



# **Arakan real history of Rohingyas**

Arakan was a medieval kingdom located at the edge of South Asia became a province of Burma after the Burmese invasion in 1784 and the subsequent annexation of it with Burma. To the people of India and Bangladesh, Arakan became sadly memorable for the tragic massacre of the Moghul prince Shah Suja and his entire family by the Arakanese king Sandathudamma.

It is important to note that Shah Suja before taking shelter in Arakan was the Moghul Govornor of Bengal (1639-60) and was being chased by the Moghal General Mir Jumbla. Suja was given the assurance of assylum by the Arakanese Mogh king. However, soon after his arrival in Arakan, Suja was robbed and then in 1661 at the order of the king the entire family was massacred. This tragic event triggered anger and frustration both in Arakan among Suja's followers that accompanied him and also in the Moghul capital Delhi against the brutal murder of the royal family. Subsequent to the death of Shah Suja, the Moghals led a campaign led by Shah Suja's uncle Shaista Khan who reconquered Chittagong. After the massacre of the Moghul prince and the chain of events of repeated uprising led to internal chaos in Arakan. At the same time, with the mighty Moghul presence in the Bay, Arakan lost its lucrative revenue from piracy and of slave trade. The new circumstances brought an end to the infamous Golden of Arakan that survived through causing human suffering and misery.

In our contemporary period the event of Suja and the massacre of his family is not the reason why understanding the dynamics of ethnic relations in Arakan and by extention in Burma becomes so central;

it is largely to watchfully understand the roots of racism in Arakan and to recognize the refugee production trends of the region. Indeed, Alamgir Serajuddin expresses rather bluntly the reasons behind the Arakan problem by saying, "The Arakanese [Rakhines] were a daring and turbulent people, a terror at once to themselves and to their neighbours. They fought among themselves and changed masters at will. Peace at home under a strong ruler signaled danger for neighbours."

(1) True, Arakan a kingdom based essentially on slave trade when it had strong leader was a constant threat to its neighbors for its robbers but taking advantage of the internal chaos there led the Burmese occupation of Arakan and the subsequent neglect under the Burmese rule and the continued Burmese annexation of the Arakani territory subsequently turned Arakan into a tiny and backward province of Burma-no doubt it is the price of being disorderly. Despite its present improvised existence, Arakan continued to make headlines in the international media not for any glorious present but for producing refugees. The people that have been exterminated are no more the Moghs but are the Rohingyas of northern Arakan. They complain that Rakhine hoodlums along with the Burmese military are involved in a war of intimidation against them. Rohingyas have been taking shelter in Southern Chittagong.

Burmese Military government and their Mogh collaborators claim that these refugees are "Chittagongnian people" originally from Bangladesh. Contrary to the claim, surprisingly even the more recent, the 1978 Rohingya refugees were found to carry Burmese National Registration cards. (2) But in the 1991-92s there was the fresh eviction of refugees, the latter Rohingyas arrived in Bangladesh without the NRC cards. Rohingya leaders claim that the NRCs were being confiscated before the eviction.

Chris Lewa of Forum Asia says Rohingyas were being discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity and religion. They have been excluded from the nation-building process in Myanmar and the military regime has implemented policies of exclusion and discrimination against this group aimed at encouraging them to leave the country. These systematic policies have maintained underdevelopment and have been the driving force behind two mass refugee exoduses to Bangladesh, in 1978 and again in 1991/92. The combination of human right violations the Rohingya face — from the denial of legal status to restriction of movement and economic constraints — creates food insecurity and makes life in Northern Rakhine State untenable for many. Chris Lewa adds, "Rohingya children, in particular, are innocent victims suffering from the debilitating consequences of these government policies, which dramatically affect their physical and mental development, and will have long-lasting effects for the future of the Rohingya community." (3)

It appears that the influx of refugees from Burma is not a new phenomenon. The present research findings show that Burmese invasion of Arakan resulting in the creation of refugees has been a chronic problem in this region. Even before 1978 mass eviction of the Rohingyas, historically there had been large scale refugee movements to Chittagong of Bangladesh. As a result of the historic Burmese invasions of Arakan, in addition to the contemporary Rohingyas exodus, it even led to the rise of Arakani origin population in southern Chittagong and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh.

Among them are the Chakmas (Northern Chittagong Hill Tracts), Rakhines (In Cox's Bazar), Marma (In Banderbon), Tanchainga (in the central Chittagong Hill Tracts).

**Burmese Invasions of Arakan** 

Among the many Burman invasions, there had been three major recorded attacks on Arakan. First was by Anawrahta in 1044 A.D. and the second invasion was by Min Khaung Yaza's invasion in 1406 and the third major invasion was by Budapawa in 1784.

Anawrahta's Invasion of Arakan (1044)

Anawrahta (1044-77), by killing his own brother claimed the throne of Northern Burma for himself. He made Theravada Buddhism as the dominant political religion of Burma. It was in 1044 A.D. he invaded Arakan. Anawrahta, who also destroyed the Mon kingdom in the South, was known as one of the most violent kings of Burma. Ironically he also introduced Buddhism in Burma. He gave Buddhism, (originally a nonviolent religion,) a racial and political dimention in Burmese politics.

