

IRREFUTABLE

ROHINGYA

State's Denial Is Way To Genocide

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# ABSTRACT

The United Nations has long characterized Myanmar's Rohingya as one of the World's most persecuted minorities and Myanmar consistently denies their existence or considering them illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. They have been being kept in ghetto-like villages-encompassing restrictions on religious freedom, forced displacement and denial of equal citizenship rights-has not only exasperated the humanitarian crises confronting the Rohingya but also threatens to undermine democracy transition and commit crime against humanity.

Emphasize original inhabitants of Arakan, who are Indo-Aryan, and their survival language as a form of Rohingya dialect. Almost, all historians concertedly agree on the fact that native of Arakan are Indo-Aryan, and the Rakhine are Tibeto-Burman.

To understand the nature of Rohingya problem, it is necessary to see the historical background of Myanmar dictators who violated their own laws as well as international laws. All human beings should be equal before the law; implementing particular laws for the particular people in a country is not only illegitimate but also a crime against humanity. Improving a community is possible only by elevating the young generations to the rank of humanity, not by obliterating the bad one; spreading propaganda against other faiths or races will harm stability and prosperity of the country.

I am trying to show the clear picture of two main ethnic groups live in Arakan, their features, languages, beliefs and developments. How did Tibeto-Burman overcome Indo-Aryan, how did native Arakanese be-

come stateless nation? Who committed crimes against humanity and why? What makes Rohingya so weak that they cannot stand in their own land? What are the root causes of violence in Arakan and how can we make a peaceful and healthy multi-cultural society in Arakan?

Those who are full of bad feelings and whose souls are influenced by the egoism look like human beings, whether they really are human is doubtful. Rules and regulation are beneficial to guarantee human happiness and help us attain true humanity while the apartheid policy destroys human dignity. Humanity is like a tree, and nations are its branches, denying a nation for its biological and ideological differences harms existence of the tree. Denying Rohingya and their legitimate rights of citizenship, Myanmar authority has committed crime against humanity, ethnic cleansing and Genocide against Rohingya. I will explain two aspects of institutionalized violations; legal rights of Rohingya and historical evidence that will show you who are aborigine of Arakan, irrefutable Rohingya throughout the history of Arakan, Burma.

# INTRODUCTION

Preliminary characterization of history through the evidence and significance, and explaining and understanding of primary source of Arakan is essential to find out the origin of the Arakanese. As nation without a history is like a person without a memory, if Rohingya as a community don't know where they have come from, it will be impossible for them to make any sense of the present or what they should do in the future. Anyone tries to make sense of the Arakan situation need to have a good knowledge of the history of it. Like Myanmar regime and racist Rakhine historians do, history can be exploited by a corrupt regime to legitimate its rule, justify territorial expansion, and whitewash past crimes. History should be a defense against propaganda. Rohingya history enriches our understanding of Arakanese nature.

In Myanmar, both Bamar and Rakhine who are Tibeto-Burman with the power control the pens and printing presses, primary sources have often reflected only their interest and activities ignoring non-Buddhists. Primary sources were deliberately manipulated by the regime and the regime and Rakhine scholars to change the "faces" of Arakanese history. A bias account is discreditable. A preconceived idea is useless. Intense nationalism could be misleading. Only an honest account should be permissible.

As history in a selection of a selection, Tibeto-Burman historians usually selection those "facts" which support them from the available evidence of Indo-Aryan feature in Arakan. The writing of Arakanese history is also influenced by the era in which it is written. In Myanmar, most of the historical researches were made by the regime with bias perspective. I will highlight two main terms. Rohingya and Rakhine, their origins, and their contributions in Arakan based on reliable eyewitness, neutral lan-

guage, religious shape, moral judgements, difference and similarity, empathy and statistic play in the history of Arakan. Muslim sailors, adventures, merchants, migrants, soldiers, reached Arakan, some serve for the things, some saint and sometime they were brought as slaves.<sup>1</sup>

In Northern Arakan, indigenous people of Rohingya are under persecution. Those who entered from East Pakistan are Buddhists.<sup>2</sup> Muslim in Arakan are indigenous people of Arakan. A commission was formed to investigate the conflict between Rakhine and Rohingya Mr.Sultan Ahmed and Mr.Abdan Gaffar were members of the commission.<sup>3</sup> 957AD, Shan attacked Arakan and destroyed Vaisali city. 794, King Nga Min Ngaton of Sakma became king and shifted capital from Viasali to Lemro 1404. Min Saw Mon was king of Lungkyat.<sup>4</sup>

In 1973, immigration and Man power Department of Burma announced infliction of 144 indigenous people list and on 23 February 1973, state newspapers wrote 143 name of indigenous ethnic group in which Rohingya were mentioned as Cittagonian. Arab and Persian merchants came to Arakan in 8 century. King of Arakan Naremit Hla refugees in king of Bengal Gaur for 26 years.<sup>5</sup>

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1. သာသနာရေးဝန်ကြီးဌာန၊ အတွဲ(၁) ရန်ကုန် published Defense Ministry 1997, Pg-65-73
  2. The light of World Vol.5 1957.June
  3. The Burma Gazette Extraordinary 1949 July 30
  4. Dr Myint Thein. Director of History Research 21 March 2009.
  5. ရာဇဝင်ကထိက ဦးကြည်(B.A) မြန်မာရာဇဝင်သိ အပ်ဖွယ်ရာအခြာဖြာ ရန်ကုန်၊ ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ် 1962- စာ 160-161 အခြေပြမြန်မာနိုင်ငံရေးသမိုင်း၊ ပထမတွဲ၊ ရန်ကုန် စာ- ၃၈၇ Published by Myanmar socialist Party 1970 Pg-386, Lt. Col Ba Shin, The coming of Islam to Burma down to 1700AD for 100 years Arakan king used Islamic titles. ဗိုလ်မှူးဘရှင်၊ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသားအစ္စလာမ်ဘာသာဝင်တို့အား ရှေးမြန်မာမင်းများက ချီးမြှင့်ထားခဲ့ပုံများ အပိုဒ် ၉-၁၁

State's currency coin of Arakan were produced with Islamic Kalimah, "There is no god but Allah" in Arabic.<sup>6</sup> Coins of King Ali Sha and Elyas Shah are in Persian script.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt, Historian, wrote "due to preach of Arabs Islam spread in Arakan, among the slaves brought by Portuguese to Arakan, there were highly educated persons who were sold to Muslim community in Arakan."<sup>8</sup> During Mrauk U Dynasties many people were converted to Islam and built Mosques.<sup>9</sup> In 9th dynasty of Maruk U, Muslim preachers such as Kadir, Musa and Honumia came to Arakan, preached and built Mosques. Arakanese converted to Islam in mass but due to objection of a Buddhist monk Marawa, Islamic missionary activities were ceased temporarily doubling Min Ba Gyi era.<sup>10</sup> A Buddhist monk, U Nya Na wrote in Razawin Theit that many people converted to Islam during reign of Min Bar Gyi and a prominent Rakhine politician approved authenticity of that statement.<sup>11</sup> During the reign of King Sanda Wizaya, there was Chaos, unstably and lack of rule of law in Arakan, some people went to Myanmar king Bodan Paya for help and Myanmar conquered Arakan in 1758 AD.<sup>12</sup>

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6. M.Rohinson, The coins and Bank Notes of Burma (n.p. L.H Shaw edn-1980) pg-49-50
  7. Lt.Col. Ba Shin the coming of Islam to Burma Down to 1700 AD.
  8. Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt, Myanmar Portuguese Relations Silver Jubilee Magazine (Rangoon: University of Yangon. N.d).
  9. ဦးအောင်သာဦး History of Arakan, (ရန်ကုန်၊ မြရတနာပုံနှိပ်တိုက် ၁၉၅၄) pg-132
  10. ဝဏ္ဏိတဦးသာထွန်းအောင်၊ ရခိုင်ရာဇဝင်ကြီး (စစ်တွေ၊ ရခိုင်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ၁၉၂၆) pg-74  
မောင်ဆန္ဒ(လယ်ဇေး) ကမန်မျိုးနွယ်စုသမိုင်း (ရန်ကုန်၊ အောင်တံခွန် ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ၂၀၀၅) pg-39
  11. ဦးလှထွန်းဖြူ၊ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်တိုင်းရင်းသားလူမျိုးများ အောင်ဆန်းကြီးငွေ စကားရည်လှပွဲ (ရန်ကုန်ပညာဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက် ၁၉၈၁) pg-47
  12. ဦးဘသန်း မြန်မာရာဇဝင်၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ စာပေနှင့်စာနယ်ဇင်းလုပ်ငန်း ပြန်ကြားရေးဝန်ကြီးဌာန၊ ၁၉၉၀. Pg-8



Palace of Arakan was burnt down and there was instability for 20 years.<sup>13</sup> When Sanda Zaya came to the throne (1710- 1731AD) Karran were expelled to Rambre.<sup>14</sup> The last Feddal state last from 1430 to 1785 king of Arakan conquered 12 territories of Bengal. Cittigone was under Arakanese control before Moghul conquered in 1666. Kings of Arakan took Muslim titles and produced coin with Islamic Kalimah.<sup>15</sup> As many Muslim hostages were brought and sold as slaves by the Portugues, many Muslim served in agriculture, institutional authority and handiwork.<sup>16</sup>

Denying Rohingya's existence, claiming there is no Muslim indigenious ethnic in Myanmar, propagating Rohingya as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh recently, are insulting Myanmar history and prominent historians who dedicated their lives and precious times in writing and researching history of Arakan. Denial of their own historical facts, primary resources, and documents by the State is Neo-Fascist attitude for the elimination of Rohingya and committing Rohingya Genocide.

The Rakhaing who are of Sino-Tibetan stock, did not arrive at their present homeland from Western China until about the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. However, their quasi-historical records which are secondary material compiled centuries later, and liberally sprinkled with anachronisms, now maintain that they have been in their country since 5000 BCE. They also claim, quite seriously, the early Indian dynasties of Dhanyavati and Veshali as their own — peopled by the Rakhaing race. <sup>17</sup>

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13.အခြေပြမြန်မာနိုင်ငံရေးသမိုင်း၊ ပထမတွဲ- Pg-397.

14.ဆရာဦးဘိုးချယ်၊ ဗမာ့မွတ်စလင်တို့၏ ရှေးဟောင်းအတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိ (စစ်ကိုင်းမြဲသန်းပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ၁၉၃၉) pg-39-54) 15. U Myint Thein, Director of Historical Research 21, March 2009. Pg-2

မြန်မာမင်းများအရေးတော်ပုံ၊ နံသာပုံနှိပ်တိုက် 1967, pg-36

16.ရခိုင်ရာဇဝင်သစ်(ဒု)တွဲ ၁၉၃၁, Dr Myint Thein, Director of Historical Research, History Research Department, 21,March, 2009. 17.Shwe Zan, The Golden Mrauk U, p. 149.

**ARAKAN**

## BACKGROUND HISTORY

Bengal and Arakan were two neighboring countries; they are still neighbors but under changed different governments. The Naaf River is the border line between the two countries. The Arakanese chronicles claim that the kingdom was founded in the year 2666 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The elongated coastal strip of Arakan is situated on the western part of Burma (Myanmar) proper and extends for almost 360 miles. At its widest it is roughly 100 miles, while at its narrowest it is only about 25 miles. Oh the west is the Bay of Bengal, the region now called Bangladesh is to the north, and on the east are the high Yoma Mountains. Man tended to congregate in the fertile river valleys.

Ptolemy's researches says "In those remote days, it is possible that it was in Bharatavarsha "The Realm of the Sons of Bharata", a fabled Indian ruler that the earliest name by which Arakan was known was first recorded, and where it achieved notoriety as "Kala Mulkh" (Land of the) Black Faces.<sup>2</sup> As both Rakhine and Burmese still call Rohingya Kalar, "Kala Mulkh" was belong to ancestors of Rohingya. Kala derives from Pali Kula-putta, the best race<sup>2a</sup> and Mulkh means land in Rohingya language.

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1. Gutman, "Between India and Southeast Asia" etc., p. 12.

2. Ray, Brahmanical Gods in Burma, p. 52.

2a. Colonel Ba Shin, History before Anawratha Pg-164(in Burmese)

## ROHINGYA

The history of Arakan has been closely connected with that of Bengal long before that advent of the Muslims. Inscriptions mention a Chandra dynasty was founded in Arakan after the downfall of the third Dinnawadi dynasty (146-198 A.D.) whose names ended in Chandra. The rule of these kings, believed to have often extended as far as Chittagong. From a study of the coins and foreign relations, M.S. Collis came to conclusion that "The area known as north Arakan had been for many years before the 8th century the seat of Hindu dynasties; in 788 A.D. a new dynasty, known as the Chandras, founded the city of Wesali; this city became a noted trade port to which as many as thousands ships came annually; the Chandra kings were upholders of Buddhism,... their territory extended as far north as Chittagong."<sup>3</sup>

The Hindus called Arakanese **Rakshasa** (demons) as they believed them to be the offspring of men and **Rakshasis** (shape-changing female demons) who through their magical powers could metamorphose themselves into delectable maidens.<sup>4</sup> Sir Arthur Phayre says they were Buddhist missionaries from India.<sup>5</sup> The legend of the rakshasa was changed into Rakhapura or Yetkhapura by the present-day Rakhaing who came to Arakan in 10<sup>th</sup> century AD and claimed they are origin of Arakan. In reality, Rakhine are **Tibeto-Burman** and Arakanese are **Indo-Aryan**. The word **Rakkash** is still used for demon by the **Rohingya**, not by Rakhine or any Burmese. The earliest dawn of the history of Arakan reveals the base of the hills, which divide the lower course of the Kaladan and Lemro rivers, inhabited by sojourners from India, governed by chiefs who claim relationship with the rulers of Kapilavastu.

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3. Forchhammer, A Report on the History of Arakan Pg-14

4. Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology etc., p. 141.

5. Gerini, Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, p. 38

Their subjects are divided into the four castes of the older Hindu communities; the kings and priests study the three Vedas; the rivers, hills, and cities bear names of **Aryan** origin; and the titles assumed by the king and queen regent suggest connection with the Solar and Lunar dynasties of India.<sup>6</sup>

Colonel Ba Shin said "It was an Indian State<sup>6a</sup> while Gerini wrote Sada was identified: "as the terminus of the sea-passage across the Bay of Bengal from Palura , effected in a direct line from west to east, and covering a distance of 13,000 stadia. It was, therefore, the first port touched at in his time by ships proceeding from India to the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. Some ships, however, took a more northerly route, and touched at the riverine port of Antibole on the Dhakka or Old Ganges River, before making out for Sada and the Gulf of Martaban.<sup>7</sup>

The area now known as north Arakan has been for many years before the 8<sup>th</sup> century the seat of Hindu dynasties; in 788 A.D., a new dynasty, known as the Chandra founded the city of Wesali [the dynasty then] came to an end in 957 A.D., being overwhelmed by a Mongolian invasion.<sup>8</sup> The Rakhaing who are of Sino-Tibetan stock, did not arrive at their present homeland from Western China until about the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. However, their quasi-historical records which are secondary material compiled after independence, a liberally sprinkled with anachronisms, now maintain that they have been in their country since 5000 BCE. They also claim, quite seriously, the early Indian dynasties of Dhanyavati and Vaishali as their own — peopled by the Rakhaing race.<sup>9</sup>

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6. Forchhammer, A Report on the History of Arakan, Pg-1

6a. Colonel Ba Shin, History before Anawratha Pg-146

7. Gerini, Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, p. 47.

8. Collis, "Arakan's Place in the Civilization of the Bay" etc., p. 486.

9. Shwe Zan, The Golden Mrauk U, p. 149. 10. Ibid Pg-149

## ROHINGYA

Up to 3325 B.C. a local dynasty ruled over Vesali. In 3337 B.C. savages [presumably **Rakshasa** (demons)] overtook the city and rendered it without a king." Johnston mentioned that several inscriptions were in **Bengali characters** and had been added during the tenth century. Gutman, on the other hand, felt that the principal text in this section was of the mid eleventh century.<sup>11</sup> But up to Mrauk U Dynasty, inscriptions were seen in Bengali.

**Dhanyavati and Vaishali were Indian dynasties<sup>12</sup>** with Hindu and Mahayana Buddhist religious followers.<sup>13</sup> During the Chandra rule there had been some Arab settlements in Arakan. The language of the **Chandras was Chittagonian**: Sanskrit, Pali, and Arabic mixed similar to what Buchanan Hamilton found in 1799 with Rohingyas in Burma, also that a similar language was spoken by the Chakma of Arakan and Bangladesh, its written form was similar to **Bengali found in the Ananda Chandra script.**<sup>14</sup>

Almost all inscriptions such as copper plate, stone slab, and other inscriptions of ancient Arakan were written in Bengali language very close of modern dialect of Rohingya in Myanmar. None of the inscriptions is related to language of Tibeto-Burman; Bamar and Rakhine.

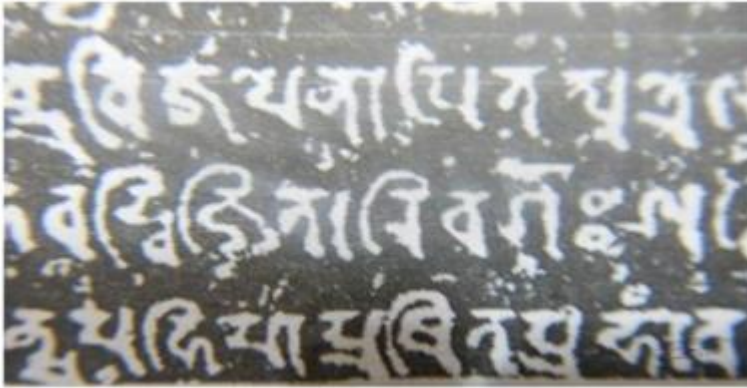
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11. Gutman, "Symbolism of Kingship in Arakan", p. 280.

12. M.S. Collis, Arakan's Place in the Civilization of the Bay: A Study of Coinage and Foreign Relations, Burma Research Society, 50th Anniversary No. 2, 1960, pp. 1485- 1504.13.

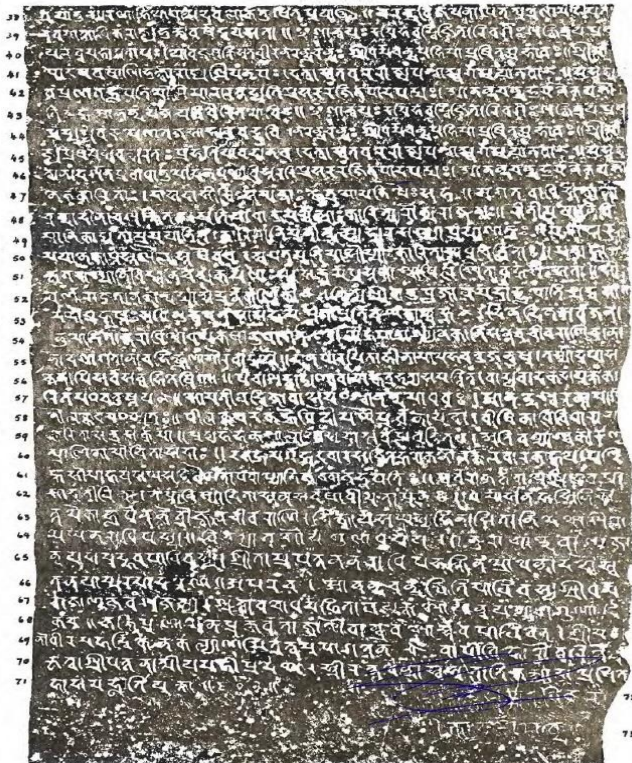
13. Habib Siddiqui, Analysis of Muslim Identity and Demography in Arakan – parts 1

14. Ibid



Inscription of King Ananda Chandra in 8<sup>th</sup> Century AD

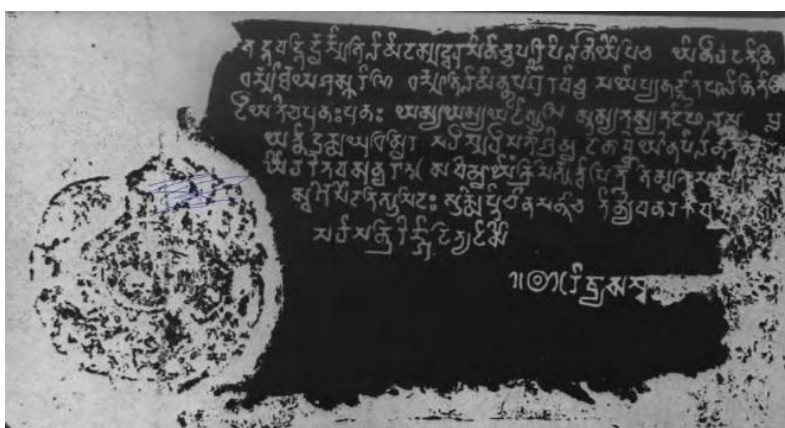
Shitthaung Pillar Inscription, West face, lower half



Shitthaung Pillar Inscription, Front Face

## ROHINGYA

The Anand Chandra Inscription, which contains 65 verses (71 and a half lines) and now sited at the Shit-thaung Pagoda, provides some information about these early rulers. Interestingly, neither the name of the kingdom or the two premier cities – Dhanyavati and Vaishali – is mentioned. This 11-foot high monolith, unique in entire Burma, has three of its four faces inscribed in a Nagari script, which is closely allied to those of Bengali and north-eastern India.<sup>15</sup>



Copper Plate Inscription of Vaisali

Beginning from 957 A.D. There had been a huge migration of Tibeto-Burman Theraveda Buddhist population into the plains of Arakan, by defeating the Chandras they took possession of Arakan and the **Indian look alike people** retreated either toward the Northern part of Arakan or went back to Bengal, making the event its first Indian exodus of Arakaniese people to Bengal.<sup>16</sup>

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15. Habib Siddiqui, Analysis of Muslim Identity and Demography in Arakan – parts 1

16. Ibid



In our contemporary period there has been a conscious effort among Arakan's Rakhine crusader like historians to deny and cleanse from history, not only the traces of Indian Hindu or Mahayana civilization but also the traces of Muslim population and their Arab-Chandra synthesis of the Chandras long before the Tibeto Burman Theraveda Buddhists' existence in Arakan.



Stone Slab Inscription of Vaisali Mound

The works of Daulat Kazi and Alaol who composed poems in the court of Arakan under the patronage of Muslim dignitaries of Arakanese Buddhist king Sri Sudhamma Raja (1622-1638 A.D), are basically translated from Persian and Awadhi romances which the patrons were conversant with and commissioned translation in Bangla. But these are free translations because the poets used their creative inputs to build on the original themes which eventually became the products of their artistic minds. These two poets are considered to be the pioneers of the Bengali literary tradition in Arakan, a place regarded as the birthplace of renaissance of Bengali literature in the seventeenth century. I entreat at your door, begging you to fill the hearts of your mischievous, pitiless slaves with love and humane emotions.<sup>17</sup>

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17.Swapna Bhattacharya, "Myth and History of Bengali Identity in Arakan," in *The Maritime Frontier of Burma: Exploring Political, Commercial and Cultural interaction in the Indian Ocean World, 1200-1800*, ed. Jos Gommans and Jacques P. Leider ( Netherlands: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam KITLV Press, 2002), 200.

## ROHINGYA

Composition of the literature and royal patronage extended to the Bengali literary pursuits is understood in the background of Arakan and Bengal's long political rivalry which in the Seventeenth century reached its climax.<sup>18</sup>

In a situation where Arakanese Mrauk U kingdom is constantly facing threats from the Mughal authority, it has been suggested that the use of Bengali sentiment by extending patronage to the Bengali poets and encouraging a Bengali literary culture to flourish was "to counter further Mughal expansion into the region". The reproduction of Padmabati in the court has the poem arguably carried within itself an implication of Mughal opposition on the part of the Arakanese kings and the governors of Chittagong appointed by the kings.<sup>19</sup> They are both considered as pure 'sufi romances' perhaps attempting to assimilate with the "supra-regional sufi networks".<sup>20</sup>

Another recent study on the identity of Bengali Muslim in Arakan by Thibaut d' Hubert examined the linguistic environment of Arakan during the seventeenth century. His study reveals that in spite of the existence of other languages like Arakanese, Pali, Sanskrit etc, no literary culture other than Bangla was created in Arakan during the period.

He explained that the influence of **Bengali nobles and ministers** on the political and economic structures of Mrauk U kingdom was one of the reasons for Bengali culture to receive royal patronage and special treatment at the court. If the poems are thoroughly analyzed, it is difficult to say that the poets had assumed any such role of a religious preacher.

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18. Bhattacharya, "Myth", 200.

19. Bhattacharya, "Myth", 210-211.

20. Thiabaut d'Hubert, "Pirates, Poets and Merchants: Bengali Language and Literature in Seventeenth century Mrauk U" in *Culture and Circulation: Literature in Motion in Early Modern India*, ed. Thomas de Bruijn and Allison Busch (Brill Academic Publication, 2014, Pg-48

The tales which are basically adopted from folklores of North India and Bihar, like Daulat kazi's Lorchandrani, has more references to Ramayana and Mahabharata, the Hindu epics and has only solitary references to **Quranic characters**.

