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POLITICAL SCIENCE



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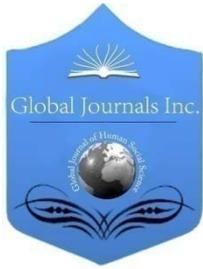
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French–Western Intervention in Mali: A Pandora’s Box?

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Abstract- This paper probes French-Western manipulative policies and activities in Mali within the framework of critical theory of international relations, while at the same time, examining globalisation as “colonialism” by other means. It then goes on to assess the role played by France in both the cause and containment of the Malian crisis and the implications of the intervention on the national security and overall development of Mali. The paper, therefore, argues that French interest in Mali, is overwhelmingly high and has great consequences on the leadership struggle and governmental policies of the country. Factors that favoured the rise of the conflict are MNLA’s long-term goal of establishing a Tuareg State in self-determination coupled with Mali’s extreme economic and political dependence on outside assistance. Findings have revealed that France, is part of a wider design and struggle, within the Western World and particularly, within the foreign policy controlling group in Washington. Finally, the activities of France in the management of the conflict are widely observed as devoid of altruism.

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French – Western Intervention in Mali: A Pandora's Box?

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Abstract- This paper probes French-Western manipulative policies and activities in Mali within the framework of critical theory of international relations, while at the same time, examining globalisation as “colonialism” by other means. It then goes on to assess the role played by France in both the cause and containment of the Malian crisis and the implications of the intervention on the national security and overall development of Mali. The paper, therefore, argues that French interest in Mali, is overwhelmingly high and has great consequences on the leadership struggle and governmental policies of the country. Factors that favoured the rise of the conflict are MNLA's long-term goal of establishing a Tuareg State in self-determination coupled with Mali's extreme economic and political dependence on outside assistance. Findings have revealed that France, is part of a wider design and struggle, within the Western World and particularly, within the foreign policy controlling group in Washington. Finally, the activities of France in the management of the conflict are widely observed as devoid of altruism.

I. INTRODUCTION

Unfortunately, the idealist intentions which gave birth to the UN and which are laid out in the Charter have not always been rigorously enforced or respected. Human rights laws are flouted by many states and the principle of self-interest is too often the driving force behind foreign policy decisions. Over the years Security Council members have periodically used their power and influence to further their own interests, at the cost of others. In particular during the Cold War years, the US and USSR in effect waged a “Third World War” through the many proxy civil wars and conflicts in the territories of other states. For instance, the Iran – Iraq war was beneficial to Western countries in pursuit of their own national interests. On the one hand, their interests were economic as they were selling arms in both states and making large profits. On the other hand, they had political interests as well, for both Iran and Iraq were regarded as dangerous nations with excessive military power.

Moreover, the challenges that have arisen in the Post-Cold War include the difficulties in tackling internal conflicts and civil wars effectively. Given that the UN system is predicated on the principle of non-interference in a state's “domestic affairs,” it has no mandate to intervene in internal conflicts without the express invitation and consent of the state or unless the UN Security Council deems there is a danger to international

peace and security. More often than not, except under humanitarian law, the UN is trapped in a paradox.¹ The question therefore, is, can the UN override the wishes of the governments of its members States to intervene and mediate in conflict where the disenfranchised population is challenging the legitimacy of that government? In other words, what is the optimal time for intervention before violence breaks out or later on? When does it become absolutely necessary? Who should intervene and at what stage? Why was it that the Malian conflicts were not prevented? What is the capacity of existing international organisations and structures to tackle the range of internal conflicts that have become prevalent in recent years? How possible, then, are the prevention of violent conflict and the elimination of warfare? These are issues explored in this article.

Intervention depends largely on two important factors, namely, whether the UN has a mandate to involve itself, and whether there is sufficient political will from within the international community. Hence when security and economic interests are threatened, the international community can be swiftly galvanized into action. In the absence of such threat, intervention frequently relies on pressure exerted by the wide public or pressure groups and lobbies.² Unfortunately, the consequences of intervening in such an arbitrary and spontaneous fashion can be disastrous. So, even with political will, adhoc interventions lacking clear objectives or understanding of a situation can exacerbate a crisis. Rarely, these days can a single government or international organisation act independently in any field without repercussions.³

For decades, Africa has been described by the West as a demoniac continent. In order to justify military intervention and imperialist expansion, Africa is again being depicted as the theatre of instability, violence and terrorism. The idea of imminent threat, a term in international law was articulated prior to the war against the people of Iraq consequent upon information that Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Ten years after, with millions of

¹ Rupesinghe, K. etal 1998. Civil War, Civil Peace: An Introduction to Conflict Resolution. London: Pluto Press.

