

Rohingyas' Outcry and Demands

By

**Rohingya Patriotic Front
Arakan (Burma)**

ROHINGYAS' OUTCRY & DEMANDS



ROHINGYA PATRIOTIC FRONT

ARAKAN (BURMA)

Introduction

History is the mirror of life and measure of its performance. It reflects human life in all its passing phases and evaluates its works through ages. History upholds the great romance of human experience in the past. It is through this mirror that others can know of a people who can as well as know themselves properly. The correct assessment of a people's past history determines the pace of its present progress and the shape of its future.

We and our people, in Arakan, are yet unknown to the outside world. Our history has long since been remained totally neglected and unwritten. To understand the history of the Muslims of this land, a study of the histories of Burma proper, Bengal, Islamic world, Indonesia, China and a few other Southeast Asian countries is of vital importance. Of all these countries Bengal and the Islamic World played a distinctive role of their own for several centuries, favoured by some natural peculiarities and circumstances.

Had we not been subjected to suffer from the grim ordeals of life at the hands of those who lived together with us peacefully for centuries and also were governed and ruled by our ancestors, and investigation into our past history would surely be not possible till eternity. It is perhaps a blessing in disguise for us that we have any how at last become conscious of our very existence under the Socialist Government of Burma. We the Muslims of Arakan have a more than 1300 year-old tradition and history of our own, expressed in our shrines, cemeteries, sanctuaries, seminars, socio-cultural institutions etc. found scattered even today over every nook and corner of the land.

Whatever so far have been found written about Arakan or Burma are centered round Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and a few non-Muslim personalities. All that are found about Muslims are merely collateral and mostly corrupted. In spite of once being the majority community in Arakan, with centuries-old tradition, culture, history and civilisation of our own we received little or no attention from any quarter. By His grace, the days are not far off when, to the surprise of our persecutors, the 'Gordian Knot' of our numerical strength too will be cut as an evidence in support of our decades-long assertion of being in majority at least up to 1942 A.D. But the irony of fate is that this protracted ignorance of the remarkable contributions of ours in various fields of activities in Arakan and Burma proper have not only misled the world but also obviously illusioned some literates amongst us.

To be able to understand fully and correctly about a people it is also of utmost importance to know their history and geography of their country. As is evident from traditions, accounts, texts, annals, chronicles and histories, hundreds of saints and mystics from the Islamic lands in Western and Central Asia preached Islam, simultaneously with its advent, along all the coastal areas of from Oman to Philippines and China to which "Kaya-pari/Kaira-pari and Hanifar Tonkies (shrines)", in the Mayu Territory between the rivers Kaladan and Naaf, the shrines of "Babaji Shah Monayam" of Ambari and "Pir Badr Shah" at Akyab also bear a conclusive testimony.

As a prelude to the above historical events it can authentically be asserted that the history of the Muslim people is indeed a chequered one. For, so-long as our Holy Prophet (SM) lived, he remained the central figure of attraction. By the time the prophet passed away almost the whole of Arabian Peninsula has embraced Islam. With his unwavering faith in Allah and with his firm belief in his mission, he had left behind a great example for his followers to emulate. The early Muslims with the missionary zeal of the Master, carried the torch after him almost with the same fervour and enthusiasm covering more than half the world.

The mental of Prophethood fell on our Holy Prophet Mohammad (SM) in 610 A.D. and within 50 years of this date of advent of Islam the Arabs (the Arabic speaking people inhabiting the Arab home-land including North Africa, Eastern Mediterranean, Iraq and the Arabian peninsula) constructed the first Mosque at Canton in Southeast China to which region they had been undertaking voyages along the old established sea-route to the Far East since 330 A.D. They had already a trading post in Canton -- for many centuries the only entry by sea into the country.

Besides the above sea-route, the Arabs and other Muslims like those of the Persians, Moors, Moghuls and Indonesians also used the old Chinese land-route through Arakan for minimizing their traveled durations going to Burma and China.

From the 7th to 10th centuries the Capitals of present Arakan were successively at Wesali, Launggret and a few other cities along the river Lemro when Hinduism and Buddhism prevailed over the region. But, after a chaotic rule of about 5 centuries Mrauk-U was founded by King Saman or Saw Mwan (a corruption of Solaiman), on his restoration to the throne of Arakan in 1430 A.D., by Ilyas Shahi Sultan Naseruddin Shah of Gaur the then capital of Muslim Bengal (1342-1576 A.D.).

It is particularly to be noted in this connection that Islam was first introduced in Arakan during the periods of some Hindu Dynasties that preceded the Chandra Dynasty (788-957 A.D.), by the Sufis Mystics and the Arab, Moorish and Persian traders, within 50 years of the advent of Islam (i.e. 610-660 A.D.). So, we can conveniently presume this date of the first introduction of Islam in Arakan to be 660 A.D. at the latest.

The Muslim population went on increasing during the long period of 5 centuries following the conquest of the Easterly Hindu state of Wesali in 957 A.D. by the Mongolians. Their position was so well established that they were acclaimed as King-makers in Arakan. They, however, did not aspire to set up any kingdom of their own till the momentous year of 1430 A.D. when the deposed Buddhist (Magh) king Naramithla was restored to the throne of Arakan under the Muslim name of Solaiman Shah later corrupted into Saman or Saw Mwan.

Solaiman Shah was the first king of this last dynasty of Mrauk-U. With him there began an era in the history of Arakan. The country became enlivened within the impact of renaissance in every sphere of life all over Mrauk-U which by the time of king Salim Shah or Razargri (1593-1612 A.D.) became extended as far as Moulmein in Tenasserim Division of Lower Burma.

Persian was adopted as the state language which continued upto 1836 A.D. when the British Colonial Rulers in Arakan switched it over to English. Muslim coinage was brought into circulation. Mosques, Pagodas, educational and cultural institutions were profusely built. The democratic force of Islam produced momentous effects in the domain of education and knowledge as well. The patronage of the kings of this lineage stimulated the rapid development of the Arabic, Persian, Rohingya, Bengali and Burmese languages and literatures. The Buddhists (Maghs) also graduated themselves in Muslim studies and even embraced Islam in numbers.

Really, the country's administrative systems and the people's cultural and social life were revolutionised. The land was blooming with prosperity and real happiness. In other words, all that is Muslim was adopted and unflinchingly adhered to for over 3 centuries. The Muslims (our ancestors) and the Buddhists of Aryan and Indo-Mongolian stocks lived side by side in perfect amity. Of course, with the fall of the Chandra Dynasty Hinduism vanished forever from Arakan and some of its followers that survived the calamities later became assimilated.

Apparently, the Muslims all through this glorious period remained predominant till 1784 A.D. in which year king Bodawpya conquered the Mrauk-U Empire and barbarously plundered its Capital city of Mrohaung. Thousands of the people, irrespective of caste and creed, were savagely massacred. Hundreds were made captives Mosques, Pagodas, Shrines, Seminaries, Libraries (including the Royal Library) and several public establishments were razed to the ground as a far-flung effect of which, inter alia, we are now being condemned and persecuted as undesirable aliens on our own soil in Arakan.

The ignominious rule of the Burmese kings from the other side of the Arakan Yoma (Mountain) also tumbled down when the Britishers conquered Arakan 1824-26 A.D. (1st Anglo-Burmese war). In 1885 A.D. the conquest of the whole of Burma was completed by them and thenceforward they remained in the country as rulers till January 4, 1948. It was on this day that the last British Government handed over authority to the 1st President of the Burmese Republic in accordance with the treaty which had been signed in London on October 17, 1947 and was admitted as an independent member of the United Nations later in 1948. As to what political upheavals took place, particularly relating to Arakan, will be taken up later on.

As regards, our national identity, we can with all impunity at our command aver on the basis of some undisputed historical references that the entire present Muslim population of Arakan are the direct progeny of the early Muslim settlers of the land inhabiting the area, as an ethnic race for the last 1360 years and number about 15,00,000 inclusive of nearly 5,00,000 who emigrated to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, U.A.E., Saudi Arabia, U.K., U.S.A., Singapore and Thailand to escape persecution. The Indians and the Pakistanis numbering about 12,00,000 who came to Burma as immigrants left the country decades back. Those who left after 1962 have also been compensated. So to brand the majority of the indigenous Muslims in Burma now as aliens is nothing short of racism.

Our relations with the Buddhists remained traditionally harmonious and cordial till 1942 in which ominous year

about 80,030 of our innocent and unarmed people were massacred by a militant group Buddhist Nationalists whose popular cry is "To be Burman is to be a Buddhist".

Traditionally and historically we the two ethnic races in Arakan: the Muslims and the Buddhists, are known as ROHINGYAS and MAGHS who in subsequent references may be understood as such.

Due to sheer ill-luck we could neither make ourselves nor our problems known to the outside world being deplorably handicapped by the total lack of means of publicity and propaganda. Whereas, the propaganda of the Union of Burma has been so well organised, so widely and deeply penetrative and so effective as to form a thick and solid barrier between world public opinion and possible efficiency of the propagation of the justice of our genuine cause.

By way of an illustration it can, however, be pointed out that there are 6 Muslim Organisations in Burma proper who are obviously under the influence of the Central Government. In this context a reference may be made to a report published in the issue dated October 13, 1975 of the government owned Daily -- "The Guardian" on the subject of criticisms in some "Foreign Publications" relating to state oppression of the Burmese Muslims.

The report reveals that U Ko Ko the Minister of Home and Religious Affairs of Burma along with his 2 Deputies, in a privately convened plenary conference, met the leaders of the said 6 Muslim Organisations in Rangoon. After due deliberations of the Minister declared the World press criticisms as unfounded and "Wage to tarnish Burma's image and to sow dissent among religionists". Which were "repudiated by the Muslim leaders themselves". In addition, the Ministers are reported to have said that "there was complete freedom of religion in the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma".

It is crystal clear that no representative of the Rohingyas from Arakan was called upon to attend the conference though they constitute half of the total Muslim population of Burma. The Muslims of Burma proper have no other alternative than to act up to the dictates of the government being scattered and disintegrated from the rest of the Muslim world. Whereas, it is otherwise in Arakan.

That there is absolute "Religious freedom of the Muslims in Burma" is a sheer travesty of facts. The cry of "Burmese way to Socialism" is but a mockery of liberty, justice and freedom. Let the sequence of events in the daily life of the Burmese Muslims be impartially and fearlessly judged by the world and see which way the scale of reality actually inclines.

This is a glaring instance as to how the State Propaganda in Burma is made to shroud the heinous atrocities committed against the Muslims and thus dupe the world opinion.

Taking advantage of our helplessness the Government has launched a vicious propaganda against the Rohingyas. A special "Rohingya Language programme" which was used to be relayed thrice a week from the Burma Broadcasting Service, Rangoon was also suddenly cancelled on October 1, 1965, to our utter surprise and disappointment. The heinous activities in Arakan, our sacred mother land, do not make a secret of the evil designs of the Union Government and its accessories in Arakan.

Ours is a case of woe upon woe to which we would like to draw the immediate attention of all the Nations, U.N Agencies and the Islamic World Bodies in particular. Should the International Communities keep aloof and allow the racist regime of Rangoon to continue its most aggressive conspiracy leading to forcible ouster of the Rohingyas of Arakan. **Let the Bay waters be saved from going up in flames.** It will indeed be suicidal to overlook the fact that inimical forces against us are constantly at work seeking and seizing every opportunity to vitiate the atmosphere of peace in Arakan by exterminating the Rohingya community.

In Arakan we are now the only victims of the atrocious activities of the Government and a section of the Maghs. We are being deprived of our Fundamental Rights in violation of all norms of International Law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Our traditional tolerance has by now been totally exhausted. The heinous crimes committed against our peace-loving people are indeed the crimes against humanity.

Unfortunately, in spite of our repeated representations and clamourings at every Portal of the Government offices, departments and ministries, no good sense has yet prevailed upon the dignitaries at the helm of affairs in Burma. Rather, the government has let loose a reign of terror in Arakan upon the Rohingyas, which is quite evident from the publications across the world over the last 2 decades.

If we are left to seek Burmese civilization it would mean to ruin our morals and religion. How can we deify the Burmans? In reality, it is racism only that is prevalent in the country. Burma, as it appears now, is simply drifting like a wrecked ship in the mid-ocean of commotion and uncertainty. Certain politically-motivated people have been plunging Arakan into yet another civil war to which the Union Government is rather lending active support.

It is predominantly a Buddhist country and the government is also run by the Buddhists. Hence, in the face of the debased and depraved rule in Arakan, can the civilized world, consciously, reasonably and legally hold whether it is at all a symbol of "popularisation of Buddhist ideals of peace and justice", as declared in the Third and Fourth Asiatic Buddhist peace Conferences held in India and Japan?

The Ruling party in Burma will be hopelessly illusioned and remain groping in darkness if human dignity and rights are thus undervalued and trampled like the cringing Barbarians without the refinements of a civilised culture. Things have already taken such unhappy turns that we cannot now allow any one on earth to forfeit our inalienable birth rights, indulge in committing any further inhuman atrocities and make merry over our extermination from our rightful motherland. Therefore, our basic demands from the Burmese Government, at this stage, would be for immediate restoration of all our inalienable **Fundamental Rights**, maintenance of law and order in Arakan and protection of our human rights by Rule of Law.