Moreover the names used for the Arakanese Buddhist kings were essentially **Sanskritised** than **Persianised**; for example Sri Sudharma (Thiri Thudhamma), Sri Chandra Sudharma (Sanda Thudhamma Raza) etc. The essence of the poems can easily be related to the mystical concepts of love, borrowed both from **Sufism** and **vaisnavism**. This was basically a reflection of the community to which these poets belonged to, i.e. the socio-cultural and religious environment of eastern Bengal.<sup>21</sup>



Coin<sup>22</sup> with Hindu symbols, struck in Arakan about the eighth century AD

Though many scholars confirmed the coin belong to Hindu and Bengali from Northern India, Rakhine fabricated it as if it was their symbol and use it in their flag.

## ROHINGYA

Arakanese are Buddhists in religion, their language now is similar to Bengali of the Chittagong dialect; and they have a distinctive physiognomy, but it is not Mongolian. Their number in the Chittagong district, by the census of 1870-71, was 10,852.<sup>23</sup>

Rakhine is said to have derived from the ancient name of the land Rakasa (Pali), Rakhasa (Sanskrit). First it became Rakhit. Then Rakhain.<sup>24</sup> Both Dr. S. B. Kunango and Pamela Gutman say the name Rakhuin, Rakheng were found in Myanmar inscription from 12th to 15th century. Dr. Kunango says perhaps the name Rakhaing was given to the Arakanese by Burman. Formerly in India as well as in the west, Rakhine is known as "Magh". The new English Dictionary states, that the word Mog, Mogen, Mogue ("Bengali Magh") appears as name of Arakan and the people there, in fifteen and sixteen centuries.<sup>25</sup>

Arakanese Muslims were called in many different ways; Muslims, Mohamaden, Muhamedan, Bagalis, Chittagonian, Rohan, Roshan but the word Rohingya was used in 1732 for the first time.<sup>26</sup>

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22. History of Burma, LIEUT-GENEAL SIR AETHUR P. PHAYEE, Pg-47

23. Hunter's "Bengal," vol. vi. p. 250

24. (a) History of Burma Vol. 1 Compiled by BSPP. (b) Major Bashin, Myanmar Naing Ngan before Annawrahta. (c) Naing Pan Hla (Formerly a member of Myanmar History Commission), article in working Peoples Daily (10/12/77).

25. Dr. Kanungo; History of Chittagong Vol. A 1978. Foot note in the article King Berring, JBRS fiftieth anniversary publication No. 11, P- 443.

26. Churchill, collection of voyages and travels London 1732, Vol-6, page-697

The Classical Journal for September and December 1811, vol-4, London, Page- 107

## RAKHINE ARE NOT ARAKANESE

**R**akhine, who claimed Arakanese and officially recognized indigenous people of Myanmar are not Arkanese historically because they are not Indo-Aryan descendant. The word, "Rakhine" was fabricated in 1950s getting promotion of State authority. The only word used for Arkanese Buddhist was **Mugh** in the ancient history. So Rakhine are not indigenous race of Burma and should be verified according to 1982 citizenship law. Though Rakhine fabricated thousands of histories, they failed to prove Rakhine's authenticity and now they are calling themselves Arakan which is neither Rakhine's word nor Bamar; it is a Persian or Urdu word.

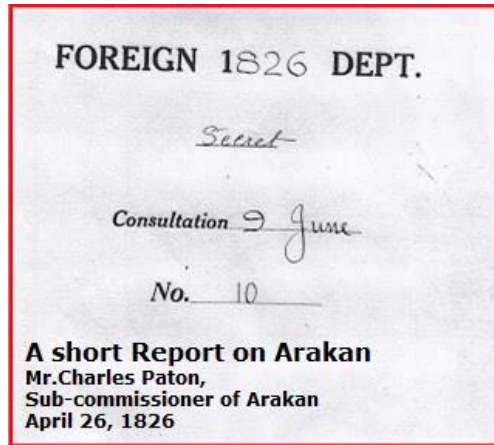
Contemporary speakers of Indo-Aryan languages are spread over most of the northern Indian Subcontinent. The largest group are the speakers of the **Hindi** and **Urdu** dialects of the India and Pakistan, together with other dialects also grouped as Hindustani, numbering at roughly half a billion native speakers. The separation of Indo-Aryans proper from Proto-Indo-Iranians is commonly dated, on linguistic grounds, to roughly 1800 BC. The **Hindustani** languages probably split in such early times, and are either classified as remote **Indo-Aryan** dialects, or as an independent branch of **Indo-Iranian**.

There were also more highly developed communities of Indian origin, in the form of trading settlements located along the entire coast from Bengal to Borneo. In Myanmar, they were located in Thaton (Sud-dhammapura), Pegu (Ussa), Yangon (Ukkalà, then still on the coast), and Mrauk-U, Arakan; also probably along the Tenasserim and Arakan coasts. These settlers had mainly migrated from Orissa on the northeastern coast of the Indian subcontinent, and also from the Deccan in the southeast. In migrating to these areas, they had also brought their own culture and

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religion with them. Initially, the contact between the Hindu traders and the Mon peasants must have been limited. However, the Indian settlements, their culture and traditions, were eventually absorbed into the Mon culture.<sup>1</sup>

Not only in Arakan, the inhabitants of the whole Burma were according to G.E. Harvey, in his History of Burma, relates a Mon legend which refers to the Mon fighting Hindu strangers who had come back to reconquer the country that had formerly belonged to them.<sup>2</sup> According to the Rakhine nationalist narratives, the term Rohingya was created in the 1950s to promote the political demands of the Bengalis in Myanmar.<sup>3</sup> They pointed out British report and claimed there was no Rohingya in British record without analyzing the report. I would like to present Charles Paton's report to figure out the reality.



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1. Buddhism in Myanmar A Short History by Roger Bischoff Pg-14 The Wheel Publication No. 399/401, ISBN 955 – 24 – 0127 – 5
  2. G.E. Harvey, History of Burma (London 1925; reprint 1967) pp. 5, 6. 3.
  3. 3. Dr. Aye Chan, Khin Maung Saw and other bias Rakhine historians

If we analyze that report, we will find that 66.66% of Mugh headmen were from **Bangladesh**; among **30 Mugh headmen, 15 are from Ramoo of Bangladesh, 1 from Cheduba of Bangladesh, 3 migrated from Bangladesh**. There were 11 Muslim headmen, only one person was mentioned remigration; Ameer Ali, a **migrant Mussulman** from Cox's Bazar where he was from some time employed in the **subsidiary Police establishment**. **It means Muslims did not come from Bangladesh**. And there are many words in the report which are still in use daily life of Rohingya.

Those words are neither Rakhine's words nor Bamar, those are specifically related Muslim only such as **para, sardar, raja, zumeendar, ja-geedar, nazir, mahilla, arries, seer, tayngs, ritalu, maund** etc.

Rakhine and Myanmar Government have been publishing bias false and baseless history against Rohingya. They claimed that the word "Rohingya" was used first time after independence of Burma in 1948. According to authentic historical documents, it was used widely in 17 century.<sup>4</sup>

### **Analyze of Mr. Charles Paton's report**

The province of Arracan exclusive of the capital includes 55 village Divisions or Districts, each District or Division containing according to its size from 2 to 60 **Paras**<sup>5</sup>, or small villages, each division is placed under the control of a Sirdar (Division Head) who is held responsible for the good conduct of the Parades of his division, who are generally appointed by the suffrage of the villages.

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4. SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research, Vol. 1, No., 1, Spring 2003, ISSN 1479-8484

5. Rohingya still use the word Para or Fara for village, neither Rakhine nor Burmese use it for the village

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**Rajah**<sup>6</sup> Lao ascended the throne in 758 had his minister Chyeer Mien having stirred up a rebellion obliged him after one or two successful engagements to leave the kingdom and occupied the government, which he held till the year 750, in the year 761, the people of Arracan being dissatisfied with Chynyaman government deposed him and brought **Rajah** Lao back who ruled till the year 762, and was succeeded by his brother Chanda Lao who reigned till the year 766, his son Soomoo-way was raised to the throne, in the year 768, Long Bhaung Rajah of Ava throne of the Yokee, and having assembled an army invaded Arracan, Soomoo-way not being able to oppose him left the kingdom and took refuge with the king of **Hindoostan** leaving Mong Bhoong to take quiet possession of the reins of Government Soomoo-way having ingratiated himself with the king of **Hindoostan** by teaching his people the proper way to catch wild elephants made bold to solicit his aid in recovering the throne of Arracan.

The king sent one of his minister by name Wali Khan with an army for that purpose and he succeeded in driving—the Burmese out of the Kingdom, but instead of placing Soomoo-way upon the throne, he threw him in to prison and usurped the government himself, Klee Kang, Soomoo-way's Brother managed to bribe the officers in whose custody he was, and they both fled to the King of **Hindoostan** who on hearing what had occurred sent for **Sadeek Khan**<sup>7</sup> the son of **Walee Kaan**<sup>8</sup> and ordered him to proceed in company with two of his Ministers **Soo Baba and Daum Baba**, with strict instructions to replace Soomoo-way on the throne and put his own father to death, the king's orders were duly obeyed.

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6. Rohingya word for the king is Raja

7. He was a Muslim

8. A Muslim



Soomooway was reinstated, and Walee Khan decapitated in the year 792, Soomooway removed the seat of government from Chambalay to the town of Arracan, built a stone Fort and surrounded the Town with a strong wall measuring about nine miles, the labor of this work must have been immense as in many places molds of Earth are thrown up to fill the spaces between contiguous hills, in others the hills are joined to each other by a mound faced on both sides with stone took averaging in height from 50 to 100 ft. This prince appear to have paid annually one lac of rupees to the king of Hindoostan, which was continued by his successor **Alee Khang**, and by his son **Kala Shama**<sup>9</sup> until the year 854, his successor were as follows:

Jaroo who ruled till the year .....	856
Manik Ra Bong for only six months	
Cha Lauk Ka .....	863
Manik Rajah.....	885
Kosa Buddee .....	887
Manik Chawa -geeree .....	Six months.
Sha Rajtill.....	893
Mainba.....	915
Manik Da.....	917
His brother whose name is not preserved.....	926
Manik Phatah .....	955
Manik Rajgeeree .....	975
Mara Thyn.....	984
Sooree Soo Thyn .....	1000

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9. None of the Kings was a Rakhine, all of them were either Hindu or Muslim

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Moongjaneer ruled only 28 days when he either died of disease or was put to death by his minister Nara Buddeegereer, who held the sovereignty in the year 1007 and was succeeded by his son SadooThyu who governed till the year 1022 and was succeeded by Chowala Thae Chyu, it was in this reign that Soojah the brother of **Arungzabe** sought refuge in Arracan and was kindly received by the Rajah who supported him and his followers for five years, notwithstanding the Rajah's hospitality and kindness, **Soojah** was not content, and actually set up a faction in the Kingdom. He repaired to the hill of the Kaladyne and having been joined many mal-contented the Rajahat defiance, 1043, a battle took place between the rajah and the Maghul Chief, in which the former was not only worsted, but obliged to give up claim to Chittagong and Jepperah, so long held by his predecessors.

In 1047 Sooree Soo Thye 2nd son of the former Rajah ascended the throne, but being a man of nobility, through his inability the whole Kingdom fell into disorder, he however shortly after died, and was succeeded by his son Warra Thyn who ruled till the year 1054. This prince however did not in any way ameliorate the condition of his subjects; his immediate successor and descendants Munnee Shao and Sadoo Wong held the reins of government till the year 1058.

When on the death of the latter, Tadong a **Wuzeer** became **Rajah**, but he was deposed the following year by a chief named Marapee who only held the rule for 8 months, having been deposed by a chief named Kala Mayta who in 1062 was expelled by Maratee Po, and he again by Keojang who ruled till 1068, when he was deposed by Shah Doula who governed till the year 1072 after which a chieftain known by the name of the Kana Rajah obtained the supremacy, and by his bravery, and good management, not only put down all factions in his kingdom, but regained the District of Chittagong, and Jepperah,

and ruled till the year 1093, when his son-in-law Soorea aided by a party of conspirators deposed and slew him, and assumed the government of Arracan, but could not retain that of Japperah and Chittagong,

The terms Wuzer and Rajah are Hindi or Bengali words which later became Rohingya dialect. As Arungzabe did not return to India, descendants of Arungzabe and his soldiers became inhabitants of Arakan.

He died in 1095 and was succeeded by his son Naratee Buddee who governed for one year when he was deposed by his uncle Nara Pawa who only held the government during the year 1097, in 1097 his son Oojala ascended the throne, who after ruling for six months, was killed by a **Mussalman** named **Kala** who only ruled for six months, when he was killed by a **Mug** Chieftain named Mamdaray Miela of Oojala Rajah who reigned till the year 1104 and was succeeded by his uncle Oobhaya who in 1109 sent an expedition under his son in law Saeew Twanja against Ava, the result of which is not recorded.

**As Report mentioned above, until 11<sup>th</sup> century there was no single name of Mugh or Rakhine, all of the name written in the report were either Indians Hindu or Bengali Muslims and the terms Wuzer, Sardar and Rajah are exclusive Bengali words, neither Rakhine nor Burmese. Report first the time mentioned about a Mug was in 1104AD.**

In 1113 Aga Bakir, the Dacca Nawab having been worsted in a contest near to Dacca by a chief named Oomada applied to the Rajah of Arracan for assistance who sent a **Sardar by name Laya Moorang with 1000 war boats to his aid, who obtained a victory for Aga Bakir and returned to Arracan,** in 1123 Rajah Oobhaya died and was succeeded by his son Seeree Soo who only held the reins of

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government for forty days, when his brother Pooraman assumed the Raj and held it till 1126 in which year he was deposed and killed by Maha Rajh, a chieftain who had married a daughter of Rajah Oobhaya.

This Maha Rajah ruled till 1135 when he was deposed and killed by Soo Mana the son of the **Sardar** who under Oobhayas government had carried an armament to Dacca to the assistance of Aga Bakir. Soo Mana ruled till the year 1139 in which year a person named Phooree who was the head Musician at Arracan went privately to Sandoway and having collected a number of men in the jungles with whom he attacked and killed Soo Mana and held the sovereignty for 40 days, after which he was deposed and compelled to become a Rawbe ( Priest) by Thyn Moree a native of Ramree who ruled till 1144 - on his death Samada son of his aunt ascended the throne, but—in consequence of his bad government several attempts were made to depose him, a chief named Syngdaway formed a plan in concert with Saggya Taungza the Mau Soogree of Ramree to make the government of the country over to the Burmese.

Chongooza, then King of Ava rejected their proposal on the ploy of the unhealthiness of the climate of Araccan, stating that he did not wish to expose this army to the pestilential effects of that country. After the death of Chongooza in the year 1145 and in Phado Phara ascending the throne, Sandway and his colleague went privately to Ava and solicited His Golden footed Majesty to take Arracan and its dependencies under his protection, upon which the King sent three of his sons Heinsoy Meng, Peejay Meng, Tongoo Meng with an army in three divisions to take possession of the country.

The conspirator Sandway conducted the main body into Arracan by the island route, Rajah Samada on hearing of the approach of the Burmese fled and concealed himself on the island of Maway Dong Da

close to Ramree leaving the fate of his kingdom in the hand of his minister Nea Laway who opposed the invaders at the village of Keem about 7 **cass** to the southward of the fort of Arracan in which he was worsted and the Burmese got possession of the country, the divisions and Peejay Meng and Tongoo engendered the province by the route of Toungo and Sandaway. The Magh Chief at Sandaway by name Khoowarsee offered resistance but not being able to oppose the Burmese fled to Chata Anauk on the Naaf where he was afterwards killed. The **Sardar** of Ramee by name Lungshee Meng Thatalya-geree having also been defeated, the Burmese got the possession of the Kingdom.

**The terms cass (Gaz) is used for measurement and Sardar which is a Urdu or Hindi word still used by the Rohingya. Rakhine and Burmese do not know the meaning of those words.**

In 1146 when the government of the Burmese had been firmly established Raja Samada was seized and he with his family, jewels and treasures and the famous image of Goadmah conveyed to Ava, Nanda Bagan a Sardar who had accompanied the expedition was made governor of Arracan and another chief by name Nara Samagya—was put in charge of Ramree and its dependencies Cheduba, Nanda Kamanee was made governor of Sandaway and the conspirator Sangdoway was appointed Meo Soogree of Arracan, and his colleague Saggya Tounza was confirmed in his former situation of Meo Soogree of Ramree - Nanda Bagan is stated to have been a man of conciliating manners and was much liked by the people. He put the Talek route into repair and settled the country. This chief died in 1149 and was succeeded by Auank Phektyhuon who ruled till the year 1152.

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During his government, the tyranny of the Burmese proving intolerable, several of the Mug **Sardars** revolted, but finding themselves unequal to a contest, they solicited aid from the British Government, which was refused, at length being driven to desperation, they displayed the banner of rebellion and being headed by two enterprising Chiefs Sengsheer and Champree and joined by a number of the **Mugh** inhabitants, they assembled at Pragyonta Panbra near to Ooreatong on the eastern side of the river and advanced upon Arracan, which they besieged for five weeks, and nearly succeeded in taking the place, but their Chief Leader Sengsheer having been accidentally shot through the head, the **Mugh**s lost all confidence in themselves and dispersed. The **Sardars** fled to the Company's territories, and the **Ryats** returned, to their villages. Rohingya still use the term Ryats for the public.

On the arrival of Mong Paree a relation of the royal family, Anouk Phaktyhuon returned to Ava, Mong Paree only ruled for one year, when he died in 1153, and was succeeded by a Chieftain named Lyngdawon. During this **Sardar's** rule, the King of Ava invaded the Yoodra, or country of Siam, his troops suffering much from the want of provisions, one of the collectors of state by name Mongree was sent to Arracan with a fleet of boats for grain, he was attacked at the village of Aukhur Chykwa Kheon in the District of Sandoway, by a large party of **Mugs** under three **Sardars**; Palongand, Kheoway and Byong Myng, who defeated Moongree and got possession of the boats, shortly after this, they prepared to attack Arracan, on their arrival at Mahateelyngda Won advanced to meet them, but they had dispersed before his arrival in consequence of being hard pressed by a fleet of war boats from Ramree. The **Mugh Sardars** fled into the Chittagong district, and their followers returned quietly to their villages.

In 1155 Syngdawon was recalled and Myngla Rajah a relation of the Kings appointed his successor. During this chief's rule the King of Ava sent a large army under Myngee Kheodong to demand the three Mugh Sirdars Pulung, Khwappok, and Kheoway Tagong Myng, who had taken refuge in the company's territories, who were delivered up. Polung and Khwappok were shut up in a dark cell and starved to death, Kheoway Tagong Myng managed to make his escape and again returned to Chittagong where he still resides .

In 1157, Mynghla **Rajah** was recalled and Myngee Kheodong appointed his successor. In 1160 , Khyngberring and his father the Meosoogree with several other **Sardars** stirred up a rebellion taking advantage of the absence of Myngee Kheodong, who had been called upon by the King to take command of the army employed in the conquest of the Yoodra country. The King on hearing of the insurrection sent for Khyng berrings brother Sanguaway, who was then at Ava and after acquainting him with the treachery of his father and brother put him to death, and ordered Myngee Kheodong immediately back to Arracan placing under his command 3000 chosen troops.

The **Mugh**s on hearing of his approach became alarmed, deserted their leaders and dispersed, the Meosoogree and Khyngberring with other **sardars** fled towards **Chittagong**, The Meosoogree falling sick on the way died at the village of Mraosik Kheon ( Chota Aunk ), After this nothing particular occurred till the year 1173when Khyng Berring with other **Sardars** formed a resolution to attempt the expulsion of the Burmese and having collected about 500 **Mugh**s invaded Arracan .

None of the king was a Rakhine, all of them were either Hindu or Muslim in 25 boats and landed at the village of Moojay, the Kheonk of which place immediately joined him with about 400 men. He then proceeded to Ooreatong, attacked—the Burmese Thanah (Guard Post)

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and put them all to death. On information reaching the **Rajah** of Arracan he would not at first believe it. The next day Khyng Berring arrived with a fleet of war boats at Baboodong Ghat where he was met by the Rajah and defeated.

After this Myngee Kheodong turned every **Mugh** out of the Town of Arracan. Khyng Berring although worsted in his attack upon Arracan had still a considerable force under his command, part of which he detached under some steady **Sardars** towards Talak, with orders to destroy all the village that did not join him. They burnt Muong Khwakaw and Talak which created such terror amongst the **Mughs** that they all declared for him and joined his standard and he very shortly overran the province of Arracan and its dependencies. Myngee Kheodong, not being able to oppose him in the field applied all his means for the protection of the Capital.

The Cheduba Rajah with a force of about 3000 men attempted to reinforce the Burmese troops but he was attacked, by a party of **Mughs** under Mayok Toung Shaynear the village of Mollong about two days journey from Arracan, killed and his force completely defeated with the loss of about 1000 men, the rest fled into the jungles and escaped. Shortly after this, the governors of Ramree and Sandaway come to retrieve the Burmese Character, and punish the insurgents with a force consisting of about 5000 men in two hundred war boats. The **Mughs** waited for them at the village of Khung Mewa near to where they had defeated the Cheduba **Rajah**.

The **Mugh** fleet consisted of 80 large boats under Khyng Berring in person who attacked the Burmese with such bravery and skill, as completely to defeat them with great loss, and following up the advantage got possession of Ramree, Cheduba and Sandoway, at all of which places he left a considerable force and then returned to



Ooreatong where he built a large stockade for the reception of his army, and having completely hemmed in Myngee Kheodong by a chain of stockades round the capital, he sent a **Vakeel**, by name **Mahomed Hussian** formerly **Cazee** and **Shabundar** of Arracan, to the British government in Calcutta to solicit its countenance and aid which were refused.

Myngee Kheodond finding himself hard pressed for provisions and no prospect of relief resolved to attack the **Mugh** stockade at Laungra Taungruo to the southward of the fort, which he succeeded in carrying out; three days afterwards he attacked the MughPostat Lagyain ring near to Baboodong Ghaut and was equally successful, upon which Khyng Berring assembled all his forces near to Chambalay on the bank of the Khamong about 6 from Arracan, where the Burmese attacked and defeated him with great loss, upon which he retreated and shut himself up with the remainder of his forces on the stockade at Ooreutong.'About this time reinforcement of 5000 men arrived from Ava via Rangoon in war boats.

On their reaching Sandaway, they attacked the **Mugh** stockade and were repulsed, upon which the commander Lyngde Soon, one of the former **Rajahs** of Arracan told his **Sardars** if they did not carry the place next day, he would put them all to death -the following morning at day light they again stormed the place, which had in the meantime been reinforced by a party from Ramree, notwithstanding, the Burmese succeeded in carrying it; after their loss of Sandoway, the **Mugh**s left their stockades at Ramree and Cheduba, and took to their war boats and gave the Burmese battle near to Kheoo Kheemo in the Ramree frontier in which they were worsted.

When Khyng berring heard of this disaster he sent all his disposable force to their aid, who met their defeated friends near to

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Mreebong, about one day's journey on this side of Talak, where they waited the approach of the victorious Burmese. Another engagement took place in which the **Mugh**s were defeated with great loss and being now quite disheartened dispersed. Khyng Berring on hearing of the discomfiture of his forces, fled towards Chittagong and took refuge with about twenty gusty followers on the island of Muscal where he began to form plans for attacking Arracan.

In the month of Katshon( May ) 1174 Mug Era, Kyhng Berring having assembled about 1500 Mugh's again invaded Arracan partly by water with 20 war boats, the rest of his force marching by land and succeeded in surprising the Burmese post at Lawayde, where he found a large depot of grain.

The **Rajah** of Arracan as soon as he heard of Khyng berring's approach sent a **Sardar** by name Nakhyn bo with a detachment of 1000 men to oppose him. The Maghs gave him battle near to Maungdoo and were completely routed and dispersed, Khyng berring escaping only with seven followers -The **Rajah** of Arracan supposing that Khyng Berring's incursions were conceived at , assembled a large force at Maungdoo and sent a **Vakeel** to the officer commanding at Chittagong to state that if Khyngberring and his followers were not given up a war between the Kingdom of Ava and the British government would be the inevitable consequence. Mr.Paton intentionally wrote **vakeel** instead of **lawyer** to emphasize Arakanese language.

The authorities at Chittagong assured the Vakeel that Khyng Berring incursions were made without the knowledge or convenience of the British government, and thus the matter terminated, but not to the satisfaction of the Rajah of Arracan. Shortly after this, Khyng

Berring having collected a number of malcontents commenced marauding on the plains, and was meditating another attack upon Arracan but falling in with a British detachment under Lieutenant Goung, near to Coxes Bazar his party was dispersed, he notwithstanding very shortly managed to collect them again and invaded Arracan with about 40 war boats. On his arrival at the village of Majay, he was joined by the Headman and the greater part of the inhabitant.

The **Rajah** of Arracan immediately sent a fleet of war boats against him, an engagement took place near to Majay in which the **Mugh**s were again worsted, after this defeat Khyng Berring made only one more attempt to gain the sovereignty of Arracan, having got together about three thousand men he took up a position—

In the Kaladyne Mountains, which he strongly stockade. The Burmese sent a force against him, a battle took place in which he was defeated with great loss, his followers deserted him, and he was up to the greatest shifts for the means of subsistence, after having been hunted by the Burmese from one fastness to another, and being quite worn out with watching and fatigue, he closed his eventful career on the Mayngdong - a mountain near to the village of Charkrea in the Chittagong District.