² WPR Article: Global Insider: Despite Early Success, France's Mali Challenge is Long-Term,” World Politics review. Com 2004-3-08.

³ Elangovan, E. 1995. Managerial Third Party Dispute Intervention: A Prescriptive Model of Strategy Selection. *Academy of Management Journal*.



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Keywords: *rohingya, cross-border, migration, threat, human trafficking, illegal immigrants.*

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Migration and Security Threat in Malaysia: Analysis on Rohingya's Ethnic

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Abstract- National security landscape has undergone an inclusive dynamics through the threat of cross-border migration process. This study aims to discuss the migration of the people of Myanmar, especially the Rohingya's ethnic to Malaysia. Analysis of non-traditional's threats interpreting internal security challenge to Malaysians are the main elements of the discussion in this study. Through a qualitative study and validation of accuracy of procedural information, this study argues that three non-traditional's threats to human trafficking, local colony formation, and cross the border illegally as the underlying impact of migration among the Rohingya. In addition, the pressure of social responsibility on human factors also contributed constraints of national security policy based on the image of Malaysia. Thus, several proposals were discussed to contribute to policy-makers regarding the cross-border migration in Malaysia. The study found that the entry of illegal immigrants/ refugees Rohingya has created problems for the country, through the issue of cross-border illegally and the government had to bear a heavy responsibility to accept Rohingya refugees which they are long-term problems that pose the non-traditional's threat to the country.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The issue of cross-border migration of the immigrants is a global issue; it also occurred in developing and developed countries that have various factors of attractiveness such as economic opportunity, employment, stability, peace and to obtain protection. United States, Canada, Australia, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia are among the countries that had been chose by the immigrants to come whether it is legal or illegal. In Malaysia context, various efforts made by the government, such as improving border controls have been implemented to curb the influx of illegal immigrant (Amarjit Kaur, 2014: 353). This is because the influxes of the illegal immigrants using various issues from the aspects of economic, social and national security nor society has emerged in the country of destination. Secure means free from any threats while in the discipline of political studies, this term may refer to economic security and political security. In the discipline of security, this term is associated with national security that the original idea was initiated by United States after the end of World War 2 (Triut & Harf 1982:1). The Asian

economic crisis was the large-scale of migration of the world population because most of them have lost their source of income, laid off and declared bankrupt. The 1997/1998 economic crisis has affected the economies of East Asia and Southeast Asia countries such as South Korea, Japan, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. The effect from this economic crisis has successful to threat human safety and forces people to migrate. However, the situation was different with Myanmar because of the economic crisis 1997/1998 did not affecting the country since it is already under the poverty and does not impact them such as those experienced by other southeast Asian countries.

Entering the problem faced by Myanmar or Burma and the relation of migration is the result of internal political problems. The crisis of migration in Myanmar is involved by Rohingya's ethnic, the Muslim minorities living in the northern part of Myanmar, which is Arakan or Rakhine. They have been forced to leave or fled because of their human safety and lives have been threatened by the state government, military, the monks and the Buddhist community widely. The threats involves discrimination in practicing religion, culture, restrictions in daily activities, work, facilities, education, murdered, tortured, not recognized as citizens and well planned ethnic clearing. Therefore, from the threat given, Rohingya's ethnic has been forced to become immigrant in their own country and become fugitives in other countries such as Bangladesh, Indonesia, Thailand, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia. This study used qualitative method that is interviews with respondents such as the police, NGO and refugees, current news and library search.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study used qualitative method that is interviews with respondents that have connection in cross-border and refugees in Malaysia such as the Royal Malaysian Police, NGO and Rohingyas refugees. Meantime, secondary data were collected by library research base on migration and refugee issue, newspapers and online website data such as UNHCR and Malaysia Ministry of Home Affairs.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Rohingya's people turned into refugees are due to factors of frequent amended constitution and the often change of government. Starting with Foreigners

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Act 1864 until Myanmar Citizenship Act 1982 and Myanmar does not have any legal provision that clear to the Rohingya. They are in a situation not having a citizenship. Union Citizenship Act 1948, enacted by the British, also denied the Rohingya to be part of Myanmar's citizens easily. However, in this act there is little space that allows the Rohingya to become Myanmar citizens under British rule at that time. Since Myanmar is ruled by a military regime that seized power of government of U Nu in 1962, it can be said that the starter of hard seeds of the denial of citizenship for Rohingya in Myanmar. When Myanmar under military ruler of General Ne Win, as the head of the regime, the Rohingya are labelled as illegal immigrants, because this group is said to have been brought in by the British, even the historical records say the Rohingya have been living in Arakan as early as 1430 during the rule of King of Arakan, Naramaikhla which has about 30,000 Muslim soldiers (Moshe 2002: 23-24).