Anawrahta was known as a "religious fanatic" and his attack of Northern Arakan left some mark in this direction. At this time, the Chandra-Rohingyas (Hindu-Muslim mixed) population of Arakan were concentrated in the north was racially different from the Burmese population. The xenophobic king invaded Arakan as a mission to bring change from an Indianized population into an Asian variety and helped settle Tabeto-Burman Buddhist population. It was during his time that Chakmas, although racially mongoloid, but speaking a Chandra-Chittagonian language even felt threatned by the xenophobic invasion, left Arakan for Southern Chittagong.

King Min Khaung Yaza's Invasion of Arakan (1406)

In 1406 A. D., the second Burmese invasion was led by the Burmese King Min Khaung Yaza. As a consequence, Noromi-kala, the king of Arakan along with his large followers took asylum at Gaur, the court of Bengal sultan Gaisuddin Azam Shah. This invasion also led to a large scale influx of people who were the followers of the king to settle in Bengal.In 1430 A. D., after 24 years of exile in Bengal, Sultan Jalal uddin Khan sent his General "Wali Khan as the head of 20 thousand pathan army" to restore Noromikla to his throne. Noromi Kla now takes the name Sulauman Shah and becomes the king. He shifted his Captial to a new palace site in Mrohaung.

In 1431 General Wali Khan removes Noromi Kla and rules Arakan. General Wali Khan, the first independent Muslim ruler of Arakan. He first introduced Persian as the official language of Arakan. Noromi-kla again escapes to Bengal to seek help from the Sultan of Bengal.

1433 Nadir Shah, the Bengal Sultan sent General Sindhi Khan with 30,000 solders to help restore Noromi -kla as the king. After this event, Arakan becomes a province of Bengal. Wali Khan was killed in the battle and his followers were allowed to settle near Kalander River. In return for the help, the Arakannse king promised to return the twelve feuds of Chittagong,

which most likely be the whole of southern Chittagong that was then under Arakanese rule. Arakan began to pay annual taxes and Persian continued to be used as the court language. The consequence of the retaking over of Arakan by Noromi -kla with the help of the Muslim army had the effect of the settlement of a great number of Rohingya Muslim population in Arakan. (4)

Budapawa's Invasion of Arakan (1784)

The 1784 Burmese invasion of Arakan was considered by historians as genocide for its ruthlessness massacre of Arakanese population of both Rohingya and Rakhine groups. In the month of December, 1784 Burmese king Budapawa attacked Arakan with 30,000 soldiers and returned with 20,000 people as prisoners, destroyed temples, shrines, mosques, seminaries, and libraries including the Royal library. Muslims serving the Royal palace as ministers were also massacred.

The Burmese king in order to put down the Arakanese Buddhist spirit also took away Mohamuni, the famous Buddhist statue, a symbol of Arakanese pride of independence. The Mohamuni was cast in bronze and colored in gold. It was sent across the mountains of Taungpass. There were hundreds of Moghs and Muslims forced to carry the statue to Burma through the inaccessible mountainous pass which led to the death of hundreds as they were on their way to Burma. The kings advise to his invading commanders that "If one cuts down the 'Kyu' reed, do not let even its stump remain." Ga Thandi, the king of Arakan took shelter with his followers in the deep jungles of Chittagong where his descendents still live in Bandarbon. They now call themselves as the Marma. Interestingly, among the people Budapawa carried with him were Rohingyas, a British scholar visiting Burma in 1799 met some people who identified themselves as the Rohingyas. (5)

During the time of the Burmese invasion of Arakan, Chittagong came under the British rule. The British never attempted to rescue the Arakani king to his throne. To escape the brutal attack of the Burmese King both Muslims and Hindus of Arakan fled to safety in Chittagong. Puran Bisungri, a Hindu Rohingya "was an officer of the police station of Ramoo."He was born in Arakan and fled the country after Burmese invasion in 1784. (5) Harvey says, traditionally Burmese cruelty was such that" to break the spirit of the people, they would drive men, women and children into bamboo enclosures and burn them alive by the hundreds." This resulted in the depopulation of minority groups such that "there are valleys where even today the people have scarcely recovered their original numbers, and men still speak with a shudder of 'manar upadrap' (the oppression of the Burmese)."(6)

During the invasion of Arakan, the Burmese king took with him 3,700 Muslims and settled them in Mandalay. Some of them were known to even become the Ministers to the Burmese king. The descendents of the 3,700 Muslims are known as Thum Htaung Khunya (Three thousand seven hundred). For the continued oppression, in Southern Chittagong, a term was coined for Arakan of now Burma as the "Moghur Mulluk" meaning the land of lawless people, generally referring to the Burmese oppression of the time.

The Arakaniese Muslims and Hindus that continued to escape to Chittagong resettle there were called by the Chittagonian Bengalis as the "Rohi". "During the seven years of their operation, the population of Arakan was reduced by no less than half. During the early months of 1884, a quarter of a million {refugees took shelter} in the English territory of Chittagong." (7)

The oppression of the Burmese became clear from what refugees had to say at the time: We will never return to the Arakan country; if you choose to slaughter us here we are willing to die; if you drive us away we will go and dwell in the jungles of the great mountains.(8) It was during this time that Rakhines of Bangladesh in the Cox's Bazar area, Rohingyas in great numbers and some smaller Arakani tribes also took shelter in Chittagong. The most significant rise of non Bengali settlement in Chittagong took place due to this Burmese genocide that took place in 1784.