Myngee Khendong having ruled over Arracan for 18 years, died in the **Mugh** Era 1175 and was succeeded-by Myngee Maha Noratha, father in law of the former King of Ava. The only extra ordinary event during his rule is the purchase of a very large Diamond in Calcutta for the King through the agency of **Soojah Caze**e. After having held the government for five years, he was recalled and Myngee Maha Khoodong was appointed his successor, who took charge of his office in 1181. Nothing particular occurred during his government excepting the

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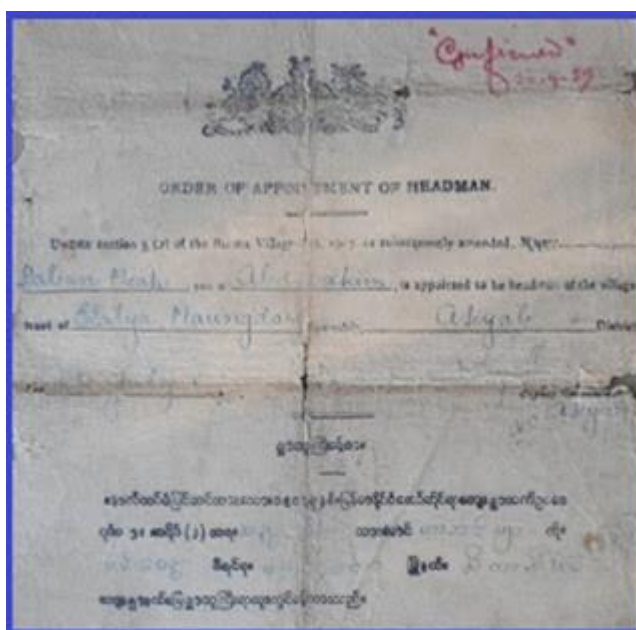
exportation of a large quantity of rice to Rangoon for the use of the Burmese army then engaged in a war with the Yoodra People. This **Rajah** was recalled in 1183 and Myngee Maha Kheojawah Teersawyn was appointed his successor.

In 1185 **Mugh** Era during the month of Toutha Long corresponding with August 1823, a person named Kongzahkag - Kheouk of the village of Majay, having oppressed the **Ryats**, they complained against him to the Rajah, who decided in their favor, in consequence of which, the Kheouk left the province and fled into the Chittagong district, turned corn dealer and set the **Rajah** at defiance. The adhering at Maungdoo by name Muay was ordered by the **Rajah** to establish a Chokey at Shapooree for the purpose of seizing Kounjjakkay.

Whilst navigating the Naaf, one day his boat happened to pass laden with rice, Muay called out to him, "stop" telling him that a Chokey had been established by the Burmese and that each boat passing must pay 2 rupees, Kounj jockay replied, "shapooree--" belongs to the company, you have no right to establish a Chokey on it, and I will not allow you to search my boat" upon which Muay's people fired into the boat and Kaungjakkay was killed.

The boatmen immediately pulled over to the **Chittagoung** side, and reported the circumstance to the Thanadar at Teek Naaf ( by name Tarhy Ram) who brought the affair to the notice of the Magistrate Mr. Lee Warner, who sent a party of **Sepoys** to take possession of the island of Shappooree. This was immediately made known to the **Rajah** of Arracan who after some deliberation sent a Detachment of 500 men under two **sardars** by names Chickaydo Manea Bulla Noratha, and Nakhando, to retake it, which they did, and this originated the war.

Previous however to resorting to open hostilities negotiations were attempted by the British government to settle the differences and define the frontier of the two states but in vain. Shortly after the declaration of the war the Burmese entered our provinces in force, and cut up a Detachment at Ramoo, under Captain Nroton, where they stockade themselves, but as soon as Sir A Campbell took Rangoon they were recalled for the defense of Pegue.



Order of appointment of headman for a Muslim

The population of Arracan and its dependencies Ramree, Cheduba and Sandaway does not at present exceed 100, 00 souls, may be classed as follow—Mughls six tenths, Mussalman three tenths of the total 100,000 Souls and Burmese One tenth.

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The Musalman **Sardars** generally speak good Hindoostanee, but the lower orders of that class, who speak a broken sort of Hindoostanee, are quite unintelligible to those who are not thoroughly acquainted with the jargon of the southern parts of the Chittagong District. The universal Language of the provinces is the Mugh, which although differing in some respects from the Burmah, particularly in pronunciation, is written and spelt in the same way and with the same character; almost everyone is able to write and as females are not precluded from receiving instruction, they are often shrewd and intelligent. The Mugs, being particularly fond of hunting and fishing, do not make such good farmers as the Mussalman.

## LANGUAGE OF ARAKANESE

Like animals and plants, the world's languages are the result of a long "natural history," which began with a single first language. As human populations migrated to new places on the planet, each group's version of the language changed in different ways, until there were several languages where there was once one. Eventually, there were thousands. Languages change in ways that make old sounds into new sounds and words into grammar, and they shift in different directions, so that eventually there are languages as different as German and Japanese. At all times, any language is gradually on its way to changing into a new one; the language that is not gradually turning upside-down is one on the verge of extinction. This kind of change is so relentless that it even creates "languages within languages." In separate populations who speak the same language, changes differ.

The result is variations upon the language—that is, dialects. Often one dialect is chosen as the standard one, and when it is used in writing, it changes more slowly than the ones that are mostly just spoken, because the permanency of writing has an official look that makes change seem suspicious. But the dialects that are mostly just spoken keep on changing at a more normal pace.<sup>1</sup>

Before explaining the language of Arakanese, I would like to point out influence of Indians and **Bengali** in Burmese literature. The derivation

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1. Story of human language, by Professor John McWhorter pg-1

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of the word "Mranma," the national appellation of the Burmese race, can be made to tell an interesting tale, Burma is known to the people of **Bengali** as **Brahmodesh**, which is the **Bengali** form of the Pali designation "**Brahmadesa**" or the region or country of Brahma, the Creator of the Hindu Triad. Now h and m are Interchangeable in the Indo-Chinese languages, and Brahm and, became Mrahma ; and the letter h being, by assimilation, changed into m the word Mrahma assumed the form Mramma. Now, "r" and "y" are interchangeable, so we get the form Myanmar. In Burmese prose we get the form "မြန်မာ" Myanmar, while in works written in Pali the form "မြမ္မဒေသ" Mramma-desa invariably occurs.

The derivation of the Burmese is a Turanian language as contradistinguished from an Aryan language, and belongs to that family of languages which has been described as Tibeto-Burman. A language, like an organism, grows, and during its long career of development many accretions cling to it. Some of these accretions are thoroughly assimilated and become part and parcel of the organic growth, while others still retain their nature of foreign excrescences. The following examples will illustrate this remark. The expression ငှါးလှူ is made up of two words, ငှါး = (Chinese lu) to give, and လှူ = (Pali or Sanskrit दत्त) giving or a gift. The expression means to give as a charitable offering or to exercise charity. Both the Talaing and Burmese forms of the word are traceable to the same source; and Burmese history tells us that at Prome a tribe called the Mranmis arose and attained political eminence.

From the derivation of the above two words we may infer that Burma is the meeting-point of two civilizations, namely, that of India and of China; that the Mongoloid tribes which were eventually amalgamated into a political society, were first brought under the influence of Hindu colonists who worshipped Brahma; and that the center of Brahmanical influence in Burma was Prome.



The grammatical apparatus being thus deficient, the vocabulary of the Burmese language may be divided into three groups. The first group would include nouns and pronouns; the second, verbs; and the remaining parts of speech, including particles, would be placed in the third group. The words in the first two groups are like brick or stone, and those in the third are like mortar which cements the building materials together. It is apparent that most of the words in the third group were independent words at one time, and that they have been ground down to their present form through years of attrition. An instance may be cited, namely, that of ခေတ္တ, a Burmese honorific affix. This should be transcribed as to'. Owing to Bengali influence, the vowel "a" was changed to "o", and thus this td was originally ta.<sup>2</sup>

The form of the letters, the order of the vowels and consonants and the classification of the latter, prove that the Burmese alphabet is but one modification of ancient **Nagari**; as Pali language itself, as used by the Burmese, is but a modification of the Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup>

The early Buddhist stronghold in Burma was at Sudhammapura, the capital of Manohari, king of Pegu. Anuruddha, king of Pagan, at the instance of Arahanta, a great therā who came from Sudhammapura to Pagan, made war with Manohari and brought the sacred relics and books to Pagan.

All the members of the Satilgha in Thaton (Sudhammapura) were also transferred to Pagan. Anuruddha further sent for copies from Ceylon, which Arahanta compared with those of Pegu, to settle the readings.<sup>4</sup> There are many suttas in Kaccayana's grammar which are identical with those of the Katantraryakarar:ta. This grammar is said to have been carried into Burma early in the fifth century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

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2. Elementary Handbook of the Burmese Language 1898 pg-ii-iv

3. Grammar of the Burmese language by A. Judson pg- 5

## ROHINGYA

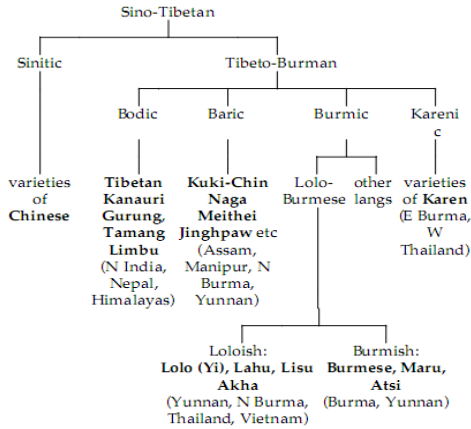
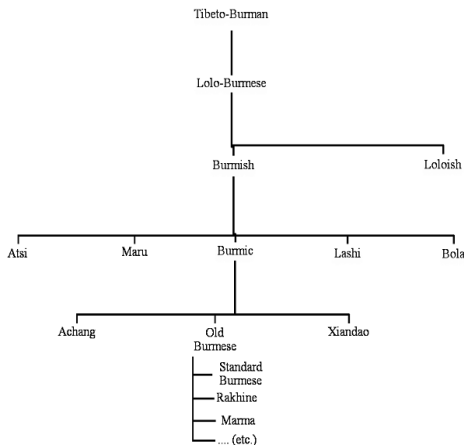


Table adapted from data in A guide to the languages of the world by Merritt Ruhlen (1987) and The major languages of East and Southeast Asia by Bernard Comrie (1990, London, Routledge)

Burmese has its own script. It was adapted for Burmese around 1100 AD from the script used by the Mon people for their language, and that in turn was derived ultimately from a script devised and used in India between 500 BC and 300 AD.<sup>6</sup>



### The Burmese language family

4. A history of Pali Literature Pg-582

5. Ibid Pg-622

6. Burma by Ear or Essential Myanmar pg-12

The Burmese script derives from 11<sup>th</sup> century Mon. In A.D 1057 one of the first Burmese Kings, Anuruddha, conquered Thaton, a major Mon center, and the wise Monks, skilled artists and artisans were brought back with him to Bagan. The Burmese writing system derives from a Brahmi-related script borrowed from South India in about the eighth century for the Mon language. The first inscription in Burmese dates from the following years and is written in an alphabet almost identical with Mon inscriptions.

The first printing in Myanmar started from 1836 with the publication of English language newspaper under British colonial areas; Assam, Manipur, Arakan and Tenasserim. Adoniram Judson of the American Baptist Mission published the first English-Burmese dictionary in 1852. The first publication under Burmese Monarchy started with the book "The Life or Legend of Gaudama" in 1854.

Language	Language Group	Religion	Region	Speaking Population	Scripts
Kachin (Jinpaw)	Tibeto-Burman	Mostly Christians	Kachin State	0.7 million	Latin
Kayin Karen	Tibeto-Burman	Christianity, Aminism,& Buddhism	Karen State	3million	Karen Extended Myanmar
Chin	Tibeto-Burman	Christianity Ethnic religion	Chin State	1million	Latin
Mon	Mon-Khmer	Buddhism	Mon State	1.2million	Mon Extended Myanmar
Bamar	Tibeto-Burman	Buddhism, other	Official language	34.5million	Myanmar
Rakhine	Tibeto-Burman	Buddhism	Rakhine State	2.1million	Myanmar
Shan	Thai-North-West	Buddhism	Shan State	4million	Shan Extended Myanmar

Table : Selected Major Languages in Myanmar

## ROHINGYA

Both the Dhanyawady and Wethali or Vaisali civilizations were founded by adventurers from India bearing Hindu names. Citing sources Assamese adventurer “Kammaraja” came from Assam (Northern India) to set the second kingdom of Dhanyawady. After the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the Hindu art of Vesali parallels, in many respects, the Calukyan style which emerged at Badami after the disintegration of the Magadhan Empire.

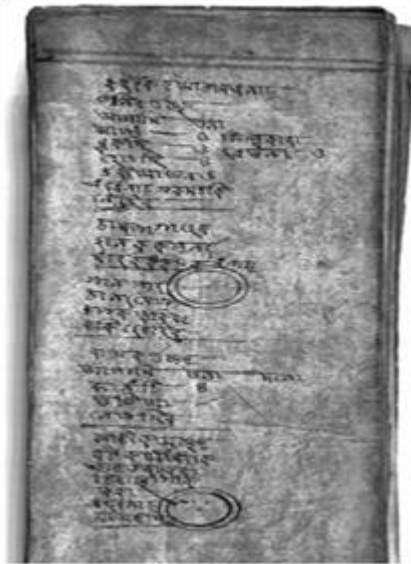


Figure 1 List of pharmaceutical recipes in Bengali.

© British Library Board, Or Add 12256A.

Written in Bengali script found in Arakan vertically down the recto of the initial folio of Add 12256A is the “amazing cure of dhabaṭaṃka”.

Line 1: dhaba ṭaṃkara ājāb elāca, containing a “list of medicinal remedies” line 2: tālika oṣuta. It seems that at least two pharmaceutical recipes are described, which are called the “bāaramedicine” line 15: bāara oṣuta and “the fakir’s medicine” line 20: phākīra aṣut). Unfortunately,

most of the substances mentioned, as well their weights and methods of preparation, cannot be read with certainty.

If we analyze this script, we can see many words which are available in current Rohingya dialect. The word *dhaba* is still used by Rohingya for medicine, *elaca* for cure, *osuta* for disease, *baara* for twelve, *fakir* for poor, *ajab* for amazing. None of these words can be found in both Rakhine and Burmese literature.



Figure 2 Mixed usage of Arakanese and Bengali script in marginalia. © British Library Board, Or Add 12258B.

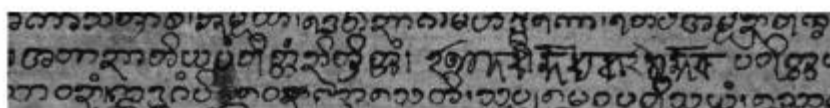


Figure 3 Bengali script in the body of a collection of Pali paritta texts in Arakanese script. © British Library Board, Or Add 12258B

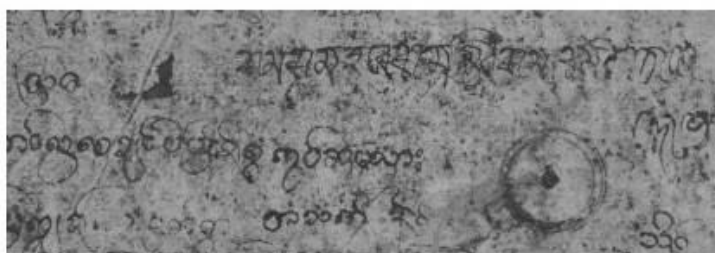


Figure 4 Bengali and Arakanese scribble. © British Library Board, Or Add 12257Bi

## ROHINGYA



Figure 5 Pharmaceutical recipe in Bengali script and Arakanese. © British Library Board, Or Add 12258A

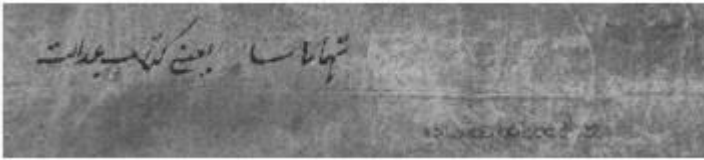


Figure 6 Title in Persian: Thāmāsā yanī kitāb-i adālat, "Thāmāsā that is to say the book of law." Title in Arakanese (inverted): Dhammasāt araṇ, "Original dhammasat." © British Library Board, Or Add 12254.

Up to the end of the Mrauk Dynasty, almost all of the scripts found in Arakan were in Bengali or Persian languages, sometimes, we can see there are mix-language; Rakhine and Bengali but Bengali dominated in the scripts. Myanmar government and Myanmar media including some international media in Burmese version claimed that there is no Rohingya in Myanmar history; they had never heard the word Rohingya before independence. I would like to prove that Rohingyas are the most senior indigenous race who has been continuously tortured and deprived all their basic fundamental rights by Myanmar dictators for many decades.

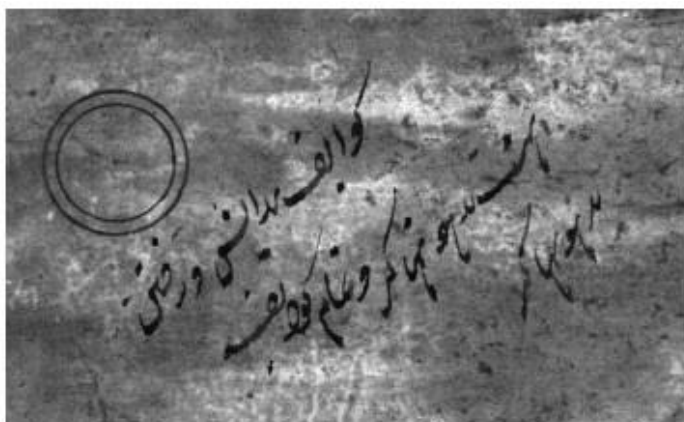


Figure 7 Title in Persian: Kawāyif-i paidāyish wa raftan-i bihisht-i budho thākūr wa tamām-i kawāyif-i budho thākūr, "Accounts of the birth and departure to Heaven of Buddha Ṭhākūr and all the accounts about Buddha Ṭhākūr." © British Library Board, Or Add 12256A



Figure 8 Arakanese script aligned along headline. © British Library Board, Or Add 12258A.

21. Journal of Bengali Studies Vol. 5, No. 1 Pg-11-12

22. History of Burma, LIEUT-GENEEAL SIR AETHUR P. PHAYEE, Pg-47

23. Hunter's "Bengal," vol. vi. p. 250

# ROHINGYA



Letter from Man Raja-kri to the Prince of Orange, n.d. [1608] NA VOC 4778

The royal seal in Arakanese at the top right hand corner is probably redrawn from the original Persian letter and difficult to read. One line reads Man-Raja.



## BUDDHISM IN ARAKAN

**B**uddhism Dhammo have rakkhati dhammacāriṃ, Dhammo suciṇṇo sukhamāvahāti; Esānisaṃso dhammesuciṇṇe, Naduggatiṃ gacchati dhammacāri ti.

Dhamma indeed protects the one who is faring in Dhamma, when Dhamma is practiced uprightly it will lead to happiness; this is the reward for Dhamma rightly practiced, someone who follows the Dhamma will not be going downward.

In the above Buddhist religious saying "Rakkhati" means "to protect" but Rakhine made it their name of ethnic, and claim they are the most reliable protectors of Buddhism. The term Rakhine did not exist up to Mrauk U dynasty. After Burmese invasion of Arakan it became popular but until 1974, the name Rakhine State was Arakan.

Magadhata dialect which was used by the Buddha himself.<sup>1</sup> 1Magadhata or the Magadhi dialect, is very close to Rohingya dialect of modern time. The Rakhine people speak Tibeto-Barman, live mainly in western Myanmar and in southeastern Bangladesh. In Myanmar, they live in Rakhine State and in Chin State. In Rakhine State, Rakhine people live as far south as Gwa, in Thandwe, on the islands of Ramree and Man Aung and extending north up through Sittwe and Mrauk-U to the southeastern border of Bangladesh. In Chin State, they live in Paletwa Township.

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1. A History of Pali literature pg-14

2. Lewis et al. 2014 , Yaw and Statezni 2012:1

## ROHINGYA

Buddhist ideas and practices provided a blueprint for the organization of the early Burmese states. The significance of Buddhist practice in society is evidenced in the relations between laity and state. The main aims of state were to spread Buddhism and maintain the Burmese social and political organizations. Traditionally the Burmese king had a primary duty to propagate Buddhism, primarily by giving material support to the monks; and the role of monks was to preach. The propagation of Buddhism was thus largely conducted through maintaining and making the sacred canonical text, constructing religious buildings, pagodas, and architectures which were mainly donated by the kings, the queens, and the wealthy. Meditation as a personal practice may also have been practised by monks and a few laity.<sup>3</sup>

The founder of the Candara dynasty was Maha Taing Candara. He ascended the throne in 788 A.D. and built the city of Vesali which he made his capital. Vesali collapsed due to the invasion of the Shans in 957 A.D. Though under unsettled conditions it continued as capital till 1018 A.D. Arakan State have been destroyed by vandatism, or been encased in pagodas built by later kings. There is no doubt, however. That they were once plentiful. The inscription of Viracandara, a king of the Candara dynasty states that a hundred stupas were constructed and dedicated by King Viracandara because of his love for the True Law. To date, over thirty stone inscriptions bearing, in Gupta characters, the Yedhamma verse in full, have been found from all over Arakan. These stone inscriptions are the remains of the old stupas built before the 6th century A.D.<sup>4</sup>

Conquest of Thaton in 1057, and it was during the suzerainty of the Anawrahta dynasty (1044-1283)- those two centuries and a quarter of glorious and magnificent mediaeval kingship- that the Mahayana and

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3.Changing Buddhist Practice in Burma The Australian National University November 2004 pg-26

4. San Tha Aung, The Buddhist Art of Ancient Arakan pg-10-17

other cults of Northern Buddhism had their palmy.<sup>5</sup> (Pg- 91) At the end of a long siege Thaton ceased to be a royal capital, and Anawrahta (1044-1077), the victorious king of Pagan, returned to his capital with the most valuable treasures of the faith, nearly the entire host of monks, and with them thirty-two white elephants, each laden with scriptures and relics, all belonging to Manuha, the Talaing king of Thaton. Thaton was annexed and Manuha kept for Thaton, the Talaing capital of Lower Burma, known in ancient days as Ramannadesa, the land par excellence of the Talaings, while Upper Burma was known as Mrammadesa, the land par excellence of the Burmese. This historic event took place in the third quarter of the eleventh century of the Christian era, in 1057, or, perhaps, 1058, to be more exact, when Pagan was fast rising to importance. (Pg-2)

Which in nearly every case is the well-known Buddhist formula, ye dharma heruprabhava..., written in mediaeval Nagari, and sometimes in proto-Bengali characters of the 9th – 13th centuries.

Pointed out by that pioneer scholar of Burmese antiquities, Mr. Forchammer<sup>7</sup>, He wrote as early as 1880, "There exists a real Sanskrit literature in Burma written on paper like India with Nagari and Bengali characters. These records are in the hands of the descendants of Hindu colonists who at different periods, some even before the spread of Buddhism in Burma, settled in this country..., Burma deserves to be drawn within the circle of those countries where researches of Sanskrit records ought to be made"<sup>8</sup>

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5. Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma pg-91

6. Ibid pg-2

7. Jardine, Notes on Buddhist Law, IV., Introduction by Forchammer, p.17; also, Forchammer, Report of Literary Work, 1879-80, pp.6 ff.