In 1974 a new constitution was formed by the junta government of Myanmar and the Immigration Act 1974 has been explicitly denied the rights of the Rohingya as legitimate citizens of Myanmar and had labelled them as illegal immigrants. Thus the effect of the law enacted by the Myanmar regime has been followed by a large-scale operation called the Naga Min or Dragon King in 1977. This operation considered cruel, has forced the Rohingya becoming refugees and they have fled from home to a place deemed safe and close. An estimated 200,000 of Rohingya's people have fled to Bangladesh in 1978. After being there for 16 months, most Rohingya were forced to return to their places of origin, Myanmar, because of the impact of bilateral agreements between junta Myanmar and Bangladesh government. During that period, an estimated 10,000 people have died majority were women and children due to malnutrition and infectious diseases. However, the second wave of Rohingya's refugees to Bangladesh as much as 250,000 people, took place around mid of 1991 to early 1992 due to the human rights violations against them and also by the laws of Myanmar which makes them illegal immigrants in their own land has resulted in a situation they do not have citizenship. Myanmar Citizenship Law of 1982, which enacted allegedly threaten the foundations of the principles of international law which makes a nation are in a situation not have citizenship in their country. The law is also

discriminatory to force Rohingya to provide proof that they had occupied Rakhine long before 1823. Junta regime that used the title The State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) has dismissed the Rohingya as an ethnic community in Myanmar (Maung Maung 1961: 94-96).

After Myanmar's independence, on January 4, 1948, there are 19 military operations in the area of Rohingya settlements been carried out to control the riot from happening. But the real fact is; it is 19 operations of murder, deportation, invasion of mosques and places of worship, destruction of sources of revenue, and the seizure of farms and residences. Among 19 of these operations, operation of Burma Territorial Force (BTF) is the cruellest. Local government troops which were filled with Buddhist ethnic, kills, rapes, creating destruction and implement the law at their own will. Finally it resulted in thousands of Muslim's Rohingya forced to flee from their homes. Other operation that is also inhuman where such as Nagamin (King Dragon) in 1978. In this military operation, 300,000 Muslim's Rohingya forced out of their homes and nearly 1/3 was killed. Nearly two million Rohingya's people have chosen to live in exile and uncertainties. It can be seen the military operations still continue to be carried out by the Burmese government since 1948 until today. Each year they perform deportation policy and ethnic clearing towards the Rohingya, but what differentiate the situation from time to time is in terms of the number of migrants and the number of deaths. They live as unwanted refugees and illegal immigrants in the country of Bangladesh, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Malaysia and the UAE.

What can be conclude here, even though the world has had clear evidence of attacks and atrocities of the junta government of Myanmar towards the Rohingya, but it is difficult to recover the situation because Myanmar has rejected Rohingya's ethnic as the non-citizen of Myanmar and insist they are citizens of Bangladesh and has similarities with people in Chittagong. Moreover, the Myanmar military action has also spread hateful propaganda against Muslims in Myanmar and managed to influence public perception that the Rohingya are 'Chittagonians' Bangladesh. Table 1 below shows the operations of the expulsion of the military against ethnic of Rohingya designed by the Myanmar government since 1948 are as follows:

Table 1 : Military operations after the Burma Independence

No	Military Operation	Year
1.	Military Operation (Burma 5 Regimen)	November 1948
2.	Operation of Burma Territorial Force (BTF)	1949-1950
3.	Military Operation (Chin 2 Emergency Regimen)	March 1951-1952
4.	Mayu Operation	October 1952-53

