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs21/Aye-Chan-2015-08-Influx\\_Viruses-The\\_Illegal\\_Muslims\\_in\\_Arakan-en-red.pdf](http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs21/Aye-Chan-2015-08-Influx_Viruses-The_Illegal_Muslims_in_Arakan-en-red.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.ijims.com/uploads/23c0334853fdd1e9ae3458.pdf>

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### A. Who are the Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine State?

Aye Chan's (2005) explains that after gaining independence of Myanmar 1948, there were four kinds of Muslim communities in Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships of Arakan (Rakhine) State. Some were descended from the old Muslim settlers in Arakan State before Myanmar conquered Arakan in 1784<sup>3</sup> and some were descended from Muslim mercenaries and some were descended from Chittagongnians who came to Arakan State from the Chittagong District of East Bengal after the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826) and they settled down in the Mayu Frontier area. The British colonial government took the Bengali inhabitants from Chittagong to Arakan (Rakhine) State to use them in an agricultural area. There was no international boundary line between the two countries and the British East India Company extended the administration of Bengal to Arakan. Under British colonial government, thousands of Chittagong Bengalis came into Arakan (Rakhine) state to search for job opportunities and the government itself favored them more than native Arakanese because the immigrant workers were cheaper than Arakanese. In that period, fifty thousand immigrants came into Arakan State from Chittagong every year and the immigrant populations increased by 77 percent in twenty years (1871-1911). (Aye Chan, 2005; 2-6) The problem was that while the immigrant populations were increasing, the native Arakanese saw a reduction of their numbers in the Mayu Frontier area (Khin Maung Saw, 1993).

Abdul Gaffar, a member of parliament from Buthidaung started to use the word "Rohingya" for Muslim People in Rakhine state in his article *The Sudeten Muslims*; published in the *Guardian Daily* on 20 August 1951.<sup>4</sup> Aung San Su Kyi explained that "Bangladesh claims that many Muslim people came over from Burma illegally but they do not belong to Bangladesh and Burma also claims that a lot of Muslim people came to Myanmar who is now in Burma are actually people who have come over illegally from Bangladesh. It is so difficult to prove whether such as assertions are right or wrong because the border is so porous and so badly policed."<sup>5</sup>

### B. Developments in Rakhine State in recent times:

On 28 May 2012, three Muslims in Rakhine State raped, robbed and murdered a 27-year-old ethnic Rakhine girl. The police forensic evidence and eyewitnesses said that the three Muslim men raped the victim multiple times and that her throat was slashed from ear to ear, her chest stabbed multiple times and her private organ was mutilated.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, angry mobs from both communities went on a rampage in the Rambyee Township where they destroyed 500 houses. Seven people were killed and seventeen were injured by the two communities as they turned on each other. On 10 June, the government declared a state of emergency in Rakhine state.<sup>7</sup>

This case made the ethnic Rakhine and the entire ethnic people alert to sudden attacks by the Muslim people in Rakhine State. The brutal rape and murder case caused bad blood and the two societies, both Muslim and ethnic Rakhine, felt a decrease in their security as they lived close together in the Rakhine State. That was the starting point of today's Rakhine crisis. In addition, we can see that the loss of trust between police authorities and the two societies. It is clear from the case that the Muslim people in Rakhine State started the problem and made the difficult condition for themselves. After this serious incidence, on 9 October 2016, Muslim armed attackers in Rakhine State carried out a surprise attack on Kyikanpyin Border Guard Police Headquarters, Kotankauk Police Outpost, and Ngakhuya Local Police Office. In this attack, they killed nine police officers and the police stations lost 48 weapons of various types and 6624 rounds of assorted ammunition, 47 bayonets, and 164 magazines. Myanmar government found that the attack was led by the Aqua Mul Mujahidin organization, which was also linked to the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO). RSO is an armed organization, which is active in Maungdaw Township. The leader was Aavistoohar who attended a six-month Taliban training course in Pakistan before he came to Maungdaw to the riots and gave armed training to local Muslim extremist youth as well as receiving funding from some organizations in Middle Eastern countries.<sup>8</sup> This issue shows that this was not domestic conflict or ethnic problem between native Rakhine and Muslim people in Rakhine State nor a Buddhism and

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.netipr.org/policy/downloads/19720101-Muslims-Of-Burma-by-Moshe-Yegar.pdf#page=2&zoom=auto,-151,755>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.soas.ac.uk/sbbr/editions/file64388.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=izuGRDdNzT4>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.burmalibrary.org/show.php?cat=2819&lo=d&sl=0>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4fd85cdd2.html>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.mewashingtondc.org/sites/default/files/pdf/epress-release-14oct2016.PDF>