The false idea of racial superiority that has been responsible for subjugation, oppression and exploitation of man by man has ever let in hatred among human races only to result in disaster. Its ugly face has been also visible in various ways and different forms in Burma too. Its enunciators and upholders, ruthless in hearts, would not pay any heed to the fatality with which it makes human life a hell. Conscience seems to have desecrated them. Wherever racial superiority could rule supreme massacre of peace-loving and innocent lives took place. One still shudders to know about the savage massacre of 80,000 unarmed and innocent Rohingyas in the whole of Arakan in 1942.

There is limit in everything. The Rohingyas have exhausted all their traditional patience and domestic remedies. They want an expeditious solution of their problem of about three and a half decades. The world should know what is right and what is wrong. They want an immediate end of their sufferings through peaceful and reasonable means. If not where will such a bulk of population go leaving their sacred mother-land? Which country will give them asylum? Let the world look with a critical and humanitarian eye at the pitiable conditions of half a million of those who have already been pushed out of the country and also had to flee to escape persecution.

Everybody in the world supports the truth. They are not making up stories. After all, truth shall prevail. People inside and outside the country should understand the real problem of the Rohingyas, in particular, and the Muslims of Burma in general, and prevent the situation from deteriorating. Admittedly, world opinion is always in favour of right cause. They want justice, equity and fair play. The Union Government is making a great blunder in leaving "Arakan State" affairs entirely in the hands of the Maghs.

How long will the Rohingyas suffer? They are to fight against time to alleviate their sufferings. The racism and tyranny of the government cannot continue long at this age when the world is fast heading towards peace and emancipation of the oppressed. They shall fight to the last and shed their last drop of blood to reestablish themselves after regaining all their legitimate and inalienable birth rights and freedoms which have invariably been denied by the Union Government.

The Rangoon regime seems to have taken a vow to exterminate the entire Muslim population of Burma and specially those of Arakan in the first instance, and transform Arakan into a buffer state, totally populated by Buddhists. It cannot but stir the conscience of all the civilised nations of the world with utter indignation and condemnation. The ill-defined fiscal policy of the contracted and crumbly Burmese Government has really speaking, shattered the backbone of its economy.

Till 1942 Arakan was famous as a rice-granary of the Southeast Asia, but the government's policy of agrarianism, racism and segregation of the Rohingyas have almost reduced this golden-land of unparalleled fertility into a jungle-land of the cannibals and heathens of the prehistoric days.

All sympathies should naturally go to the victims of the soil (Rohingyas) who are, in reality, form the majority community. They are really combating racialism in its various manifestations. The voice raised against such a jungle rule in the country cannot be suppressed otherwise than by sensible, impartial and universally acceptable administration of justice on the principles of EQUALITY of status, of opportunity and before the law.

The Rohingyas are the body of a number of individuals forming a distinctive Community, more or less bound together through common interests with almost every qualification of claiming an autonomous state which fact had manifestly being ignored by both the outgoing Britishers and the present Socialist Republic of Union of Burma. The Maghs to some extent initially outdistanced the Rohingyas under the aegis of the Burmese Kings from 1784-1824 A.D. and the Britishers from 1826-1948, the year of the Independence of Burma, from which time apartheid is being systematically and aggravatingly practised all over Burma to extirpate the Muslims from Burma.

The boastful claim of so-called "Burmese way to Socialism" is nothing but mockery. The economy of Burma is a mixed economy in which Muslims have a substantial role to play. To call a spade is neither morally wrong nor oversteps the limits of human decency though it may incur displeasure of many, friends and foes alike.

The voice of our people is the voice of the Almighty Allah, our OUTCRY is, indeed, a heartfelt cry for:

1. Restoration of fundamental rights and freedom;
2. Right to freedom of religion, conscience, culture, peaceful assembly and thought;
3. Security of life, liberty of persons;
4. Lifting of restrictions on freedom of movement and residence within the borders of the state;
5. Immunity from victimisation by arbitrary arrest, detention, mockery of trial, confiscation of property and unnecessary harassment of relatives;
6. Preservation of respect to private life and family life, home and correspondence;
7. Security of enjoyment of rights and freedom without discrimination on any ground such as religion, language, race, sex, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with any national minority, property, birth or other status;
8. Equal treatment, behaviour aid and assistance during natural calamities, public emergency threatening life and property;
9. Freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinion and to receive and impart informations and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers;
10. Prohibition of modern anachronism/racism or racial discrimination, any assistance in the promotion of racist activities and racial hate propaganda, annulment of all forms of Racially Discriminative laws and Decrees tending to create to perpetuate Racial Discrimination, Segregation and Apartheid;
11. Effective curbing of Buddhist Nationalist Reactionary Forces' propaganda and practice of discrimination, racism, genocide and all sorts of orgies against humanity;
12. Viability of honour, reputation and protection of rights by unbiased and independent courts;
13. Universal franchise and right to free contests in elections;

14. Substantive protection against prejudicial, misleading, motivated, unfounded and want on propaganda by law enforcing Agencies and the general Burmese public, both in and out of the country, against Muslims;
15. Effective remedies by way of compensation for violations of fundamental rights and freedom of all kinds;
16. Protection from kidnapping, rape, murder of Muslim girls and women;
17. Right type of education;
18. Indiscrimination in State and Central Government civil and defence service;
19. Opportunity to work choice of employment, just and favourable remuneration and to joint Unions and Associations and protection against forced labour;
20. Political, social and economic securities;
21. Equal protection of law;
22. Promotion of the spirit of co-operation in social and cultural affairs, mutual understanding and co-existence amongst the members of the national communities;

In the welter of such lamentable and deplorable circumstances in Arakan we are constrained to raise our voice by placing this Brochure before the Comity of Nations for an immediate and just solution of our burning problem and to forestall and arrest the already deteriorating situation with a view to preventing it from aggravation.

Geography

It is a fact of history that geography plays a great part in shaping the political life of a country and moulding the socio-cultural pattern of its people. The physical features and natural peculiarities indeed reflect the life and culture of the land. The history of a country cannot be appreciated without the knowledge of its geography. Hence, an idea of the natural peculiarities form an essential preliminary to the study of its history.

Wherefore, in placing this Brochure before the peace-loving civilised world and the consciences of its extremely advanced peoples it is felt absolutely necessary, in the first instance, to describe the geography of our rightful and sacred motherland where we have been established for several generations and have our homes and families and our dead.

The geographical peculiarities of this region of Arakan had thus a tremendous influence on the political social, spiritual, economic and cultural life of the ROHINGYAS and the MAGHS. The natural features of this land, which were, and even now are, peculiar to itself, left distinctive marks on socio-cultural institutions, mental outlook, way of life, education, food, dress, and manners and custom of its people. Arakan has thus some geographical features of its own and which distinguishes it from the rest of Burma.

It is a narrow mountainous strip of land along the coast of the Bay of Bengal and stretches north and south touching Bangladesh on the northwest, India on the north and the Chin Hills on the northeast. It is separated from the rest of Burma by the Arakan Yoma which lies extended from the Chin Hills, on the north, to the Bay, on the south. It has a 171-mile border with Bangladesh, both by land and sea, to which it traditionally serves as "The Gateway to the Far East" by land. There are some plausible historical references also describing it as "**The Greater Chittagong**" having centuries-old trade, political, social and cultural relations with Chittagong proper and other parts of Bengal as well.

Its total area, including rivers and forests, is 14,914 sq. m., presently inhabited by 2 million people of the Rohingyas and Maghs, in equal proportions, excluding about half a million of those Rohingyas who, since 1942, fled the land, to various countries of the world, to escape persecution and not counted at home due to gross racial discrimination. The composition of the population itself reflects the gradual development of the history of the land. But, however, the politically-motivated statistical data and the periodical census reports will not, and cannot, as the least, bolster the above averment of the composition, for many obvious reasons.

In all, there are seven rivers: The Naaf, Mayu, Kaladan, Lemro, An, Taungup and Sandoway, The Naaf is the boundary line between Arakan and Chittagong. The Kaladan is the biggest one. It rises from beyond the Arakan Hill Tracts and flows into the turbulent Bay of Bengal at Akyab, the chief sea-port for the whole of the region. Like the Kaladan the rest of the rivers flow into the Bay with some variations. All of these rivers are tidal and easily navigable all the year round. Particularly, the mouths of the Kaladan and the Lemro are very wide and deep where scores of ocean-going vessels of various descriptions: sailing and steam, could be seen all the year round, mostly manned with Muslim sailors hailing from different parts of Muslim World, specially from Bengal --- Chittagong, Noakhali and Sylhet districts.

A couple of miles, up the river Naaf, there lies, on its eastern estuary, the port of Maungdaw. This riverine port was established purely by the Rohingyas almost at the same time of the colonisation of the fishing town of Akyab, in Akyab Island, by the Muslim sea-faring and maritime people from the West, Indonesia and Bengal.

On both the banks of the historical river Lemro there flourished some ancient cities like WesaLi, Launggret, Parim and Mrauku (Mrohaung/Pathariquillah) which, through passage of time, became overshadowed by the rapidly developed town of the modern Akyab. The other interior riverine ports: Kyauktaw, Bandar, Minbya, Pauktaw, Paletwa, Taungbazar, Buthidaung, Ratbedaug, An, Taungup, Gwa and Sandoway, all predominantly inhabited, since very long, by a mixed population of the Rohingyas and Maghs, are not intended to be touched herein for brevity of time and space.

However, the importance of the river Mayu cannot instantly be ignored for several reasons, the principal one of which is that it rises from the northern hilly area and gently flows meandering through the heart of the alluvial area between the eastern bank of the Naaf and the western estuary of the longest Kaladan river, admittedly and traditionally known as "The Muslim Majority Area in Arakan". The paramount historical importance of Mrohaung cannot also be overlooked, mostly on the incontrovertible fact that it is the solitary ancient city which has overlived 545 years of vicissitudes in Arakan and was also the pompous centre of Islamic civilisation and culture, at least from the time of king Solaiman (corrupted into Saw Mwan, 1430-1434 A.D.) the founder of the Mrauku dynasty, upto 1784 A.D. in which year the Burmese King Bodawpaya pillaged Mrauku (Mrohaung) and conquered the Mrauku Empire. On the other hand, Akyab gradually developed from a lowly Muslim fishing trading and piratical rendezvous to the status of the present capital of "The Arakan State" (Burma), mainly through endeavours and enterprises of the Muslims, followed lastly by those of the western Christians and a handful of Chinese people from Indonesia and Burma proper. Surprisingly, among the Rohingyas and the Maghs there were also two well-to-do German and Jew families established since long.

The climate is tropical with an average annual rainfall of 200 inches. The mountainous areas are hotter and colder than the coastal belts. The off-shore Islands and the Islets, in addition, enjoy a maritime climate. On the whole its climate is very conducive to its indigenous people. The two panoramic islands of Cheduba and Ramree amidst the deep blue Bay water are also fertile with a mixed Rohingya and Magh population primarily engaged in agriculture and trade. In all these islands and islets too the Rohingyas were in clear majority but, unfortunately, they are now reduced to minority and persecuted.

There are five over-land routes which lead to China and India. The An, Taungup and Buywet-Ma-Nyo, leading to China pass through Burma. One from paletwa, in Arakan Hill Tracts, lead to India through Manipur. The fifth one which now appears to have gone out of use, was one of the longest Asiatic over-land routes, from China to Central and South India, via the Chin Hills, Mrohaung and Chittagong, in Burma proper, Arakan and Bangladesh respectively.

It is a land of vast natural resources. But its economy depends mainly on agriculture. The majority of the people live in rural areas. During the period from 100-1430 A.D. the Hindus, Buddhists and the Mongolians, who overran the

Easterly Hindu kingdom of Wesali in 957 A.D., did not pay appreciable attention towards the development of agriculture. It were the Muslims alone who remarkably contributed to this line till 1942, since when not only Arakan but practically the whole of Burma plunged into a political turmoil.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the early Muslim settlers had natural interest in every branch of knowledge. By virtue of their superior knowledge of agriculture too they introduced new and improved methods of cultivation. Consequently, the growing of rice in Arakan became so extensive and successful that the surplus product, till the beginning of the Second World War, was used to be exported in huge quantities to Chittagong, Calcutta, Madras, Colombo. Kochin etc. In 1930's at Akyab alone there were about 50 Rice Mills most of which remained working round the clock the whole year, with cent percent skilled and 75 percent unskilled Rohingya labourers.

90 percent of the agricultural labourers were Rohingyas. Cent percent of the skilled labourers plying river crafts and high-sea vessels were Rohingyas too. Whereas, the ill fated. progeny of such an ethnic race like the Rohingyas who were one the backbone of the economy of Arakan, are today found wandering over the whole world, being jobless and homeless.

The meteoric progressive changes, specially in the field of trade, commerce and agriculture, in Arakan, brought about by the Rohingyas in co-operation with other enterprising nationals have long been levelled up by agrarianism and racism of the Union Government. As a result, presently, more than one fourth of the total acreage of approximately 12 lacs of its arable land is reduced to vast tracts of jungles. To make up this deliberately and knowingly created setback, the Government has started a massive resettlement of these lands with Buddhists from both inside and outside Arakan.