5.	Mone-thoneOperation	October 1954
6.	Military and Immigration Joint Operation	Jan 1955
7.	United Military Police Operation (UMP)	1955-1958
8.	CaptainHtinKyaw Operation	1959
9.	ShweKyiOperation	October 1966
10.	KyiGan Operation	October-December 1966
11.	Ngazinka Operation	1967-1969
12.	Myat Mon Operation	February 1969-1971
13.	Major Aung Than Operation	1973
14.	Sabe Operation	February 1974-1978
15.	Naga-Min Operation(King Dragon) (resulting the migration of approximately 300,000 Rohingya people to Bangladesh)	February 1978-79
16.	ShweHinthaOperation	August 1978-80
17.	Galone Operation	1979
18.	PyiThayaOperation (resulting the migration of approximately 268,000 Rohingya people to Bangladesh)	July 1991-92
19.	Na-Sa-KaOperation	1992

Source : Modified fromHabib 2006 &Abid 2010

According to Chris Lewa (2003) in the Asia Forum, Rohingya is being discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity and religion. They were not included in the nation-building process in Myanmar and the military regime has been implementing the policies of exclusion and discrimination against this group, aims to encourage them to leave the Myanmar. Policies that systematically has maintained a setback of the Rohingya and they become massive refugees to Bangladesh in 1978, 1991 and 1992.

The combination of violations of human rights, denial of legal status to the restriction of movement and economic constraints against Rohingya has managed to create a sense of insecurity in life and difficult for them gaining food. Rohingya's children in particular are innocent victims and suffer caused by the weakness of government policies such as discrimination in all aspects of life and lack of access such as public schools, health care for their welfare and poverty. This has affected the physical and mental development of their lasting future for the Rohingya community. Thus, from this point of view, it can be concluded that the situation of the Rohingya in Myanmar to coincide with the assumptions stated by AmartyaSen (1999) which is economic development would be meaningless if individuals and communities do not have the rights and freedom in their daily lives, forcing themselves into retreat, tortured and fled to another country.

On May 10, 2015, a total of 1,158 Rohingya's people and Bangladeshi immigrants comprising 993 men, 104 women and 61 children have been recorded

arriving in Langkawi Island, Kedah. Of these, a total of 486 people were Myanmar citizens while 672 people were Bangladeshis. Due to this incident, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA) held a coordination meeting between the agencies to discuss the issue of influx of illegal immigrants on May 12, 2015 involving the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Security Council (NSC), the Royal Malaysian Police (RPM), the Immigration Department of Malaysia and the Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency (MMEA) (Media Statement MoHA 2015). The joint decision was obtained from all the law enforcement agencies of Malaysia, which agreed to take all the illegal immigrants were transferred to Immigration DepotBelantik, Kedah. The migration process will involve Immigration Department of Malaysia, the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN), Marine Police RPM and MMEA. The process of moving all the illegal immigrants that was implemented in phases starting from May 12, 2015. As an immediate measure to prevent similar incidents from reoccurring, the Malaysian government has been trying to hold discussions immediately with the two source countries, namely Bangladesh and Myanmar. This is because there is an element of smuggling of migrants due to the willingness of immigrants involved to come to Malaysia and involving the occurrence of human trafficking syndicates. Thailand government also involved in these discussionsbecauseof smuggling of migrants thru the border of Malaysia-Thailand involving Rohingyas and Bangladeshi immigrants. It is recognized that Thailand has a lot of experience and source of the cross-border activities.

According to the RPM and UNHCR Malaysia (2015), they describe the migration of Rohingya ethnic refugees is extremely difficult to cross the territories of Myanmar by road and by country of Thailand as the main road to flee because of restrictions by the enforcement. Therefore, most of them will arrive with small boats in the countries of Southeast Asia to the destination of their choice either Myanmar or Bangladesh (Danish Immigration Service, 2011: 45). But what is most regrettable, refugee migration is often exploited to become victims of human trafficking which causes them to suffer or even lead to death as tragedy in Wang Kelian and Padang Besar, Perlis.

The arrival of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh and Myanmar refugees at this time was in a large-scale which is large numbers of people, particularly troubling the citizen and the government. Similarly, Thailand and Indonesia, which also shares the concerns and the complexity of this matter because it involves the issue of cross-border, national security and human security, namely whether individuals who landed at the state coast and national borders nor local communities who are undergoing their daily lives. From the thousands who had landed at the three country, there are still hundreds and thousands of these refugees which is still either on the sea, land on the islands of Indonesia or drowning in the ocean. Accordingly, the country also once again shocked by the discovery of 139 graves were detected by the authorities in 28 transit camps built by human trafficking syndicates along the Malaysia-Thailand border in Wang Kelian, Perlis. Ministry of Home Affairs also recognize that there are involvement of local people suspected in the syndicate was uncovered after the discovery of the detention camp at Wang Kelianto confine the refugees from Myanmar and Bangladesh. Inspector-General of Police, Tan Sri Khalid Abu Bakar has deployed about 300 VAT-69 commandos to the area to search the dense forest along the Malaysia-Thailand border to detect activity and evidence of human trafficking (Zaain, 2015).