8. Forchammer, ibid, pg.13. (Pg-40)

## ROHINGYA

The Mahamuni image of Arakan, a gilt image of huge proportions possibly represents Maitreya; at least there are two early Burmese chronicles, the Maharaja Van Tawkri and the Pagan Raja Van Thit which state that it is an image of Maitreya.<sup>9</sup> All that was known of the early history of Arakan up to 1000,A.D., was the dynastic lists given in the local chronicles. The lists of kings began with those who were dated from about 3000 B.C. The first king mentioned was Marayu. He was the son of a prince from Kapilavastu who must have been driven into this region on political grounds. Marayu married the daughter of a powerful Mro tribal chief of whom the deep was held sacred. When the young prince came of age he led the whole of his mother's tribe, as well as all his father's followers from India and conquered Arakan. He founded the first city of Dhanyawadi. His descendents numbered fifty four kings among them.<sup>10</sup>

This fact would explain the visits of the Buddha to Thaton and Shwesettaw in the Mon and Myanmar oral tradition, and the belief of the Arakanese that the Buddha visited their king and left behind an image of himself for them to worship. Modern historiography will, of course, dismiss these stories as fabrications made out of national pride, as the Myanmar had not even arrived in the region at the time of the Buddha. However, it is possible that the Myanmar and Arakanese integrated into their own lore the oral historical tradition of their Indian predecessors. This does not prove that the visits really took place, but it seems a more palatable explanation of the existence of these accounts than simply putting them down to historical afterthought of a Buddhist people eager to connect itself with the origins of their religion. The Sāsanavaūsa mentions several visits of the Buddha to Myanmar and one ism in Myanmar.<sup>11</sup>

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9. An, R.A.S.B., 1909, p.10. (Pg-43)

10. San Tha Aung, The Buddhist Art of Ancient Arakan pg-9

11. A Short History by Roger Bischoff pg-17

Arakan was a Hindu kingdom in the distant past . . . The Mongolian [Burmese-speaking Rakhaing] invasion of 957 put an end to the Chandra dynasty and Hinduism in Arakan. The Mongols later assimilated with the locals-the Rohingya Muslims and the Magh [Bengalis, according to this account] Buddhists. In the 15th century, a number of Muslim Kings ruled Arakan, which was a golden period in the history of Arakan. During this period, Rohingya Muslims played a dominant role in the political life of Arakan . . . Burmese rule of Arakan [after 1784] was short lived but bloody and brutal. Historically, the Rohingya's association with Arakan is much older. The ancestors of the people, now known as the Rohingyas, came to Arakan more than a thousand years ago. They became [an] integral part of the Arakan [Littoral] socially, politically and economically. On the other hand, the Burmese have always been identified as the plunderers and despoilers.<sup>12</sup>

Mugh is a referent for the Rakhaing with very early roots. In 1585, Fitch referred to the "Kingdom of Recon and Mogen." On the basis of this reference, one must reject Sukomal Chaudhuri's assertion that the Rakhaing came to be known as Mugh in the from the start of the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, references to Mugh do increase rapidly. Portuguese accounts, for example, used Mogo to refer to Ralph Fitch.<sup>13</sup>

All of the Myanmar historians confirmed that Theraveda Buddhism was introduced in Myanmar by Anawratha former Anuradha who converted Hinduism to Buddhism. 100% of Rakhine believe Theravada

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12.AbdurRazaq&MahfuzulHaque, A Tale of Refugees: Rohingyas in Bangladesh (Dhaka: Centre for Human Rights, 1995), 15. Pg-3

13. "An Account of Pegu in 1586-1587," SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research 2.2 (Autumn 2004): 168. Sukomal Chaudhuri, Contemporary Buddhism in Bangladesh (Calcutta: Atisha Memorial Publishing Society, 1982): 2

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Buddhism. Rakhaing scholar, U ThaHla, has recently explained that the Rakhaings are Buddhists who have embraced Theravada discipline....The Buddhist culture forms the main fabric of the society and dominates the attitude of the people. No Rakhaing professes any other religion but Buddhism.<sup>14</sup>

According to historical records, Rakhine came into existence after Anawraht's invasion of Arakan State. 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 KhaungYaza's invasion in 1406 and the third major invasion was by Budapawa in 1784. Anawrahta, who 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 dimension in Burmese politics.<sup>15</sup> 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 threatened by the xenophobic invasion, left Arakan for Southern Chittagong.<sup>16</sup>

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14. ThaHla, "The Rakhaing," Rakhaing Guardian 1.1 (Spring, 1997).

15. Origin of the Tribes of Chittagong Hill Tract (CHT)

16. History of Arakan by Rakhine State Council, 1984, P-71.

## ISLAM IN ARAKAN

In the middle of the eighth century, large, regionally based imperial systems emerged in Bengal, some of them patronizing Buddhism, others a revitalized Brahmanism. The first and most durable of these was the powerful Pala Empire (ca. 750–1161), founded by a warrior and fervent Buddhist named Gopala. From their core region of Varendra and Magadha, the early kings of this dynasty extended their sway far up the Gangetic Plain, even reaching Kanauj under their greatest dynast, Dharmapala (775–812). It was about this time, too, that a regional economy began to emerge in Bengal. In 851 the Arab geographer Ibn Khurdadhbih wrote that he had personally seen samples of the cotton textiles produced in Pala domains, which he praised for their unparalleled beauty and fineness.<sup>1</sup>

A century later another Arab geographer, Mas'udi (d. 956), recorded the earliest-known notice of Muslims residing in Bengal. Evidently long-distance traders involved in the overseas export of locally produced textiles, these were probably Arabs or Persians residing not in Pala domains but in Samatata, in the southeastern delta, then ruled by another Bengali Buddhist dynasty, the Chandras (ca. 825–1035). What makes this likely is that kings of this dynasty, although much inferior to the Palas in power, and never contenders for supremacy over all of India like their larger neighbors to the west, were linked with Indian Ocean commerce

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1. Ronald B. Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture: A History of Caste and Class in Middle-Period Bengal* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 75–76.

## ROHINGYA

through their control of the delta's most active seaports. Moreover, while the Palas used cowrie shells for settling commercial transactions.<sup>2</sup>

Mas'udi remarked about Muslims residing in Pala domains is significant in the context of these commercially and politically expansive Buddhist states, for by the tenth century, when Bengali textiles were being absorbed into wider Indian Ocean commercial networks, two trade diasporas overlapped one another in the delta region. One, extending eastward from the Arabian Sea, was dominated by Muslim Arabs or Persians; the other, extending eastward from the Bay of Bengal, by Buddhist Bengalis.

Possibly the history of Arakan can be classified in the following manner into 10 periods: (1) 100-788 AD (Some Hindu dynasties), (2) 788-957 AD (Chandra Hindu dynasty), (3) 957-1430 (A Chaotic period of Mongolians, Buddhists and Muslims), (4) 1430-1784 AD (Mrauk-U dynasty of Muslims & Buddhists), (5) 1784-1826 AD (Burman Buddhist Rule), (6) 1826-1948AD(British Colonial Rule),(7) 1948-1962 (Parliamentary Democracy Rule) (8)1962-1974 AD (Revolutionary Military Government Rule)<sup>4</sup> (9) 1975-1988 (One Party Socialist Programme Party Government Rule), (10) 1988-1999 AD (SLORC/SPDC Military Government Rule).<sup>5</sup>

Under different periods of history, Arakan had been an independent and sovereign monarchy ruled by Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims. According to A. P Phayer and G.E. Harvey, the Arakanese kings established alternately capitals in eight different towns, transferring from one to another. They were successively at Dinnyawadi, 25 kings (146-746 AD); Vesali, 12 kings (788-994 AD); First Pyinsa (Sanbawut), 15 kings

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2. N. K. Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India* (Calcutta: Firma K. L.M., 1965), 2: 58-63, 97

3. Ibid 231

4. G.E Harvey, *History of Burma*, London, 1928, P.137, P.369 – 372

5. D.G.E Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, New York, 1977, P.389. M.S Collis, *Arakan's Place in the Civilisation of the Bay*, Journal of Burma Research Society 50th Anniversary Publications No.2, Rangoon, 1960, P.486.



(1018-1103 AD); Parin, 8 kings (1103-1167 AD); Krit, 4 kings (1167-1180 AD); Second Pyinsa, 16 kings (1180-1237 AD); Launggyet, 17 kings (1237-1433 AD) and Mrauk-U, 48 kings (1433-1785 AD).<sup>6</sup>

Buddhism would seem to have reached Arakan long before its arrival in the interior of Burma. The famous Mahamuni image of Lord Buddha, usually placed in the Shrine at Shiri Gupta hill of Dinnyawadi, an old capital and some 21 miles north of Mrauk-U may be dated from the early centuries of the Christian era. Mahamuni image was built by the king Sandathuriya (146-198 AD). There was Hindu god, which indicated that Arakan was a Hindu land until 10th century AD. According to Morris Collis, the Hindu ruled Arakan from 1st century to 10th century. At that time Arakan was the gate of Hindu India to contact with the countries of the East. But the Arakanese Rakhine chronicles claim that the kingdom of Dinnyawadi was founded in the year 2666 BC, and contain lists of kings beginning with that date.<sup>7</sup>

Inscriptions mention a Chandra dynasty, which may have been founded as early as the end of 8th century. Its capital was called by the Indian name of Vaisali, and thirteen kings of the dynasty are said to have reigned there for a total period of 230 years.<sup>8</sup> The city of Vesali was founded in 788 AD by king MahataingSandya. The ruins of the city are still to be seen on the bank of a tidal creek about 44 miles inland from the Bay of Bengal (from Akyab City). This city became a noted trade port to which as many as a thousand ships came annually. The Chandara kings extended their territory as far north as Chittagong; the dynasty came to

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6. G.E Harvey, *History of Burma*, London, 1928, P.137, P.369 – 372.

7. D.G.E Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, New York, 1977, P.389.

8. D.G.E Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, New York, 1977, P.389.

## ROHINGYA

an end in 957 AD being overwhelmed by a Mongolian invasion. Vesali was an easterly Hindu kingdom of Bengal. Both government and people is Indian similar to that of Bengal.<sup>9</sup>

Before the arrival of Islam in Arakan, the people of Vesali professed Hinduism and Buddhism. Later they abandoned Hinduism and professed Buddhism and Islam. Inside the palace compound of Vesali there were many stone plates inscribed in Nagri. The Vesali kings also melted good silver coins. Stamped on them are the bull, Nandi, the avatar of Siva; Siva's trident; and shred of flowers melted with Bhraman civilization. Before the arrival of Islam in Arakan, the people of Vesali professed Hinduism and Buddhism. Later they abandoned Hinduism and professed Buddhism and Islam. Inside the palace compound of Vesali there were many stone plates inscribed in Nagri. The Vesali kings also melted good silver coins. Stamped on them are the bull, Nandi, the avatar of Siva; Siva's trident; and shred of flowers melted with Bhraman civilization.<sup>10</sup>

အထူးဖော်ပြချက်	ထိုနောက် သက္ကရာဇ် (၈၈၇) ခုနှစ် ကိုးဆက်
မြောက်ဦးမြို့တော်၌	မြောက်သော ဇလတ္တာမင်း စောမွန်လက်ထက်
ရုပ်ပါသောသံအမတ်ကြီး	တော်၌ ရုပ်ပါသောမင်း၏ သံအမတ်ကြီး ကာဒီ
သုံးယောက်တို့သည် ငှင်း	မူသော ဟော်နုများတို့သည် နိုင်ငံတော်၌ မဟာ
မြို့တော်၌ မဟာမတ်ဒန်	မတ်ဒန်သာသနာတည်ပင်ပြန့်ပြောစေခြင်းငှာ။ ပူ
သာသနာကို တည်ပင်အောင်	လီကျောင်းတို့သည် မြို့တော်၌ အပြန်အနှံ့
	တည်ထောင်ဆောက်လုပ်ကြ၍၊ မြို့တော်တွင်

During Mrauk U period, three Muslim Persian Ambassadors contributed to develop Arakan, as well as spread Islam. In 887 ME, during the region of Min Saw Mon, Kadi Musa and Hanumia built many Mosques to spread Islam, preached in public daily. So Buddhists converted to Islam. Muslim influenced the whole kingdom. They offered gifts to the kings and people liked them.<sup>11</sup>

9. M.S Collis, Arakan's Place in the Civilisation of the Bay, Journal of Burma Research Society 50th Anniversary Publications No.2, Rangoon, 1960, P.486.

10. Ibid. P.487. 11. Great history of Rakhine pg-3 Special Note

လူအပေါင်းတို့အား ဟောပြောပြသလျက်၊ နေ့စဉ်မပြတ်ပြုလုပ်တော်မူလေသည်။ ထိုအခါအချို့သော ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာလူမျိုးတို့သည် ယုန်ကြဉ်လျက် ၎င်းဘာသာ၌ဝင်၍ ၎င်းတရားကို ဆောံတည်လျက် ဖြစ်ရှိကြလေသည်။ သို့နှင့် မဟာမတ်ဒန်လူမျိုးတို့သည် နိုင်ငံနံတော်၌ ဖုန်းလွန်းစိုးမိုးလျက် ပြန်နံ့စွာ ဖြစ်ရှိလေသည်။ ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်ကိုလည်း လက်ဆောင်ပန်နာပို့ဆက်လျက်။ ဘုရင်မင်းအား ၎င်းသန်အမတ်ကြီးတို့ကို များသောအားဖြင့် မိတ္တူသက်ဝင်လျက်ဖြစ်ရှိလေသည်။

#### အထူးဖော်ပြချက်

၃၂။တောင်ညိုတိုက်  
တော်ကအရှင်အဂ္ဂမုလီ  
ကိုတော်မြတ်၏တပည့်၊  
ဖြစ်သောရှင်ဝယ်ဆရာ  
မြဝါသည်ကလားလူမျိုး  
တို့ကိုပို့ပြားအောင်နန်း  
တော်သို့ဝင်၍  
တရားဟောစမ်း၊

ထိုနောက် ဆေပဉ္စမင်္ဂန်း ကောဇာ သက္ကရာဇ်  
ကိုဖြိုဖျက်ပြီးနောက်။ သက္ကရာဇ် (၈၈၇) ခုနှစ်တွင်  
မြောက်ဦးမြို့တော်နှစ် ကိုးဆက်မြောက်ဖြစ်သော  
ဇလတ္တမင်း စောမွန်လက်ထက်တော်၌ ကိုရမ်တော်  
အမတ်ကြီး ဝိမလ ပင်းဝါမြို့တားနှင့်တကွ နိုင်ငံနံတော်  
ကို ဆောင်ရွက်သိမ်းပစ်အုပ်ချုပ်လျက်။ ဝန်နေတော်  
မူဝည်အခါဝယ်။ မြို့တော်၏ မြောက်ဘက်အရပ်၌ ဘု  
ရင်မင်းမြတ်ကိုးကွယ်တော်မူသော တောင်ညိုတိုက်  
တော်၌ သတင်းသုံးနေတော်မူသော။ အရှင်အဂ္ဂမုလီ

Ahmed Kadi built Mosques along the coastal area. Like Musa and Hanumia, he brought religious teachers from Delhi to preached Islam. As Kings and scholars of Buddhists ignored Islamic preaching, Buddhism was in danger to disappear. Buddhists have believed Buddha since the time of Guatama Buddha. Now, Muslims might destroy Buddhist temples and pagoda.<sup>12</sup>Politically and militarily, the histories of India and Burma are entwined in other respects as well. The influence of Bengal on the kingdom of Arakan had been negligible up to 1430. This independent kingdom turned westwards, towards Bengal (as they shared common land boundaries), as the Burmese Court at Ava grew in power. The area now known as north Arakan had been for many years before the 8th century the seat of Hindu dynasties; in 788 A.D. a new dynasty, known as the Chandras, founded the city of Vesali.<sup>12</sup>

11. Great history of Rakhine pg-3 Special Notes

12. Mauriee Collis, The 50th Anniversary Publication No.2 of BRSJ, p.486

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The word "Arakan" was a derivation of the ancient word 'Arakha-de-sha" means the country of Arakan or land of Arakan, a Persian word which is found in line forty of Anandachandra inscriptions of Shitethaung pillar. "The geographical position of Arakan makes it likely that it received Indian colonies and Indian culture and civilization from a remote antiquity, a period certainly anterior to that of Indian colonization in Burma, and probably centuries before the Christian Era".<sup>13</sup> Arakan is neither Burmese word nor Rakhine word; it is Persian word as Persian say NamazeArkan means principle of Namaz Prayer. Rohingya is also Persian word; derived from RonakGah .Ronak means lightening, Gah means land, place.

The northern face of the Anandachandra Inscription was probably inscribed by Chulataingchandra (951-957 A.D), the last king of Vaisali dynasty, in about 10th century A.D in old Bengali language which is to be nearly indistinct and which clearly indicates that the kings and the people of Arakan were Bengali Hindus as mentioned by Professor D.G.E. Hall of History Department of the University of Rangoon.<sup>14</sup>

The Mahamuni image has been regarded as the tutelary deity of Arakan<sup>15</sup>. It was in the Mahamuni shrine on the summit of Sirigutta Hill which lies just to the north of Dhannyavati. The name "Sirigutta" is a Sanskrit name. This site is older than Vaisali and Myauk-U. It was a sacred hill which went right back to the period of the Hindu migration. There were bas-reliefs of Hindu deities around the foot of the image<sup>16</sup>. But the style of the deities showed that they belonged to the period before 957A.D,

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13.R.C Majumdar, Hindu Colonies in the Far East, P.202.

14. U San Tha Aung, Anandachandra, p.10. D.G.E. Hall, Burma, p.57

15.Hindu Colonies in the Far East, p.203.

16.The 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Publication No.2 of BRSJ, P.486

when Arakan was an Indian Land, the people of which were Hindus similar to those of Bengal<sup>17</sup> The Arabs and Persians were enterprising seafarers as Islam gave a new impetus to their shipping and they carried on trade by the sea-route with many parts of the world including Arakan and Burma when South - East Asian trade route fell into their hands since 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and they controlled the maritime trade between the Red Sea and China. As in the case of western India, there were Arab Muslim settlements on Arakan and Chittagong coasts in the eight century.<sup>18</sup>

The Arabs who were master of the Eastern Seas from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century not only heard of Arakan and Burma but also visited them. During this period Arabs influence was very strong and they controlled sea trade between the Red Sea and China including Arakan and Burma and the Indian Ocean was prominently the great highway of their commercial roads. At that time Burma was known to them as Arakan and lower Burma.<sup>19</sup>

In the course of their Maritime trading activities Persian travelers had spread to all the coastal parts of India, Arakan, Burma and the other eastern countries. In some places in their trading colonies the Persians had settled down <sup>20</sup>. They also brought with them the religion of Islam and by intermarriages with the women of the land and through willful conversion Islam became a living force in Arakan <sup>21</sup>.

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17.D.G.E. Hall Burma, p.57. A Brief Note on the old capitals of Arakan . The land of the Great Image, p.135. Maurice Collis, Indo Hidden Burma, pp.124, 134, + 137.

18. DonalN.Wilber, Pakistan, its people, its society its culture,pp.12&13

19. Harvey, History of Burma, p.10 20. M. Sidig Khan, Muslim Intercourse with Burma, Islamic culture, Vol: X , No.3 July, 1936. P.416

21. M.A. Chaffar, Memorandum presented to the Regional Autonomy Enquiry Commission dated 24<sup>th</sup> May, 1949.

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The Muslim settlers freely intermarried and intermixed with the woman of Arakan who changed their religion and became Muslims. The practice of intermarriage was encouraged by the kings of Arakan who wanted to increase the population of the county. It was a long established Arakanese and Burmese custom to provide with wives all foreigners who were forced to make a prolonged stay in the land either by shipwreck or for commercial reasons, but no foreigner was allowed to take with him his children of such mixed marriage or his wife when he left the country <sup>22</sup>. They adopted the nationality of their wives to whom they transferred their properties <sup>23</sup>.

The true chronicle records that in the year 957 A.D, a Mongolian invasion swept over Wesali, destroyed the Chandras and placed on their throne Mongolian kings.<sup>24</sup> During the absence of Chulataingchandra(951-57), the 9<sup>th</sup> king of Vaisali who in 957 A.D. went about his kingdom with a retinue of unwise and dissolute companions and never came back, Amyathu ( 957-64), the chief of Mro tribe ( Mongolian )of Arakan hills invaded the country, seized the throne of Vaisali and married Chandadevi, the queen of Chulataingchandra.<sup>25</sup>

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 decendents of the 3,700 Muslims are known as ThumHtaungKhunya (Three thousand seven hundred). For the continued oppression, in Southern Chittagong, a term was coined for Arakan of now Burma as the "MoghurMulluk" meaning the

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22.Islamic Culture, Vol X, No. 3, July, 1936, p.423.

23.M.A. Ghaffar, My Activities in Parliament and Outside, Part II, P.28.

24. Mauriee Collis, The 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Publication No.2 of BRSJ, p.488.

25. Hindu Colonies in the Far East, p.205

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."<sup>26</sup>

I shall now add three dialects, spoken in the Burmese empire, but evidently derived from the language of Hindu nation. The first is that spoken by Mohammedans, who have been long settled in Arakan, and who all themselves Rooinga, or native of Arakan.<sup>27</sup> According to Myanmar Immigration Act of 1982 also, Rohingya are the earliest indigenous race in Myanmar. U Ba Shin, an Arakanese Muslim, a member of Council of National Education, sincerely involved in 1920 College Strike against British. The first Chairman of Union of Yangon University was U Htun Sein, an Arakanese Muslim.

The Arakan Flag Design During Sanda-Thu-Ri-Ya King Arakan to Rakhine state: In 1974 the Burmese Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) government of Ne Win constituted Rakhine State from Arakan Division to restoration of Rakhine Independence. The government also created 17 townships before these changes. In 1983, Thandwe, Gwa, Taungup, Ponnagyan townships were defined as Muslim-free Zones by government. When Ibne-Batutah visited Chittagong in about 1350, he described it as a great place situated on the shore of the Great sea and he mentioned that it was under the rule of Muslim King.<sup>28</sup>

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26. Pamela Gutman; Ancient Arakan P- 74

27. Asiatick Researches; or Transactions of the society instituted in Bangal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, 1801, vol-V ,page-237

28. Chittagong Gazetteer, p-20&21

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Later on during the first decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century A.D. one of his successors Naramaikhlā fled to Bengal when he was ousted by the Burmese and however with the help of Bengal in 1430 he was reinstated as the vassal of the sultans of Gaur. From this time the Arakanese kings used Muslim titles and even their medallions bore the Kalima, the Muslim confession of faith in Persian character.<sup>29</sup>



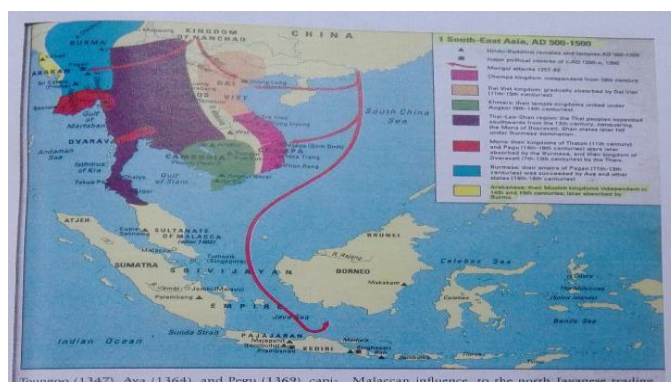
Coin of Mohammad Shah (1554-55) with Persian inscriptions which include mint name reading "Arakan" and dated 962 AH.

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29. Harvey; Outline of Burmese History, p-92



Mohammad Shah was succeeded by his son Gyasuddin Bahadur Shah (1555-60) who also struck coins in his name and mint name Arakan in 965 A.H. (1558) which proved that Arakan was under the effective control of Afghan Sultans of Bengal till 1560. It is strange that this conquest of Arakan by the Afghan Sultans of Bengal has not been mentioned in Arakanese chronicles. Chittagong was held by the Afghan Kings of Bengal till 1580 in which year the Tippera Raja Amar Manikya occupied it.



A map showing South-East Asia during 500 and 1500 A D as appeared in the Time Atlas of World History indicating Arakan as an independent Muslim kingdom

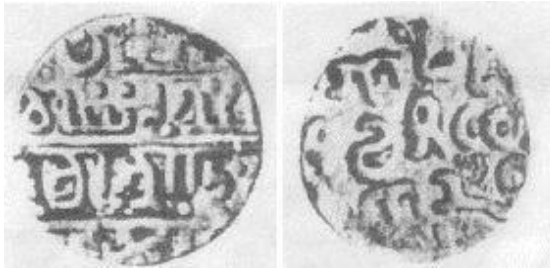


The Coin of Arakan indicates the Prophet's Mosque of Madina, Saudi Arabia. In the square of the center, it is the verse of declaration of Muslim faith i.e. the Kalimah

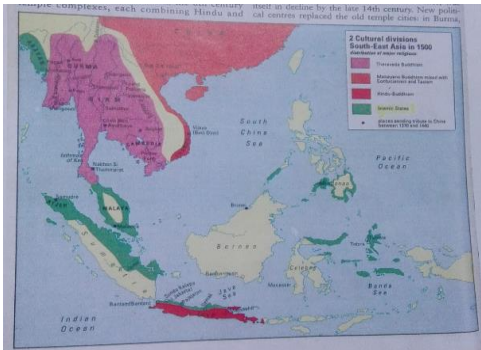
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Coin of Bahadur Shah (1555-60) with Persian inscriptions which include mint name reading "Arakan" and dated 965 AH.<sup>30</sup>



Coin of Min Sekkya (Ilahi Shah) 1564-7



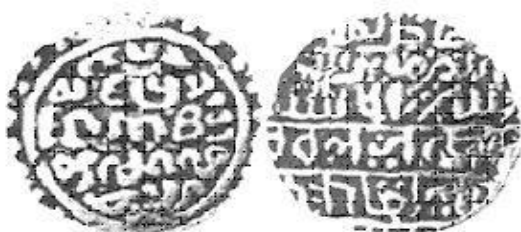
A map showing cultural divisions of South-East Asia in 15th century A.D. as appeared in the Time Atlas of World History indicating Arakan as an Islamic State by Geoferry Banadough P-133

30.S.B. Qanungo; A History of Chittagong, Vol: I, p191-200, 1922.

Two more kings, Min Saw Hla (1555-64) and Min Sekkya (1564-71) sons of Min Teikkha became kings with the Muslim names. But Min Saw Hla's Muslim title was not found yet while Min Sekkya's Muslim designation was Ilahi Shah. Then Minphalaung (1571-93), the youngest and the worthy son of Minbin ascended the throne in 1571. He conquered whole of Chittagong and several parts of Noakhali and Tippera in 1582. His Muslim name was Sikandar Shah. He appointed his son Minnala as governor of Chittagong. He excavated lakes and built causeways across them for the protection of his capital from the surprised attacks made by the Burmese and the hill tribes who raided the country plundering villages and carrying off the villagers as slaves. Since then Arakanese kings kept Chittagong for 84 years till 1666 when it was finally annexed by the Moghuls.<sup>31</sup>



**Coin of Minphalaung (Sikandar Shah) 1571-93**



**Coin of Minyazagyi (Salim Shah 1) 1593-1612**

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31. R.B. Smart; Burma Gazetteer, Vol A, p.25 Prabashi, Part XXII, Vol: II, No.5, February, 1923. 50th Anniversary Publication No.2, BRSJ, P.494.