History (660 - 1976)

Universal man cannot forget his history. So we cannot abandon and cynically consign the past history of our people to oblivion. Every country: big or small, has history of its own. For centuries Arakan had been the scene of rise and fall of some civilizations: Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic. In prehistoric days it was sparsely inhabited by cannibals and heathens who had to flee the region due to the gradual influx of the Hindus and Buddhists, from India, through Behar, Orissa, Assam and Bengal. During the period from at least 100 to 788 A.D., some Hindu dynasties ruled over certain limited areas of this region, with their capital along the river Lemro.

Some Hindu Kings of the Chandra dynasty founded the city of Wesali (the capital of the kingdom of Wesali) in 788 A.D., on the river Lemro, 50 miles from the Bay of Bengal. There was also a small Hindu Kingdom at Ramu. a place 10 miles off Cox's Bazar on the coastal region between Arakan and Chittagong which came in direct contact with the Arab merchants and became popular with them.

History is replete with most authentic references and direct evidence of the Arabs being in contact with the Far East since 300 A.D. Simultaneously with the advent of Islam in 610 A.D. a considerable number of Muslims of different affiliations --- Arabs, Persians, Turks. Moors, Indonesians and Abyssinians found home in Arakan.

"In the 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian Era the Arabs were foremost seafaring and Maritime people of the world and the Arab merchants sailed to all waters to far off countries of the East and the West. The eastern trade of Arab merchants flourished so much so that the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal turned into Arab lakes. There is evidence to show that the Arab sea route followed the line of the coast of Bengal and Arakan and the Arab merchants established extensive commercial relations with the sea ports of these countries".

Buddhism arose as an offshoot of Hinduism and in the city of Wesali both Hinduism and Buddhism were practiced but sometimes after the influx of Muslims, a Mongolian invasion took place in Arakan which ended the Chandra dynasty in 957 A.D. Hinduism in the Easterly Hindu state of Wesali thus vanished forever. This invasion not only closed the epoch of the Chandras but also carried away the Pala Kings of Bengal at the same time. Wesali could never reemerge but in Bengal the Hindus regained their supremacy in a few years by pushing back the barbaric Mongolians into the deeper mountainous areas.

"The Mongolians were savages and following their invasion supervened a period of darkness'. But, however, by continuous contacts with the conquered people, in course of time, many of them became educated in the mixed culture of the country they had conquered. The capital was removed from Wesali to Lemro river fifteen miles south-east".

"There, during the ensuing centuries numerous dynasties ruled, each with its own city but always in the same locality. Few archeological remains of this period of 5 centuries exist, though brick foundations may be seen on the Lemro bank. There was no coinage during the period of 5 centuries". One thing appears to be certain that the Mongolian conquerors who ultimately could not assimilate themselves with the Buddhists and the Muslims gradually receded to the neighbouring mountainous regions of Arakan and Bengal.

"Over the mountains in Burma proper was the quaint Kingdom of Pagan. There existed a road connecting the Lemro with Pagan. The road was known as Buywet-ma-nyo". During the period of 5 centuries the Maghs kept contacts with Pagan, specially in matters of religion. "It was along this road that the religious ideas and Burmese writing, in South Indian in script, came over to Arakan, during the 11th and 12th centuries. No inscription in the Burmese script are found in Arakan before this period". It is, however, to be noted that the youngest daughter of the ill-fated Moghul Prince Sha Shuja named Ameena. also escaped from the palace of the then king of Arakan in 1660 A.D. or there after by the said route, to Central Burma which was even in those remote days was as well the home of several wealthy and powerful Muslim families.

Burmese language like Bengali originated from Pali and Sanscrit. The Muslims later on introduced Arabic, Persian and Bengali also. It is understood from a comparative study of the relevant historical writings that at Wesali, Bengali well imbued with Pali and Sanscrit words and phrases, was generally used to be spoken and written by both the Hindus and the Buddhists. But, with the rapid growth of Muslim population Arabic, Persian and Bengali too began to be used by this mixed population of the Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims. With the coming of the Mongolians their dialect too slightly found way into the arena of the languages then prevalent in Wesali.

After the disappearance of Hinduism and the assimilation of the Mongolians there remained only the two distinctive races of the ROHINGYAS and the MAGHS who through centuries lived together in perfect peace and amity till 1942 in which year, at the heinous instigation of a murderous group of the Buddhist Nationalists, hundred of Rohingya settlements were devastated and about 80,000 of unarmed and peaceful Rohingyas were savagely massacred, to agony of which is still sharpened by the memory of the gruesome tragedy.

Anyway, by the time the Burmese writing came over to Arakan a lingua franca had already developed. It was termed as ROHINGYA. Subsequently it also began to be written in Arabic and Bengali characters. Whereas, the Magh Buddhists who were originally of Aryan stock from Magadha of Behar in India, during the 11th and 12th centuries, developed a dialect, by addition of Burmese words to ROHINGYA. In course of time it was termed as MAGHI. In fact, both of these terms are one and the same and freely spoken by both these indigenous races of Arakan even to this day. Of course the latter, i.e. the Maghi is not a written language .but "merely a dialect". In other words, these two sister lingoes are inseparable from each other.

In the field of politics and amidst the pages of sum recent Burmese historical works, we, to our greatest surprise, find the terms "Arakanese" and "Arakanese Language", attributed to the Maghs, in the face of quite Contrary historical evidence of utmost importance. In this connec-tion an independent European Historian writes;

"The question of the emergence of the Arakanese language is more difficult. Whether it was the language of the Mongolian invaders of the 10th century or whether it filtered across the mountains after contact with Burma in the 11th & 12th centuries is undecidedThe question awaits judgment".

The Muslims, however, never tried to establish any kingdom of their own but remained satisfied as king makers till 1430 A.D. as they were more interested in carrying on their traditional trade and propagating Islam. It is not at all a fact that "Muslims were not to arrive till 1203" in Arakan. The Magh King Naramithla was deposed in 1406 A.D. by the heir-apparent to the throne of Ava. "He fled the country, taking refuge at Gaur, the capital of the Sultans of the Muslim Bengal. The Magh King remained

there for 24 years leaving his country in the hands of the Burmese. Ilyasshai Nasiruddin Shah became Sultan in 1426 A.D. Naramithla graduated himself in Muslim studies and turned away from what was Buddhist and familiar to what was Muslim and foreign. In so doing he loomed from the mediaeval to the modern, from the fragile fairy-land of the Glass Palace Chro-nicle to the robust extravaganza of the Thousand Nights and one Night". He eventually accepted Islam under the name of Sulaiman Shah. Then, "Sultan Nasiruddin Shah restored him in 1430 A.D." under the assumed Magh title of Saw Mwan and Mrauku was built.

It is noteworthy that "one of that Sultan's Coins was recently found near the site of the city. It is a unique document in the history of Arakan In this way Arakan became definitely orientated towards the Muslim States. Contact with a modern civilization resulted in a renaissance. The country's great age began".

It took the kings of Arakan a hundred years thereafter to learn the doctrine of Islam. When it was thoroughly understood, they founded what was known as the Mrauku Empire. For the hundred years, 1430-1530, Arakan

remained very close to the Muslim Bengal and further learnt its history and politics. In 1531 A.D. Zabauk Shah under the assumed Magh title of Minbin ascended the throne and founded the Mrauku Empire which extended up to Moulmein in lower Burma. Persian was the court language of Mrauku since 1430 A.D.

When Zabauk Shah came to the throne (1531-53 A.D.) he turned Mrauku into the strongest fortified city of the Bay and modernised his navy by building a large fleet manned mainly with hardy Rohingya boatmen in co-operation with the Portuguese in lieu of trade concession. The sudden rise of Arakan into unprecedented importance in the Bay is principally due to its Islamisation. "Arakan had turned into a Sultanate. The court was shaped on Gaur and Delhi; there were unachs and the seraglio, the slaves and the executioner". There were absolute freedom of religion, thought, movement, culture nay all fundamental rights and freedoms. Zabauk Shah embellished Mrauku with mosques, pagodas and monuments. The architecture of the mosques and monuments were neither Indo-Islamic nor Indian but of a particular type came to be known as "Bengali Muslim Architecture" of the Muslim Bengal period.

"Zabauk Shah founded the prosperity of Mrauku but Salim Shah (Razagri) consolidated it, He ruled from 1593 to 1611 A.D. The century from 1540 to 1640 A.D. was indeed very brilliant and imposing. Copying the imperial court of Delhi its kings adopted the title of Padshah. But gradually Mrauku dwindled to insignificance and was finally conquered by the Burmese king Bodawpaya in 1784 A.D. who invaded the realm under advice of one Ngathande, one of the six pretenders of the country.

The Burmese administered Arakan from 1784 to 1825 A.D. but taught nothing to the people of the country. The fall of Mrauku was a mortal blow to both the Rohingyas and the Maghs for everything that was materially and culturally Islamic was razed to the ground and hundreds of the Rohingyas were brutally killed. Two hundred thousands are said to have fled to Bengal. The Muslims, in fact, could not ever emerge as rulers. But, had the Mrauku Rule been continued with the same fervour and tactics as in the beginning Muslim supremacy in Arakan would never end. As for the Maghs 'the Mahamuni image of Lord Buddha was removed to Amrapura, where it now sits', Moreover, almost all rare documents of the Hindu and Buddhist periods were mostly destroyed and the rest carried away to central Burma by Bodawpaya in 1784 A.D.

The Burmese king had never used coins and hence he copied the Muslim design of the Mrauku period. This Burmese period too was a chaotic one. The Burmese Governor of Mrauku found it in a very lawless state. One Chinbya organised a rebellion. To secure peace and maintain order the Burmese put the death many Rohingyas and Maghs and deported others.

(Having been disgusted with the Burmese administration the people of Mrauku enthusiastically sided with the Britishers and facilitated in every way their occupation of the country during the 1st Anglo-Burmese War of 1824-26 A.D.) "When the Burmese had fled and Mrauku was occupied by the English its people expected that the history of 1430 A.D. would be repeated and that a Mrauku prince would be placed on the throne. But unfortunately the legitimate line had been exterminated years before and it would have been difficult to select one from the descendants of various usurping commoners who followed, a prince acceptable to the popular opinion".

The British administration in Arakan, however, continued peacefully upto 1942. Persian was retained as court language uptill 1836 A.D. The people were given facilities of all sorts in freely exercising their basic rights and fundamental freedoms. Urdu and Persian were taught even upto the University level. There was no racism but the policy of "Divide and Rule" was still perceivable. By 1885 A.D. the whole of Burma was conquered by the Britishers and in 1937 it was separated from India. The independence to Burma was given on January 4, 1948. Arakan achieved statehood on, December 15, 1974 under the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, headed by U Ne Win who seems to have utterly failed to properly appreciate and evaluate the Rohingya image.

Almost all the aliens (12,00,000) in Burma left the country by the year 1942 and a negligible number of them who remained there on account of their interests in business, industry, immovable property etc. had to leave to the last person, on payment of compensation or otherwise, on or before 1964. Hence, there is now no real question of any infiltration of foreign nationals into Burma through any of her borders. In the face of such clear historical facts and administrative records it is, unequivocally and absolutely, a gross contravention of International Law and norms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to thus exterminate the Rohingya population and establish settlements of Buddhist on the usurped lands, on the basis of such false and unwarranted facts. The Rohingyas of Arakan are even now in majority, as they were also in the past 500 years. But, unfortunately, this reality has still remained shrouded in mystery. By what names the old Arakan was called anterior to 788 A.D. is immaterial here. What is actually relevant is the term ROHANG.

Rohang

So far scholarship has not been able to cover the etymology of the word ROHANG. However, it is undoubtedly of Persian origin. We are quite sanguine that our scholars in the nearest future will surely carry on the subject further in respect of the exact significance of this word ROHANG and its ultimate derivation. But it is, so far, a well known fact that the Arab and Persian traders of the earliest days attributed this name to the old kingdom of Wesali, at least a century prior to the Chandras, which country they used to visit and after availing the necessary period of rest. took to their onward journey to Central Burma and far-off China (Yunan, Canton etc.) through land-routes across the Arakan Yoma and the river Irrawady, tradition and history state, Islam was first introduced into this region of ROHANG by saints and mystics and subsequently by Muslim traders.

"Hundreds of saints and their followers came, in different times, to Bengal and the region now known as Arakan, from Persia and other Muslim lands, along the old-established sea route and spread themselves in towns and remote villages. They promoted the faith, fostered mysticism and divine love and contributed to mental and morale well-being of the people. Their exemplary character, extraordinary moral force and great feeling for the suffering community drew the mass of the non-Muslims wherever they went. To this was added the great literal and cultural force of Islam, which the saints, missionaries and merchants held before the seekers after ideal and also to the persecuted and degraded peoples of the society of the time. The activities of these ideal characters attracted non-Muslims, the Buddhists as well as the Hindus of every class to the fold of Islam".

There are several places in the present Arakan which are associated with some of these celebrated saints and mystics one of whom is Pir-Badr-al-Din Badr-i-Alam. His Astana (resting place) is situated on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, at Akyab. The people over there traditionally call it as the Dargah (shrine) of Badr Shah or Badr Moqum. It is daily visited by hundreds of people, irrespective of caste, creed, age and sex. Most of them were Sufis mystics as well as 'Alim', well versed in Arabic and Persian.

The Muslim population of Arakan are yet popularly known as Rohingyas and 'Inshallah' will remain to be known as such in future to so long as a single Rohingya is alive. But for God's sake let their genocide and extermination be stopped are it is too late.