From a diplomatic source that involved in managing the Rohingya issue stated that the Rohingya have been in the entire East Asia. Meanwhile, Thailand is known to be the place of transit or landing point of the Rohingya who want to enter Malaysia. Malaysia is considered a safe country and Muslim's country that easy to get into because of the lack of restrictions on the border and it is easy to gain access to work, although illegally and have the same religion. They can also register with UNHCR in Malaysia as refugees. Malaysia is said to be easily accessible without strict restrictions then smuggling of the Rohingya is increasing began in 2009, 2012 and until 2015. Bangladesh also identified as a location as the gathering place and harbor boats carrying Rohingya refugees and the trafficking of Bangladeshi migrant. The boats depart from Bangladesh estimated about 12 boats with an estimated

600-700 people per each departure. Their lives are in danger as they travel because they do not have any form of identification, travel documents and the absence of security protection, vulnerable to unpredictable weather and health problems like fever, dehydration and starvation. Agencies in Bangladesh are involved in making a profit by providing false passports, running a smuggling syndicate and human trafficking from Bangladesh and Myanmar to Southeast Asian countries (Danish Immigration Service, 2011: 44).

According to the Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network (APRRN) reported there were many active smugglers in facilitating activities such as managing the gathering site, preparation of boats, collecting payments trip, strategy regulator and boatmen which carrying Rohingya's people to travel to Malaysia by boats. If the Rohingya got arrested in Thailand, they will be put in detention indefinitely for allegedly entering Thailand illegally. The same goes to the welfare and protection because it is very difficult to get public assistance. Therefore, in the last decade the situation is better because there is an opportunity for the Rohingya's people to travel to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries, but now the situation has become more difficult because of the lack of movement toward the Middle East on geographical factors, political stability, longer route with the sailing challenge and high cost of shipping and delivery by the agent.

Trends now show a more active movement eastward Malaysia and Indonesia. Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network, also said that there are about 30,000 Rohingyas have become residents in the local community by becoming cardholders of refugee status in Malaysia. This figure is actually much higher than the actual amount due according to the latest ministry statistics (2015) and Azizah (2014), the Rohingya's refugees in Malaysia is almost hundred thousand people. So it is clear why they are very interested to come to Malaysia because there were a community of their own ethnic and their live is safe and taken care of.

Hussain was one of the refugees and UNHCR card holders who become respondents in this study. Hussain and his fellow countrymen sneak into Malaysia in 2000 and lived in Thailand for 3 years before coming to Malaysia. Embark on a journey from Arakan to Cox Bazar of Bangladesh and then boarded a ship to Thailand. Upon arriving at the coast of Thailand, they walk together for two hours to nearby villages for shelter while waiting for the local people to control their affairs. They have worked in Thailand as restaurant's cleaners, workers at fish market, collecting wasted goods, farm workers and construction labours. Later, he entered Malaysia through Rantau Panjang, Kelantan and waiting there for two days before being taken to Kuala Lumpur. Hussain and other Rohingyas not know each other and have entered Malaysia illegally, without any documents

or UNHCR card. From Kelantan, they ride in a sedan car (Proton Wira) up to 13 people including the local resident's driver. One person died on the way which is the passenger who is in the rear bonnet, suspected of drowning and starvation. Along the way they were not given food and drink or stop to urinate. The car is known to stop three times to refuel by the sound of fuel pump and the sound of oil entering the tank.

The situation in the car is like 'sardines in a barrel'. They were forced to huddle on the front seat (bending their body), the rear seats were reclined and they laid elongated fellow. The same goes to the rear bonnet; they are arranged horizontally and overlapping with each other. Then they were covered on top with a cloth and stuff, as if the car was filled with things of the car owners. They are all felt heat, hunger, lack of air, stinky, cramps and body aches deeply felt and uncomfortable. He and his colleagues were given a stern warning not to make any noise like knocking on the car wall, asking for food and drink. They also threatened will be left by the wayside and will be detained by authorities if they make any sounds. Their friend who has died is on an unknown status because after arriving in Kuala Lumpur and they were safely out of the car; the dead bodies were taken away by an unidentified driver and are reluctant to speak. All of their affairs to come to Kuala Lumpur and who is the driver who brought them all together was planned and managed by the agency. Hence, it can be concluded here their safety is not guaranteed and their lives are at stake to get into Malaysia and this activity also involves local communities as agents.