#### British rule (1826 AD – 1942 AD)

After the Burmese conquest of Arakan, the Burmese king demanded the fugitives be returned. In 1824 a decisive war between the Burmese and the British took place resulting in the British occupation of Arakan. By now due to the merciless massacre, Arakan almost became depopulated. "When the British occupied Arakan, the country was a scarcely populated area. Formerly high- yield paddy fields of the fertile Kalandan and Lemro river valleys germinated nothing but wild plants for many years. (9)

Mogh Memories of the past and the rise of anti-Rohingya racist jolts and shaking in Arakan.

It was in the Kalandan and Lemro river valleys where Rohingya Muslims were farmers and peasants. There were fewer people to cultivate the land. Rakines males normally love to enjoy entertainment than do the hard work. Rohingyas were the hardworking peasants. The British adopted the policy to encourage the ...inhabitants from the adjacent areas to migrate into fertile valleys in Arakan as agriculturists. ... A Super dent, later an Assistant commissioner of Bengal,

was sent in 1828 for the administration of Arakan Division, which was divided into three districts respectively, : Akyab, Kyaukpyu, and Sandoway, with an assistant commissioner in each district.(10) After the British conquest, despite the memories of horror, but naturally out of nostalgia, some Rakhines and Rohingya refugees from Chittagong returned to Arakan. Aye Chan, a xenophobic Rakhine writer calls these returnees as the settlements of foreigners in Arakan. He calls them as Influx Viruses.

Surprisingly, he remains silent to the Rakhine returnees to Arakanese returning home. He also finds the huge Rakine (Mogh) and Rohingya settlement in Southern Chittagong due to Budapawa's genocide as normal. He characterizes the slight increase in the Muslim population in Arakan after the British conquest as the settlement by "Chittagonian Bengali Muslims."(11) Aye Chan's claim of these people as being Chittagonians is due to the fact that he didn't take into account the fact that many of the original uprooted people of Arakan returned to Arakan to claim their possessions.

Given such a disturbing climate in Arakan after such a destruction by the Burmese king, one wonders, why Chittagonians living in a relatively peaceful region would migrate to Arakan. Naturally, the Muslim migrants were the original Rohingya inhabitants of Arakan returning to their ancestral homes. It is evident from the fact that in the aftermath of the genocide, despite the return of order by the British occupation, but the fear of uncertainty still persisted and the returnees driven by nostalgia and even many other Rohingyas preferred to work in Arakan only as "seasonal laborers."

1930 and 1938 anti Indian riots,

In the meantime, there was 1930 and 1938 anti Indian riots and Burma for Burmese campaign led by the Monks made Muslims of Arakan felt the threat of their existence in Burma but the British census at this time made things more complicated for the Arakani Rohingyas. The British identified the Rohingyas of Arakan as the Indian Muslims.

Japanese Rule (1942-1945)

The next large scale migration of Rohingyas to Chittagong took place during World War II. In 1942 Japan occupied Burma and the ultranationalist Buddhists jointly massacred the Karens, the Mons and in Arakan the Rohingyas. Feeling the threat of extinction, and certain Rakhines determined to drive out the Muslims of Arakan, Muslim leaders officially took the already existing name for their suffering community as the Rohingyas. However, Rohingyas were conveniently identified by the Rakhine extremists as being the Chittagonians. During the time of Japanese occupation, the number of Rohingya death in Arakan was staggering to be over 100,000. Rohingyas call the event as the "Karbalai Arakan," the bloodshed in Arakan. (12)

In 1942 when the British withdrew from Arakan, the Japanese immediately took over control of Arakan. The Arakanese xenophobic hoodlums began to incite people with the slogan, "our brothers came, and your brothers left you." The hoodlums began to attack the Muslim villages in southern Arakan and the Rohingya Muslims fled to the North where they took vengeance on the Rakhines in Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships(13) Ashraf Alam provides a list of 294 villages destroyed in the pogroms of 1942: (1) Myebon in Kyaukpru District 30 villages;

(2) Minbya in Akyab District 27 villages; (3) Pauktaw in Akyab District 25 villages; (4) Myohaung in Akyab District 58 villages; (5) Kyauktaw in Akyab District 78 villages; (6) Ponnagyun in Akyab District 5 villages; (7) Rathedaung in Akyab District 16 villages; and (8) Buthidaung in Akyab District 55 villages. (14) In 1950, a memorandum by the public of Maungdaw demanded the protection of fundamental rights and demanded an unconditional repatriation of Rohingyas from Chittagong. Yoger claims that during this time the Arakani Muslim migration to Chittagong was at 200, 00. (16) There was no action taken by the British to bring the Rohingya refugees back to Arakan. But due to this event, the Rakhine-Rohingya relations deteriorated further. Aye Chan says: "It is certain that hundreds of Muslim inhabitants of southern Arakan fled north.(15). At the same time Chan from his chauvinistic believes contradicted himself by saying that Rohingyas in Butheding, Maungdaw etc. areas in the north bordering Bangladesh are migrants from Chittagong. In this Chan seems to have failed to keep consistency in his arguments.