Muslim religious case. On 25 August 2017. Thirty Myanmar police outputs were attacked at the same time after Kofi Annan's report was presented. This attack was led in Rakhine State by ARSA- Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, which was founded in 2012 by Harakah al-Yaqin. He was born in Karachi, Pakistan. He grew up in Mecca in Saudi Arabia. In these attacks, 10 police officers, a soldier, and immigration official and 77 insurgents were killed. The ARSA claimed responsibility for this attack, and both the international community and the Myanmar government branded ARSA as a Terrorist Group and Myanmar Military cracked down upon them and they fled to Bangladesh.<sup>9</sup> According to the State Councilor and Foreign Minister Aung San Su Kyi, there was no more violence since on 5 September 2017 but Myanmar government could not stop fleeing Muslims to Bangladesh.<sup>10</sup>

### III. HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS TO THE TENSIONS IN RAKHINE STATE

The reports of the 2012 brutal rape case was not a new wound for the two societies in Rakhine. In fact, they have been facing communal tensions for many decades under British colonial government, Japanese administration, and military government. They used to live without rule of law for many decades and communal tension has been an issue for a long time. In the 1940s, the Jami-Atul Ulema-e Islam sent a delegation to Karachi in 1946 to discuss with the Muslim league to incorporate Buthidaung, Maungdaw and Yathedaung Township into Pakistan, but the British government ignored their proposal. (Aye Chan-2005, p.14) The Muslim in Rakhine State founded Mujahid insurgent group since 1947 and they declared Jihad on Burma when the central government did not grant them their proposal to establish a separate Muslim state in Buthidaung and Maungdaw Township. (Aye Chan, 2011: 2) Yegar confirmed Muslim people in Rakhine State's Mujahid movement (The Muslims of Burma -1972) before Burma's independence.<sup>11</sup>

After the independence of Pakistan, India, and Burma, Pakistani government continued to ignore the Muslim group in Rakhine State. The Mujahid group asked the Union of Burma Government to recognize the area between the west bank of Kaladan River and the east bank of Naaf River as the National Home of the Muslims in Burma as well as some additional demands but the Burman government refused them. Therefore, the Mujahid movements went on in Northern Arakan State until 1960 when they surrendered (Aye Chan-2011, p.3-11.) According to 1982 Burma Citizenship Law, many Muslim People in Rakhine State are not recognized to be a citizen because the law only allows people who had entered and resided in the State prior to 4 January 1948, the date of Burma's Independence Day.<sup>12</sup> In Rakhine State, after the surrender of the Mujahid, they founded Rohingya Liberation Party in 1972, Rohingya Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1974, Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) and the Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front (ARIF) in 1986. All are militant groups.<sup>13</sup> As I have mentioned above, the issues are the Muslims' situations and how their relationships towards native ethnics groups. In reality, they never participated in any independence attempt of Union of Burma, they always tried to separate from the Union to merge into Pakistan by separating from Burma even though they were living in Burma's territory. So even if nobody asks them, their language is the same as in Pakistan and their religion is Muslim, they have always wanted to be part of Pakistan and then they never fought for Burma's independence. These behaviors have shown who they are and where they came from. That is why they declare Jihad created the Mujahid movement and attacked native Arakanese in order to leave their own villages and the Muslims occupied their villages.

### IV. WHAT DID MYANMAR GOVERNMENT DO TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS IN RAKHINE?

Historically, Myanmar government has tried to resolve this Rakhine issue in many ways, sometimes by their own design, sometimes under the pressure of UN and the International Community. After the new democratic government got into power, the State Counsellor Aung San Su Kyi asked Kofi Annan to establish and lead the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State in September 2016. The commission made recommendations in five thematic areas as conflict prevention, humanitarian assistance, reconciliation, institution building, and development. The Commission presented an interim report, which clarified which issues that would be necessary or urgent to deal with in March 2017.