Through other sources and information received, usually refugees or illegal immigrants who want to enter Malaysia is using the agent from Thai and Malaysia. Admission charge that is charged by the Thai agent is RM500 each person which will take them from Thailand to Rantau Panjang. While from Rantau Panjang to Kuala Lumpur, the charge is RM 1500 for a one-way trip and managed by the Malaysia agent. Due to the high cost of agency fees for illegal entry, it is not surprising that the majority of Rohingya refugees will transit to work for two or three years in Thailand to collect a sum of money before entering Malaysia.

According to Hasan and Amir (2014), when first moved to Thailand, they do not have friends or relatives in Thailand and Malaysia, do not know how far the situation in Thailand will take place and did not have much access to obtain the daily convenience, have no phone or valuables and just take a little supply of clothing, money and confidence for the better life. To earn a living, they collect wasted goods and used items in Thailand. They are also trying to meet the daily needs by collecting waste food, clothing and boxes as bed coverings but they felt very grateful this situation is considered to be able to escape from suffering a lot worse in Myanmar.

They confess they are willing to do any of difficult work, dirty and despicable in general view as long as they get paid and can buy food. Their beds are often will be at a house or a construction site or the market in inadequate condition. When has been living in Thailand for quite a time, they heard many stories and news about Malaysia and know many of the Rohingya community have existed there besides Malaysia an Islamic state that is safe and good. Hence, the feeling of desire to come to Malaysia has been a dream. In Thailand, they still felt uncomfortable and did not like the people there because most of Thais are Buddhists and it has created deep sentiment of their past experiences in their origin country. In addition, they also said it was not happy to be in Thailand because it is difficult to hear the azan (calling to prayer) or reading verses from the Quran. This situation clearly shows they have a sense of love and longing to Islam and desperately as Muslim they want to practice worship even wherever they are.

The Rohingya refugees often live in large groups with several families, sharing a place to stay in a house. For example Hussain family rented a house from the owner of the Malaysian Chinese with the fee of RM 450 per month. There are seven people living in the house that is a wife, three children, an uncle that can no longer work (senior and sick) and a friend of the construction workers. Hussain's children have been almost familiar with the culture, food and people of Malaysia. His family's favourite foods are 'nasilemak', white rice with Malay and Indian dishes such as curry, spicy cooked chicken, 'roti canai' and fruit salad. He also stressed that in Malaysia, they can make a living even if refugees are not allowed to work formally. But still can do daily chores such as collecting steels, irons, tins, boxes, cleaners for local residence, cut the grass, pottering, cleaning market, sell fish and vegetables at the local market and do tricycle service which transporting waste to landfills.

The daily average income of the Rohingya refugees who do this work starting from RM20-RM30 a day and on weekends it can be reached to RM 50. On Sundays or public holidays, they earn extra income because Malaysians are on holiday and there was an increase in the amount of daily waste. Among the areas where many of these Rohingya refugees are around is in Selangor such as Hulu Langat, Satoh, Mauri, Ampang, Selayang and Gombak. They also admit often bothered and blackmailed by the Indians in Gombak and Hulu Langat while the Malays do not disrupt their lives and prefer their own affairs. Before ending the interview, the researcher asks a special question for the respondents which are why he and other fellow Rohingya prefer to stay and settle in Malaysia. This was the reply has been received;

"The main reasons my friends and I came to Malaysia because Malaysia is a Muslim country. Life or death, we want to be in Islamic country and want to be buried in