However, man proposes and God disposes. In spite of intermittent vandalism one can still witness the remnants of hundreds of ancient mosques including that of general SANDIKHAN (1433 A.D.) who was sent from Gaur by Sultan Nasiruddin Shah to restore king Solaiman (Saw Mwan) to the throne of Arakan in 1430 A.D. Particularly, during the Mrauku period (1430-1784 A.D.) the Rohingyas held eminent posts in the country's administration. By way of illustration mention may be made of Zuzil/Zalil Lashker, Daulat Quazi, Ashraf Khan, Sayed Mohammad, Mirza, Majlis. Solaiman, Sayed Sha Aloal and thousands of others who were Chief Ministers and Secretaries, Army and Navy Generals, Quazis, Court poets, Courtiers, Royal guards, Religious teachers, Cultural and Educational Heads etc. The superior ideas, culture, etiquette and ways of life of the Rohingyas to an appreciable extent reacted the Maghs in any ways. The Maghs uptill this day speak Rohingya as well, the original lingua franca of these two communities in Arakan. The word Arakanese "attributed to the Magh alone, is highly erroneous, misconceived and misleading. Looking at the past history of Arakan it can legitimately be asserted that if the indigenous Rohingyas cannot claim Arakan as their sacred motherland the Maghs too have no right all to be the sons of the soil. 1.5 million Rohingyas are also bonafide citizens of Burma. As such, would the Ruling Junta be good and wise enough, to see things in their true perspective, and restore all the usurped rights and freedoms of the Rohingyas and promptly **Halt** their persecution and rape, genocide and extermination?

That old Arakan was known as ROHANG is a historical fact which is not susceptible of any criticism. "It is known from the Arab geographers that the Arab and Persian merchants in their eastward voyage visited the port of Ornashin (a corruption of Rohang or Roshang→ old Arakan and Abena (Burma)". To quote an authentic reference, mention may unhesitatingly be made of the Ballad on the "Lamentation of Ameena", the youngest daughter of the ill-fated Moghul prince Shah Shuja, composed after his death, at Mrauku, during the middle of the 17th century by Sayed Shah Aloal, the celebrated Rohingya saint-poet who was also the captain of the Royal Guard of the then Mrauku King, wherein the poet amply mentioned about the Kingdom of Rohang and Rohingyas.

The poet similarly referred to Rohang and the Rohingyas also in his two other popular Ballads: 'Saiful Muluk Badiuzzamal' and 'Sekander Nama' which were composed in 1669 and 1673 A.D. This also finds support in Dr. D.C. Sen's two Ballads on 'The Bereavement of Pari Banu' the wife of the said Moghul Prince and 'The lamentation of Shuja's daughter'.

The history of Arakan on the whole is not at all a complicated one, but it has been made to be so by some interested intelligential in Arakan and Burma proper, like that of Saya San Shwe Bu of the family of Retd. Kyaw Thu of Akyab (originally from Ramu) and U San Tha Aung, director of Higher Education, University of Rangoon. Above all, the Burmese King Bodawpaya who plundered Mrauku (Mrohaung) in 1784 A.D. is basically responsible for the destruction of everything that was Islamic. He is also responsible of getting the history of Arakan written by U Kala, on the basis of two unauthentic Magh chronicles which were absolutely devoid of everything about the Rohingyas. Consequently, at this material stage of our existence we are deplorably handicapped in fully vindicating our past image.

Anyway, truth cannot be suppressed for long. It will come to light sooner or later. The only fault with the Rohingyas in Arakan is that. "They are Muslims" and yet kept up their tradition and culture and also that they are not ready to worship any image other than that of Islam. Let the International Bodies judge as to whether 1.5 million of Rohingyas, since the last two and a half decades, are being treated by the Government of Burma, in accordance with natural justice and principles of the Charter on Human Rights, or not.

Rohingya Oppression

Statistical Figures (1942-1976)

No.	Crimes	Approx.	Remarks
1.	Destruction of settlements	692	Over the whole region.
2.	Exodus/Expulsion	5,00,000	- Do -
3.	Massacre	1,00,000	Massive in 1942
4.	Arson	5,000	Over the entire region.
5.	Rape	1,500	- Do -
6.	Murder	5,000	Mostly by B.T.F. now alarmingly increased.
7.	Detention (Rohingyas & Other Muslims)	3,000	Mostly in Arakan – Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Akyab, Rathedaung; Insein, Moulmein, Prome, Mandalay, Shah State etc.
8.	(a) Destruction of Mosques, Moqtab and Madrasahs (b) Desecration of Holy Books & Scriptures	600 2,00,000	
9.	Confiscation of Waqf lands & Trust properties etc,	2,000	(acres) Worth Millions of Kyats.
10.	Confiscation of land, properties etc,	-	
11.	Removal from Govt. Services (including nationalised organisations)	10,000	
12.	Missing	20,000	Govt. explanation is 'left the country'
13.	Unemployed/underemployed	50,000	

World Press

To add to the miseries of these indigenous Rohingyas, from day to day, they are wantonly and ruthlessly persecuted on absolutely false allegations of violation of laws: The Burma Immigration (Emergency Provision) Act, 1947; Burma Immigration (Emergency Provision) (amendment) Act, 1957 and the Union Citizenship Act, 1948. The repression and oppression by arbitrary, wrong and illegal application of the Registration of Foreigners' Act, to the natural born Rohingya citizens, is one of the hundred examples of the present Union Government's hellish ulterior motive to annihilate the Muslim population of Arakan. In this context the cases of **Hasson Ali Vs Immigration Deptt. and Mehar Ali Vs Immigration Deptt.** (Cd. Misc. Application No. 155 and 156 of 1959) may specifically be referred to in which their Lordships of the Supreme Court of Rangoon remarked: "Thus mere race or appearance of a person or whether he has a knowledge of any language of the Union is not the test as to whether he is a citizen of the Union". As such, it is not comprehensible as to why the Union Government, contrary to the explicit Rule of Law, is demonstrating such a hardihood of mass expulsion of the Rohingyas from the country, culmination in their tragic plights in alien lands like Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia in particular.

In context to the atrocities committed by the Union Government and some clandestinely Government-maneuvered organisations, we venture to draw World attention to a few striking news items and editorial comments in some of the countries mentioned above which are as follows:

A report published in the PAKISTAN OVERSEER (Dacca). dated March 29, 1956, under the caption. "PAKISTAN FOREIGN POLICY RELATING TO BURMA", say "At one time there were as many as 30,000 Arakanese refugees in the East Bengal.....We have every confidence with us that the Burma Government would do their utmost to create a sense of confidence and security in the minds of the Arakani Muslims now living in Arakan".

A report published on August 27, 1959, in the PAKISTAN TIMES (Dacca), under the caption, "BURMA READY TO TAKE BACK REFUGEES -- NEGOTIATIONS GOING ON: ZAKIR'S STATEMENT", says "The Burmese Government is agreeable to take back their nationals which had entered Pakistan as refugees".

This was disclosed by the Governor, Mr. Zakir Hussain at Patenga airport this morning just after his return from Cox's Bazar. The Governor added that negotiations between the government of Burma and Pakistan were going on in this behalf. Replying to a question from a reporter, the Governor said that the refugee problem at the Pak-Burma border was under investigation of the Government. Asked about the number of refugees in Cox's Bazar, Mr. Zakir Hussain revealed that it was over 10,000.

The Governor disclosed that the Deputy Commissioner of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Mr. Iqbal Karim was deputed to investigate into the question of the influx of refugees and to report to him (the Governor).

Mr. Kaiser Rashid, Vice-Consul for Pakistan at Akyab who also returned to Chittagong in the same plane with the Governor, said that the number of refugees was 12,000. But unfortunately, the Burmese Government has not even by 1976 taken back any such refugees.

In the Independence Day supplementary issue of the MORNING NEWS, August 14, 1969, discussing the subject of rehabilitating the refugees at the wake of Independence in Pakistan it is said, "In 1968 the Provincial Government held a census which revealed that there are 2,82,662 refugee families in East Pakistan. This figure includes 1,090 families who entered into East Pakistan from Burma".

A letter of Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed (Alig.) published in the BANGLADESH OBSERVER on August 6, 1974, under the caption, NON-NATIONALS, says "However, in this context, it will not be out of place to say that Bangladesh is also being clandestinely subjected to similar pressure on its already over-stretched national economy, through intermittent influx of Burmese nationals along the Arakan Border. We do not pretend to know the actual number. Whatever might be the causes of their exodus it appears to be certain that none as yet cared to take notice of this problem which directly concern our national economy".

A report published on March 11, 1975, in the BANGLADESH OBSERVER under the caption. "GOVERNMENT LEVEL TALKS ON REFUGEES LIKELY", says, "Two camps, one at Balukali and other at Teknaf were opened for the refugees from Burma. The number of refugees could not be ascertained. A number of refugees are staying at Bayazid Bostami, Chittagong and others reached Jessore. The S.D.O. Cox's Bazar told this correspondent on Saturday: 'all refugees will be brought to this relief camp where care is being taken. Medical care is also being provided'. It is learnt from knowledgeable source that Government level conference was being arranged in this regard but the S.D.O. declined to give the exact date and venue of the conference".

A report also published on the same day in the daily MORNING NEWS (Dacca), under the caption., "GOVERNMENT'S ATTENTION DRAWN: EXODUS FROM BURMA", says "Few thousand families of Burmese nationals were recently pushed into Bangladesh in a deplorable condition. Some of the families are in camps, reports, ENA.

It is reliably learnt that the Government of Bangladesh has drawn the attention of the Burmese Government .on the matter".

A report published in the BANGLADESH TIMES (Dacca) in its issue of March 23, 1975 under the caption. "BURMESE MUSLIMS", it is described. "Burmese Muslims have been coming as refugees to Bangladesh for about two months. It is reported that about two hundred such refugees are coming here daily from Burma. According to reliable sources some Burmese miscreants have forcibly driven them to Bangladesh after looting their belongings.

It is also alleged that the **Burmese Administration is silent regarding this**, though it is a matter of great concern for Bangladesh as Bangladesh herself is yet to be rehabilitated and the war-torn country not capable of rehabilitating the refugees.

This is certainly a new humanitarian problem for the U.N. to solve the great problem. This may easily be solved if the Burmese Administration kindly look into the matter and check the miscreants by punitive action".

An earlier report published in the said Daily on March 12, 1975 under the caption, "BURMESE NATIONALS

PUSHED INTO BANGLADESH", it is written. "A few thousand families of Burmese nationals were recently pushed to Bangladesh in deplorable condition. Some of the families are in the camps. It is reliably learnt that the Government of Bangladesh have drawn the attention of Burmese Government on the matter".

Mr. Najmul Hasan a correspondent of the HINDUSTAN TIMES in its issue dated March 24, 1975 in describing the Rohingyas in distress wrote: "Over 250 Burmese Nationals, allegedly disposed of their land and evicted out of their villages in Arakan, have arrived in Delhi, after crossing over from Bangladesh and losing Rs. 70,000/- to currency changing touts, looking for a home, occupation and a country they can call their own.

The scrawny and hungry men, women and 23 grimy-faced naked children..... ragged up at the Azad Park overlooking Jama Masjid, waiting for official help which is already 10 days late in coming. The first group of refugees arrived on March 13 with their pots and pans took refuge on the step of the mosque.

The refugees speak ROHINGYA said to be a Burmese dialect and come from different villages in the Maungdaw district of the Arakan province about 200 miles away from Chittagong in Bangladesh. Most of them have their Nationality Cards and land deeds affixed with legal stamps current when the British Governed Burma.

The refugee. alleged that the Government seized their land, varying in size from 5 to 30 acres, paid them no compensation and also pushed them out of the country..... They lived in the open for two days. Some of the children exposed to the cold fell seriously sick. It was then that Jamat-e-Islami stepped in and appealed to the residents of the area to help".

A news published on March 24, 1975 in the INDIAN EXPRESS under the caption, "DESTITUTES FROM BURMA" says, "157, women, men and children who have come all the way from the Arakan Hill of Burma, are camped in Azad Park, ill-clad, ill-fed, penniless and utterly demoralized.....this people all Muslims, say that they have been deprived of their holdings by the Burmese regime, which had sent them packing from there.

They were taken to the Bangladesh border by the Burmese Police and sent across.

They finally came over to Calcutta from where they came by trainmost of them without tickets".

An article by S. Hasan Mutahar, published in the Journal, vol. 3, No. 11. September, 1976 of RABETAT AL-ALAM AL-ISLAMI (Muslim World League, Mecca) under the caption "**Burma's Muslim Minority**" says, "Reports about the plight of Muslims in Burma continue to reach the Rabeta headquarters from that country as well as Pakistan and Bangladesh. Instances of intimidation, persecution, violence and even murders are not unusual in the Arakan region where a substantial portion of the population is Muslim, It seems that, instead of maintaining law and order, the police and civil administration have a special role to play. i.e. of protecting and encouraging the miscreants and Buddhist communalists whose anti-Muslim campaign includes planned and blatant attempts to deprive the victims of their property and business.