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On the death of Minphalaung in 1593 his son Minyazagyi (1593-1612) became king with the Muslim title Salim Shah I who had become powerful very swiftly. All these jewels were seen by Manrique, the Portuguese friar when he visited king Thirithudamma in 1630 when he gave five taslims( five times of Salaams )<sup>32</sup> to the king. In addition to these jewels he saw a great quantity of golden flasks and ewers. The captured Muslims among the defenders of Pegu in 1599 were taken away to Arakan<sup>33</sup>and settled at Urittaung and along the Mayuriver together with other prisoners of war<sup>34</sup>.

When Wahid and his soldiers rushed the Arakanese king and the Arakanese armies left Bhalua. Then the Moghuls reoccupied Bhalua and defeated the Arakanese not once but several times, and pursued them up to the walls of Chittagong. Wahid was honored with the title of Shahad Khan. During the reign of Thirithudamma there were settlements of merchants of various nationalities, most of whom were Muslims. It is worthy of note that Muslims fulfilled official tasks in the royal court throughout the Myauk-U era in the administration, in the army, and in various economic activities. Hence the Arakanese king Thirithudamma had appointed a Muslim counselor. Muslim poets and writers were famous at the court of the Arakanese kings. Subsequently, Muslim civil servants were also employed by the kings, as an example controllers of Muslim quarters called Kaladan that is " foreign dwellings" were Muslims' bearing the title of Kalawun.<sup>35</sup>

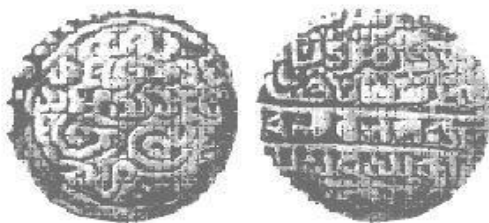
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32. Maurice Collis; The fand of the Great Image, p.188.

33. Harvey; History of Burma, p.348.

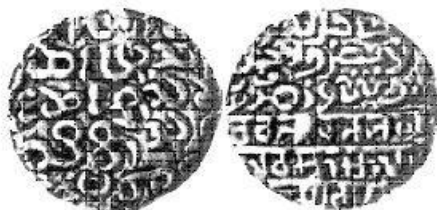
34. U Aung Moe; OkkaPyan of Dinnyawaddy, The Working Peoples Daily dated 30th November, 1987, p.5.

35. Old Burma, p.35.



### **Coin of Minkhamaung (Hussain Shah) 1612-22**

There were Muslim doctors in the Royal Court of Arakan. One of them was the possessors of magical secrets, well-established in Thirithudama's confidence. The Arakanese called him Saragri. He came to Myauk-U during the fine season of 1634. Maurice Collis states, "It seems that during the fine season a Mohammedan had visited Myauk-U, a man who declared that he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and passed himself off as a doctor and the possessor of occult secrets. He effected a number of cures and acquired the reputation of a master of magic. News of what claimed to be able to do reached the king's ears and was summoned to court... the doctor, as we shall call him , for we may be quite sure that the Arakanese referred to him by their term Saragri, was well established in the King's confidence"<sup>36</sup>



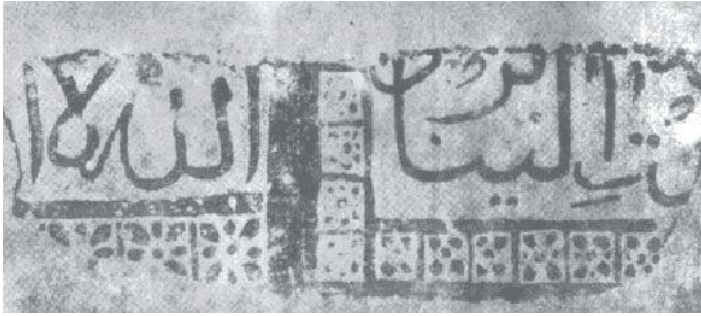
### **Coin of Thirithudamma (Salim Shah II) 1622-38**

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36.A Nation within a Nation, UNHCR, Report, June, 1998, p.38. The land of the Great Image, p. 246-249

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No Myanmar or Rakhine scholar can deny the coins with Islamic faith and Kings' Muslim titles. There is no explanation about these coins in U San Tha Aung's "Rakhine Coins"



A Stone inscription with Arabic script found in the compound of Theigyit Taung Pagoda and preserved in Mrauk-U Museum.

The Mongolians freely intermarried and intermixed with the Hindus and slowly a new race called the Arakanese came into being. So the Rohingyas and the Arakanese are the pots of the same clay. There is Hindu and Mongolian blood in their veins. The history of Arakan in connection with the Arakenese began since then and lasted eight centuries until 1784, when the country was annexed by Bodawpaya (1782-1819) of Burma<sup>37</sup>. The Mongolians cut Arakan away from India (and Bengal) as they successfully established their kingdom. They were uncivilized people and their incursion led Arakan into a period of darkness<sup>38</sup>.

Despite the various changes in the different methods of their enumeration, the census reports since 1872 reveal that the Muslim population in Arakan "has followed a natural line of growth as an integral part

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37. Maurice Collic, Into Hidden Burma, p. 134, A Brief Note on the old Capitals of Arakan.

38. This 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Publication No. 2 of BRSJ. p- 488

of the country"<sup>39</sup> They had increased not because of uncontrolled and excessive immigrants or other unnatural causes but because of the population of Arakan and Burma had increased. In 1826 the total population of Arakan was one hundred thousand including 60,000 Arakanese, 30,000 Muslims and 10,000 Burmese. These were the indigenous population. In 1835 this had risen to 211,536. In 1845 the population numbered 309,608 which in 1855 reached 366, 310<sup>40</sup>. In 1886 the population of Upper Burma was 3,000,000 while lower Burma had a population of 3,736,771 souls<sup>41</sup>. The Census Report of 1931 recorded that the total population of Burma numbered 14,653,977 while the Muslim population was 584,839 <sup>42</sup>. The Muslim population of Akyab district who in 1872 numbered 58,255 had by the year 1901 risen to 154,887 which at the census of 1911 had increased to 178,647.<sup>43</sup>

When Bengal was strong, its rulers received the tribute of Arakan; at other times Arakan claimed tribute from parts of the Ganges delta. These fluctuations of power affected Chittagong, which was held alternatively by one side or the other.<sup>44</sup> The Meghna River was a natural barrier against the Muslim advance to the southern part of Bengal till the 14<sup>th</sup> century A.D. But there was free commercial intercourse of the Arabs who were the masters of the Western and Eastern Waters.<sup>45</sup>

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39. Meer Sulaiman, Muslims in Burma, Islamia School Annual Number, 1935.

40. Albert Fytch, Burma Past and Present, Vol:II, pp.288-290.

41. Daw Ni NiMyint, Burma's Struggle Against British Imperialism, pp.84,85.

42. Islamic Culture, Vol: X, No.3, July 1936, p.409. The Coming of Islam to Burma down to 1700 A.D.

43. Burma Gazetteer, Akyab District, Vol: A, pp.83,86.

44. D.G.E.Hall; Burma, p-57.      45. G.E.Harvey; history of Burma, p-10.

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## ARAKANESSE TO ROHINGYA

**A**rakanese who lived centuries in Arakan whose historical records are much stronger than all ethnics of Burma are accused as aliens by the State centuries later. Though Myanmar dictators have been persecuting to annihilate the Rohingya people, they failed to erase records in the history. Under the rule of King Min Bar Gyi, three ambassadors led by Persian emperor Phet Takardi arrived at the King. The Islamic preachers from India were together with them and they preached Islamic faith to Rakhines Buddhists who converted Islam.

A Rakhine author, BonpuakThaKyaw, (Rakhine) described that according to reports of Mr. Patson, Rakhine State Administrator and the historian Dr. Barnerjee's records there were 60000 Rakhines, 30000 Muslims, and 10000 were Bamar and other nationalities, total population was 100000 in 1825, when the British occupied Rakhine.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Pamela Guttmann, Australia, pointed out that "presently dominant Rakhine are the last group of people who entered Arakan in 10th century and thereafter. The formal Rakhine was first found in the 12th and 13th century of Bagan and Ava inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kunango quoting Myanmar inscriptions says the name Rakhine was given to them by Burman. The consensus of almost all historians is that the early inhabitants of Arakan were Indians and Rakhine are a Tibeto-Burman race by all measure of ethnicity. They entered Arakan from 10th century and on group

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1. Rakhine History by DanyawaddySayataw U Nya Na 2nd Volume, Pg-161/163

2. "Union of Myanmar and danger of Rohingya" by BonpuakThaKyaw Pg-91

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after group. On the other hand, here we can find traces of Indians and Rohingya of Arakan only Rohingya language alone has a close affinity with that of ancient inscriptions of Arakan. Therefore, Rohingya, are surely the progeny of early Indo-Aryan who brought civilization to this land. Even respected historian such as Sir Aurther Phayre described the King of Arakan; as the King of "Roum"(Rohang).<sup>3</sup> Denying the term Rohingya as an innovation of post-independence is a sheer refutation of truth and intentionally plan to annihilate Rohingya.

In the Word, variety of ethnics have their own names, and every ethnic has right to express their own name. Rakhine and Their Sein government accused that the term "Rohingya" was an innovation of Abdu Gaffar while he was in the cabinet of Burma in 1954. It was completely false accusation.

Similarly, the chart of terms, comparing Persian, Bengali and Rohingya dialects was described in the Classical Journal as a research. Buddhists such as Bengali Rakhine, Mro, Khami, Dinnet, and Thet who entered from Bangladesh are illegal immigrants. It can be proved through free and fair investigation of both communities; Rakhine and Rohingya of Arakan.<sup>4</sup>

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3. AurtherPhayre; History of Burma, Pg: 170

4. Classical Journal for September and December 1811, (Vol. IV, Pg.107)

The Mongolians freely intermarried and intermixed with the Hindus and slowly a new race called the Arakanese came into being. So the Rohingyas and the Arakanese are the pots of the same clay. There is Hindu and Mongolian blood in their veins. The history of Arakan in connection with the Arakanese has begun since then and lasted eight centuries until 1784, when the country was annexed by Bodawpaya (1782-1819) of Burma.<sup>5</sup> The Mongolians cut Arakan away from India (and Bengal) as they successfully established their kingdom. They were uncivilized people and their incursion led Arakan into a period of darkness.<sup>6</sup> Because of Islamic preachers, many Buddhists converted into Muslim during Mrauk U dynasties.<sup>7</sup> After the fall of Waithali (Vishali) Era, Indo – Aryans mixed blood with Mongoloids and then occurred present used Rakhin language. The Rakhine Language spoken by inhabitants in Thandwe district and surrounds of Ann town was almost the same as Bamar Language. The Rakhine Languages spoken by Rakhines, residing in Kyaukphyu District and Sittwe District were different in pronounce but only adjacent to Bamar Language.<sup>8</sup>

Francis Buchanan, a member of British diplomats, based at Ava in AD 1799. Francis had studied and researched languages in Myanmar. He

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5. Maurice Collis, Into Hidden Burma, p. 134, A Brief Note on the old Capitals of Arakan.

6. The 50th Anniversary Publication No. 2 of BRSJ. p- 488

7. Aungpan Gyi Ngwe Debate of Rakhine nationalities, " written by the State Council Member U Hla Tun Phyu Pg-47, 48, "New history of Danyawaddy" 2nd edition, written by Sayadaw U Nyana of Kyauktaw Pg. 161,162,163 ( described that according to speakers of Islam religion the Buddhists became as Islam in Mrauk-U widely and Buddhism might be weaken condition)

8. Ibid

## ROHINGYA

had written that the two languages known as Rosswan and Rovinga were used by the majority of people, Rosswan Language was spoken by Hindu and Rovinga language was spoken by Muslims.<sup>9</sup>In the speech of Prime Minister U Nu by Cabinet decision delivered on (25-9-1954) stated that the Rohingya residing within Buthitaung, Maung Taw regions were Muslims. U Ba Swe, Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister also delivered speeches on (3-11-1959) and (4-11-1959) at Buthitaung, Maungtaw Public meetings that Rohingyas lived together with other natives for many years within the Union of Myanmar with equal status. He had also broadcasted about it from Burma Broadcasting together with historical documents.<sup>10</sup>

In respect of G.H. Luce's article, Dr. Than Tun described that Rakhine Kings had Muslim titles. He said " I think that those Muslims might be Rohingya residing in May Yu Region in East of Nat river. They used to reside there for over 1000 years. But it was not such period and might be at about 1202 AD when Muslims began to intrude in Bengal, since (800) years they might be arrived."<sup>11</sup>

Along the borders of Myanmar where mountain barriers do not hinder movement of population, minority groups are found on either side of the boundary. A small ethnic group named Young, who lived in northern Thailand, Laos and northern Vietnam can be found in Kyaington of

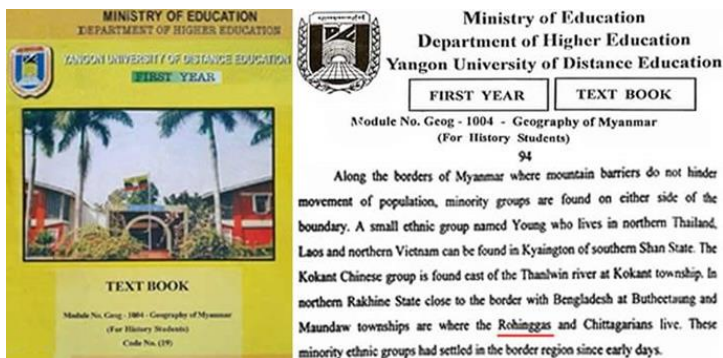
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9. Asiatic Researches, Calcutta V 5 (1881) Page -237

10. Speeches at Public meeting in Buthitaung –Maungdaw, on (3-11-59) and (4-11-59) published National Newspapers on 5.11.59

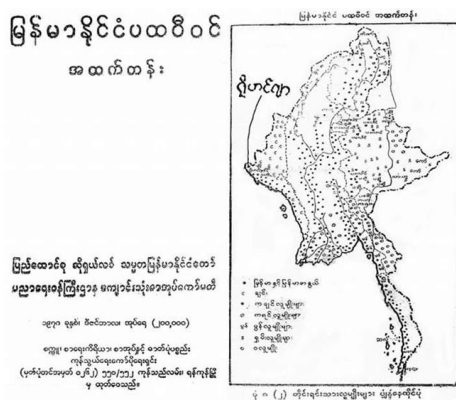
11. The prominent Historian of Burma, Dr. Than Tun wrote in the article of Kalyar Magazine, issued in August of 199

southern Shan State. The Kokant Chinese group is found east of the Thanlwin River, Kokant Township. In northern Rakhine State, close to the border of Bangladesh at Buthidaung and Maungdaw Townships are the places where the Rohingya and Chittagonians live. These minority ethnic groups had settled in the border regions since early days.<sup>66</sup>



94  
Along the borders of Myanmar where mountain barriers do not hinder movement of population, minority groups are found on either side of the boundary. A small ethnic group named Young who lives in northern Thailand, Laos and northern Vietnam can be found in Kyauington of southern Shan State. The Kokant Chinese group is found east of the Thanlwin river at Kokant township. In northern Rakhine State close to the border with Bangladesh at Buthetsung and Maundaw townships are where the Rohinggas and Chittagarians live. These minority ethnic groups had settled in the border region since early days.

Inhabitants of Frontier area of Arakan were shown as Rohingya ethnic in the map of High School Geography textbook.<sup>67</sup>



12. YANGON UNIVERSITY OF DISTANCE EDUCATION, FIRST YEAR TEXT BOOK, Module No. Geog-1004: Geography of Myanmar (For History Students), Code No (19)-(2012) Pg-94  
13. High School Geography textbook published in 1978 the map in Pg-86 shown the name of race Rohingya

## ROHINGYA

According to diary of Manaris Rev. the ceremony of taking throne of ThirithuDhammaYazar the King departed the palace by mean of surrounding by (600) Muslim mounted soldiers. During 1234-37 AD Rakhine King Nga Na Lone fought Chittagong and occupied it, brought half of the 42700Chittagonian war victims to Rakhine and allowed to work reasonable businesses within Rakhine City. The scholars gave comments that the majorities were Muslims.<sup>14</sup>When Min Ye KyawSwar, son of Ava King fought Min Saw Mon, the last king of LoungKyet Age, in 1470 A-D. Min Saw Mon took asylum under Deli King. After the destruction of the Loungkyet city, the Rakhine City was under the rule of Myanmar King for about (24) years.<sup>15</sup>

Deli king Suratan was very familiar with Min Saw Mon and allowed his Commander Wai Lu Khin (Walikhan) to occupy LoungKyet City and the throne to Min Saw Mon. But Wai Lu Khin arrested Min Saw Mon and made king himself. Deli king Suraton sent Commander Sandikhan with 50,000 soldiers to cut off the Wai Lu Khan's head. Sandi Khan made that plan and gave the throne to Min Saw Mon in 1431 A.D. Sandi Khan's forces stayed in Loung Kyet for two Years and helped in construction of Maruk U City and then stayed in Mrauk-U in 1433. Due to forces of Sandi Khan's 50000forces Mosques were built throughout Mrauk-U City. Sandi Khan's Mosque was contained in the ancient heritage list. There was no findings in respect of how many Muslims returned back among them. Some of the soldiers were appointed as judges and administrators. There was no clear record of those soldiers returned to their own country.<sup>16</sup>

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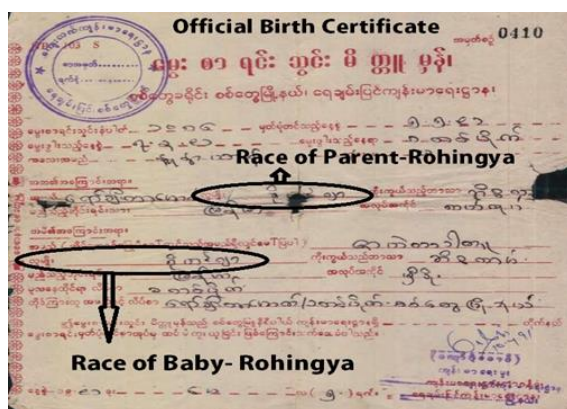
14."The Golden Land" by Maurice Collis Pg-207-260 , The New Rakhine History Pg-352/353

15.Journal of Burma Research Society Vol-1.2, P-493

16.Bangladesh District Gazetteer pg-36, Journal of Burma Research Society Vol-1.2, P-493

While U Ye Htut denied existence of Rohingya on 25.7.2012, Rohingya showed him current syllabus of Geography textbook which mentioned Rohingya. In northern Rakhine State close to the border with Bangladesh at Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships are where the Rohingyas and Chittagarians live. These minority ethnic groups had settled in the border regions since early days. The speech of Brigadier General Aung Gyi, Deputy Chief of Defense Commander (Army) who had attended at the Mujahit surrendering ceremony, described Rohingyas as relative. Today, people in power and other politicians claim "There is no Rohingya repeatedly" They have been deceiving the World, concealing the reality, destroying stability and peace of Myanmar.<sup>17</sup>

The word "Rohingya" wields power because it carries the torch of historical truth that dissolves the impossibly contrived case of ethnic cleansing, linking the Rohingya with the British Raj. This is the reason those who would carry out ethnic cleansing in Myanmar fear the term Rohingya.




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17. The speech was published in State's journal

## ROHINGYA

Rohingya still have some copies of family lists and birth certificates in their hands issued by the Immigration Department of Burma in which the race is named "Rohingya" <sup>18</sup>We can show 1000s of records in the Immigration Offices of Myanmar written down the term Rohingya in them.

[illegible]

The term Rohingya is as old as the history of Arakan itself. It may be the Rohingya of "Mayu" region today are the descendants of those early Muslims, because they (the Rohingya) also claim to be there for more than a thousand years. If not a thousand years, it might be eight-hundred years at least.<sup>19</sup> Rohingya was a privileged community in Maruk-U period. They were never compelled to speak Rakhine Language. In contrast, Rakhine speaks Rohingya Language. Not the common people, the ruling class too used to speak in Rohingya. King ThiriThudamma conversed with Friar Marquee in Indian Language.<sup>20</sup>

18. Official birth certificates and family lists issued by the State's Immigration Department in which the name "Rohingya" is visible as their race's name.

19. Dr. Than Tun, North Arakan, Rohingya magazine, August, 1994. Brig: Aung Gyi's speech at Mujahid surrendering ceremony, "The future of Mayu".

20.Maurice Collis 1946 "The Land of Great Image" Pg-141 ,



Rakhine not only preferred the language, but used to keep Muslim names. Nearly twenty Rakhine Kings were found with Muslim names. In this situation, how can we expect Rohingya to speak Rakhine and to keep Rakhine names? <sup>21</sup>. A Rakhine politician, a former Captain, HtunKyawOo bitterly opposes the idea of renaming Rohingya as Bengali. HtunKyawOo was sentenced seven years imprisonment by the military junta for celebrating Rohingya national day in 1990.<sup>22</sup> Dictators cannot annihilate a race as a whole on their own will. It may be possible to change political maps of the world, but it is almost difficult to extinguish a nation. Despite Hitler's Holocaust there still are Jews. In Rwanda and Bosnia there still are those peoples who were subjected to genocide. Century long chauvinism does not bring any good fruits; peace and prosperity in Myanmar. Hatred towards non-Buddhists breeds hatred. Amity and friendship will bring peace, harmony, safety and prosperity. It is time for us to come into a sense and reasons. We must stop bickering. Unless we are courageous enough to accept the reality of history, we will be in fiasco.

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21. J. Lieder; Muslim name of Arakan Kings

22. HtunKyawOo Party booklet 1990, Pg-11-12

## ROHINGYA HERITAGE

The Myanmar government has participated in racial and religious persecution of Rohingya. In 2002, Human Rights Watch reported that the government issued military orders demanding that unauthorized Mosques be destroyed.<sup>1</sup>The government has closed Mosques and Islamic schools and used them as government administrative offices.<sup>2</sup>The government has also prohibited Muslims from repairing or renovating Mosques since 1960s. In 2001, mobs attacked at least 28 Mosques and religious schools. State security not only did nothing to stop the attacks, but also participated in the destruction.<sup>3</sup>

There were three ancient Mosques in Myebon. These are Zay Bine Mosque built in 1460AD Southern Mosque built in 1600AD and KanthaHwetwa Mosque built in 1690AD. They were destroyed and burnt down on 23 October 2012. Military junta systematically planned to destroy all Rohingya's historical Mosques and monuments since 1989. Near the jetty of Sittwe to Buthidaung, there was an ancient Mosque built in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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1. Human Rights Watch, Crackdown on Burmese Muslims, p. 11 (July 2002),

<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/>

2. Ibid- 26

3. Human Rights Watch, All You Can Do is Pray, see above note 20, p. 142; Human Rights Watch, Crackdown on

In 1989, it was destroyed and the land of the Mosque was confiscated by authority. Moshe Yager described about historical BadarMukam in his "Crescent in Arakan". The Mosque near the Point of Sittwe, built in 1727 was partially transformed into Buddhist Pagoda by Lieutenant Colonel KhinMaungThan on 27.3.2008, and partially left to ruin naturally without taking care of it.



Part of the Mosque is left to ruin naturally without taking care of it and partially transformed into Buddhist Pagoda by Lieutenant Colonel KhinMaungThan on 27.3.2008.

Sandi khan Mosque of Kawar-Loung village, Mrauk U, was built in 1433 A. D by General Sandi Khan during King Min Saw Mon (a) Nara MeikHla reign.<sup>4</sup> Shar Shu Jar Mosque was built in 1668 A.D at the downtown of Mrauk-U surrounding 12 big lakes. Another Mosque was built in 1668AD in Pan Myaung of MinPyaw.



This is Sandi Khan Mosque built in 14 century and destroyed in 1992

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4. Old Burma, p.35. The land of the Great Image, p. 246-249

## ROHINGYA

Cemetery Mosque of Nazi(SetYouneZu) was built in 1668AD. All of those Mosques were destroyed for the annihilation of Rohingya in Arakan by the Generals of Burma.



Built in 1668  
and destroyed  
by authority  
in 2012

There were Muslim doctors in the Royal Court of Arakan. One of them was the possessors of magical secrets was well-established in Thirithudamma's confidence. The Arakanese called him Saragri. He came to Mrauk-U during the fine season of 1634. Maurice Collis states, "It seems that during the fine season a Mohammedan had visited Mrauk-U, a man who declared that he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and passed himself off as a doctor and the possessor of occult secrets.

He affected a number of cures and acquired the reputation of a master of magic. News of what claimed to be able to do reached the king's ears and was summoned to court.<sup>5</sup> The doctor, as he was called, we may be quite sure that the Arakanese referred to him by their term Saragri, was well established in the King's confidence.

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5. Old Burma, p.35. The land of the Great Image, p. 246-249

Central Mosque of Sittwe is under control of authority now, Rohingya could pray there till June 2012.



Central Mosque of Sittwe, lands belong to the Mosque were confiscated by authority in 1980 and built governmental offices and market on its land. In 2012 violence, the Mosque was damaged partially and took under the control of authority.