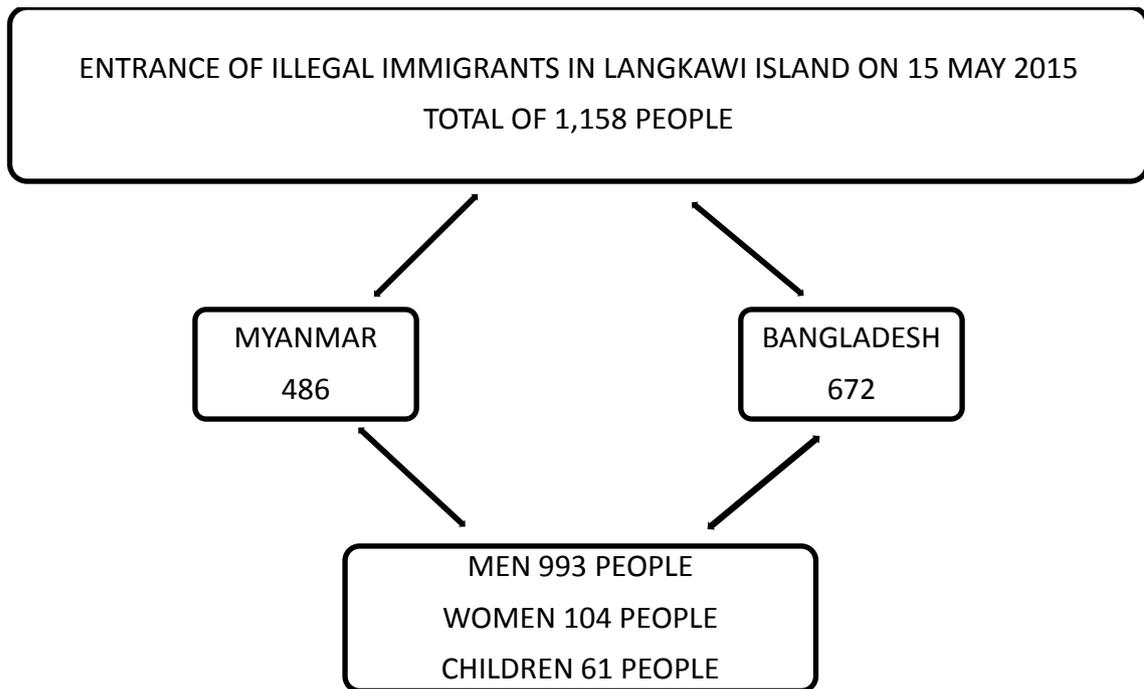
Islamic way. Malaysia is a safe country and a country that is very good. Here, we can find sustenance and many Rohingya people live safely and can eat and work. Thailand is a Buddhist country, we do not like it there, and they are not Muslims. Malaysian police is good and non-threatening, the Malaysian government is better than our home country, as well as the Prime Minister of Malaysia is very good because he love to help Muslim people who are in hardship. Help us Rohingyas. We do not want to go to other country for resettlement."

(Rohingya's refugee 2015)

He also expressed gratitude to the police and the Malaysian government for the good service and accept them stay in Malaysia even with refugee status. They hope for their next generation in Malaysia, they hope Rohingya's childrens can attend proper formal

education such as can enter the primary and secondary government school so that to be successful such as the Malaysian society. Many refugeeschild cannot attend school and can not even read despite they are fully grown, they can only speak Malay. Accordingly, the Rohingyas are also very hopeful to have the permission to take a motorcycle and car driving license, have a business license and have UNHCR cards to all Rohingyas to facilitate daily life and make a living.

On May 2015 the illegal immigrants and refugees from Myanmar was on a large-scale. For example in figure 1, the following is one example of the huge influx recorded and getting worldwide attention.



Source: processed from MoHA Media, Malaysia 2015.

Fig. 1

Following the influx of refugees and the discovery of the graves of trafficking victims in Perlis it has affected Malaysia's image internationally as a country that has been labelled weak in border controls. In addition, through this influx has enlivened the activity of agents and human traffickers from within and outside the country. The migration of refugees are often exploited to become victims of human trafficking which causes them to suffer or even die, same as a tragedy in Wang Kelian and Padang Besar, Perlis. Consequently, as many as 139 graves were found by authorities in 28 transit camps built by human trafficking syndicates along the Malaysia-Thailand border in Wang Kelian, Perlis. Thus, there is also, old graves were discovered and there are hundreds of bodies are believed still buried are the victims of trafficking syndicates.

Malaysia and Indonesia are being the country of destination for the Rohingyas refugees because the factor of Muslim's majority. It gives confidence and trust in obtain the protection because they are Muslims and have common cultural traits. According to the Ministry of Home Affairs (2015) and Azizah (2014), there are almost a hundred thousand people Rohingyas refugees in Malaysia. So it is clear why they are very interested to come to Malaysia because of the presence of their ethnic communities of their own life and secure. Rohingyas refugees are often living in crowded with several families and share a place to stay in a cheap rooming house. Thus, the colony and the relationship between the country will built and also grow.