#### Rohingya Refugees in Chittagong during U Nu's period (1948-1962)

In 1948 Burma became independent from British rule. Rohingyas again began to be protection less. Aung San became Burma's democracy leader. He was trying to bring ethnic harmony through dialogue with ethnic minorities but the entire team of democracy leaders including Aung San was assassinated by powerful quarters who sought to control Burma by force. 1958 Rohingya refuges took shelter in East Pakistan; the number of refugees identified as being 10,000. (17) 1959, Burma agreed with East Pakistan governor Zakir Hossain to take back Rohingya refugees who had taken shelter in Chittagong in 1958. When questioned "why refugees were pouring into Pakistan from Burma, the Governor replied that the government of Burma had nothing to do with it. Actually the Moghs of Arakan were creating the trouble." (18) In 1960 The Daily Guardian, Rangoon, 27th October 1960 reports that Burmese "Supreme Court quashes expulsion orders against Arakanese Muslims."(19) It is true, the disturbances were not entirely foreign inspired. Pumped up in prejudice by the leading Pongyi activist, U Ottama, from 1930's Arakan became anti-Rohingya and anti-Muslim. (20) Rohingya Refugees during Military rule (1962-)

In 1962, General Ne Win took over power and confiscated most Indian and Chinese owned businesses in Rangoon and began his Burmanization policy which advocated that "Burma is for Barman's," referring that Burma is for racially Mongoloid and religiously Buddhist people. Ne Win first began a policy of "divide and rule" in Arakan between the Mogh and the Rohingyas. His government identified the Rohingyas as "Indian Bengalis" from Chittagong migrated to Burma during the British period beginning from 1826. (20)

As mentioned warlike, in 1978 an officially recorded 207,172 Rohingyas took shelter in Chittagong. UNHCR and Amnesty International investigation found out that Rohingyas were carrying Burmese National Registration cards. I have personally visited the refugee camps in Ukhiya of southern Chittagong. The area was as if a sea of refugee camps. When asked people if they had any documents proving their citizenship, little children ran to their parents to fetch the documents. I have seen NRC certificates with Burmese seal testifying their Burmese nationality.

This revelation by international agencies, forced the Burmese government to accept the Rohingyas back to Arakan.(21)

In 1982 the military rulers passed the Citizenship Act in which it made a provision that Burmese people' ancestors who came to settle in Burma before 1826 will be considered as "foreigners." Rohingyas were seen as people migrated from Chittagong of Bangladesh after 1826. Aye Chan and other similar Rakhines followed this line of xenophobic interpretation. Aye Chan wrote dehumanizing books and articles, identifying Rohingyas as the Bengali Muslim Immigrants"from Bangladesh. Contrary to such assertions, Rohingya's earliest ancestor in Arakan however, dates back to the 8th century. Our research shows that Rohingyas called by the Arakan's Tibeto-Burman population as the Kula were the off springs of the aboriginal Indian Chandra's, Arabs, Persians, the soldiers of the Bengal Sultan's army, the off springs of the Mogh-Portuhuese captured Bengali slaves, Portuguese offspring's. (22). the name Rohingya was adapted by these people from various origins as a survival mechanism. In 1990-92 again over 268,000 Rohingyas were sent back to Bangladesh. This time the Burmese government made sure that Rohingyas do not carry any official Burmese document. Rohingyas continue to be identified as "foreigners" and now suffer in the land they were born and brought up. The Burma's military in alliance with the Rakhine ultra-nationalist plays an extermination policy based on fear and intimidation. (23)

Some of the major armed operations of intimidation against the Rohingya people, orchestrated by the Burmese government since 1948:

- 1. Military Operation (5th Burma Regiment) November 1948
- 2. Burma Territorial Force (BTF) Operation 1949-50
- *3. Military Operation (2nd Emergency Chin regiment) March 1951-52*
- 4. Mayu Operation October 1952-53
- 5. Mone-thone Operation October 1954
- 6. Combined Immigration and Army Operation January 1955
- 7. Union Military Police (UMP) Operation 1955-58
- 8. Captain Htin Kyaw Operation 1959
- 9. Shwe Kyi Operation October 1966
- 10. Kyi Gan Operation October-December 1966
- 11. Ngazinka Operation 1967-69
- 12. Myat Mon Operation February 1969-71
- 13. Major Aung Than Operation 1973
- 14. Sabe Operation February 1974-78

15. Naga-Min (King Dragon) Operation – February 1978-79 (resulting in exodus of some 300,000 Rohingyas to Bangladesh)

16. Shwe Hintha Operation – August 1978-80

17. Galone Operation – 1979

18. Pyi Thaya Operation, July 1991-92 (resulting in exodus of some 268,000 Rohingyas to Bangladesh)

19. Na-Sa-Ka Operation, since 1992.(24)

Despite a clear evidence of Burmese invasion and atrocities on the Rohingyas, resulting in the latter to take shelter in Chittagong, xenophobic writer's continue to propagate that Rohingyas are "Chittagonians. " The intensity of the nationalist hatred by the military reached so deep into the Burmese consciousness that today even some Burmese people began to believe that indeed Rohingyas are "Chittagonians" from Bangladesh. Contrary to this, the present research found that the production of refugees in general and the Rohingya refugees in particular from Arakan is not a new phenomenon; the study reveals that the internal troubles in Arakan along with the historic Burman invasions of Arakan from time to time led to the rise of not only the tribal people in Chittagong and in Chittagong Hill Tracts,( the Arakanese Rakhine settlements in Bandorban and Cox's Bazar, a result of mainly 1784 Burmese invasions, the Chakma settlements in Chittagong Hill Tracts) but also the Rohingyas settlements in the entire southern Chittagong area up to the Sangha River close to Bandarbon.In understanding the refugee problem in Western Burma, the phenomenon of intolerance seems to be the deeprooted cause. In Burma, Burma's xenophobic authors continue to brand Rohingyas as the Chittagonians of Bangladesh. Rohingyas are not recognized as the "taingyintha" (indigenous) people of Burma for their racial differences with the Rakhines and the Burmans.