A few months ago, the MWI Secretariat-General received the information that 'The Socialist Republic of Burma does not allow Muslims to perform Hajj claiming that this would entitle other religious groups (Christians, Hindus, etc.) to demand permission for pilgrimage to their holy places, which would cost Burma lots of hard currency'. The position at that time might have been ambiguous and confusing for one reason or another, but the same pretext cannot, always be handy and made use of. The Government of General Ne Win will, therefore, be well advised to clarify its policy in regard to several hundred thousand Burmese Muslims, especially when it has repealed the amendment of 1961 in the Constitution (which had declared 'Buddhism as the State Religion) and recognised the right of every citizen 'freely to profess and practice his religion'.

Thousands of Burmese Muslims are anxious to come for Umrah and Hajj. They can afford the journey to and from Mecca al Mukarramah and maintain themselves during their stay in Hejaz. The travel facilities which are available today did not exist in the previous centuries, and yet Muslims from all corners of the world used to perform this divinely-instituted obligation, the fifth pillar of Islam, without let or hindrance. Now communication and conveyance is no problem, and the Burmese authorities are no hermits, either. Rangoon, Mandalay and Moulmein, if not Akyab and other remote townships, are connected with each other and with important stations in South-East Asia by air service. And a special provision in the national budget of Burma for Hajj expenses cannot be termed an impossibility; Muslim States will immediately respond to any request to help solve the issue of foreign exchange required for these neglected sufferers. Thus it is simply a matter of reappraisal based on understanding, goodwill and justice".

Certain translated foreign publications

The Daily PASBAN (Urdu), Dacca East Pakistan Dated, May 11 & 14, 1955

Execution of Ulemas & Muslim dignitaries, desecration of holy Quran, manhandling, looting, kidnapping and rape in Burma

On pleas of N.R.G. verification processes the Immigration Authorities use to molest and humiliate Muslim - women for which reason hundreds of the Muslims had to flee the country. The Immigration personnel imposed such tortuous questions regarding nationality that no men of ordinary intellect could answer the questions properly. Thus they are trying to prove Muslims as foreigners and on their ouster fill up the vacuum with the Magh immigrants from East Pakistan.

84,000 Muslims massacred in the year 1942

In the welter of Anglo-Japanese War of 1942, the Allied Forces retreated from Arakan leaving a huge arms (with the Buddhist Maghs). Taking advantage of the situation the Maghs started massacre of the Muslim population, in which 84,000 of innocent Muslims were slaughtered, burnt down many villages, mosques and religious scriptures and institutions. Besides, 50,000 of them who escaped persecution were kept at Rangpur Refugee Camps by the British Government. But, in spite of their repeated appeals to be rehabilitated in their original lands have not been taken back as yet.

33,000 Muslims pushed into East Pakistan in 1948

In the later part of 1948, when Mujahid Movement against the Burmese Government was extensively going on, the Burmese Armed Forces killed and arrested many Muslims, burnt down many of their villages, kidnapped and raped their women. Muslims being thus terrified, fled the country and took shelter in East Pakistan numbering about 33,000.

A Method to reduce Muslim Population

The Burmese Government, for the purpose of the settlement of Maghs in the Muslim areas: convened a settlement committee. They came to a decision to settle down about 70,000 Maghs from East Pakistan and other parts of Arakan. In materialising this scheme the Government confiscated arable lands of the Muslims of the areas where they formed 98 percent of the population.

Atrocities Conducted in 1955

On January 28, 1955 the Burmese Army shot dead one innocent Haji Nur Ahmed of Lower Razar Bil (Auk-Nanra) in Rathedaung township. Another man namely Mr. Naju Meah of the same village was bayoneted to death. The Army also manhandled some villages and extorted huge amounts.

Rape and Murder not Unusual

On February 1, 1955, the Burmese Army kidnapped two daughters, two sisters and two sisters-in-law of Mr. Sayed of Palipara (a village in Zedibyin sub-township) and raped them.

Three young women --- one wife of Mr. Fazlur Rahman and his two sisters; the wife of Mr. Kala Meah (Member) with his two sisters; the wife of Mr. Abdul Rahman with his daughter-in-law, including three other young girls of his relations were also kidnapped and raped. Uncountable numbers of woman from different villages were also forcibly carried off and dishonored. They also inhumanly killed 4 Muslim dignitaries from the same village.

In course of Army patrol duties and official tours the Army and Civil personnel burnt down to ashes 3 mosques and hundreds of religious scriptures including Holy Quran and Hadiths. Even on February 1955 the Burmese Army desecrated a mosque in Kyaungdaung village (Haji Ismail Mosque) which ultimately was turned into army camp.

Wanton arrests and carrying off woman folk have been going on continuously, particularly, in the villages of Shwetpyin. Annukpyin. Thinganet and Kudikchanung (Kodankauk). During the month the Army arrested 4 men and 10 women from Shilkali village of Rathedaung township. Again from the village of Barabill 2 men were arrested and one **Miss Gul Bahar** from the same village was raped to death.

Villages on Blaze

The Burmese Army burnt down the villages of Indin and Thinbawgwe (kolung) in southern Maungdaw and brutally killed one Mr. Gani Ahmed of Kolung village.

Arrested Muslims starved to death

One night, while some army personnel were attempting to commit rape on a Muslim woman of Kanhpu (Kamarzabil) in Maungdaw township, the villagers rounded up the culprits but they were later physically tortured by another section of the Army who came from the same camp to rescue them. They also subsequently arrested 50 old men of the village. They were dragged to the camp and put to death by starvation. A renown wrestler namely Tayum Gulal of Kunniapara village. Maungdaw township was shot dead by the Army, on his refusal to produce his sister Miss Fatema Khatoon who had gone into hiding to escape rape.

Ulemas Being Killed

Maulana Abdul Qadir of Nyaungbingyi (Shairapara), Maungdaw township was brutally killed on his refusal to produce before the Army his only daughter.

Rape Cases Everywhere

A virgin girl from Shidderpara (Kanyindan) village, a mile from Maungdaw town was kidnapped and kept confined for 7 days inside the camp for satisfaction of their lust. In Faqira Bazar, a village in Maungdaw township, 3 men were shot dead for reporting the Commission of rape cases by the Army, to their commanding officer.

So Many Houses Guttled

A Muslim settlement of 2000 houses including mosques and schools, from Shabe Bazar to Faqira Bazar of Maungdaw township were burnt down to ashes by the Burmese Army and thousands of Muslims were also inhumanly killed.

Attempt to Murder

Maulana Abdul Jabbar, a well-known saint, of Bawli Bazar, Maungdaw was brutally beaten by the Army as a result of which he became unconscious but the Army presuming him to have died, threw his body into the nearby jungles.

Ulema Disgraced

The Burmese Army on a false allegation of collaboration with the Mujahids looted the properties of Haji Maulana Sultan Ahmed of Faqira Bazar. His House was also burnt down. The Army tethered and tortured one Maulana Darbesh Ali of Garatarbil (Gara prang) for teaching Arabic in the village Madrasha and when his brother Maulana Ashraf Zaman came to his rescue he too was disgraced and jeered at after being made nude.

Juma Prayer not Allowed

On one Friday, Maulana Abdul Hai, Principal of the Al-Haj Maulana Sha Abdul Jabbar Madrasha was arrested by some Army Personnel. Moulvi Mohammed Shofi, Pesh Imam of the attached Mosque, on seeking permission to perform Juma prayer, was beaten up by the Army personnel and nobody was allowed to perform any prayer the whole day.

Forced Marriage of Muslim Girls by Army Personnel

Some Buddhist Armed personnel carried off and forcibly married 5 Muslim virgin girls belonging to the village of Shabe Bazar, Maungdaw township. On another occasion 2 virgin daughter of Master Sayed Hussain of Kazirbil (Sabaigon), Maungdaw township were similarly married by some other Army personnel. On threats of such commission of crimes in future the villagers got terrified and abandoned the villages.

Maulana Sufi Osiuddin Ahmed Killed

During the absence of Maulana Sufi Osiuddin Ahmed of Merulla (Myin Hlut) village the Burmese Army burnt down his house to ashes for no apparent reasons. On hearing the matter when the Maulana went to lodge a report to the commanding officer he was killed by butts of guns.

The above mentioned cases of atrocities were committed within a period of 4 months in 1955. Atrocious crimes of this and various other natures are apprehended in future too.

For these acts of inhumanity, the Burmese Prime Minister is fully responsible.

The Daily AHFAG (Urdu), West Pakistan

Dated, August 26, 1959.

Mr. Zakir hussain arrived at Cox's bazaar to make an inquiry of the Muslim refugees coming from Burma

The Burmese Government accuses the Muslims as Mujahids' Agents: Condition in Arakan deteriorating --

Cox's Bazar 25 August: The East Pakistan Governor Mr. Zakir Hussain arrived here by plane to make an on-the-spot enquiry about the Muslim refugees who are coming from the Burma side.

Mr. Zakir Hussain explained to the pressman before he left Chittagong for Cox's Bazar that the Government of Burma is accusing the Muslims of Burma residing in Arakan Division as the collaborators of Mujahids. The Government of Burma is driving away the Muslims of Arakan under the false accusation and pretext of being Agents for the Mujahids. The Governor also expressed the attitude of Burmese Government on its Muslim subjects as prejudicial. The East Pakistan Martial Law Administrator and G.O.C. Major General M. Omrao Khan accompanied the Governor to the Pak-Burma border to investigate the condition of the refugees.

Daily KOHISTAN (Urdu), Lahore, West Pakistan , Dated, September 4, 1959.

The woeful tale of Arakanese Muslim refugees

In 1948, the very year of the independence of Burma, 30,000 Arakanese Muslims had fled to East Pakistan to escape persecution, harassment and genocide by a section of the Maghs.

During the year of 1949 the Government Forces invariably carried on various kind of atrocities such as looting, raping, physical torture and arson as a result of which many such villages went out of existence and 20,000 Muslims were also pushed into East Pakistan.

The Daily ITTEFAQ (Bengali) Dacca, Bangladesh

Dated, March 4, 1975

The Burmese Muslim refugees in Jessore

400 Burmese Muslims took shelter in the Jessore Town Hall. The leader of the refugees Mr. Noor Mohammed told that they are the bonafide citizens of Burma. He further told the newsman that due to continuous persecution by a section of Buddhists and State Authorities as many as 15,000 Rohingyas from Maungdaw area in Arakan crossed the border to Jessore, Moghulhat and Rangpur. They were forcibly deprived of their properties but got no remedy from any quarter.

The Daily ITTEFAQ (Bengali) Dacca, Bangladesh, Dated, March 6, 1975.

Burmese Muslim exodus to Bangladesh

About 500 Muslims have been coming daily as refugees to Bangladesh. They were pushed into Bangladesh by Burmese Authorities and Maghs. They have left all their movable and immovable properties in their own country.

The MUSTAQEEN WEEKLY (Urdu) Delhi, India. Dated, April 14, 1975.

UN pay attention; hundreds of Muslims pushed out from their motherland by the Burmese government

Say where would to go -- These Muslims -- lying in open space in front of the Delhi Jama Mosque:

In Urdu Park, in front of lama Masjid, Delhi about 300 Muslim refugees from Burma under the tattered sheds are passing their lives. Among them are included women and children who had established hearth and home in Burma. They had their own lands and jobs. The Government seized all their properties and drove them away from their homes.

The Burmese police led the refugees to the border with Bangladesh and ensured that they crossed over. They were defrauded of Rs. 70,000/ by money changing touts. They escaped into India under cover of darkness. From the

border to Calcutta they travelled in buses. The rest of the journey to Delhi was completed by train, mostly without tickets.

The PURBADESH Daily (Bengali) Dacca, Bangladesh , Dated, April 16, 1975.

Burmese refugees to be sent back (By our correspondent Ranju Islam)

Due to oppression and suppression by the Government of Burma and the Buddhist (Maghs), many Muslims from Arakan, in condition, have been crossing over to Bangladesh where they have been concentrated in relief camps at Teknaf. While visiting the relief camps the refugees, who have National Registration Cards of their own, expressed their woeful plight in their own dialect in Teknaf there are as many as 630 refugees from 104 families till now wherein they are living in a very heart-stricken position.

The exodus from Akyab side of Burma into Bangladesh stretched for two months is still in continuation. Many of the refugees are living along the hill-side mixed with the locals. It is estimated that about 1500 of them recently entered into Bangladesh. One refugee Mr. Abdul Gaffar of Zibongkali described that they had to leave all their belongings, properties and lands at the hands of the Maghs.

Another refugee, Mr. Samiuddin expressed that the Burmese Government had ruthlessly driven out his mother with two brothers for which he had to flee his motherland.

Another refugee told that atrocious crimes, loot, physical torture, confiscation of properties and rape became the daily routine for the Maghs and the government authorities. It culminated in their mass exodus into Bangladesh to escape persecution, oppression and suppression.

When asked the Teknaf authority concerned explained to the reporter that the refugees were kept in the relief camps on humanitarian grounds and most of them, mainly women and children, are suffering from diseases.

The Daily ITTEFAQ (Bengali) Dacca, Bangladesh , Dated, May 19, 1975.

20 died of gastro intestinal disorders in relief camps

Cox's Bazar May, 18: 20 Burmese refugees died of Dysentry and Diarrhoea in relief camps at Balukali and Teknaf. There are 1288 and 514 refugees at Teknaf and Balukali refugee camps respectively, who came here 3 months ago. It is also learnt that exodus of refugees to Bangladesh are taking place daily.