The Aung San Su Kyi government implemented the recommendation of Annan Commission in the current year, as she

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.refworld.org/country,,ICG,,MMR,,59aeae484,0.html>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mzK8iACoEbo>

<sup>11</sup> Moshe Yegar, The Muslims of Burma -1972/p-

<sup>12</sup> file:///F:/own%20librey/Books%20Shel/Law%20Myan/Myanmar%20citizenship%20law%201982-eng.pdf/p-6, article-42

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/publication/faultlines/volume14/Article1.htm>

confirmed in her speech, according to the Rakhine State Socio-Economic Development Plan 2017-2021, the government created hundreds of new jobs and opportunities for local people, electrification has been expanded with new roads and bridges build as well as a new highway. Everybody can get education and healthcare services without discrimination since new mobile clinics are being provided. There are 300 schools in Rakhine State that the government has upgraded; there is a new FM Radio Channel that now broadcast in Rakhine, Bengali and Myanmar languages. She also said that EU and the UN agencies provide training course and capacity building to police and security forces as well that humanitarian aid now reaches all communities in 95% of the affected areas in Rakhine State before the ARSO attack on August 2017. (Aung San Su Kyi: 2017)

On 23 November, Myanmar and Bangladesh signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to repatriate Rohingya (Muslims in Rakhine State) who fled to Bangladesh after 25 August attacks and the Myanmar government is working to reaccept them on 23 January 2018.<sup>14</sup>

State Counsellor Aung San Su Kyi established the Union Enterprise for Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement, and Development in Rakhine on 15 October 2017. The three main goals of the Union Enterprise are to perform effective provision of proper repatriation of the refugees from Myanmar, relief and resettlement and the sustainable devolvement of the region that is free from conflicts. This Union Enterprise is working together with the UN agencies, International Organizations, and Domestic Organizations now.<sup>15</sup>

## V. DISCUSSION

I have not mentioned any specifics about religion or how many people who have fled into Bangladesh following the riots and the attacks of the Myanmar Army because I think that to lay accusations and blame is not the proper way to deal with this issue. If we want to resolve this Rakhine crisis, the first thing we have to acknowledge is that violence and crime have been committed by both sides because if we focus on one community's suffering, we run the risk of creating further hatred and can end up doing more wrong instead of resolving the problems.

The most difficult problem to resolve is how to build trust among the Rakhine State communities, hatred and fear are still running hot in the minds of both groups regardless of how much the government and international institutions are trying to help and protect them. There are 1.5 million Muslims in Rakhine State; this is three percent of Myanmar's 54 million population. Furthermore, they are the majority group and they make up 80-90 percent of the population in Arakan region.<sup>16</sup> According to 2014 census, there are 3,188,807 people in Rakhine State so the native Rakhine ethnic and some Myo, Khami, Thet and other Burmese are only 1.7 million so Rakhine ethnic is a minority group in this Rakhine State.<sup>17</sup> They have lived in Arakan State, where they have made many riots, violence and attacked the native Rakhine ethnic. They often caused problems and if the authorities came after them, they fled into Bangladesh and claimed that the Myanmar government and ethnic Myanmar groups oppressed them in issues such as job opportunities and human rights. When the world heard these complaints, the International community, led by western countries as well as Muslim societies pursued the Myanmar government to treat the Muslim community in Rakhine State better. That is why they have made these brutal riots, Jihad and attacked government so many times in Rakhine State, and then fled into Bangladesh claiming to be innocent people but the reality is they are wolves in a sheep's clothing. The native ethnics are always afraid of Muslim riots and the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army's persecution so they do not want to accept them as citizens and they have never trusted them. Fear has caused this hatred between the different societies to run deep for many decades and the declining trust in each other have fueled this hatred and fear further.

Although the world did not completely ignore Myanmar's situation since the 1988 isolation, following the 1988 People's democratic revolution, we have still been living in isolation from the majority of the international community and nuanced news and reports from within Myanmar reaching the outside world was scarce. Yet throughout the decades the world media always took the side of Myanmar's people, picturing their lack of human rights under the military government even though the Myanmar people had not been taught the first thing about human rights. For this support, we

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.president-office.gov.mm/en/?q=issues/rakhine-state-affairs/id-8387>

<sup>15</sup> <http://rakhine.unionenterprise.org/about-uehrd>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.ijims.com/uploads/23c0334853fdd1e9ae3458.pdf/p/4>

<sup>17</sup> <file:///C:/Users/Ma%20Khin%20Myat/Desktop/Article/Rakhine/Rakhine%20State%20Census%20Report%20-%20ENGLISH.pdf/p/12>

ought to give the world media our gratitude. Then we got the new Democratic Government in 2015, gained through a free and fair election. The new government tried hard to resolve these conflicts and to build national reconsolidation between the government and ethnic militant groups as well as trying to improve the Rakhine State's socio-economic situation, human rights, and the peace process. At the same time, domestic and international actors have sought to influence and put pressure the Myanmar government, especially the State Counsellor Aung San Su Kyi, in opposite directions. Nevertheless, the present situation is very different to handle as the military government and Aung San Su Kyi's government are in a struggle of power while the later tries to resolve the issues and violence but the former still holds a veto right in these matters. Most of the western countries and western media cannot understand what Aung San Su Kyi is doing in this Rakhine crisis, as they see the present condition they cast blame upon both her and the military, labeling the situation with words such as ethnic cleansing or genocide.