It is an encouraging sign to see that, while the ancestors of the Rakhine Moghs of Bandarbon and Cox's Bazar, the Chakmas of Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Rohingyas of Southern Chittagong were originally from Arakan took shelter in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts throughout this period, in Bangladesh, they are not being seen by Bangladeshis as foreigners from Arakan. It is evident that after the independence of Bangladesh these non Bengalis together with the Bengalis are now being identified on their territorial identity as being the Bangladeshis. The Bangladeshi Rohingyas in southern Chittagng, who migrated before 1971 are also being considered as Bangladeshis. Justifiably, in the democratic Bangladesh, no one should question the birth right of citizenship of the Chakmas, the Moghs and the other smaller tribal's and the Bangladeshi Rohingyas.

In Arakan however, even after a million Rohingya people left Arakan, who now live in deplorable condition in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Japan, Thailand, and in the Gulf states, these ultranationalists continue to justify that Rohingyas are not Burmese citizens. It appears that the problem in Arakan is deep enough to go away sooner. This is evident from what U Khin Maung Saw, a typical Arakani xenophobe had to say, "As a born Arakanese [I am as a Rakhine author] is obliged to write the true story of the so-called "Rohingyas." (25) It denied the Rohingya rights by saying "the socalled Rohingya." Today,

Arakan's true history refers to an exclusionist history that Arakan belongs to the Rakhines only and wish Rohingyas should be sent to Bangladesh. Reacting to the Burmese policy of extermination of the Rohingyas, Saeed Khan wrote: "People have migrated for work or love or whatever reason during the entire history of mankind... If we go by the logic that Rohyinga people have roots in Chittagong they should all be thrown out of present day Burma/Myanmar then by that logic every person of non aboriginal root should be thrown out of Australia, and every person with non native American root should be thrown out of America, everyone with roots in West Bengal in Bangladesh should be thrown out and everyone with roots in East Bengal should be thrown out of West Bengal/India. And if we keep on going like this we will reach a point where everyone should be thrown out of everywhere as according to science and genetics there is no so called "pure race". According to science everyone in the present world has roots in a group of people out of Africa. So should we all go back to Africa? (27) In sending everybody to Africa, the only problem is that ever since human races left Africa, half of Africa dried up to become the uninhabitable Sahara desert. In the meantime, Burmese invasion of Arakan on the Rohingya people continues and they escape persecution by land and by sea by boat risking their lives; those who survive live in refugee camps as Burma's stateless refugee people.

In the above article, a review of the historical documents on the orign of the Tribes of Chittaging Hill Tracts show that all the major tribes of Chittagong Hill Tracts, especially the Chakma of Northern Chittagong Hill Tracts, Marma of Bandarbon and the Rakhines of Cox's Bazar and the Rohingyas settled in Southern Chittagong were originally migrants from Arakan of Burma, the latter one the Rohingyas are the most recent migrants and the Rakhines migrated as late as during the British period.

After the liberation war of Bangladesh, the tribals staged armed rebellion against Bangladesh claiming them as being the aboriginal people; on this ground they even wanted the independence of Chittagong Hill Tracts. In this conflict the tribals armed by India, the total number of people both tribals and Bengalis that lost their lives were 1677 among them 1329 were Bengalis) Artifacts found and the given names of Chittagong Hill Tracts show Bengalis have been in Chittagong Hill Tracts from Prehistoric times. The new Bengali settllers in the Hill Tracts however were people mostly from Northern

and South Western Bangladesh who land lost land due to river erosion or from the gradual desertification in those regions and according to the most recent Bangladesh census the population of Chittagong Hill Tracts is 45% Muslim Bengali and the rest comprised 55%. Bangladesh constitution rightfully accepts the tribals as the citizens of Bangladesh. However, there is a growing concern that Hasina government giving the tribals the aboriginal status and therefore special status over the Bengalis is denying the rights of Bengalis in the land of their birth. In contrast, it is true, India the broker between the Tribals and the Hasina government itself to stop the fear of seperation itself settles non Kashmiris in its occupied Kashmir. Many in Bangladesh fear that Bengali rebellion and the move by Hasina against its Bengali population will help the excelleration of the tribal separatist movement that originally began from the time of Bangabandu Sheikh Mijibur Rahman) See for more details on the Hill Tracts:

<u>http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WT50WnK3Rco&feature=yo</u> <u>utu.be</u>



The root cause of the current unfolding Rohingya situation started long time ago when Rakhines (Magh) of Bangladesh Hill Tracks migrated into Arakan State of Burma in large scale in 1972 just after Bangladesh got Independence. It is estimated that 80,000 Rakhines Magh entered into Arakan though it may be much more. To cover up this influx of Rakhine from Bangladesh,

Burmese newspaper used to write articles in daily basic which expressed concern about Bangali Muslim influx into Arakan through the western border of Bangladesh. The slogan was "Tightly Close the door of the western border". Since then the situations of Rohingyas dramatically changed from bad to worse and mass scale Rohingya ethnic cleansing has taken the real momentum.

The question is how could this large scale of Rakhine (Magh) flux could have taken place so easily. Surely, there was some strong support behind which can be easily understood as no one but the Ne Win's strong military regime planned to replace Rohingya people. The strong reason is that all educated Rakhine migrants were provided with jobs in schools as teachers, in Armies as Generals and in industries an engineers and so on.