Table 2: Classes of refugees/ asylum seekers according to ethnics & country

Ethnic from Myanmar	
Ethnic of Chin	49,800
Rohingya	45,170
Muslim	12,340
Rakhine, Arakan&other ethnics	7,320
Total (until end of Feb 2015)	114, 630
Refugees & asylums seekers from other regions	
Sri Lanka	3,970
Pakistan	1,200
Somalia	1,100
Syria	960
Iraq	850
Iran	550
Palestin	430
Others	28,880
Total (until end of Feb 2015)	37,940

Source: UNHCR Malaysia(2015)

Table 2 above shows Malaysia has received the Rohingya refugees in large numbers, until the end of February the country recorded a total of 114,630 refugees had entered Malaysia are from the ethnics of Chin, Rohingya, Muslim, Rakhine or Arakan and other ethnics. Malaysia, initially has received early entrance of Rohingyas since 1970 and they were married and adopt a common culture with the local people of Malaysia. Pressure of social responsibility and humanitarian missions, which having heavy responsibility to accept Rohingya refugees in which they are long-term problems. Generally, non-traditional threats to society and the country is the issue of settlements, shelter, food, and basic necessities, and medical. There are also social issues that should be considered and addressed by the government such as the provision of education, birth, death, welfare, very limited relocation, local crime because they do not work and lack of help and cooperation from Myanmar. Based on the old record of the earliest settlement of Rohingya refugees indicated that they had become old residents in the country and have been assimilated with the local culture such as conversation, food and similar clothing to the Malays and Indians.

Consequently, few of them were involved in being criminals, drug dealers, gangsters, smugglers or have a subversive element. The presence of illegal immigrants also stimulate the rapid development of the counterfeiting of travel documents such as passport, PLKS, IC, birth certificates, marriage certificates and UNHCR card. These things become more fertile when it involves the same demand from other countries immigrants such as Indonesia, Philippines, India, Bangladesh, and so on. The suggestion; to meet the goals of this research, some suggestions are made to handle the issue of Rohingya refugees in diplomatically and strategically.

1. Joint to protect all people living in the Rakhine region (Cooperation of the countries of ASEAN and Myanmar).

2. Create an independent investigation on human rights violations and bring the perpetrators to justice, including their trial in an independent and impartial court of law.
3. International monitoring permit to parties based in Myanmar, such as representatives of the United Nations, OIC and diplomats in Yangon and the media to assess the situation and make a recommendations for further action.
4. Amendment of the law in 1982 (Citizenship) to accept the Rohingyas as the ethnic group in Myanmar; guarantee their rights as citizens and rights to vote.
5. Ensuring freedom of movement, employment, the right of marriage and the right to have a family that now is not given to the Rohingya. Furthermore, ensuring that local authorities and the military/police commander stop the cruelty of property seizure and conscription of forced labor.

IV. CONCLUSION

Rohingyas refugees need basis humanitarian assistance of shared responsibility and as a fellow human being. From the view of the researcher, Malaysia, ASEAN and UNHCR should establish an effective model and cooperation in handling this issue with an action plan to save the Rohingya from all aspects to protect life, identify their presence, get accurate statistics on their number in those transit countries and work harder in getting the cooperation of Myanmar until they are accepted as the citizens with guaranteed of human safety. If the issue is not resolved, as long as that the ASEAN countries will continue to be plagued by long-term problems of refugees from Myanmar. For the Rohingya refugee children, they need more help specifically to improve their basic of education of literacy, reading, counting and filling the spiritual knowledge in skills such as carpentry, cooking, sewing, farming and so on so that they are ready for the uncertain future but at least all basic knowledge have

been received. Knowledge is a necessity of life, literacy of mind is very meaningful gift to build the future.

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Role of Non State Actors (Political Movements, Militias, Civil Society) in Shaping Regional Security in Africa

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Abstract- This article unravels the role of non-state actors in regional security in the great lakes region of Africa. The analysis identifies what motivates non-state actors into action particularly, the desire to access scarce resources, the geopolitical environment; and their legitimate right to participate in governance to transform society. Using case studies, the paper cites concrete examples from political movements, militias, and civil society to understand why non-state actors can shape regional security positively or negatively. The paper concludes that what is important is to identify those non-state actors that have interest in peace and stability for networking and collaboration while at the same time engage positively or respond appropriately to those non-state actors that have negative attitude towards peace and security. This is possible through practising democratic governance and developing military and other security capabilities to deal with negative actors.

Keywords: *non-state actors, regional security, peace, governance.*

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