Now the Myanmar ethnic groups of Rakhine State, who already are suffering under economic hardships as well as the conflicts with the Muslims, hear this news they feel that the west is taking the side of the Muslims, completely ignoring the background of the conflict. This has further fueled the conflict. They feel that too few leaders of the world, as well as too few media organizations, have wanted to understand the depth and complexity of the conflict. At the same time the conflict-seeking individuals of the Muslim group, (which are not to be confused with the majority of the group, innocents caught in the crossfire) can ride on this wave of sympathy just as they in the past have taken shelter in Bangladesh refugee camps to avoid the Myanmar authorities following the attacks they performed. This one-sided stance of the western leaders and media is not helping the new Myanmar government to solve the conflict.

Let us look at the present situation. The ARSA claimed responsibility for the attacks of 25 August 2017 as well as the 9 October 2016 attacks. The Myanmar Government has therefore branded the ARSA as an extremist group. Bertil Linter, who is a specialist on Myanmar, pointed at what Bin Laden had said in an interview by the Karachi-based newspaper, *Ummat* on 28 September 2001 that there were areas in all parts of the world where strong jihadi forces are present, from Bosnia to Sudan, and from Burma to Kashmir. Linter reckons that the groups Bin Laden referred to are extremists within the Muslims populations on the Bangladesh and Burma border. Linter has further pointed out the facts that Muslims extremists have received payments from abroad, and some were taken to military camps in Afghanistan for training courses as well as to Kashmir and Chechnya to join forces with Islamic militants there.<sup>18</sup> There is no doubt that the ARSA is an extremist group and the evidence is clear when looking deeper into the conflict occurring in the Rakhine State. The terrorist group has given militant training to Muslim extremists in Rakhine State and these extremists are to blame for violence caused there. My point of view is the terrorist groups used Muslim-Buddhist conflict to as a spark to ignite the powder-barrel. The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) gave militant training to these native Muslim extremists in Rakhine State and now not only the Muslims in Raking State but also ethnic Myo, Khami, Thet and Rakhine people are suffering. Meanwhile, the UNHCR in Geneva's Chief official, Zeid Ra'sd Al Hussein said that the current situation is "a textbook example of ethnic cleansing",<sup>19</sup> the President of France, Emmanuel Macron called it a "Genocide",<sup>20</sup> the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Najib Razak<sup>21</sup> has seconded Macron's words while describing the aftermath of the 25th of August 2017 Rakhine Crisis. Nevertheless, we all know what the meaning of *Genocide* is. How strong this term truly is. If you wish to use this term to label this issue, please first consider the rest of the Muslims who are still living in Rakhine State peacefully just as before the August attack and how much the other ethnic groups have been suffering by the deeds of ARSA. Why have only some Muslim groups fled to Bangladesh and why some are still living peacefully in Rakhine? Why are they using the term *Genocide* on this issue? Because the world is only seeing the sufferings of the Muslims but not seeing the other minority groups, as well as Muslims, still living peacefully in Rakhine State?

Looking at the present news reports and comments from the international community, I fail to find someone willing to truly know the truth about Rakhine State. Casting blame and branding us will not resolve this conflict, in truth, I fear it might further fuel the conflict as it might create more extremists on both the Muslim and the Buddhist sides. We need to come together and seek a resolution to this issue, but to do that we need to acknowledge that there are innocents as well as

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.atimes.com/article/truth-behind-myanmars-rohingya-insurgency/>

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-rohingya/u-n-brands-myanmar-violence-a-textbook-example-of-ethnic-cleansing-idUSKCN1BM0QF>

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.rte.ie/news/2017/0921/906399-rohingya/>