Since then the persecution on Rohingya has been steadily increased to such an extend that people can not move even from village to village without authorities approval, and marriage ban was imposed taking years to get married, possible only when the authority approve it. Professional Higher Education and movement to any other states were totally banned. Thousands have been killed who tried to sneak out the ban and so on. Many Rohingya were forced to leave the country causing a lot diaspora in many parts of the world the largest being in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh totaling about 1.5 millions.

## Moros Seek Help For Rohingyas

By EDD K. USMAN

July 24, 2012, 3:54pm

MANILA, Philippines — The dire situation of the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar (Burma) have caught the attention of their Moro brethren in the Philippines, who seek resolution to their suffering.

Moro leaders have also called on Burmese democracy icon Ang San Suu Kyi to strive for an inclusive democracy, justice, and harmony in her

country, to include the Rohingya, said to be "the world's most forgotten people."

Maulana A. Balangi, ambassador at-large of the International Human Rights Commission (IHRC) to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), issued a statement yesterday, calling attention to the Rohingya people's massacre, rapes, and other oppression by Myanmar's extremist Buddhist groups.

*He said for the past weeks the Rohingya, who live in Myanmar's Arakan Valley, "have been under siege by local (Buddhist) Rhakine community."* 

Balangi cited reports, which are also on the internet, even on Facebook, about the massacre of "650 Rohingyas as of June 28" this year, "1,200 others are missing, and 90,000 more have been displaced."

Speaking as IHRC envoy to the ASEAN, he asked the Myanmar government to act the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingyas, allow the international community access to the Arakan Valley, to bring the mass killings to the International Criminal Court (ICC), and ensure equal protection for the ethnic Burmese Muslims.

*The Myanmar government does not recognize the Rohingyas, about 800,000, as citizens, nor Bangladesh where some 200,000 have escaped the Buddhist persecution, with involvement of state security forces.* 

**Please print and send this letter** to William Hague MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

William Hague MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Foreign & Commonwealth Office King Charles Street Lond on SW1A 2AH

Dear Foreign Secretary

*I am writing to you about the growing crisis in Arakan State, Burma.* 

Following communal violence in June, largely directed against the ethnic Rohingya, there is a growing humanitarian and human rights crisis which is not receiving sufficient international attention, and it is highly likely that many lives are being lost as a result.

In the past few weeks Burma Campaign UK has received the following reports:

Burmese police, security forces and soldiers are raping, looting, torturing and arbitrarily killing Rohingya people. There have been mass arrests with Rohingya people kept in detention camps without trial, without food or medical services. Around 100,000 internally displaced people, both Arakan and Rohingya, are in various locations and not getting enough, or even any aid.

The government is blocking aid, and where aid is being delivered mostly Rohingya are being excluded. Local authorities are refusing to allow many Rohingya people back to some villages, shops or homes in a policy that appears designed to 'cleanse' these areas of Rohingya people.

The President of Burma has proposed a policy that amounts to ethnic cleansing, asking the United Nations to arrange for Rohingya people to be placed in camps, removed from Burma and sent to third countries.

This is an incredibly serious situation and it continues to deteriorate at a very fast rate. Yet there has not been anything like the international response that would be expected for a crisis on this scale. Action needs to be taken now to ensure aid can be delivered, arrests and human rights abuses stop, and people are allowed to return safely to their homes.

Britain used to take the lead in mobilising the international community to respond to human rights and humanitarian crises in Burma. We need you to resume that leading role again. I urge you to use every diplomatic and legal tool at your disposal to help bring an end to the current crisis, including; Britain must draw international attention to the current crisis by strongly condemning the blocking of humanitarian aid, the human rights abuses committed by police, army and security forces, and by rejecting proposals for all Rohingya to be expelled from the country.

You should withdraw the invitation to President Thein Sein to visit the UK in order to bring home to him the seriousness of the current situation and the fact that proposing ethnic cleansing is completely unacceptable.

Britain must also push for discussions and action at the United Nations Security Council and other UN bodies. Britain must mobilise the international community to pressure President Thein Sein to allow aid to be delivered to the 100,000 displaced people.

Lives are being lost every day while the UK, EU and rest of the international community fail to take sufficient action to end this crisis. I urge you to act now, and I look forward to your response.

*Imagine, you live in a Country, your Neighbor is a Buddhist Racist called Ko Ko Gyi: Which Country is this? Abid Bahar* 

Which Country is this? If you live in this country through generations and you are a Muslim Rohingya, you might be one of the unlucky persons on earth, because you have your neighbor, a racist named Ko Ko Gyi, who travels to the West but keeps his hoodlums in his neighborhood in

Arakan to drive you and your family out of your ancestral home. The hoodlums already destroyed the ancient mosque in your neighborhood built in the 14th century. After living for centuries on this land, they think you are a person who have entered their country illegally. Your neighbor Ko Ko Gyi and his buddy Ko Myo Thein claims they are democrats, but in Ko Ko Gyi's speech he informs his followers: "...it has been a long-standing problem; this isn't a problem that exists only recently. For decades, the illegal immigrants have been flowing into Myanmar, ...the rate these Bengalis give birth, the rate of giving birth is massive and overtime the local Rakhines feel threaten by the sky-rocketed birthrate of these Bengalis. With these birthrates, it's only the Rakhines who feel threaten." Another racist named Aye Chan who became a Japanese citizen came to Arakan to say to his Rakhiine people: "These So-called Rohingyas are illegal people and are influx Viruses" needed to be exterminated. The police, security force, NaSaKa (the border quard) and the military, all are there to help them destroy you, and your family. This is all in the name of you being a "foreigner." So you realized that it is not because you have entered the country illegally, but that these people are

Buddhist racists and working on ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya.