DOMESTIC REMEDIES

1947-1976

Year	Subject	Relief	Addressed/Submitted
1947 1.	Representation sought	Not called for interview	The Panlong Minority conference held at Panlong, Shah State.
2.	do	Refused to give opportunity of being heard	The Kelly Commission sent from England to Burma regarding verification of minorities opinion
3.	do	do	The Rhees Willam Commission for seeking public opinion regarding independence.
4.	do	do	The Constitution Drafting Committee
1948 1.	Appeal for Muslim Autonomous State in Arakan	Refused	Prime Minister U Nu
2.	do	do	Sir Ba Oo Commission
1950	Memorandum by Public of Maungdaw Fundamental Rights & Freedom to all Rohingyas & unconditional repatriation of Rohingya Refugees	do	Prime Minister U Nu
1951	Demands for immediate stoppage of genocide of Rohingyas in Arakan & Muslim Autonomous State	Refused	Prime Minister U Nu
1954 1.	Memorandum of Appeal by Rohingyas demanding Muslim Autonomous State	do	The Government of Burma
2.	Memorandum of Appeal by 3 Muslim MPs demanding Fundamental Rights & Freedom	do	do
1955	Memorandum of Appeal by Rohingya Public demanding basic Rights etc.	do	do
1957	Public Appeal demanding Fundamental Rights &	Ineffectual	do

	stoppage of persecution		
1960 1.	Memorandum of appeal by public of North Arakan through Mr. Sultan Ahmed (Ex. M.P. & Parliamentary Secretary) to keep in view the difficulties to be remedied on grant of Arakan State	Not considered	A 5-man Advisory Committee at Buthidaung
2.	Memorandum by Arakanese Muslims demanding Fundamental Rights, necessary amendments of the Burmese Constitution & Union Judiciary	Disregarded	Chairman, Constitution Revision Committee
3.	Memorandum by 5 Muslim M.Ps of Arakan demanding separate Muslim Autonomous State or direct Central Governments Rule in the alternative, in case of non-acceptance of Rohingya parity in services on grant of Arakan State	Flatly disregarded	Chairman & Members, Statehood Consultative Committee, with a copy for necessary action to Prime Minister U Nu
4.	Representation by Mr. Sultan Mahmood, Ex. Health Minister & Mr. M.A. Subhan, Advocate; demanding unconditional release of detenus (in Akyab Central Jail) illegally arrested under Citizenship Act. The Immigration Emergency provision Amendment Act. etc.	Not heeded	Prime Minister U Nu, Judicial Minister Dr. E. Maung, & U Ba Saw, Minister for Immigration & Foreigners, Registration
1969	Memorandum by Rohingya Public demanding restoration of all forfeited Fundamental Human Rights and the guarantee in the coming constitution	Disdainfully thrown out	Non-Muslim 33-Member Advisory Council under the chairmanship of General Ne Win

1970 1.	Rohingya & Maghs joint Memorandum for grant of full Autonomous Statehood to Arakan	The Maghs alone were granted Unitary Autonomous State in December 15, 1974 without duly elected Rohingya Representatives	do
2.	Rohingya public demand for guarantee of basic rights in the coming Constitution	Not cared for	U Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council.
1972	Memorandum on behalf of the Rohingyas demanding certain Basic Rights.	do	Prime Minister U Ne Win.
1973	Memorandum by students, public & Religious groups of Rohingya for guarantee of all Basic Human Rights in the coming Constitution	Thrown out outright	New Constitution Drafting Committee under the chairmanship General San Yu
1974	Peaceful demonstration by Rohingyas all over Arakan against creation of Arakan State repugnant to Muslim interest	Barbarously repressed by the Govt.	do
1975	Due to intensified persecution got no scope for seeking any remedy in the normal way. But indirectly sought relief for Rohingya detenus in the 4 th Meeting of the 1st. Session of the Peoples' Parliament through a non-Muslim M.P. named U Kan Ko Gyi of Mogok, North Burma	Not remedy	Peoples' Parliament
1976	Persecution still continuing no chance for any further domestic remedy, Hence, this instant appeal to the WORLD BODIES.		

Conclusion

Possibly the history of Arakan can be classified in the following manner into 9 periods: (1). 100-788 A. D. (some Hindu dynasties), (2). 788-957 A. D. (Chandra Hindu dynasty). (3). 957-1430 A. D. (a chaotic period of the Mongolians, Buddhists and Muslims), (4). 1430-1784 A. D. (Mrauku dynasty of Muslims & Buddhists), (5). 1784-1826 A. D. (Burmese Buddhist period), (6). 1826-1948 A. D. (British Colonial Rule), (7). 1948-1962 A. D. (Parliamentary Democracy) (8). 1962-1974 A.D. (Revolutionary Government) and (9). 1974-1976 A. D. (Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma).

It was during this 1st. period (100-788 A. D.) that some celebrated saints and mystics like Pir Badr al-Din Badr-i-Alam (Badr Shah Aulia) and Babaji Shah Monayam Darbish first came to the present Akyab Island sometime about 660 A.D. to preach Islam. Tradition state that it was because of their missionary zeal and selfless service that Islam spread in this remote part and this area of Arakan could develop into a Muslim majority area.

The Arab, Moorish and Persian traders who had been visiting the Capital cities of the Hindu Rajas on the river Lemro, from 300 A.D., also carried the message of Islam to this and other areas along the Kaladan valley and the long coastal belt upto Bassein to the extreme south, almost at the same time of this highly revered saints and mystics. Some of these Muslim traders even permanently settled down in some of the areas.

Akyab was then practically a small colony of Muslim adventurers mostly of Moorish origin who were mainly engaged in high-sea fishing and occasional piracy. It were the descendants of people who along with the subsequent Arab, Persian, Indonesian and Abyssinian settlers spread over the entire area between the rivers Lemro and the Naaf, the boundary between Arakan and Chittagong.

This area ever since remained the "Muslim Majority Area" in Arakan, with distinctive civilisation, tradition and culture of their own which they have proudly retained even to this day through thick and thin. Specially noteworthy that there had never been any known Hindu settlement in this area. Of course, it was after about 2 centuries or so that a few Buddhist families, of the confidence of the Muslims, settled in some interior localities of the present Akyab Town and the nearby Rathedaung area. To our knowledge, originally, there was only one Magh village in Akyab town known as Ohn-Ta-Bin.

The prosperity of a region is also indicated by the abundance of its agricultural produce. This "Muslim Majority Area" with the natural irrigation facilities on account of rivers and creeks, seasonal rains and fertility of alluvial soil continued to be the most fertile region in this part of the world.

The productivity of the soil encouraged cultivation and attracted larger and larger member of Muslims to settle. With the development of agriculture, trade and commerce the ports of Akyab, Kyauktaw, Minbya, Buthidaung, Maungdaw and the then capital cities on the river Lemro began to flourish by leaps and bounds. Rice was then too the Chief commodity of export to Bengal and many other places in the west and Rakan, Kalah etc. in the Malay Archipelago.

Its extraordinary fertile soil produce in abundance rice, betel nut, oil seeds, sugarcane, tobacco leaves, onion, cotton, tea, rubber, pulses, groundnut, toddy plants, coconut, hemp, varieties of fruits and vegetables, weeds and reeds. The area is as well very rich in forest, hydrolic and mineral resources. If harnessed the Saingdin Waterfall can serve an area several times greater than that of Arakan itself. Minerals like magnetic ore, oil, silver and gold can be found if explored.

Arakan is principally an agricultural region with an extraordinary fertility of soil. Undeniably, it were the Muslims in particular, who right from the early centuries of their settlements have been remarkably contributing to the development of agriculture and prosperity in trade and commerce of Arakan.

But, inspite, the Rohingya peasants of today's Arakan, by contrivance, are compelled to part with more than half of their agricultural produce. As a result of this they have become economically crippled. Formerly, vagrancy amongst the Rohingyas was a detestable practice and poverty was very rare in the Kingdom of ROHANG (old Arakan). Practically, they were the real backbone of economic development and prosperity of the land. So long as they were undisturbed Arakan enjoyed unusual prosperity in agriculture and commerce and peace and happiness held sway in the region. The common people who were unaffected by the complexities of life had enough to eat and had a convenient living all over.

It is an irony of fate that today the progeny of such a hardy and adventurous race are reduced to homeless street idlers and mendicants in alien lands seeking shelter and avenue to ake out two square meals a day. It is all due to the agrarianism and political persecution in Burma.

Thousands of such fertile arable lands in Arakan, mentionably, in Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Rathedaung, Akyab, Mrohaung, Pauktaw, Myinbya, Kyauktaw etc. areas are consequently lying over-grown with bushes and shrubs for want of cultivators like the Rohingyas who have thus been compelled to flee the country and also driven away in considerable numbers across the Arakan-Bangladesh border since Burma emerged as an independent sovereign state in January, 1948.

They are being pushed from country to country all these years as illegal entrants causing extra economic burden. Unfortunately, the decent, honourable and peace-loving peoples of the world do not as yet appear to have searched deep into their hearts and consciences and tried to get to the core of the problems of these uprooted and afflicted souls, a slight indication of whose indescribable tragedies can, however, be had from the few appended reproductions and narrations of unbiased and independent foreign publications.

In order to overcome the deliberately created setback in agricultural development in the Muslims majority areas of Arakan, the Arakan State Authorities, in league with the Central Union Government, in pursuance of their premeditated and shrewdly devised plan, have meticulously engaged themselves in settling the vacant lands with the Maghs and other Buddhists from outside. The vicious propaganda of the Burmese Government to the effect that the Muslims from the country are leaving out of their own accord is a myth.

The Rohingyas from other parts of Arakan are also forcibly evicted in hundreds and thousands and concentrated in camps in Mayu peninsula with the perfidious motive of ultimately pushing them across the border or to perish them en masse by drowning into the surging Bay of Bengal. Recently, the unscrupulous Ruling Junta, has rounded up some innocent Rohingya residents on fictitious allegations. It has been learnt from most reliable sources that the government has taken a secret decision to start a massive country-wide drive against the Rohingyas and then pushed them off the country through the Arakan border.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the Rohingyas are either killed or forcibly pushed across the Arakan border, under various pretexts, by the government authorities with active cooperation of a section of the Maghs. Sometimes back 15,000 Rohingyas were either killed or pushed out of the country and to cover up this misdeed on April 1, 1975 a false report from Akyab was published in "The Working People's Daily" (Rangoon) under the caption, "Big-time rice smugglers active in Bay", the relevant portion of which reads: "According to a survey carried out by personnel of the Arakan State Immigration and Manpower Department from the last week of February to the 3rd week of March more than 15,000 persons from 7,000 households in more than 150 villages of Maungdaw township could not be found as they went into hiding for fear of prosecution by the Immigration Department".

It is one of the many glaring instances of the avowed purpose of annihilating the total Rohingya population of Arakan from their centuries-long motherland and in due course transform this virtually Muslim majority region into a pure Magh (Buddhist) state, Arakan achieved its statehood on December 15, 1974 and from the very inception it is being run by the Maghs although there was a prior understanding with the Rohingyas that it would be for the peaceful enjoyment of both the communities -Rohingyas and Maghs. It is a betrayal, simple and pure.

During the Second World War, it were only the Rohingyas of Arakan, who, at the cost of their lives and properties assisted the Allied Forces in halting the Japanese advance beyond the river Naaf, and also gallantly the 14th Army that reentered Burma through St. Martin Island in the Bay and the Mayu Peninsula. While leaving after its reconquest the British Army Authorities too made a world of promises concerning their post-independence political status in the country. But, everything went to the hell and they were left hopelessly let down and frustrated.

During the few months immediately preceding Independence, the then Burmese Buddhist stalwarts, both in public meetings and private talks, gave categorical assurances of guaranteeing all their fundamental human rights after Independence, from which everyone of them has successively backed out. As it now appears, the Independence came as a curse for the Muslims of Burma which should either exist as a true Socialist country or doom forever.

For getting the gross injustice domestically remedied, numbers of personal contacts, representations and fervent appeal were made, from time to time, to the authorities at the helm of affairs in Arakan and at Rangoon. But, alas! all have turned deaf ears to the outcries. Hence, this memorandum of appeal to the World Bodies for a just and prompt solution of the burning problem of the Rohingyas of Arakan which if left unheeded, unresolved and

unsolved, might at any stage lead to a breach of the peace, As an evidence of the said hectic efforts sincerely made for a domestic solution the details furnished herein deserve a meaningful perusal.

The bulk of the Rohingya people, spread all over Burma, being humiliated, blackmailed, impoverished, murdered, barbarously treated, heartlessly trampled upon, terrorised, uprooted and expelled, are at last constrained to declare openly and fearlessly that the hatred for the Muslims, in Burma, has become endemic. There are full-throated alogens and penetrative propaganda to the effect that the Rohingyas of Arakan are mostly illegal immigrants and aliens who should forthwith be expelled and whose further entries strictly checked by all possible repressive measures, along the Arakan-Bangladesh border.