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.rte.ie/news/2017/0921/906399-rohingya/>

perpetrators on both sides of the conflict. We need to know the background of this conflict, to understand its complexity not to take the black and white approach as the majority of the onlookers have. The New Democratic Government, merely two years old at this day, needs the international community's sympathy in order to solve this conflict, not its accusations. We are in a difficult situation; there are forces on both side of the conflict who both have the means and the desires to maintain the violence, in order to serve their goals. Western media, many state actors and Muslim societies, the world community, and many international institutions are putting pressure on Myanmar's new government to re-accept the Muslims who fled to Bangladesh after on 25 August 2017. Meanwhile, the Muslims in the refugee camps are complaining about how much suffering they have endured. The Bangladesh government is facing numerous problems already and would prefer that the Muslims who are currently living in the refugee camps in their territory would be able to return to Myanmar. Both Bangladesh, Myanmar and the international community is, therefore, working hard to find a solution. What needs to be done is to accept the refugees back into Myanmar as it is stated in the 1982 Citizenship Law, we need to improve the development of Rakhine State's socio-economic conditions in order to live in peaceful coexistence between two communities in this area. This would drastically improve the human rights situation. However, none of this can happen unless we see an end of the attacks from the ARSA.

The Myanmar government needs help from both domestic and international actors. However, the world has been focused on the sufferings of the Muslims and blamed the Myanmar Government and native ethnic groups. What we need now, both Myanmar and Muslims, is no more blame, no more violence, no more tug-of-power: We just need love and understanding from all parts, because both groups have been suffering for so long. The Myanmar government cannot resolve this issue without international help and accusation will not work in this case.

The two societies in Rakhine are both poorly educated, suffering from poverty and they cannot see a way to live peacefully together. They know only hatred and fear and so the Muslims will not desire to come back home unless they are sure that they will be safe and the other group does not want to accept the Muslims back if they are not sure that the Muslims will not cause riots again. We have to make sure of their fears will not turn true, and that the violence will never happen again by improving their societies' physical and mental resilience both in the present and the future, even though it will not be easy.

## VI. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

I have mentioned in this article about what happened in Rakhine State, why it happened, what the government did and further discussed Myanmar's problems and how to solve them. This is not a religious conflict; the problem is that terrorist groups are taking advantage of the Muslims weakness to fuel the violence in Rakhine. If someone only hears from one side of this conflict, only hears of the suffering of the Muslims or only about the deeds of the Muslim extremists, then we can never find the common grounds needed to find a peaceful solution. We have to listen to both sides, both the Muslims in Rakhine, as well as the other, are ethnic groups in Rakhine State, only then can we gain understanding and learn how we should proceed. In order to understand this conflict, it is important to know its history first, without knowing the history we cannot understand the deeply rooted fear and hatred which now exists on both sides. Today the Myanmar Government has signed a treaty with the Bangladesh Government "Reaccepting Refugees from Bangladesh", bringing the Muslims refugees back into Rakhine without solving the conflicts which caused this situation in the first place might very well be a recipe for disaster.

The new government is currently working very hard in the implementation of domestic peace and reconciliation among ethnics and militant groups. The conflict in Rakhine State is a clear example of how difficult this is for the new government since the military still holds veto rights on issues of national security. Meanwhile, the Muslim extremists have everything to gain by causing further violence, provoking further reprocessing from the military, which mainly strikes the civilian Muslims. Furthermore, the international community has a black and white perspective on the conflict and their pressure tends to land at Aung San Su Kyi's government rather than at the military, native Myanmar extremists or the Muslim extremists. No one in Myanmar understands the domestic and international politic affairs of Myanmar better than Aung San Su Kyi while receiving tremendous amounts of blame for not handling the situation better, or protecting the Muslims civilians better, she may still be the leader with the best chances of resolving this issue.

Aung San Su Kyi should continue to speak to the international community, asking them to learn more about the situation in order to send the help needed to establish domestic peace and prosperity. Myanmar citizens well as the international

community ought to stand by Aung San Su Kyi's government so that a proper solution to this most difficult of problems can be found. The increased prosperity from foreign investments could instead be a part of solving the conflict. From an International Law's point of view, the scholars and the international community can help to compare Myanmar Citizenship Law 1982 with the International norm and advice the government on how to make improvements. Both the Muslim and ethnic societies in Rakhine State must learn to understand what the government is trying to do for them, they have to leave the past grievances behind them and learn to forgive their neighbors in order to work together and build a new common society.

In conclusion, the international community needs to understand and sees the truth about the conflict in Rakhine State and the issues, which the new Myanmar Government is dealing with. Then they would be able to understand the complexity of the problem as well as which kind of help might be needed to build a new and prosperous country.

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