More alarming is that lately, you have been observing young people distributing leaflets, and hoodlums gather in street corners with machetes, sticks and with them security forces with revolvers. Among them you also see some monks. Being a Rohingya Muslim you realize that this is a religiously motivated racism.

At night suddenly you hear in your Rohingya neighbor's house the cry of a woman asking for help. Followed by a group of Rakhine young people in short pants setting fire on your Rohingya neighbor's house and next is yours. You have no time to spare, you leave behind your possessions. You took your family in your boat anchored on the river and you found out you are the luckiest ones, you got shelter in the neighboring country. You came to tell people what happened. On your way though you saw many man and women especially children dead, especially a dead child you couldn't forget who couldn't get up from the mud to catch up with her parents, during the stampede, the unfortunate Rohingya will not have her stories told to her future generation. ( Please see the references for details).

This seems like a story of Hitler's Germany in the last century. No, it is in Asia, in a Buddhist country, in the remote corner of Arakan, of Burma.

You are a peace loving Buddhist. You don't approve of this inhumanity especially after you heard Chris Lewa saying: "Nationality in Burma should not be based on race, but rather on descent and birthplace." You heard Lewa saying: State-sponsored abuse of the Rohingya started on June 25, and she accused the army, thenasaka (border security forces), police officers and riot police of conducting mass arrests of Rohingyas, and raids that involved looting, robbery, rapes, beatings, torture and killings."

You heard Lewa saying: "Hundreds have died, many more have

been injured, thousands of properties have been destroyed and an estimated 100,000 people have been displaced.

She adds that "There have been many attempts to block aid from UN agencies and international NGOs, said Lewa, even by Buddhist monks who are playing a leading role in rejecting aid and exhorting their communities not to do business with the Rohingya."

But as a democrat, and a peace-loving Buddhist, you realized, these Rakhine ultra nationalists also have hijacked the peaceloving Burmese people through anti Rohingya hate propaganda. To your utter surprise, Thein Sein, the President of the country who was a former military General declared: "We will take responsibility of our ethnic nationals but it is impossible to accept those Rohingyas who are not our ethnic nationals who had entered the country illegally. The only solution is to hand those illegal Rohingyas to the UNHCR or to send them to any third country that would accept them." You realized the President to be an old military wolf in the civilian sheep's skin. You wonder, whether the President is in his right mind to be a reformer because his statement shows he is an out-ride racist.

You know you are a democrat Bumar, you see the West is watching Thein Sein whether he will really favor the Western business in Burma or else what? In the mean time, you see many human rights groups in the West observing the recent "June 2012 machete massacre of the Rohingyas" now are supporting Rohingya's citizenship and strongly opine, "Enough is enough," " Burma is Rohingya's ancestral home and it is about time that the President and his local provocateurs should be brought to the International Criminal Court in the Hague for justice especially after his open acknowledgement of his direct link in the ethnic cleansing and the crime against humanity.



By MOSHAHIDA SULTANA RITU Published: July 12, 2012

*Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh Related* 

*Times Topic: Myanmar Related in Opinion* 

Latitude: Bangladesh's Right of Refusal (June 19, 2012)

LAST spring, a flowering of democracy in Myanmar mesmerized the world. But now, three months after the democracy activist Daw Aung San Suu Kyi won a parliamentary seat, and a month after she traveled to Oslo to belatedly receive the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize, an alarm bell is ringing in Myanmar. In the villages of Arakan State, near the Bangladeshi border, a pogrom against a population of Muslims called the Rohingyas began in June. It is the ugly side of Myanmar's democratic transition — a rotting of the flower, even as it seems to bloom.

Cruelty toward the Rohingyas is not new. They have faced torture, neglect and repression in the Buddhist-majority land since it achieved independence in 1948. Its constitution closes all options for Rohingyas to be citizens, on grounds that their ancestors didn't live there when the land, once called Burma, came under British rule in the 19th century (a contention the Rohingyas dispute). Even now, as military rulers have begun to loosen their grip, there is no sign of change for the Rohingyas. Instead, the Burmese are trying to cast them out.

The current violence can be traced to the rape and killing in late May of a Buddhist woman, for which the police reportedly detained three Muslims. That was followed by mob attacks on Rohingyas and other Muslims that killed dozens of people. According to Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, state security forces have now conducted mass arrests of Muslims; they destroyed thousands of homes, with the impact falling most heavily on the Rohingyas. Displaced Rohingyas have tried to flee across the Naf River to neighboring Bangladesh; some have died in the effort.

The Burmese media have cited early rioting by Rohingyas and have cast them as terrorists and traitors. In mid-June, in the name of stopping such violence, the government declared a state of emergency. But it has used its border security force to burn houses, kill men and evict Rohingyas from their villages. And on Thursday, President Thein Sein suggested that Myanmar could end the crisis by expelling all of its Rohingyas or by having the United Nations resettle them — a proposal that a United Nations official quickly rejected.