Naturally, had there been any alarming Dumber of aliens in Arakan, as the Union Govt. proclaims, the question would have surely been taken up, on the principles of international Law, with the country concerned. So far as it is known, the Burmese Govt., uptill today, has not raised any such question before any forum. How can it, therefore, be believed to be true that actually there is any such "infiltration of foreigners?" Certainly, there is no truth whatsoever in such slogans and propaganda which are false, imaginary, malicious and highly mischievous. It is merely an eye wash. The underlying purpose of the heinous designs are to eventually transform Arakan, in particular, into a full-fledged Magh State at the cost of the Rohingyas who are peace-loving and rightful citizens of Burma from every angle of vision, though malignantly also called, in some quarters, as "saboteurs and subversive elements". Could the Comity of Nations take cognisance of this Nazi-like campaign of terror, expulsion and extermination perpetrated against the Rohingyas of Arakan (Burma) and save one and a half million of human beings languishing in cordoned villages, concentration camps of Mayu Peninsula, central jails at Akyab, Mandalay, Taunggyi, Insein (Rangoon) etc. and the streets of foreign countries.

Under the new dispensation separate electro-rates and the quota system in services have been abolished at all levels. The result is that the Muslims have been reduced to sore straits. They fail in competition with other communities and where there is no competition they have no chance at all. Their children migrated to other countries. Those who do not migrate face utter unemployment. From the fields of commerce, trade, industry and labour too the Muslims are being expeditiously ousted.

The economy in Burma is a mixed economy in which the Muslims, as in the past, have been playing a tremendous role. More than two decades have elapsed but the treatment meted out by the Buddhists to more than three million Muslims of Burma still continues as before. This plays a havoc with the morale of the Muslims and interferes with their endeavours.

The Rohingyas to their horror found that a vilification campaign has been started against Islam in Arakan by a powerful section in collaboration with some civil and defence personnel. Let there be no mistake that the Rohingyas of Arakan will not tolerate vilification of any religion or any religious beliefs by any person how highly placed he may be. Every religion is dear and sacred to its followers. Islam does not encourage any religious intolerance which is simply depicted in the annals of Islamic history. By offending the sentiments of the people no country can

prosper. Before it is too late everybody should try to understand the basic facts, which are menacing the country and agitating the minds of the people.

The magnitude of the acts of violence, atrocities and injustice against the Rohingyas in Arakan and Burma proper have exceeded the limit of tolerance. The apathetic attitude of U Ne Win's Government cannot also be ignored. Let, it, therefore, be told point blank that the Rangoon Regime and the Arakan State Authorities has miserably failed to protect the life and property of the Rohingyas. Their full-throated slogans of liberty and "Burmese-way to Socialism" are mere sounds signifying nothing. In secular states and communist countries even Fundamental Human Rights of minority Communities are well ensured. But it is just the opposite in Burma.

So, what this, "Burmese way to Socialism" stands for? Really, there is not even a tinge of Socialism in the truest sense of the term. It is nothing but racism under the garb of the so-called "Burmese way to Socialism". The main intention of the Union government is as clear as anything. Today or tomorrow, Arakan, in the first instance, is aimed to be transformed into a cent percent Magh (Buddhist) State by exterminating the entire Rohingya population. But, the government will obviously be day-dreaming if it is thought that such a bulk of human beings can be liquidated in this age of unprecedentedly revolutionised political advancement.

Rohingya villages and their places of worship, including religious books and scripts in lacs have been burnt to ashes. Their elders and saintly persons were of late tethered, flogged, made nude, tortured and humiliated in broad day light, on flimsy grounds. They are restricted since 1962 from going to Mecca for performing Hajj. They cannot even freely offer Juma Prayers. Movements from their respective areas are also restricted under certain humiliating conditions. Rapes, abductions, and forced marriages of Rohingya women and girls are also not uncommon in Arakan. In other words, there is now no limit of their persecution.

As a matter of fact a political seine has been well laid to drag the Rohingyas to the hell. The Central Jails at Akyab and Insein (Rangoon) have become emporiums of Rohingya detenus. The Mayu Peninsula in Arakan (Burma) has since been turned into the Campo Santo (burial ground) for the Rohingyas (Muslims). Can the Rohingyas possibly reconcile themselves to such acts of barbarism, vandalism and inhumanity? Let the International Bodies take stock of the real situation and find out a just and viable solution for ends of justice.

Broadly speaking, the Muslims of Arakan from 1784-1942 A.D. (4th and 5th periods), by virtue of their superior qualities of head and heart, have been tolerating with their traditional patience, all the vicious atrocities committed against them. But, there is limit in everything. Although at times they were provoked by the Maghs, the Rohingyas avoided hostility against them and kept on sweet relations with them. Although the harmonious and friendly relations were occasionally disturbed by outburst of animosity they never allowed the social, political and religious atmosphere of Arakan to be polluted.

The Rohingyas always followed a policy of cooperation and maintained a feeling of understanding and harmony towards the Maghs. But the Maghs seemed to have remained at bottom irreconciled. By show of cooperation, loyalty and devotion to the Muslims and the Britishers they improved their political status; but never missed an opportune moment to cause embarrassment to the Muslims.

The Maghs and the Government of Burma are fully aware of the fact that the Rohingyas are really in Majority in Arakan even to this day. The larger number of them is now in northern Arakan which is adjacent to Bangladesh, a Muslim majority country. This question has long been puzzling the Maghs and so since the latter half of the British Colonial Rule, they have been trying hard to reduce the Muslims to the minority level by various means including corrupt census operations and vilification. The English Administrators too felt embarrassed by this very question who, however, never tried to solve the riddle. Luckily, the reality did not escape the notice of some eminent foreign writers. This is the principal cause of the inability of the Rohingyas to statistically prove their asserted numerical strength at the present. But it is hoped that the World Bodies will not fail to come to their assistance in disclosing the truth as to whether the Maghs or the Rohingyas are in majority in Arakan.

It can, however, briefly be said that there is always a tendency in Muslim population to increase which is due to conversion, polygamy, child and widow marriages, material prosperity and nutritiousness of dietary. It is easy to understand why Muslims should be found in large numbers in North Arakan which lie adjacent to the present Bangladesh and on a sea route and a land-route by which successive wave of Muslim immigrants entered Rohang (old Arakan), During the period from 1430-1784 A.D. specially the majority population of the Islands of Cheduba, Ramree and the riverine areas of the Lemro was also those of the Muslims historically known as "Rohingyas".

But, in course of time, thereafter, political circumstances in particular compelled them to gradually get further and further away from the golden path of Islam. Consequently they became segregated from the rest of the Muslim World. The majority of them had to renounce their faith and identified themselves with the Maghs. Those brave ones who have survived vicissitudes of life and political chaos are also now groaning under the iron heels of the Arakan State Authorities and the Ruling Junta. May God save the Rohingyas: The subject of the "Rohingya population in Arakan" will be elaborately dealt with separately at the opportune moment for information of the United Nations and its Agencies.

Of all the States and Provinces of Burma the position of the Arakan State is a very peculiar one inasmuch as of the fact that till 1784 A.D. Arakan was an independent sovereign state with almost parallel ethnic origin of the two communities: the Rohingyas and Maghs. In the constitution of Burma the right to claim the ethnic character of a people is provided for on the basis of an anterior period to 1823 A.D. (1185 B. E.) during which the latest Indian Monipuri immigrants, known as Ponnas, are said to have immigrated to Burma.

The indigene of the Rohingyas has already been amply described. It is dated as far back as 660 A.D. The term "Arakanese" has no doubt been included in the expression "any of the indigenous races of Burma", But, the term Arakanese has no where been defined though independent historical sources are replete with the evidence of this term Arakanese being specifically attributed to the Rohingyas and that of the Maghs (Buddhists). The term "Rakhaine" is thus erroneously been identified with that of the Arakanese in Burma.

Consequently, it is to be clearly understood that the Rohingyas are the Arakanese on which ground, inter alia, they should as well be sagaciously placed at the helm of the affairs of the Arakan State instead of the Maghs alone. The Muslim minority of Burma was never regularly consulted either before or after the achievement of the independence, in January 1948, at any stage and in any connection whatsoever. Can't it, therefore, be boldly challenged contending that the rule in Arakan, since its statehood in 1974, as an arbitrary and one-party rule in flagrant violation of principles of natural justice and norms of International Law?

What a tragedy of fate it is that such an ethnic race as that of the Rohingyas is so heinously discriminated and kept aloof by terror of genocide and extermination, from all affairs of their inalienable centuries-old motherland! Let the Laws of the country be truly interpreted and acted upon without any prejudice or discrimination and thus usher in an era of development and prosperity befitting a true Socialist State. Further, to rectify the defects and lacunas in the existing Laws of the country, let there be suitable amendments leaving no room for any minority community to feel aggrieved: *Fundamentally, the demands of the Rohingyas of Arakan are the immediate restoration of all their basic rights as bonafide citizens of Burma and their due shares in the administrative affairs of the Arakan State and the Central Union Government.*

The Muslim rule in Arakan during the period from 1430-1784 A.D. was undoubtedly a very remarkable one in many senses. If the trends in the political life of the land during this rule continued undisturbed, the Arakanese, would have emerged as a full fledged nation by this time.

The Maghs first endangered the Rohingya, supremacy and influence in 1784 A.D. by inviting Burmese King Bodawpaya who destroyed almost every thing that was Islamic. The rule of the Burmese Kings continued up to 1824-26 A.D. when the Britishers annexed Arakan. This fifth, period from 1784- 1826 A.D, was the darkest in the history of Arakan not only for the Rohingyas but also the Maghs who were in the illusion of getting overall patronage from across the Yoma. During this period of Burmese, rule Arakan practically retarded to the position of no less than 500 years back.

Before 1826 A.D., the relations between the Rohingyas and the Maghs were on the whole tolerable and sweet. There was still a hope of betterment but that possibility was disturbed with the rude shocks by the coming of the Britishers who, on the principle of their "Divide & Rule" fanned the flame of ill-feeling. Consequently, there occurred the unforgettable pogrom of 1942 in which year about 80,000 of Rohingyas lost their lives and properties, Thousands of others also fled the country. There ended - the Rohingya-Magh cooperation and understanding and the two communities of Arakanese people parted company from each other.

In the 8th & 9th centuries the Arabs were the foremost sea-faring and maritime people of the world. It is known from the early geographers that these Arabs and other Muslim traders in their eastward voyages visited the port of Sandwip, Ramu, "Omashin (a corruption of Rohang → old Arakan)", Kyaukpyu, Cheduba, Ramree, Bassein, Pegu "the land of Darvishes", Syriam "the place of 5 saints", Moulmein, Margui, Tavoy etc. on the coast of "Abina

(Burma)". As it now appears from the available Rohingya traditions, Sejarah Rohingya, folklores and annals (mostly MSS), this region was known to the outside world as "Rohang" even up to the end of the Burmese rule, that is 1826 A.D.

Subsequent thereto it came to be known as "Rokan" or "Recon" which was corrupted into "Rakhaine" by the Maghs sometimes during the fifth period (1784-1826 A.D.). Thereafter, the Arabic term "Arakan" began to be used by the Britisher who after the conquest of the land retained Persian as the court language up to 1836 A.D. But in spite of internecine feuds and political changes the number of Rohingyas went on increasing rapidly as usual caused by acceptance of Islam by non-Muslims and other patent factors attributable to Muslims.

Unknown was the name "Rakhaine Pray" for this country. Unknown was also the name "Yakhayaing" for its people as well as Maghi for its language. In the real sense the Muslims first integrated the whole territories of Rohang into a political union and gave it the name of Mrauku Empire. This was indeed the starting point of the modern history of Arakan and its Arakanese people. More than three centuries this history had a continuous growth and contributed to the development of the distinctive characteristics and institutions of the Arakanese people which were marred and almost obliterated by the devastating and barbaric attack of King Bowdawpaya in 1784 A.D.

The first introduction of Islam in this region was associated with the preachings of saints and mystics. Muslim traders and merchants also carried Islam along with their merchandise wherever they went. Islam thus succeeded in taking permanent root in Rohang by 690 A.D. By early 1940s, to the surprise of all, the Rohingyas were found to outnumber the Maghs. Ever since the Buddhist communities in Arakan and Burma proper are up and doing in eliminating and rooting-out the Rohingyas by all means, fair or foul. Let the World Bodies dispassionately judge as to whether the Union Government is really doing any justice to the indigenous Rohingyas of Arakan or not, under the circumstances related above. There is no rule of law in Arakan now. The Ruling Junta should have sanity and realise that law like government has no other justification than to serve men. Are these examples of tyranny by social and political pressures reinforced by public authorities, not the most flagrant violation of human rights? Indeed they are. If so where the remedies lie? Undoubtedly, before the U.N, the highest forum and the upholders of the causes of justice, liberty, peace and human rights. What the Union Government has been doing in Arakan since long, is nothing but a gross injustice to its 1.5 million peace loving, bonafide citizens.

Concerted efforts are since long been going on in Burma to efface the entire Muslim population of Burma and specially the Rohingyas from Arakan by operation of Black laws, census operations, oppression, repression, exploitation and expulsion. There are only a few historical evidence now left with the Rohingyas. King Bodawpaya not only destroyed almost all the signs of Muslim religious and cultural institutions but also carried away the Arakanese Royal Library where most valuable and significant collections of Muslim art and literature were also preserved.