Another two ancient Mosques near Bumay and Kadin Peik of Sittwe built in 1787AD are still safe. If authority wares of its date, may destroy. A famous quarter of Sittwe called RohingyaFara (changed its name into ZayHaungMawleik in 1980), there was an ancient Mosque built in 1775AD was also destroyed by the authority using bulldozers. YwaHaungJamae Mosque was built in 1740AD. If Rohingyawerecolonial settlers as the State's accused, who would build those ancient Mosques in Arakan?



**Bumay Mosque  
built in 1787,  
still safe**

## ROHINGYA



The Jamae Mosque of Rohingya village in Sittwe built in 1740  
And destroyed by the authority in 2012



A Rohingya Mosque built in 16 century locates in Kyauktaw township of Arakan



This Mosques was built in 17 century locates in Kyauktaw





A Mosque in  
MinPya  
township  
built in 16  
century



Mosque of  
Kadin Peik,  
Sittwe built in  
1776 still re-  
main safe



A Mosque  
built in 17  
century de-  
stroyed by  
authority in  
1980s

There were hundreds of Mosques built in 14 to 17 centuries. Myanmar Government accuses Rohingya recent illegal immigrants from Bangladesh as if they built those Mosques for Buddhists.

## ROHINGYA



A Mosque in MinPyar built in 16 century. We don't want to show exact location because authority targets all historical Mosques.



ရသေ့တောင်မြို့ နယ်အနောက်ပြင်ကျေးရွာ  
ဘောဇ္ဇာဘဗလ်ကိုဘဂ္ဂုဗုနန်တွင်ဆောက်  
လုပ်ခဲ့သည်

Mosque Bawduba of Anauk Pyin, Rathedaung built in 1770



## STOLEN RIGHTS OF ROHINGYA

On January 1946, General Aung San said in a public speech that "No man, however great, can alone set the wheels of history in motion, unless he has the active support and co-operation of a whole person. Aung San said, "When we build an independent Burma, ethnic people and Bamar [Burman] must have equality without discrimination."<sup>1</sup>

General Aung San accompanying with Hintada U Mya and U Aung Zan Wai arrived in Sittwe for the independence campaign in 1946. While Aung San met Kanman leader Pho Khaine and Rohingya leaders, he gave a speech that "Please, you Muslim people, stand hand in hand with us. I shall give Blank-Cheque. Die together and alive together. Claim as you wish.<sup>2</sup> I shall allow as much as I can. If natives are divided, it is difficult to achieve independence of Burma."<sup>3</sup> In order that the people of Burma may decide on the future constitution of their country, treaty of Aung San-Attlee was signed between General Aung San and Prime Minister Clement Attlee of Great Britain on 27th January 1947. Under Annex (A) of Aung San-Attlee agreement, it is mentioned regarding citizenship that "A Burma National is defined for the purposes of eligibility to vote and to stand as a candidate at the forthcoming elections as a British Subject for the Subject

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1. The Political Legacy of Aung San edited by Josef Silverstein pg-9
  2. Quoted speech of U Pho Kaine in his "Hidden Treasure"
  3. The Political Legacy of Aung San edited by Josef Silverstein pg-9

## ROHINGYA

of an Indian State who was born in Burma and resided there for a total period of not less than eight years in the ten years immediately preceding either 1st January, 1942 or 1st January, 1947.<sup>4</sup>

As the treaty is still legitimate and no law invalidated it, it should be the fundamental principle to determine the citizenship of a person; Rohingyaare citizens of Burma based on the treaty and no one can annul their rights.

After the assassination of General Aung San, the Nu-Attlee Agreement was signed between Prime Minister U Nu and Prime Minister Clement Attlee on Oct 17, 1947 as transferring power to Burma was very important as to the determination of citizenship status of the people and race in Burma. Article 3 of the Agreement states; Any person who at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty is, by virtue of the Constitution of the Union of Burma, a citizen thereof, and who is, or by virtue of a subsequent election is deemed to be, also a British subject, may make a declaration of alienage in the manner prescribed by the law of the Union, and thereupon shall cease to be a citizen of the Union. The Provisional Government of Burma undertakes to introduce in the Parliament of the Union as early as possible, and in any case within a period of one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty, legislation for the purpose of implementing the provisions of this Article.<sup>5</sup>

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4. Aung San-Attlee Agreement Annex A

<https://burmatar1010.files.wordpress.com/2011/06/44172419-aungsan-atlee-agreement.pdf>

5.Nu-Attlee Agreement <https://burmatar1010.files.wordpress.com/2011/06/nu-atlee-agreement.pdf>

1947 Constitution of Union of Burma drawn for the independent State also states; "There shall be but a citizenship throughout the Union; that is to say, there shall be no citizenship of the unit as distinct from the citizenship of the Union. Every person who was born in any of the territories which at the time of his birth was included within His Britannic Majesty's dominions, and who has resided in any of the territories included within the Union for a period of not less than eight years in the ten years immediately preceding the date of the commencement of this Constitution or immediately preceding the 1st January 1942 and who intends to reside permanently therein and who signifies his election of citizenship of the Union in the manner and within the time prescribed by law, shall be a citizen of the Union."<sup>6</sup> Legitimate requirements for the citizenship of 1947 Constitution is impartially compatible to the Aung San-Attlee agreement of 1947. And it also emphasized only a citizenship based on article 10 of the 1947 Constitution.

Article 3 (1) of the Union Citizenship Act of 1948 reads: 3. Any person: - (a) who was born in any of the territories which, at the time of his birth, was included in His Britannic Majesty's dominions; (b) who had resided in any of the territories included in the Union for a period of not less than eight years in the ten years immediately preceding either the first day of January 1942 or the fourth day of January 1948.<sup>7</sup> In Section 4 (2) of the Registration of Residents in the Union of Burma Act, 1949 defined and was enacted as follows:

"The Registration Officer (or) assistant registration officer shall issue a card in accordance with the rules of this Act, which proved the provided

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6. Panglong Agreement, 12 February 1947 Article-7

7. 1948 citizenship law of Burma

## ROHINGYA

facts therein, in respect of every registered person. Such card referred hereinafter as the certificate." <sup>8</sup>

The Registration of foreigners Act of 1940 and 1948, all foreigners were issued FRC cards and citizens of Burma and indigenous people were issued NRC cards by the State according law and by law. Article 4 (2) of the Union Citizenship Act was enacted on 4th January, 1948 (amended up to 1960) states; Any person descended from ancestors who for two generations at least have all made any of the territories included within the Union their permanent home and whose parents and himself were born in any of such territories shall be deemed to be a citizen of the Union.<sup>9</sup>

According to Aung San-Attlee and Nu-Attlee agreement, 1947 Constitution, 1948 citizenship law, Rohingya are citizens of Burma. Rohingya could enjoy not only citizenship right, but also could participate among the decision makers of Burma.

According to Aung San-Attlee agreement, 1947 Constitution, 1948 citizenship law, and 1974 Constitution, as mentioned in chapter-6, Scrutiny Cards must be issued to Rohingya, instead, they were let to fill form-2 and were left them without Scrutiny Cards. Accusing Rohingya illegal immigrants by using the State's power, manpower, and by force, is against the law. Labelling "ThweNaw" mixed blood to Rohingya and Muslims by the Immigration Department and forcing them to apply according to article-65;"Any person may apply to the Central Body when it is necessary for a decision as to his citizenship, associate citizenship or naturalized citizenship" and issuing National Verification Cards for them is also against legitimate law.

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8. 1949 Union Act of Burma

9. Aung San-Attlee Agreement, 27 January 1947, Article-7

Citizens of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy the rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries.<sup>10</sup>As Rohingya are indigenous ethnic of Arakan, and 1948 citizenship law approved them, they not only became citizens but also enjoyed the rights and privileges of the frontier area, Mayu Frontier after the independence.

## Frontier Areas

It is agreed objective of both His Majesty's Government and the Burmese Delegates to achieve the early unification of the Frontier Areas and Ministerial Burma with the free consent of the inhabitants of those areas. In the meantime, it is agreed that the people of the Frontier Areas should, in respect of subjects of common interest, be closely associated with the Government of Burma in a manner acceptable to both parties. For these purposes, it has been agreed: - (a) There shall be free intercourse between the peoples of the Frontier Areas and the people of Ministerial Burma without hindrance. <sup>11</sup>



Myanmar Encyclopedia published by the State mentioned 75% of population in Maungdaw district is Rohingya indigenous of Burma

10. Myanmar encyclopedia, vol-9, Pg-90, published 1964

11. Speeches at Public meeting in Buthitaung –Maungdaw, on (3-11-59) and (4-11-59) published National Newspapers on 5.11.59

## ROHINGYA

May Yu Frontier Area was administered by the Border Administration Department for directly. This administrative system was declared by the State Government and handover to May Yu Frontier Area but several of reasons halt not to arrange it practically. Initiative approach took place on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1961 for yield result in administrative system. May Yu Frontier Area is located at between East Pakistan and Myanmar fixed by Naf River for the measurement. That Frontier Area was west of East Pakistan, East to May Yu River, Sai Tin Creek, and South to Rakhine Coastline, Bay of Bengal, and North to East Pakistan. In previous time, Buthidaung Township, Maungdaw Township and North-West of Rathidaung Township were in Sittwe District. The total population of Mayu, at that time, was over 4 lakhs to nearly 5 lakhs in May Yu Frontier Area. Most of the people depend agriculture and fishing, 75 % of the total population in Mayu Frontier were Rohingya and a few of Rakhine, Dinet, Mro, Khami also lived peacefully with them. <sup>12</sup>

Prime Minister U Nu, Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister U Ba Swe announced the Cabinet decided that people live in Mayu frontier were ethnic Rohingya. <sup>13</sup> Later Rohingya enjoyed their indigenous ethnic broadcasting program like other ethnics from National Radio Broadcasting and Rohingya U Ba Tun was program announcer of Rohingya program. <sup>14</sup>

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12. "30 years Myanmar Experience of Myanmar broadcasting program" written by U Kyaw Nyein published by Sarpay Beinhman"

13. Speeches at Public meeting in Buthidaung –Maungdaw, on (3-11-59) and (4-11-59) published National Newspapers on 5.11.59

14. Myanmar Ahlin Newspaper published on (20-11-60)



# ROHINGYA



ချစ်ခင်လေးစားအပ်သော မေယုခရိုင်မှ မော်လီ ဆရာကြီးများ၊  
ချစ်ခင်လေးစားအပ်သော ရိုဟင်ဂျာ ခေါင်းဆောင်ကြီးများ၊ အဆွေ  
တော် အဓမ္မာရှင်နှင့် ရဲဘော်မိတ်ဆွေများ၊ ကြံ့ရောင်လာသော မိတ်  
ဆွေအပေါင်းတို့ ခင်ဗျား။

ယနေ့ကျင်းပသည့် အခမ်းအနားဟာ မေ့မရနိုင်ဘဲ ခရိုင်သားများ  
အတွက် အလွန်ကြီးမားသော အဓိပ္ပာယ်အောင်မယ်၊ နောင်တင်မယ်၊  
သားနောင်သားကြီးတို့အားလုံး အမှတ်တရဖြစ်ပြီး နေ့ရက်မယ်၊ အခမ်းအနား  
အနားကြီးတစ်ခုဖြစ်ပါတယ်။ လွတ်လပ်ရေးအောင်လှူ အခမ်းအနား  
ပြီးသည့်နောက် ဂုဏ်ယူအကြီးဆုံး အခမ်းအနားကြီး ဖြစ်ပါတယ်။  
သားနောင်သားကြီးတို့အားလုံး အလွန်ကြီးမားသော အဓိပ္ပာယ်အောင်မယ်၊  
နောင်တင်မယ်၊ သားနောင်သားကြီးတို့အားလုံး အမှတ်တရဖြစ်ပြီး နေ့ရက်မယ်၊  
အခမ်းအနားကြီးတစ်ခုဖြစ်ပါတယ်။



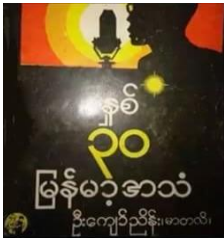
ဗိုလ်မှူးချုပ် အောင်ကြီး

ဗု-ကကွယ်ရေးဦးစီးချုပ် (ကြည်း)

မေတ္တိတေ

၁၉၆၁-ခု၊ နိုဝင်ဘာလ ၁၅-ရက်နေ့  
ဒုတိယအကြိမ် ဂူဈာတပ်လက်နက်ချ အခင်းစာနား၌  
မိန့်ကြားချက်

**Speech of Brigadier  
General Aung Gyi,  
Deputy Chief of De-  
fense Commander  
regarding Rohingya on  
15<sup>th</sup> November 1961**



ပြည်လမ်း၊ အသံလွင့်ခုံသစ်ကြီး

23

အသံလွင်ချိုချိုများကို ရုတ်တရက်အားဖြင့် တိုးချဲ့ခြင်း မပြုနိုင်သေးသေးဝေ။ ထိုအခင်းသား စုတ်လှေသို့တက်ရောက် မြေပေါ်သို့ တိုင်ချလျှင် အသားအာဘော်အစဉ်ချာတွင် လက်ကို အသံလွင်နေသော တံတားဘေးသို့ လျှောက် နောက်ထပ် အာဘော်ကား မေးမျှော် ကို တိုင်ချ အသံလွင်နှင့် အတိုချမှည့်၍ ဆိုလိုက်ချက်အရ ၁၉၆၁ ခုနှစ်၊ ဇေလွတ်လ ၇ ရက်နေ့တွင် မှန်ဘာသာ၊ ပယဉ်ဘာသာ၊ လာဗာဘာသာနှင့် ဂျီပေါ့ဘာသာတို့ အစီအစဉ်များကို တာဘာသာလျှင် ၁၀ မိနစ်၊ စောင့်အသံလွင်ခဲ့သည်။

**မြန်မာ့အသံ ခုတ်ယူပိုင်း**

ဇူလိုင်လ ၂၀ ရက်၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးနေ့

၁၇၂၆

၅ နှစ် ဝိုင်းရင်းသားစာစီစာစဉ်။

ကချင်တာသာအစီအစဉ်နဲ့

၄၀ ကာရုဏာသော သာသနာတော်တော်၍  
၀၀ ချင်းတောသော စာစီစာစု၍

(၆) ၁၀ ပဋိတိသကသနာစီအစဉ်။  
 (၇) ၂၀ နိဟင်္ဂဝါဒအသေအစီအစဉ်

၃၀ ရှမ်းဘာသာအစီအစဉ်

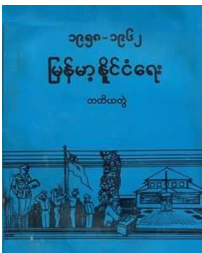
၆ ၅၀ လားဟူးတာသော အစီအစဉ်  
တိုင်းရင်းသား အစီအစဉ် ပြီး၏

၇၀၀ ကာလပေးကြသိချင်း



ဦးဘထွန်း (B.A, B.L) အသံလွှင့်စဉ်ပုံ

**"30 years Myanmar  
Experience of Myanmar  
broadcasting program"  
including Rohingya pro-  
gram written by U Ky-  
awNyein published by  
State's publication Sarpay  
Beinhman"**



ရခိုင်၊ ဗွန်နှင့် ချင်းပြည်နယ်တောင်းဆိုခြင်း

۱۰۹

တက္ကသိုလ်ရခိုင်လူငယ်အဖွဲ့ ကိုယ်စားလှယ်ကိုမောင်းကျောနှင့် ကိုရဲအောင်  
ကလည်း လူထုဆန္ဒပေးယူတဲ့ ပြည်နယ်ပေးသင့်ကြောင်း၊ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်ရယူနိုင်သော  
ကိုရပ်များပြည့်စုံနေကြောင်း၊ ပြည်နယ်ပေးရာတွင် ဆန္ဒယူဖူးသည့် အစဉ်အလာ  
ပါကြောင်း ပြောကြားသည်။

ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ် ဗိုလ်ဂျာ အသင်းမှကိုယ်စားလှယ် ကိုဘထွန်းနိုင်၊  
အလယ်တိုက် အကြံပေးအဖွဲ့က မေးမြန်းရာတွင် ၎င်းတို့က ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်နှင့်အာရှ  
မိတ်ဆွေ ဘာသာစာပေ၊ ဝတ်စားပုံ၊ယဉ်ကျေးမှု အစဉ်အဆက်တို့ကို တွက်  
ချက်ကတစ်ကြောင်း၊ ရခိုင်ဝတ်စားအင်္ကျီများ၊ စီးပွားရေး၊ အစဉ်အဆက်တို့ကို တွက်  
ချက်ပေးခဲ့သောရုပ်ပုံများသည်ကတစ်ကြောင်းကြောင့် ပြည်ပယ်ပေးလျှင် အသိပညာ  
ပို့ဆက်ပေးကြောင်း၊ ရခိုင်အမျိုးသားနှင့် ဗိုလ်ဂျာအမျိုးသားတို့ ယောင်မှတင်  
ပေးကို အိမ်ပေါ်တင်ပေး တစ်ပြင်တည်း။

[illegible]

သမာဓိသတင်းစာ၊ ၁ ဇွန် ၁၉၆၀။

**Burmese Politice (1958-1962) published by the State mentions Rohingya representatives in the Univerty of Yangon**





A memorial photo of dinner-party at Yangon University  
organized by Rohingya Student Association in 1978

## ROHINGYA

# 1982 CITIZENSHIP LAW

**I**n Chapter (2) of the Myanmar Citizen Law of 1982, provided as follows in respect of Citizenship.

Article (3) Nationals such as Kachin, Kayar, Kayin, Chin, Barmar, Mon, Rakhine, Shan etc., and ethnic group as have settled in any of the territories within the state as their permanent home from a period prior to 1185 B.E, 1823 AD are Myanmar citizens. According to this article and historical records affirmed citizenship of Rohingya.

Article (4) "Any ethnic group, whether which is ethnic group or not may be decided by the State Council (Now, Union Government). This article is the State's plan of discrimination based on religion, especially to oppress and deprive rights of Muslims and Christians in Myanmar.

Article (5) Every National and every person born of parents both of whom are Nationals are a citizen by birth. In Section 75, " In order to carry out the provision of this law " Cabinet" must stipulate required procedures by consent of the State Council (Now, Union Government)"

In Chapter (2) of Myanmar Citizen Procedures (Citizen Procedures), stipulated in (20-9-1983) as Notification No.13/83 of Cabinet under power section 75, provided as follows.

Paragraph (4) In 1824 English- Myanmar first war had been broken out. After such period entered in the State and resided as foreigners. Therefore, before the period of Myanmar Era 1185, Christ Era 1823 had been separated and prescribed.

Although Kachin, Kayar, Kayin, Chin, Bamar, Mon, Rakhine, Shan etc., are national, if they do not reside in Union permanently as Country of origin and resided in another country permanently as country of origin is not national. The same name ethnic groups who entered in Union and resided after 1823 were not national and not vested Citizens.

Paragraph (7) "The persons who were citizens on (15-10-1982), the enforcement date of Constitution under S.145, Subsection (b) of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Myanmar."

In respective citizen laws of countries of the world, provided as two types such as Citizen and foreigner only. Also in the constitution of 1947 and the constitution of 1974 provided citizen and foreigners, two types only. But the Citizenship Law of 1982 had been enacted against the operational constitution of 1974 as three types; (a) Citizen (b) Associate Citizen and (c) Naturalized Citizen.

Therefore, it is required to revise Chapter (1), Section (2), Section 2(c), Section 2(d), Section 2(g), Section 2(h) of the Citizen Act of 1982 and to cancel its all relevant rules, procedures, orders and directives in accordance with international norms.

The constitutions of 1947 and 1974, provided only a type of the Citizen but there were three types of Citizens provided in the Citizenship Act of 1982 so that hereby submit and advise ought to revise as only one type of citizen in accordance with the Constitution and international standards and norms.

On 2nd March 1962, General Ne Win staged a coup d'état and became head of state as Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, and also Prime Minister. Declaring that "parliamentary democracy was not suitable

## ROHINGYA

for Burma," the new regime suspended the constitution and dissolved the legislature. During the caretaker government led by the Army Chief of Staff, Ne Win to restore order, Rohingya, indigenous ethnic of Burma, had right of Rohingya broadcasting program approved by decision of the Cabinet. In 1965, General Ne Win deprived the right of broadcasting programs of Rohingya, PaO and La without publicly announcing any reason.

Dictator Ne Win @ Shu Maung was a mixed blood Chinese who developed hatred of Muslims and Chinese, and attempted to enforce discriminatory citizenship law of 1982. During the enactment of the 1982 law, Rohingya from Arakan State had to get permission for travelling throughout Burma that initiated corruption in the Township Councils of Arakan. In short, Rohingya's freedom of movement was restricted by the State.

On 2 March 1974, 12 years after his coup d'état, Ne Win dissolved the Revolutionary Council and proclaimed the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. He drafted and adopted a new Constitution of 1974 based on his desires. According to the Constitution of 1974, those who born of parents both of whom are nationals are Citizens of the Union. Treaty of Aung San-Attlee, Constitution of 1947, Citizenship law of 1948, and Constitution of 1974 did not deprive rights of any citizen because rights by birth may not be performed to be lost in enacting new laws against retrospective effects.

While enforcing 1974 Constitution of Burma, Ne Win drafted discriminatory citizenship law of 1982 and tried to approve it in the parliament. The law was promulgated by U San Yu, Secretary of the Council of State without issue date and without referring particular time of enforcement. In reality, as it was enforced on 15.10.82, controversial definition of

the terms of 1973, article 12 and 13 (b) remained questionable that it was enforced on 15.10.82. The law violates several fundamental principles of international customary law standards.

As it was enacted in the Chapter (2) of the Myanmar Citizen Law of 1982;(b) "Citizen" means a Burma citizen (c) "Associate Citizen" means an associate citizen prescribed by this Law; (d) "Naturalized Citizen" means a prescribed by this Law; classifying three different types of citizens opposed 1974 Constitutions of Burma, is incompatible mother law of Burma. Therefore, it is illegitimate to enforce and become null.

Though Citizenship law of 1982 was enacted on 15.10.1982, it was not enforced practically until 1988 nationwide democracy uprising. On 18 September, the 8888 Uprising came to an end when the military, led by General Saw Maung, took power in a coup d'état. In this way, Citizenship law of 1982 remained as a dead law for 6 years.

After martial law was imposed, protests were violently broken up, Senior General Saw Maung started to materialize the 1982 law again. Therefore, the law was materialized by the de facto government, not an elected government, and it was illegitimate.

However, the citizenship law of 1982 also states; "A person who is already a citizen on the date this Law comes into force is a citizen. Action, however, shall be taken under section 18 for infringement of the provision of that section."(Chapter-6)

Though they are eligible to be citizens of Myanmar, national rights, human rights, and birthrights, disrespecting the human right, they are accused illegal immigrants, mixed blood, and enacting against retro-

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spective effects. Forcing them to apply according to article-65 is materializing discrimination based on race, religion, and violating human rights.

Main actor for implementation of the 1982 citizenship law was Dictator Ne Win who was a Chinese blood. Recently, Patron of ANP Party, Dr. Aye Maung, U Zaw Aye Maung, Minister of Rakhine Ethnic Affairs, held a seminar on 1982 law at Dolphin Restaurant, KandawGyi, Yangon, where, human rights advocate, U Thein ThanOo criticized Chinese blood Dictator Ne Win and lack of international standard in the 1982 law. He also mentioned that U San Yu, who promulgated 1982 citizenship law, was also a Chinese mixed blood.

Faithful servant of Dictator Ne Win, General KhinNyunt, Ex-intelligence chief who served in the front line of Western Burma mainly, is also a mixed blood of Chinese and Bamar.<sup>1</sup> In the former ruling of Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), U Thein Nyunt, who was Chairman of the Naypyidaw Council, is also a Chinese-Bamar mixed blood. DawKyaingKyaing, wife of senior General ThanShwe was born of a Chinese-Pao mixed parent, a Chinese Kyu Tin and PaoDawPwa. They had three sons and five daughters.<sup>2</sup>

Brigadier General Aung Gyi, former vice-chief of Staff, also was Chinese-Bamar mixed blood. There are many mixed blood among the top political leaders and officers of Myanmar. The Immigration Department of Myanmar failed to verify them according to 1982 citizenship.

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1. "Intelligences of Burma" by Thaung Way page-245.

2. "ThanShwe or Prince of Naypyidaw" by Than Win Hlaing ,Page-118-119

Why did it fail to verify five persons mentioned above? Did it issue Scrutiny Cards of their children as Chinese+Bamar mixed blood? Does the law say "Buddhists do not need to verify? Why does the Immigration Department force only Rohingya and Muslims to apply according to article-65?

The second group of people who are free from the citizenship law of 1982 is the Rakhine Mogh, Mro, Khami, Dainet, and Thet that entered from the Western gate of Myanmar. They can enter freely from the broken western gate of Myanmar whenever they want without any restriction. As soon as they entered into Rakhine territory, they are provided Scrutiny Cards, farmlands, health care access, security and everything to start a new life in Arakan. During Thein Sein era, Rakhine State conducted celebration of welcoming Rakhine entered from Bangladesh and planned a State's project for them. Though Chapter VIII article-72 of citizenship law states; "Except under any of the provisions of this Law, no foreigner shall have the right to apply for naturalized citizenship from the date this Law comes into force", Rakhine, Mogh, Mro, Khami, Dainet, Thet and they who are Buddhists from Bangladesh can enjoy citizenship rights Myanmar without any discrimination.