*This is not sectarian violence; it is state-supported ethnic cleansing, and the nations of the world aren't pressing Myanmar's leaders to stop it. Even Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi has* 

### not spoken out.

In mid-June, after some Rohingyas fled by boat to villages in Bangladesh, they told horrifying stories to a team of journalists whom I accompanied to this city near the border. They said they had come under fire from a helicopter and that three of six boats were lost. Some children drowned during the fourday trip; others died of hunger. Once in Bangladesh, they said, the families faced deportation back to Myanmar. But some children who had become separated from their parents made their way to the houses of villagers for shelter; other children may even now be starving in hide-outs or have become prey for criminal networks. Border guards found an abandoned newborn on a boat; after receiving medical treatment, the infant was left in the temporary care of a local fisherman.

Why isn't this pogrom arousing more international indignation? Certainly, Myanmar has become a destination for capital investment now that the United States, the European Union and Canada have accepted the government's narrative of democratic transition and have largely lifted the economic sanctions they began applying after 1988 (measures that did not prevent China, India, South Korea, Thailand, Singapore and multinational oil companies from doing business with the Burmese). Still, when Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton visited Myanmar late last year and welcomed its first steps toward democratization, she also set down conditions for strengthening ties, including an end to ethnic violence.

The plight of the Rohingyas begins with their statelessness — the denial of citizenship itself, for which Myanmar is directly responsible. Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, though not as powerful as the military officers who control Myanmar's transition, should not duck questions about the Rohingyas, as she has done while being feted in the West. Instead, she should be using her voice and her reputation to point out that citizenship is a basic right of all humans. On July 5, the secretary general of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, appealed to her to speak up to help end the violence.

To be sure, Bangladesh can do more. Its river border with Myanmar is unprotected; thousands of Rohingyas have been rowing or swimming it at night. But even though Bangladesh has sheltered such refugees in the past — hundreds of thousands of Rohingyas live here now, legally or illegally — it has been reluctant so far this year to welcome them, out of fear of encouraging an overwhelming new influx. Already, such fears have aroused anti-Rohingya sentiment among some Bangladeshis, and initially Bangladesh's government tried to force the refugees back without assisting them. After some villagers risked arrest by sheltering refugees in their homes, the government began to offer humanitarian aid, before sending them back on their boats. Bangladesh should shelter the refugees as it has in years past, as the international community is urging.

But the world should be putting its spotlight on Myanmar. It should not so eagerly welcome democracy in a country that leaves thousands of stateless men and women floating in a river, their corpses washing up on its shores, after they have been reviled in, and driven from, a land in which their families have lived for centuries.

Moshahida Sultana Ritu, an economist, teaches at the University of Dhaka, in Bangladesh.

For Op-Ed, follow @nytopinion and to hear from the editorial page editor, Andrew Rosenthal, follow @andyrNYT.



*High Commissioner of The People's Republic of Bangladesh, London 28 Queens Gate London SW7 5JA* 

Dr Khan,

I am writing to you regarding the recent inaction of the Bangladesh Government in the face of ethnic cleansing and humanitarian crisis that has developed over the past month in bordering Myanmar.

As you know many Rohingya from Myanmar who are facing violence and persecution based on ethnicity and religion have been fleeing the country to find refuge in Bangladesh in Teknaf. These refugees have been turned back to face the rough waters and return to almost imminent death in Myanmar under instruction by Foreign Minister Dipu Moni. Alongside the UN and many sovereign nations who have pleaded with the Government of Bangladesh to open its borders temporarily to provide shelter and reprieve to these stateless Rohingya, Bangladesh has refused to do so.

Channel 4 has recently highlighted the extent of the problem in a report aired on Monday 25th June 2012. Not only is this creating a negative image for the country of Bangladesh but also paints a picture that the Government does not pay much attention to the Human Rights atrocities that are taking place on its doorstep.

We urge you to take forward our collective calls to engage in a dialogue with the Government over this issue and further to provide refuge for thousands of the desperate Rohingya who are crying to Bangladesh for some help.

Aside all politics and legalities, this is a matter of basic human rights that we all share, and cannot ignore.

Yours Faithfully



*High Commissioner of The People's Republic of Bangladesh, London 28 Queens Gate London SW7 5JA* 

Dr Khan,

I am writing to you regarding the recent inaction of the Bangladesh Government in the face of ethnic cleansing and humanitarian crisis that has developed over the past month in bordering Myanmar.

As you know many Rohingya from Myanmar who are facing violence and persecution based on ethnicity and religion have been fleeing the country to find refuge in Bangladesh in Teknaf. These refugees have been turned back to face the rough waters and return to almost imminent death in Myanmar under instruction by Foreign Minister Dipu Moni. Alongside the UN and many sovereign nations who have pleaded with the Government of Bangladesh to open its borders temporarily to provide shelter and reprieve to these stateless Rohingya, Bangladesh has refused to do so.

Channel 4 has recently highlighted the extent of the problem in a report aired on Monday 25th June 2012. Not only is this creating a negative image for the country of Bangladesh but also paints a picture that the Government does not pay much attention to the Human Rights atrocities that are taking place on its doorstep.

We urge you to take forward our collective calls to engage in a dialogue with the Government over this issue and further to provide refuge for thousands of the desperate Rohingya who are crying to Bangladesh for some help.

Aside all politics and legalities, this is a matter of basic human rights that we all share, and cannot ignore.

Yours Faithfully

The Undersigned