"The two brief chronicles of Arakan written in 1787 and 1824-26 A.D. by Denyawadi Sayadaw and Minkyaung Sayadaw respectively being based on precis of the old chronicles cannot be taken as good examples of Arakanese historical writing. Arakan having as long as an independent kingdom as Burma proper had been rich in historical and literary materials". Specifically, mention may be made of Persian, Arabic and Rohingya literatures of the

Mrauku Period (1430-1784 A.D.) which were replete with accounts of Muslim heritage in Rohang (old Arakan). But, unfortunately, most of these cogent and authentic evidence of Muslim history have gone out of the hands of the Rohingyas.

Maghi is a mere dialect and not a written language. Whereas, Rohingya, though a dialect is also a language written in Arabic and Bengali characters. Of course, both those dialects are the lingua franca of this region. The written languages in Arakan were Arabic, Persian, Bengali, Burmese and Urdu, The Maghs have since long given up culturing Persian, Bengali and Arabic but still freely speak in Maghi, Rohingya, Burmese and broken Bengali and Urdu. But the beauty with Rohingyas is that the majority of them even now freely speak in Rohingya, Maghi, broken Urdu and Bengali and a good many of them culture in Urdu, Arabic and Persian the original languages of their forefathers which to same extent, were patronised during the British Colonial period.

It is needless to repeat that Persian was the court language of Arakan even upto 1836 A.D. It is also to be noted that Muslims who had a natural interest in all branches of knowledge, extended patronage to the study of Pali too, in Arakan, which is borne out by the fact that only a few years back the Pali teacher of the Akyab Teachers Training School and the Pali professor of the Rangoon University were Muslims, the latter being late Professor A. Quasim. The compilers of Some Burmese chronicles and histories were also Muslims e.g. Late Major Bashein, Chairman of the Burmese Historical Research Society, Rangoon. No research work of significance could, however, be undertaken ever since the downfall of the Mrauku period uptill now. Hence, this may be considered as a de novo rudimentary work prepared, in haste, out of some readily available heterogeneous materials, procured from diverse sources, for information and necessary action of the International Community, relating to the **legitimate demands** of the Rohingyas.

The Rohingyas are as indigenous to Arakan as the other minorities, like the Shans, Karens, Kayahs etc. are to Burma. What is most striking is the apparent fact that such an ethnic race has not yet been constitutionally recognised. Instead they are rather being inhumanly persecuted and exterminated, against the general principles of law recognised by civilised nations. Manifestly, breach of any such international obligations may at any moment lead to a breach of the peace in this part of the Southeast Asia. Since the present world is heading towards a lasting peace, such an outrage against humanity, should make world conscience stir, protest and attempt sincerely to find out a lasting solution and also, thereby, prevent the already deteriorating situation from aggravation.

Let there be no "hide and seek game" in respect of the basic human rights of the Rohingyas. How long the well-designed racism and extermination policies of the Union Government are intended to be carried on? The Muslims of Burma cannot relinquish their faith Islam in lieu of their forfeited and usurped fundamental rights and deify the Rulers or raise the voice with them in their slogan, "To be Burman is to be a Buddhist". How grave the present situation in Arakan may be, 1.5 million of the Rohingyas, irrespective of their present places of residence, will remain as Muslims and stand united and firmly determined to get restored all their forfeited inalienable basic rights. There should be no doubt in it. The just struggle will be continued ceaselessly to the last drop of all Rohingya blood.

There is, indeed, no reason whatsoever why the Rohingyas should be forced to forfeit what are for them natural, inalienable and imprescriptible rights.

Like their ancestors the Rohingyas are also the sons of the soil, and neither aliens nor separatists, as are tried to be shown to the world. But, indeed, they are the bravest defenders of the sovereignty and integrity of the Union of Burma. As in the past the entire community of the Rohingyas are yet over anxious to contribute, to their utmost capacity, to the development and prosperity of the country provided all their basic rights are fully and effectively restored and guaranteed by the Burmese Government.

When will the good sense prevail upon the Ruling Junta so as to be able to realise the far-reaching consequences of their misdeeds and other acts of highly contemptuous nature? Lacs of Rohingyas today are rendered homeless, jobless and landless. Those who were out of the country during and after 1942 were not allowed reentry. Thousands of the refugees kept in concentration camps of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Calcutta, Noakhali and such other places of the then East Bengal, have not yet been repatriated. On the other hand, all those Magh refugees similarly kept in various other camps were brought back well in time and rehabilitated at their original places as well as on the abandoned lands of these Rohingyas who still claim themselves to be citizens of Burma.

The gross injustice, persistently done to the Rohingyas in Arakan and outside has naturally given rise to the genuine fear in their minds that they would, in due course of time, perish for ever. It is no exaggeration but a reality. The World Bodies should not blink their eyes to this real apprehension.

There are enough proof of forced marriages, kidnapping, abduction, wrongful confinement, molestation, rape and murder of Rohingya virgin girls and women. The Muslims in Arakan are now existing in sub-human conditions. To speak frankly, there is now no liberty, security of life and property, human dignity, protection, equity, justice, universal and equal suffrage, cultural rights and free development of personality, dignity of labour and economic pursuits, right to choose the proper line of education for children, right to freely participate in cultural and social life of the community, rule of law and freedom of any kind, for the Rohingyas, that can hardly be said to be in commensurate with the principles of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The voice of the Muslims in Burma proper and Arakan has been of late jammed by banning all Muslim publications and the cancellation of the "Rohingya Language Programme" from Rangoon. Practically, no other media is now left for them to air their grievances than to appeal to the Comity of Nations.

The magnitude of the miseries of the Rohingyas, all over, has now reached such a climax that if they., eventually fail to get any relief even through the intermediary of the highest international forum of justice, liberty and peace at this most crucial stage, they will have no other recourse than to carry on their just struggle on the line of the free and genuine movements in other parts of the world: in Vietnam, Palestine, South Africa, Rhodesia, Eritrea, Mozambique, Angola. Bolivia, Cyprus, Southern Philippines, among others. Axiomatically "rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God".

In concluding this fervent appeal in the form of a brochure both on behalf of ourselves and our entire community of the "Rohingyas" of Arakan and, in general the Muslims in other parts of the Union of Burma, we do hereby, beseech, with all humility, the United Nations, Non-Aligned Countries. Third World Bodies and the Islamic World Bodies in particular to prevail upon the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, which has become incapable by infatuation for power and preponderance, to read "the writing on the wall", for much water flowed down the Kaladan since.

Demands

The struggle of the Rohingyas is against racialism, political and social oppression and suppression, religious fanaticism, economic exploitation, arbitrary arrests and detention, rape, massive genocide, restrictions of movement and other fundamental freedoms, spoliation and usurpation of homes and lands, heinous and devastating injustice and, above all extermination from their centuries-long rightful motherland.

The problem of the Rohingyas then, as the outcome of a fatal challenge to the sacred values of man and of a flagrant violation of principles of law, order and the most elementary rules of decency, is essentially a human problem. What is at stake here is the Rohingyas' own cherished attachment to their historical culture and spiritual heritage: their own homeland and that of their ancestors since thousands of years; the political rights and political status; their inherent and inalienable human rights: their dignity and worth as human beings, and indeed the most elementary principles of natural law, justice and International law.

The Rohingyas, as true and loyal citizens of Burma, are undoubtedly staunch believers in principles of peaceful co-existence and equity, with the strongest sense of the duties and responsibilities of gallantly defending the sovereignty and integrity of their much-loved and sacred motherland.

In perspective of what have already been described and passionately urged in the text of this brochure and the above preamble the ROHINGYA PATRIOTIC FRONT (R.P.F.), both on behalf of its dedicated members and the Rohingya Community all over with all humility and fervent solicitation, do hereby most confidently submit the DEMANDS before the United Nations, the supreme forum of World opinion and as well as other World Bodies, to call upon, pressurise and make explicit demands on the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, to immediately restore our various forfeited and usurped inalienable basic rights and also to categorically and expressively declare the full guarantee of all our fundamental freedoms, on the basis of the unambiguous provisions of the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration and the pacts on Human Rights, as well as of many Multilateral treaties demanding a respect for and the free exercise of the rights of man and human freedom for all.

Therefore, we explicitly DEMAND that the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma:

1. SHOULD IMMEDIATELY STOP:

- A. (1) Malignancy and blasphemy, prejudicial and misleading propaganda, mischievous and harassments, ridiculing and manhandling, criminal force and assault, wrongful confinement in secret and to extort or to constrain to illegal act, disgracing and inhuman torture, arbitrary arrests and unlawful confinement-in jails and camps, causing voluntary hurt and damaging merchandise, terrorising, expulsion and deportation, waylaying and murder;
- (2) Illegal prosecution and detention ---on false allegations and imaginary charges, wrongful restraint and arbitrary obstruction in free movement --- within the country, carrying out all designs to destroy sociocultural and economic backbone, modern anachronism, spoliation and usurpation of homes and lands,

arbitrary and discriminative levy of agricultural produce (RICE), looting of horticultural products and livestock;

(3) Exploitation and political oppression, criminal trespass and blackmailing, illegal and forcible deprivation of land and other properties, voluntarily injuring feeling and defamation, looting and burning of houses and shops, offences relating to the religion, wanton shooting and drowning by government employees and miscreants;

(4) Forcible assimilation and conversion; unlawfully compelling to labour under duress, abolishing and cancelling of cultural and educational institutions, retrenching and removal --- from government services and nationalised organisations ; depopulating settlements, seizing National Registration Cards (N.R.Cs.) and other basic documents like Identity and Ration Cards' and land revenue records;

(5) Arbitrary abridgement and curtailment of liberty, economic and social segregation, genocide and *Extermination of the Rohingyas.*

- B. Outraging the modesty, kidnapping and raping, criminal force and forced marriages, forced conversion of Rohingya Girls & Women.
- C. Perpetration of wrong and injustice by personnel of Central Immigration and Manpower Department, Army, Relief Department, Regulars & Irregulars and Local Militia; Party Unit Officials, Township Peoples' Councilors, Policemen, Security Staff: Officers of the Cooperative Societies, Government Shops and Stores, Port & Customs and Health Department; Some peoples' Judges and Magistrates of Townships and some other local organs of the State Power in collaboration with organized anti-Rohingya social elements raised mostly from Magh Buddhist new-comers.

2. SHOULD SPEEDILY DECLARE:

- A.. Recalling, particularly all the Rohingya and Burmese Muslim Refugees, in general, who were evacuated from the country during the 2nd World War in 1942 and rehabilitate them in their original places without any interference with their fundamental rights and freedoms.
- B. Permitting, unconditional return of 5,00,000 of the Rohingyas and the Burmese Muslims who fled the country to escape persecution or expelled or deported, irrespective of their places of birth and present residence; and rehabilitating them in their original places, with adequate compensation for the loss of their homes and untold sufferings in alien lands, as natural born citizens of Burma.
- C. Unconditionally, releasing all the Rohingya and the Burmese Muslim detenus and under-trial prisoners in Burma with satisfactory arrangements for their rehabilitation & compensation.
- D. Releasing all the confiscated Waqf, trust, private properties, private schools, Madrasas, Moqtabas and cultural institutions: reviving all abolished primary schools; lifting the ban on Rohingya Language Programme broadcasted from BBS and Muslim Press in Burma and permitting Muslims to go to perform Hajj and

Umrah every year, under government supervision, irrespective of age and sex and also without any unnecessary formalities.

E. Withdrawing -- Army, police, local Militia and all other such terrorising functionaries from Rohingya villages and majority areas.

3. SHOULD NOT:

Oppress and repress the Rohingyas and deny them scopes and facilities, in any manner, in their free exercise of fundamental rights and basic freedoms, as an indigenous race and citizens of Burma; neglect in protecting their lives, properties, liberty, dignity, culture and religion by rule of law, so as to enable them to exist peacefully with equality in every sphere of activity both inside and outside the country, without any violation, violence and racism.

4. SHOULD DO A WAY WITH:

All the post Independence settlements of the Buddhists from inside and outside Arakan on Rohingya lands and restore the same with proper compensation to the original Rohingyas, enabling them thereby to get the selves rehabilitated peacefully and build the country's economy.

5. SHOULD BE SAGACIOUS ENOUGH:

To immediately act upon the principle of parity, in all spheres of affairs in Arakan: and to allow proper representation of the Rohingyas in legislature, judiciary and executive functions; Army, Navy, Air force, Police, Local Militia etc. and also create without prejudice, scope and opportunity in the country upto the village level for participating in the only **Political Party (BSPP)**, after removing the Rohingya stooges, puppets, figureheads and sycophants.

6. SHOULD EXPEDITIOUSLY:

On the line of the indigenous races of the minority groups like Kachin, Shan etc. raise, in the first instance, a Rohingya local militia and a Regiment under the Central Command for maintenance of the peace and order; introduce Rule of Law; create confidence in the minds of the persecuted Rohingyas.

7. SHOULD MAKE EARLY PROVISIONS:

To impart, to the Rohingya students, religious instructions in primary and secondary schools and that no language should be forced on the Muslims, anywhere in Burma, against their will or to the detriment of Muslim culture and integrity.

8. SHOULD PROMPTLY

Give positive guarantee of complete freedom of religion, culture, commercial and industrial pursuits, choice of trade and education -- with maximum facilities for establishing various inter-connected institutions and performing all ritual functions to the Rohingyas and other Muslims of Burma in general.

9. SHOULD IMMEDIATELY CONSTITUTE:

A high-powered Tribunal to find out, impartially try and punish, the perpetrators of atrocious crimes against the Rohingyas since 1942.