The third group of people is those whose NRC were confiscated by NaSaKa and issued White Cards for them. During Thein Sein administration, as the validity of White Cards was nullified, Rohingya became undocumented people of Myanmar. On the other hand, Thein Sein approved citizenship of Chinese "MonWan-Bamar" at the end of his term. The Citizenship law of 1982 was not applied for MonWan-Bamar because they are Buddhists. We doubt the State policy may make Myanmar a Muslim-free State very soon.

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Even in the Rakhine's book, Arakan was stated as a nation of Kalar. Rakhine City was ruled by dynasties of Kalar Kings within first 1000 years. In 957 A.D, Rakhine history had been commenced; Rakhine City was a Kalar City before 957 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

The first president of Union of Myanmar, Sao ShweThike (Shan) had said that Muslims of Arakan certainly belong to one of the indigenous races of Burma. In fact, there is no pure indigenous race in Burma. If they do not belong to indigenous of Burma, we also cannot be taken as an indigenous race of Burma.<sup>4</sup>

Rohingya in the Rakhine State have been banned freedom of movement, travelling one place to another, deprived of educational rights, those who passed matriculation exam have no right to attend University, no medical access, discrimination in the hospital in case INGOs admitted them for emergency cases, if they get permission to travel to Yangon for medical purpose on their own expenses, they have to sign form-4, face malnutrition in IDPs as well as in the ghetto-like villages, rape, if any Rohingya complains against persecution, he or she is accused as respondent, torture of Border guards and other variety of human right violation are visible everywhere in Arakan against Rohingya.

Though Rohingya have been living for centuries and are native of Arakan, Thein Sein government, Rakhine literature and culture association, ANP party, USDP Party, 969 and MaBaTha extremist groups labelled them illegal Bengali immigrants, they were banned to express their own name during the 2014 census, excluded them enumerative process, and

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3.An anti-Islamic book widely spread with the help of authority, the book name is "A threat to annihilate our nation" 4.San Shwe Bu, Into Hidden Burma Vol-2 pg-12-13, 21, 290



Thein Sein Government broke to fulfill its commitments towards UN regarding the Rohingya issue.

During Thein Sein's administration promised to UN, EU, and US collect census according to international standard but it broke fulfilling its promises and did not enumerate Rohingya in the UN backed census rather attempted to make them illegal Bengali immigrants. That was one of the greatest human rights violations on Earth.

Rakhine is considered a regional dialect of Burmese by many researchers while others claim it is sufficiently different from standard Burmese to be a separate language.<sup>5</sup> Okell wrote Rakhine "preserved a strong sense of separateness" from the Burmese. Many Rakhine "continue to self-identify themselves by their relationship to the early modern Arakanese kingdom" and feel distinct separateness from the Burmese.<sup>6</sup> The Rakhine-speaking Buddhists, began an exodus across the borders of East Pakistan into Burma; conversely, the Bengali-speaking Muslims of the Rohingya found themselves driven out of Burma, often by military force, to seek refuge in East Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> The fact clearly proved influx of Bengali Rakhine Buddhists from East Pakistan into Arakan and Rohingya's exodus from Arakan to Bangladesh.

In paragraph 7 of the Panglong Agreement mentioned "Citizen of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy the rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries. In accordance with such facts meeting of Cabinet decided to prescribe May Yu Frontier Area, the inhabitants

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5. Jaremponganarn 1997; Wheatley 2003 Okell 1995; Watkins 2007.

6. Charney 2002:215, Yaw and Statezni 2012:5.

7. Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia By Sunil S. Amrith Pg-119

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within May Yu Frontier Area had been prescribed as minority Rohingya natives and then also allowed to broadcast as a minority ethnic program from Burma Broadcasting Service with effect from 15th May, 1961. That is to be considered as a result arisen from paragraph 7 of the Panglong Agreement.<sup>8</sup>

The Citizenship law of 1982 approved indigenous people those who inhabited in Burma before 1823. A British Envoy, Francis Buchanan, who had officiated in Ava of Burma in 1795AD wrote that "I shall now add three dialects, spoken in the Burman Empire, but evidently derived from the language of the Hindu nation. The first is that spoken by the Moham-medans, who have long settled in Arakan, and who call themselves Roo-inga, or natives of Arakan. No one can deny the evidence of Rohingya in before 1823."<sup>9</sup>

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8. Panglong Agreement, 12 February 1947 Article-7

9. Languages of Burma Empire by Francis Buchanan Pg-223-232

## 1942 MASSACRE

When the British withdrew, the administration of Arakan Division was entrusted to a Magh Buddhist, U KyawKhine, who was vested with the power of Commissioner of Arakan Division. This made the Maghs extremely happy. The Thakins who had been wanted by the government for various crimes came out of their hiding and started indulging in looting and plunder. Muslims were their natural victims. Before the Japanese bombed Akyab, most of the Muslims from different towns and villages left for their homes for fear of the rumor of an imminent anti-Muslim rioting going to break out in Akyab. The Japanese bombed Akyab on March 23, 1942 killing many British, Gorkha, Rajput and Karen soldiers. Many British soldiers left, leaving behind a large quantity of assorted arms. Some misguided Karens sold or gave arms to the Magh fanatics bolstering their strength.<sup>1</sup>

More than 100,000 Muslims were massacred. Thousands of Muslim villages were destroyed. The Muslim majority areas in the east of KaladanRiver had turned into a Muslim minority area. But the loss in terms of human civilization and moral values is much greater. The 1942 massacre impressed such an indelible black mark in the minds of Arakanese that the reminiscence of which shall serve as a constant source of impediment

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1. Massacre in Arakan in Urdu by Mohammed KhalilurRahman translated by Mr. ShabbirHussain, p.

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in a long way in the process of rapprochement between the two sister communities living together in Arakan from time immemorial.<sup>2</sup>

The destruction of Rohingya villages by the extremist Rakhine in 1942 are mentioned in the table.

Name of Town-ship	Myebon	MinPyaw	Pauk-taw	Kyauk-taw	Punna-gyun	Rathe-daung	Buthi-daung	Maung-daw	Total
Villages	30	27	58	78	5	21	55	8	282

The 6000 Rohingya refugees sought refuge in East Pakistan and scattered all over Chittagong district because U Kyaw, the Commissioner of Arakan at Akyab not only bitterly refused to take them back but also said to Mr. Gundivia, the representative of the Indian Government, who came to Akyab and saw the former in connection with these refugees while the Indian Government decided to close down the refugee camps, that he would not allow the steamer to enter the AkyabPort with the refugees in question.<sup>3</sup>

On March 28 1942, Rakhines attacked the Rohingya in Samblivillage of Minbya. Valuables and livestock were taken from the Rohingya by the Takhin party and looters. The attack lasted 40 days and at least 150,000 Rohingya were killed. Villages were looted, demolished, and rebuilt by Buddhist settlers.

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2.Massacre in Arakan in Urdu by Mohammed KhalilurRahman translated by Mr. Shabbir-Hussain, p. 5-10

3.Mr. A. Ghaffar Press Conference given on the 21st. April, 1960.

The 1942 events made cohabitation very difficult for the Rohingya and the Rakhine. Encouraged by the anti- Rohingya policies of the state, the Buddhists stepped up their attacks on the Muslims without prevention of the government.

Before recovering from the 1942 massacre, Rohingya found themselves at the target of yet another attack by the Burmese government in 1947. As a response to these attacks, some Rohingya factions launched armed resistance against the Burmese state. Today, as we see majority Rohingya live in Buthidaung and Maungdaw were once lived in Kyauktaw, MinPya, Mruk U, MyeBon, Ann, Rambre, during the 1942 massacre, their parents and grandparents moved to a frontier area.

In 1942 many British, Gorkha, Rajput and Karen soldiers were killed. Many British soldiers left leaving behind a large quantity of assorted arms. Some misguided Karens sold or gave arms to the Magh fanatics bolstering their strength to massacre Rohingya.<sup>4</sup>

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4.Massacre in Arakan in Urdu by Mohammed KhalilurRahman translated by Mr. Shabbir-Hussain, p. 5

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# PROPAGANDA

With the cracking down of 1988 democracy uprising, military junta established Buddhist Dhammayun in every street of Myanmar and gave favor to SitaguSayadaw to spread hatred against Islam and Muslims. General KhinNyunt formed NaSaKa for the persecution and annihilation of Rohingya, make them statelessness by confiscating all the official documents in their hands. The State's media promoted Buddhism and boasted Myanmar, World's Buddhist center. In 1989, Sitagu built Buddhist University in Sagaing, KhinNyunt built Kyaukdawgyi Pagoda in Sawbwagyi-gone of Yangon, and a hatred book was published in which Islam and Muslims are mentioned a threat to the State's security.<sup>1</sup>

Rohingya Muslims are faithful to the nation since centuries and never betrayed. Min Yazagyi was told by the Portuguese that "once they (the Muslims) had got a footing they were ill to throw out." Min Yazagyi responded that these troops posed no threat to either him or to the Portuguese. To put an end to the Portuguese protests, Min Yazagyi pointed out that his local representatives were there to monitor the situation and would evict the Muslims if they showed any signs of revolt.<sup>2</sup>

General KhinNyunt states; "to establish indigenous villages in Buthidaung and Maungdaw, is necessary to bring people who are jobless and belong to no farmland in upper Myanmar and persecuted Buddhists such as Rakhine and Thet from Bangladesh.

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1. Radio Address 4 November 1959, Myanmar State's newspapers' columnist, MayuMyoAung in his hidden treasure

2. Mousinho, MacGregor trans, op. cit., 114-115.

Establishing 24 Buddhists villages, he settled Rakhine and Thet from Bangladesh.<sup>3</sup> So General KhinNyunt is responsible for the illegal Buddhists settlement in Rakhine State. Throughout Dictatorship era, all military Dictators spread hatred against Muslims, conducted ethnic cleansing based on religion especially Rohingya and Muslims. Instead of taking action to illegal immigrants, they encourage the Buddhists influx into Myanmar. This is one of the main factors of conflict and violence in Myanmar.

In 2011, Myanmar Generals formed 969 Buddhist group; Sita-guSayadaw and Wirathu were chosen heads of the group and started propaganda against Rohingya with false allegations of attacking through social media especially Myanmar Express and Chit Thu Mya websites.<sup>4</sup>



**General Thura  
Shwe Mann, former  
chair of Parliament**

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3. "Broken Western Gate of Myanmar" by Mawwantha U KhinNyunt ,page-39

4. Most of the intelligence's websites displayed this propaganda against Rohingya to turn attention of Rakhine protesters against Golden Gas Project of China in Kyaukpku.

## ROHINGYA

Before 2012 violence, Rakhine extremists and Maungdaw District Administrators published a book named "Paccima Zone Magazine" in February 2012 which ignited violence in Rakhine State. The book is the clear evidence of their plan for the violence against Rohingya. RNDP party intentionally included destructive and negative articles which could cause misunderstanding among the members of both societies.<sup>5</sup>



**"Paccima Zone Magazine" Organized and published by Governments officers  
contains propaganda against Rohingya and Islam**

On 3.6.2012, excusing missing of U Aung Than Way, a member of Rakhine Development Party (RNDP), 100s of Rakhine gathered in a tea shop of Set Yun Su (Nazi), Sittwe and later they surrounded the Police Station.

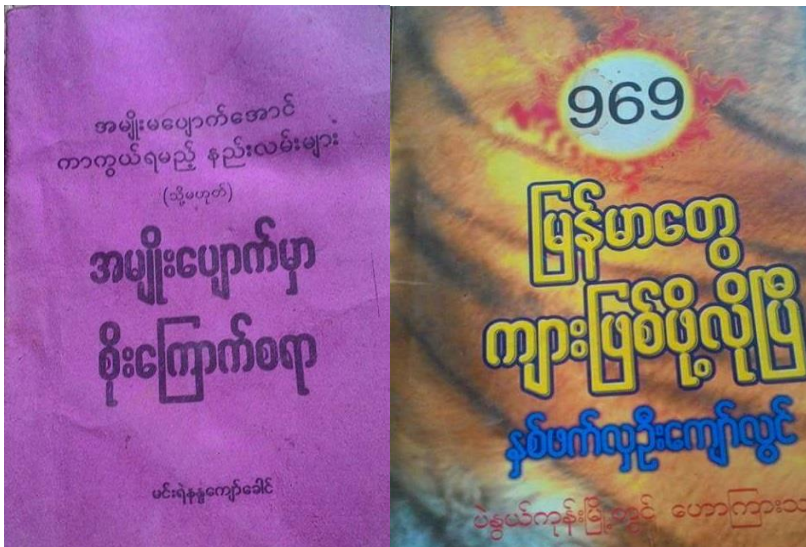
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5.This magazine was widely spread throughout Myanmar to promote hatred against Rohingya organized and distributed by high rank government officers.



Nearly 300 Rakhine demanded the police to release Aung Than Way at 9 PM. At 10 PM, Dr. Aye Maung, Chairman of RNDP came to the Police station and demanded Aung Than Way. At 11 PM, though police released Aung Than way, the mobs attacked the police station and damaged it.

On the evening of 28 May, brother of Ma ThidaHtwe, U Win Maung complained police Station of Kyauk Ni Maw that his sister was robbed, raped and murdered. The Police officer opened a case in the event, according to the section (pa) 23/2012, code-302/382. The police arrested three suspects, HtetHtet @ Shofi, Rafi, Khochi@ Akwechay and sent them to KyaukPyu Court for trial. The rest were charged severe punishment. No one knows exactly that HtetHtet suicided or not. That can be considered as a preplanned murder case.



State sponsored anti-Islam and anti-Rohingya books

widely spread with the help authority since 1990s

## ROHINGYA

Soon after ThidaHtwe case, on 3 June 2012, Rakhine Wantharnu group distributed pamphlets regarding her case and at 4 PM, they attacked YomaThissa Express Bus travelling Thandwe to Yangon at Taungup of Arakan and killed Ten Muslims passengers on the bus brutally. The next Myanmar National Newspaper highlighted the news on the front page with a "10 Kalars were killed by 300 mobs" that seemed a preplanned program of violence. Using the term "Kalar", a derogatory term for Muslims, violence was systematically created.<sup>6</sup>

Before the case happened, General KhinNyunt went to Thandwe. Instead of condemning brutal killing of 10 Muslims, Dr. Aye Maung blamed Muslims for travelling that added fuel to the flames of violence. Based on the brutally killing of 10 Muslims in Taungup, Rohingya in Maungdawprayed for justice after Friday Prayer. Meanwhile Rakhine came and attacked to start violence there at 3:50 pm on 8 June 2012. Soon, Rakhine mobs started burning and killing of Rohingya's houses in Sittwe, Pauktaw, MyayBon, KyaukPyu, Mrauk U, MinPya and Rathedaung .Mobs burnt, killed, and destroyed in front of police force and security forces and forced them to leave their houses. As a result, more than 140000 IDPs have been in the concentration camp since June 2012.

In the initiate state of violence, speech of SitaguSayadaw from National Television, added fuel to the flames by saying "Guests must respect hosts" referring Rohingya are guests and Buddhists are hosts in Myanmar.<sup>7</sup>

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6. Myanmar Ahlin Newspaper 4.6.12

7. SitaguSayadaw's speech on T.V, 8.6.12

Since that time, 969 and MaBatha extremist groups have been organizing nationwide protests against Rohingya and damaged "Rule of law" They also used media which consistently publishing news on the title of "illegal Bengali immigrants from Bangladesh" that increased flames of violence throughout the nation.

Leaders of the MaBaTha extremist group, Sayadaw Wirathu and AshinPamoakha not only abused State Counselor, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi but also insulted U.N. human rights envoy, Yanghee Lee, calling her a "whore". That is the reason the Time Magazine expressed him "The face of Buddhist Terror". As a Government, failing to take action for the insult of UN envoy by a monk can be considered using stooge for the violence.

### **Some lectures of 969 Buddhist monks**

1. Wirathu: As soon as we give command to you, are you ready to start the violence? (All shouted) Yes, we are ready to do so. (Clapping) Former Government couldn't do for education, they were weak, what they had done like Naga Min operation, and other operations were not very effective. We didn't have good leaders against them (against Muslims). Now we have good leaders. Now we can easily make them (Muslims) without food. (Clapping) We will make them (Muslims) to face starvation without shelters. (Clapping). Watch video clip.<sup>8</sup>
2. Close or far, even Muslim shops are near and Buddhist shops are far from your house, go to the Buddhist shops, and walk for a while though you are tired. That is called "Protect our own religion" If you don't do that "Do you know what will happen?"

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8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9bQ6fPI721U>

## ROHINGYA

As they (Muslims) are, in the 21st century, before 2100, all our generation, including kids will be slaughtered, all our next generation can be slaughtered or not? Can be slaughtered? Yes, can be slaughtered because they (Muslims) did develop like that, there were many examples in the past. In Malaysia, Indonesia and Afghanistan, they did the same. According to the record of a Muslim research expert, when they wipe out Buddhists in India, though Buddhism started in India, there was biggest monastery called Naganda University, they (Muslims) came on the horseback and 10000 monks were burnt them pouring petrol over them, none of them could escape, how can, they surrounded by them with horses. And they burnt all Buddhist scriptures that those scriptures had been burning till one month, that's all recorded in their records. Watch video clip.<sup>9</sup>

3. If there is 75% Muslims and 25% Buddhists, and if they let us practice our religion and we, can live peacefully, no problem even they are outnumbered. Now, it is not like that. If they became outnumbered, they declare Jihad. Jihad means killing all those who are non-Muslims, in this way all our future generations will be slaughtered, now 2012, after 88 years they will be outnumbered, after 3 generations, it will happen. All our children, grandchildren will be slaughtered by them. So what shall we need to do? Shall we live carelessly without unity? Some shouted out .....should be united. What can we do? Two things; educate our children Buddhism and unite to protect our religion. Watch video clip.<sup>10</sup>

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9. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XbCZUP-eiNg>

10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=etIiKMo23jk>

4. I mean that they (Muslims) are outnumbering not because they are so smart but because we are weak. I am telling to make known that we have weak points. I am not criticizing others. They are very smart; they all are very united, they help each other, 786! From childhood, they are brainwashed to buy, sell and eat from 786 shops only. Their parents teach and guide that "These are Islamic shops, our religious brothers' shops, you should buy from them even there are no 786 sign on it. They tell their children that don't drink even free water from non-Muslims' shop. Look! How are they united, how do they be together. Yes or not? Yes, they are united like that. We Buddhists are not like that, we follow no discipline, no rule, no way, Buddhists lost their sovereignty when we didn't have discipline, you can see that in the history of Thipaw Min (Last king of Burma). Look at history how did they invade, even in the Royal castle, they built Mosque. Right or not? Rethink about that. Look at them 786! In the 21st century, the whole World will be dominated by Islam. First of all, they attacked America, WTC, European Union, Twin Towers, they exploded. They exploded the World's strongest Pentagon Headquarter of US. They went to destroy universally dominated white house. Watch video clip.<sup>86</sup>

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11. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=euLQhD8Fqtc>

## ROHINGYA UNDER DEMOCRATIC ERA

The Sir Ba Oo Commission was formed by Prime minister U Nu under the Chairmanship of the then Chief Justice, Sir Ba Oo, in October, 1948 under which three sub-committees for dealing with the question of Karen, Mon and Arakanese nationals respectively were formed. Each sub-committee is constituted by one representative from the State, three Burman representatives and four national representatives from the concerned area.<sup>1</sup>

The 4-member Arakanese national representatives are U Kyaw Yin, U San Tun Aung, U ThaTun and Mr. Sultan Ahmed. They submitted their opinion on 29th October, 1948 as follows:

1. to appoint an Arakanese affairs minister and include it as a Law in the Constitution

2. to constitute an Arakanese affairs council to assist the Arakanese affairs minister and include it as a Law in the Constitution;

3. according to clause 12 of the Constitution, to make rules, regulations and laws to be able to perform all activities of Arakan region by the Arakanese affairs minister and Arakanese affairs council in accordance with the wish of Arakan people;

4. after five years this scheme depending upon its results shall either be re-examined and amended in accordance with the wish of Arakan people or terminated.<sup>2</sup>

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1.Myanmar Politics 1958-1962 Vol. 111, pp. 178-179

2.Myanmar Politics 1958-1962 Vol. 111, pp. 180

U Shwe Baw, The Arakanese (Rakhaing) representative of the Committee submitted the following proposals:

1. to exploit the natural resources of Arakan and improve industrialisation;
2. to improve the water, land and railway communications of Arakan;
3. to upgrade education standard including higher and technological education;
4. to improve the health and treatment facilities;
5. to improve the agricultural and aquatic enterprises
6. to deploy one or two Rakhaing battalions in permanent Army to carry out law and order in case any border problem arises in Burma's north-west frontier;
7. to give necessary powers for rehabilitating the Rakhaing nationals living in 'Bomang State' (Chittagong Hill Tract) and Awa Kyun (Sundarbans);
8. to award the power of making laws and collection of revenue and
9. to grant Self rule' in every affairs of Arakan division<sup>3</sup>

Muslims would be completely free to develop their own special Rohingya language and culture, and to spread their religion. A special officer for Muslim Affairs would be appointed whose job it would be to investigate complaints and obstructions, and to report on them to the chief of 'State'.

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3. Myanmar Politics 1958-1962 Vol. 111, pp. 181

## ROHINGYA

For a period of ten years from the date of establishment of the 'State' the right would be reserved to every district — and especially to those of northern Arakan— to secede from the 'State' and transfer itself to the direct jurisdiction of the Central government in Rangoon.<sup>4</sup>

Rohingya language programme was regularly broadcasted from Burma Broadcasting Service (BBS), Rangoon from 15-5-1961 till its abolition on 1-10- 1965.

The effects of military coup on Arakan

In March 2, 1962 Gen. Ne Win, the then Burma's Army Chief, seized power in a bloodless military coup; abolished the Constitution and dissolved the Parliament. All powers of the State — legislative, judiciary and executive —had fallen automatically under the control of the Revolutionary Council' (RC) headed by him.

Ne Win now well entrenched in power, started to take action against his old eyesore, the Rohingya Muslims of Arakan. Notifications were sent by Revolutionary Council to Arakan division authorities to restrict the movement of the Muslims. The State controlled media began attacking Rohingya Muslims branding them as aliens. Ne Win himself, while talking to newsmen, used sarcastic language against Rohingyas. He opined that the Arakanese Buddhists should take appropriate steps against these Kala's. The term Kala' is generally applied to mean ethnic Indians irrespective of religion. It also implies the meaning of foreigner and carries a sense of sarcasm.

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5. The Muslims of Burma by Moshe Yegar p. 104

In 1974, the BSPP convened the first Peoples Congress (PyithuHlut law) which ratified the constitution drawn by BSPP. The new constitution



granted 'State' to Arakan in the unitary structure. The new 'Arakan State' was manned by hundred percent Buddhist authorities with Burmans in the top echelons and local Buddhist Arakanese in the lower strata. The 'Arakan State Council' was dominated by pro-Burman Arakanese Buddhists who tightened the screw against the Rohingyas further. Armed operations in the name of so-called immigration inquiry continued. Oppression of Muslims took a serious turn. Educated Rohingya youths were humiliated and denied of any government job. Trade and business are almost totally shut down for Rohingyas. Discrimination of Muslims, lack of security of life and property added by serious unemployment encouraged many Muslims to migrate either across the border into Bangladesh or infiltrate into proper Burma by bribing Burmese officials. The outflow of Muslims increased as the life span of the BSPP prolonged.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE ELECTED ROHINGYA PARLIAMENT MEMBERS AND HLUTTAW REPRESENTATIVES

The lists of elected Parliament Members and Hluttaw Representatives

Year	Name	Post	Constituency
1936	U Gani Markan	M.G.C	Buthitaung + Maungtaw
	U Abdul Bashar	M.P	Buthitaung (South)
	U Abdul Gaffer	M.L.C	Buthitaung
	U Abdul Khair	M.P	Maungtaw (South)

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5.Outrage, Burmas Struggle for Democracy by Bertil Lintner p. 595.

A short History of Arakan and Rohingya by NDPHR, p. 42

## ROHINGYA

Year	Name	Post	Constituency	Year	Name	Post	Constituency
1951	U Abdul Gaffer	M.P	Buthitaung (North)	1956	U Ezar Meah	M.P	Buthidaung (North)
	U Abdul Bashar	M.P	Buthitaung (South)		U Sultan Mahmood	M.P	Buthidaung (North)
	U Sultan Ahmed	M.P	Maungtaw (North)		U Abdul Bashar	M.P	Buthidaung (South)
					U Sultan Ahmed	M.P	Maungtaw (North)
					U Abdul Khair	M.P	Maungdaw (South)
					U Abdul Gaffer	M.P	Buthitaung-Maungdaw (Upper House)

Year	Name	Post	Constituency	SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT			
1960	U Abdul Bashar	M.P	Buthitaung (South)	Year	Name	Post	Constituency
	U Sultan Mahmood	M.P	Buthitaung (North)	1974	Dr.A Rahim (a) Dr Chit Maung	Hlutaw Representative	Maungtaw
	U Abdul Khair	M.P	Maungtaw (South)		U Abdul Hussain	Hlutaw Representative	Buthitaung
	U Rashid	M.P	Maungtaw (North)	1978	U Abdul Hai (a) U Tun Aung Kyaw	Hlutaw Representative	Maungtaw
	U M.A Subban	M.P	Buthitaung-Maungtaw (Upper House)				

NA WA TA JUNTA LED GOVERNMENT (1990 ELECTION)				Year	Name	Post	Constituency
Year	Name	Post	Constituency	2010	U Zakir Ahmed (a) U Aung Zaw Win	Hlutaw Representative	Pyithu Hlutaw (Maungtaw)
1990	U Fazal Ahmed	Hlutaw Representative	Maungtaw (South)		U Shwe Maung (a) U Abdul Razak	Hlutaw Representative	No. (2) State Hlutaw (Buthitaung)
	U Chit Lwin (a) U Ibrahim	Hlutaw Representative	Maungtaw (North)		U Zayed Rahman (a) U Htay Win	Hlutaw Representative	No. (7) Amyother Hlutaw (Maungtaw)
	U Tin Maung (a) U Noor Ahmed	Hlutaw Representative	Buthitaung (South)		U Zahin Gir (a) U Aung Myo Min	Hlutaw Representative	No. (1) State Hlutaw (Maungtaw)
	U Kyaw Min (a) U Anwarul Haq	Hlutaw Representative	Buthitaung (North)		Dr. Bashir Ahmed	Hlutaw Representative	No. (2) State Hlutaw (Buthitaung)

Besides, the local Muslims, inhabitants in Arakan State had served as military officers and military staffs in Tatmataw; as police officers and staffs in Police Force; as Professor, Lecturers, Assistant Lecturers, Tutors, Demonstrators of University and colleges under Ministry of Education; Township Education Officers, Headmasters and teachers of High school, Middle schools and Primary schools; as Senior Officers and Staffs at other Ministries respectively.

## ROHINGYA SPEAK INDO-ARYAN

A human language is always changing slowly into another one. This is partly because it is natural for sounds to morph into different ones over time. Sounds often change to become more akin to ones before or after them. Sounds at the ends of words tend to wear away. Vowels shift around in the mouth. In English, the last two processes are why made is pronounced as it is: the e dropped off and an “ah” sound changed to an “ay” sound. Sound change also creates languages where a syllable’s tone determines its meaning, as in Chinese.

Humans are programmed to speak on some level. If otherwise, then at least a few groups of humans would be documented who did not speak or did not speak as well as other groups. Furthermore, all babies worldwide would not babble instinctively and eventually learn to speak. After all, no matter how much dogs and cats hear us talk, they do not do so themselves—nor do even the most talented chimpanzees. B. Just when this ability emerged is currently unknown, but we can be reasonably certain that the humans who migrated out of Africa and populated the world possessed the gift of speech that we are familiar with today. Indians have actively engaged in Burma for over 2,000 years in all spheres of life politically, religiously, and culturally; arts and cuisine and the effect can be seen today.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Burma is the highway between India and China “Bagan Culture” page 42, Professor U ThanTun M.A., B.L., D. Lit., Ph.D.

## ROHINGYA

Pyu, one of the three founding father of Bamar or Myanmar race was believed to be the mixture of three groups; (i) Few insignificant local inhabitants since Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age, (ii) many migrants came from India bringing in Hinduism and Buddhism along with their cultures and literatures successively (iii) and the last group believed to came down from north, Tibeto-Burman group.<sup>2</sup>

The area known as North Arakan had been for many years before the 8th century the seat of Hindu dynasties. In 788 AD a new dynasty, known as the Chandras, founded the city of Wesali. This city became a noted trade port to which as many as a thousand ships came annually; the Chandra kings were upholders of Buddhism, ... their territory extended as far north as Chittagong;— Wesali was an easterly Hindu kingdom of Bengal — Both government and people were Indian.<sup>3</sup>

So far as Arakan is concerned, the inscriptions show traces of two early dynasties holding sway in the north. The earlier one, a Candra dynasty, seems to have been founded in the middle of the fourth century A.D. Its capital was known by the Indian name of Vaisali and it maintained close connections THE PRE-PAGAN PERIOD 9 with India. Thirteen kings of this dynasty are said to have reigned for a total period of 230 years. The second dynasty was founded in the eighth century by a ruler referred to as Sri Dharmavijaya, who was of pure Ksatriya descent. His grandson married a daughter of the Pyu king of Sri Ksetra.<sup>4</sup>

The ruins of old capital of Arakan – Wesali show Hindu statues and inscriptions of the 8th century AD. Although the Chandras usually held Buddhistic doctrines, there is reason to believe that Brahmanism and

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2. "Ancient Pyu" page 3&4 Professor U ThanTun M.A., B.L., D. Lit., Ph.D

3. M.S. Collis, Arakan's place in the civilization of the Bay, Journal of the Burma Research Society, 50th Anniversary publications No.2, Rangoon, 1960, P. 486.

4. BURMA, D. G . E. HALL, M.A., D.LIT., F.R.HIST.S. Professor Emeritus of the University of London and formerly Professor of History in the University of Rangoon, Burma. Third edition 1960. Page 8 -9

Buddhism flourished side by side in the capital. "The Burmese do not seem to have settled in Arakan until possibly as late as the tenth century AD. Hence earlier dynasties are thought to have been Indian, ruling over a population similar to that of Bengal. All the capitals known to history have been in the north near modern Akyab".<sup>5</sup> The Arakanese are descended from Aryans of Maghada.<sup>6</sup>

In Ptolemy's *Geografia* (150 AD) it was named 'Argyre'. Sir H. Yule want to identify with Arakan the name being supposed to be derived from silver mines existing there.<sup>7</sup> Sir H. Yule assumption is supported by Mc Cridle and D.G.E. Hall.<sup>8</sup> In the Ananda Chandra stone pillar of Chandra dynasty (8th Century) at Shitthaung Pagoda in Mrauk-U the name of Arakan was engraved as "Arakadesa".<sup>9</sup>

Arakan had been an independent and sovereign monarchy ruled by Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims. According to A. P. Phayer and G.E. Harvey, the Arakanese kings established alternately capitals in eight different towns, transferring from one to another. They were successively at Dinnyawadi, 25 kings (146-746 AD); Vesali, 12 kings (788-994 AD); First Pyinsa (Sanbawut), 15 kings (1018-1103 AD); Parin, 8 kings (1103-1167 AD); Krit, 4 kings (1167-1180 AD); Second Pyinsa, 16 kings (1180-1237 AD); Launggyet, 17 kings (1237-1433 AD) and Mrauk-U, 48 kings (1433-1785 AD).<sup>10</sup>

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5. D. G. E Hall, *A History of the South East Asia*, New York, 1968, P. 389.

6. HGE Hall *History of Southeast Asia*.

7. San Tha Aung, *The Buddhist Art of Ancient Arakan*, Daw Saw Saw Sapay, Rangoon, 1979, P.2; Sir H. Yule, In *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, November 1882; Sir Arthur Phayre, *History of Burma*, London, 1884, P.42. Amanullah, *The Etymology of Arakan*, THE ARAKAN, Vol.10, Issue 2, July 1997, P.4.

8. D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South East Asia*, London, 1968, P.141; Mc Crindle, *The Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, P.162; Ibid. P.4 – 5.

9. *The Rakhine: Culture and Civilization of National Races*, Burma Socialist Programme Party Headquarters., Rangoon, 1976, P.36.

10. G.E Harvey, *History of Burma*, London, 1928, P.137, P.369 – 372.

## ROHINGYA

There was Hindu god, which indicated that Arakan was a Hindu land until 10th century AD. According to Morris Collis, the Hindu ruled Arakan from 1st century to 10th century. At that time Arakan was the gate of Hindu India to contact with the countries of the East. But the Arakanese Rakhine chronicles claim that the kingdom of Dinnyawadi was founded in the year 2666 BC, and contain lists of kings beginning with that date.<sup>11</sup>

The city of Vesali was founded in 788 AD by king Mahataing Sandya. The ruins of the city are still to be seen on the bank of a tidal creek about 44 miles inland from the Bay of Bengal (from Akyab City). This city became a noted trade port to which as many as a thousand ships came annually. The Chandara kings extended their territory as far north as Chittagong; the dynasty came to an end in 957 AD being overwhelmed by a Mongolian invasion. Vesali was an easterly Hindu kingdom of Bengal. Both government and people is Indian similar to that of Bengal.<sup>12</sup>

Inside the palace compound of Vesali there were many stone plates inscribed in Nagri. The Vesali kings also melted good silver coins. Stamped on them are the bull, Nandi, the avatar of Siva; Siva's trident; and shred of flowers melted with Bhraman civilization.<sup>13</sup> There are frequent references to the Arab Muslims settlers in the coastal regions of Arakan from the 8th century onward. On the basis of the various Arab and Persian sources Mr. Siddiq Khan states as follow: <sup>14</sup>

"To the maritime Arabs and Persians the various ports of the land of Burma, and more specially the coastal regions of Arakan... were well

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11. D.G.E Hall, A History of South-East Asia, New York, 1977, P.389.

12. M.S Collis, Arakan's Place in the Civilisation of the Bay, Journal of Burma Research Society 50th Anniversary Publications No.2, Rangoon, 1960, P.486.

13. Ibid. P.487.

14. M.Siddiq Khan, Muslims Intercourse with Burma, Islamic Culture, Vol. X, Hyderabad, July 1936, P.418.

known. Naturally, therefore, when from the 8th century onwards, Muslims traders and navigators were spreading over the eastern seas from Egypt and Madagascar to China, and forming commercial settlements at points of vantage, the coastal regions of Burma were not overlooked. Originally, the intention of these traders and sailors had not been to establish permanent colonies, but owing to peculiar circumstances these acquired the nature of permanent settlements.”

“In 680 AD after the war of ‘Karbala’ Mohammed Hanofiya with his army arrived at Arab-Shah Para, near Maungdaw in the Northern Arakan, while Kaiyapuri, the queen of Cannibals ruled this hilly deep forest attacking and looting the people of Arakan. Mohammed Hanif attacked the Cannibals and captured the queen. She was converted to Islam and married to him. Her followers embraced Islam en masse. Mohammed Hanif and the queen Kaiyapuri lived in Mayu range. The peaks where they lived were still known as HanifaTonki and KaiyapuiTonki. The wild cannibals were tamed and became civilised. Arakan was no more in danger of them and peace and tranquillity prevailed. The followers of Mohammed Hanif and Kaiyapuri were mixed up and lived peacefully.”<sup>15</sup> The descendants of these mixed people no doubt formed the original nucleus of the Rohingya Muslims in Arakan. “About 788 AD MahataingSandya ascended the throne of Vesali, founded a new city (Vesali) on the site of old Ramawadi and died after a reign of twenty two years. In his reign several ships were wrecked on Rambree Island and the crews, said to have been Mohamedans, were sent to Arakan Proper and settled in villages. They were Moor Arab Muslims.”<sup>16</sup>

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15. M.A. Taher Ba Tha, *The Rohingyas and Kamans* (in Burmese), Published by United Rohingya National League, Myitkyina (Burma), 1963, P.6 – 7; Maung Than Lwin, *Rakhine Kala or Rohingya*, *The Mya Wadi Magazine*, issue July 1960, PP.72-73; N.M Habibullah, *RohingyaJatirItihas* (History of the Rohingyas), Bangladesh Co-Operative Book Society Ltd., Dhaka, 1995, PP.32-33

16. R.B. Smart, *Burma Gazetteer – Akyab District*, Vol.A, Rangoon, 1957, P.19.

## ROHINGYA

Rohang, the old name of Arakan, was very familiar region for the Arab seafarers even during the pre-Islamic days. Tides of people like the Arabs, Moors, Turks, Pathans, Moghuls, Central Asians, Bengalees came mostly as traders, warriors, preachers and captives overland or through the sea route. Many settled in Arakan, and mixing with the local people, developed the present stock of people known as ethnic Rohingya. Hence, the Rohingya Muslims, whose settlements in Arakan date back to 7th century AD are not an ethnic group which developed from one tribal group affiliation or single racial stock. They are an ethnic group developed from different stocks of people. The ethnic Rohingya is Muslim by religion with distinct culture and civilisation of their own. They trace their ancestry to Arabs, Moors, Pathans, Moghuls, Central Asians, Bengalis and some Indo-Mongoloid people. Since Rohingyas are mixture of many kinds of people, their cheekbone is not so prominent and eyes are not so narrow like Rakhine Maghs and Burmans. Their noses are not flat and they are a bit taller in stature than the Rakhine Maghs but darker in complexion. They are some bronzing coloured and not yellowish. The Rohingyas of Arakan still carried the Arab names, faith, dress, music and customs. So, the Rohingyas are nationals as well as an indigenous ethnic group of Burma. They are not new born racial group of Arakan rather they are as old an indigenous race of the country as any others.<sup>17</sup> According to Phayre, the name Magh originated from the ruling race of Magadha and also a well-known poet of Rosanga (Arakan), DaultKazi (1622-38) mentioned in his Sati Mayna that the kings of Arakan belonged to Magadha dynasty and was Buddhists by faith.<sup>18</sup>

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17. A.S. Bahar, *The Arakani Rohingyas in Burmese Society*, M.A. Thesis (unpublished), University of Windsor, Ontario, Canada, 1981, PP. 24-25; Alan Clements and Leslie Kean, *Burma's Revolution of the Spirit, the Struggle for Democratic Freedom and Dignity*, White Orchid Press, Bangkok, 1995, P.30; Mohammed Ali Chowdhury, *The Advent of Islam in Arakan and Rohingyas*, A.H.S, op. cit., P.29; N.M Habibullah, *Rohingya Jati Itihas (History of the Rohingyas)*, op. cit., Dhaka, 1995, PP.32-33.

18. Satyendra Nath Ghosal, *Missing Links in Arakan History*, Abdul Karim Sahitya Visarad Commemoration Volume, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dacca, 1972, P. 257.



The spoken language of Rakhine Magh is not a separate language but pure Burmese with phonetic variation. Historians commented on the Rakhine language as follows:<sup>19</sup> The question of the emergence of the Arakanese Rakhine language is more difficult. No inscriptions in the Burmese script are found in Arakan before 11th and 12th centuries. Whether it was the language of the Mongolian invaders of 10th century or whether it filtered across the mountains after contact with Burma in the 11th and 12th centuries is undecided. As Rakhine language is the same language as Burmese, being merely a dialect, to suppose that it was the language of the invaders is to contend that the Mongolians who extinguished Chandras spoke afterwards became predominant in the Irrawady plain. If the country is postulated, and it is argued that the Burmese language, coming over the mountain road, impinged upon the Mongolian speech of the then Arakanese and created modern Arakanese, linguistic difficulties are raised which are difficult to solve. This question awaits judgement."

King Anawratta of Pagan (1044-77 AD) conquered North Arakan, but it was not incorporated in his kingdom. It remained a semi-independent feudatory state under its hereditary kings. When Pagan fell in 1287 AD Arakan asserted its independence under the famous Minhti, whose regime, according to the chronicles, lasted for the fabulously long period of ninety-five years (1279-1374 AD). His reign is also notable for the defeat of a Bengali raid. After his death Arakan was for a considerable time one of the theatres of war in the great struggle between Ava and the Mon kingdom of Pegu. Both sides sought to gain control over it. First the Burmese, then the Mons, placed their nominees on its throne.<sup>20</sup>

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19. M.S. Collis, JBRs, 50th Anniversary No.2, op. cit., P.489.

20. G.E. Harvey, History of Burma, London, 1925, P.138 – 139.

## ROHINGYA

Referring to the early geographers, G.E. Hervay writes, "To the Arabs, whose shipping predominated in the eastern seas from 8th to 16th century, Burma was Arakan and Lower Burma." In addition, from the very beginning of Muslim commercial shipping activity in the Bay of Bengal, the Muslim trading ships reach the ports of Arakan just as they did the ports of Burma proper. And as in Burma so, too, in Arakan is there a long tradition of old Indian settlement.<sup>21</sup>

Bengal became Muslim in 1203 AD, but this was the extreme eastern limit of Islamic overland expansion (although the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago were Islamized much later by missionaries and merchants who came by sea). In northern Arakan close overland ties were formed with East Bengal. The resulting cultural and political Muslim influence was of great significance in the history of Arakan.

The Islamic influence grew in Arakan to the extent of establishing Muslim vassal state beginning in 1430 AD. Muslim's rule and influence in Arakan lasted for more than 350 years until it was invaded and occupied by Burman in 1784 AD.<sup>22</sup>

In Arakan, a number of trading centers were established along the coast, engaged in the export of forest products of the hill tribes. By the beginning of 3rd century this has resulted in the emergence of local chiefs, half remembered, in the early historical portion of Ananda Candrasprasasti (11.9 -17) as the ancestral monarch whose power extended beyond the limits of the village or group of villages. However, the narrow plains behind the coastal towns of Sandoway, Ramree and Man Aung prohibited the formation of agriculturally; based urban centers; and it was not until the second half of the 4th century A.D. that DvanCandra established the city of DhannyaVati (DannyaWaddi) on the rich alluvial plain of Kaladan Valley.<sup>36</sup> (Some say it was not DannyaWaddi but Wethali).

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21. Moshe Yegar, *The Muslims of Burma*, 1972, op. cit., P.18.

22. Moshe Yegar, *The Muslims of Burma*, 1972, op. cit., P.18.

So from the early Christian era there were the presences of many foreign nationals. Many nations had commercial contacts. Each people from different nation called Arakan in its own term. Some names called by different nations are similar with slight difference of accent. The root cause of this difference is difficult to explore, the naming of a place by a nation may base on its myth, language, and culture and on some historic facts. China is a western term where as Arab called it Sin and we Burman call Tayoke. Why are these differences? In this way we will find in this chapter Arakan has been called by different names historically.

Phayre said the name Rakhaing is traditionally derived from Pali-Rakha, Sanskrit Rakhasa synonymous with the Burmese Bilu. The country is named Yakkapura by Buddhist missionaries from India, because of the ferocious nature of its inhabitants.<sup>23</sup>

ParmelaGutman in her book writes it is interesting to note that the old Tamil word for demon (Bilu), derived from Sanskrit Rakhasa, isArracan. There appears to be some connection here with Tamil Arracan, "Shallac", which is said to have derived from the Lexical Sanskrit "Raksa" "Lac". It may be that Arakan in .the first century Christian era was a major Source of Lac, still a product of its oldest hill tribes. The earliest trade route to Arakan originated in the south of India. Ptolemy, whose informants seem to have obtained their information, on coastline of South Asia from South India, may have been inclined to equate Tamil Accalan or Kannadaaragu with Argyre.<sup>24</sup> (South Indian language is Tamil). So early traders from the west (perhaps) got the name from south Indians and the Persian called it Recon and the Arab called it AI-Recon.

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23. Pamela Gutman; Ancient Arakan PP. 44, 45.

A P .Phayre; On the History of Arakan. Also see Proff. G. H. Luce; The Advent of Buddhism to Burma; in L. Cusinsetal(eds).Buddhist studies in honor of I.B. Horner 1974, PP-120, 121

24. Pamela Gutman; Ancient Arakan P-2

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Classical geographers referred to South East Asia as the golden land, Chryse and the silver land, Argyre. Ptolemy in the second century A. D. referred Arakan as Argyre, his name for the country stretching from Naf River to Cape Negris.<sup>25</sup>

Pamela Gutman writes the fragmentary Prasasti on the north face of Shitthaung Pillar written in the mid 11th century A.D. mentions ArekaDesa. She further says in the inscriptions of Pagan, Ava from 12th to 15th centuries, the country is referred to as Rukuin or Rakhaing.<sup>26</sup> She explains we find in Hobson-Jobson, Srilankan chronicles and Tharanat history; the names in various forms, such as Arakan, Arraccan, Rakhanga, Racchami, Rakhan and Recon. Nidcolodei Conti in 1420 A.D. called it Rac-cani where as Babosa quoted in 1516 as Arraccan.<sup>27</sup> Srilankan chronicle says Rakhanga, which in Bengali became Rohang, because Bengali pronounces "kh" as "h". Khan in Bengali is pronounced as Han. According to Dr. S. B. Kanungo, in Persian source book the name Arakan is written as Arkhaunk and in its slight variation.<sup>28</sup> The name Rakhine, it seems is of much antiquity. Sir H. Yule wants to identify the country named Argyre in Ptolemy with Arakan, the name being supposed to be derived from silver mines existing then.<sup>29</sup> Yule's assumption is supported by M. C. Crindle and D. G. E. Hall.

In Rashiddudin's (14th century Indian historian's) work the name appeared as Rohan. He said the country of Rohang was subjugated to Khan<sup>30</sup> (Mongul Khans). Sidi Ali a Turkish navigator belongs to the middle of 16th century wrote it Rakhanj or Rakhang.

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25. Cf..Mc. Crindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy 1885. Reprint in Calcutta in 1927.

26. 963a U.B.194 SagaingHtuPayon Pagoda inscription obverseII 20-23.804 S (1442 A.D.).

27. Pamela Gutman, Ancient Arakan P-23

28. Dr. S. B. Kanungo; History of Chittagong Vol. A 1979.

29. Sir H. Yule, Proceeding of Royal Geographical Society Nov. 1882.

30. Elliot and Dowson: "History of India as told by its own Historians". P-73.

The authors of *Aini-i-Akbri*, *BahristanGaibi*, and *SiarulMuthaKharin* write *Arkhaung*, which appears also with a slight change in *Alamgir Nama* and *Fathya-i-Barial*.<sup>31</sup> In the medieval Bengali works and Rennell's map the name is written *Roshang*.<sup>32</sup> In colloquial Chittagonian dialect the country is called *Rohang*; "SH" being replaced by "H" [Still today, we found Hindu Bengali say *Roshang*, where as Muslim Bengali say *Rohang*]. Here as people of Chittagong are called *Chatghannya*, so do people of *Rohang* are called *Rohangya*. It is very comprehensive from linguistic point of view of Bengali language.

Medieval Portuguese and other European travelers mention it as *Recon*, *Rakan*, *Rakhanj*, *Arracao*, *Oracao*, *Aracan* and *VanlirSchoter* writes it *Arakan*, which is nearest to the present name.<sup>33</sup> Ralf Fytch, an English merchant toured India and Burma in the last decade of 16th century. He writes *Arakan* as kingdom of *Ruon*. So A. P. Phayre quoting Ralf Fytch, described *Arakan* as *Ruon*<sup>34</sup>, which sounds like *Rowang*.

*Rajamala* chronicle (*Tripura* chronicle) says their king *Dania Maneikha* conquered *Roshang* in mid 16th century. His commander was named "*RoshangMardan*" i.e. conqueror of *Arakan*. He returned after keeping *RoshangMardan* as Governor of Chittagong.<sup>35</sup> In the records of Italian traveler *Manucci*, it is said *Recon*, referring Persian source.

There are names of places in Bangladesh indicating reference to *Arakan*. A section of people, east of *Shanka* River in Bangladesh still today are called "*Rowangi*" meaning people of *Rowang* or *Arakan*. Due to racial suppression, which we will see in the next chapter many Muslims took refuge in Bengal in *Rakhine* period.

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31. Dr. Abu Fazl. *Aini-i-Akbri* (Trans: H. Blochman. Calcutta (1871 – 1877). *Mirza Nathan*, *BahristanGhaibi*; (Trans: Borah, Gohati. (1936)., *Shihabuddin Ahmed*, *Fatiya-Barria* (Trans: 1. N. Sarkar, Bodlein Library, Oxford).

32. Dr. S. B. Kanungo; *History of Chittagong* Vol. A, 1979 P-132.

33. *Ibid* P-133.

34. A-P. Phayre: *History of Burma* P-34

35. Dr. S. B. Kanungo; *History of Chittagong* PP 23 – 23

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Rohingya classified the Rakhine as RohingyaMagh and Anauki-yaMagh, which means Rakhine from Arakan and Rakhine from Anouk Pyi (Bengal). So here Rohingya means settlers of Rohang alias Arakan. Thus Rohingya is synonymous to Arakanese.<sup>36</sup>

There were many many Bengali courtiers in the palace of ArakanKings. They were encouraged by the Kings to flourish Bengali literature. DaulatQazi and Shah Alaol were two ministers and writers in the time of both ThiriThudama and SandaThudama in mid 17th century. In their works, Arakan is Roshang or Rohang and its people are Rohingya. Even there was a narrative poetry book in the name of Roshang Panchali.<sup>37</sup> Still today there are some people who say Rohingya is a creation. This term has no historical background. This is just an imaginary terminology, created by some political circle. Some say it was given by Pa-Ta-Sa Government. Yet some others say it was given by ThakinSoe, formerly Red Flag Communist Party boss.

What so ever we find researches of foreigners to authenticate the antiquity and historicity of Rohingyas. Gil Christ and F. Buchanan researched about this people and their language. Buchanan was an English diplomat in the Embassy of Michael Syme, in Ava. Francois Buchanan studied the languages of Burmese Empire. He said Burmese language has four dialects, that of Burma proper; that of Arakan; that of Yo and that of Tanasserim. About the languages of Arakan, F. Buchanan writes: I shall now add three dialects spoken in Burma Empire, but evidently derived from the language of Hindu nation. He details the first (language of Arakan) is that spoken by Mohammedans, who have long settled in Arakan, and who calred themselves "Rovinga" or native of Arakan.

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36. Dr. S. B. Kanungo; Hislory of Chittagong PP 23 – 235.

37. Ibid; chapler II Sect. 3.

The second dialect is that spoken by Hindus of Arakan. I procured it from a Brahmin and his attendant, who had been brought to Amarapura by the king's eldest son, on his return from the conquest of Arakan. They call themselves Rossawn, and for what reason I don't know they wanted to persuade me that theirs was the common language of Arakan. He (Buchanan) further states the last dialect of Hindustani, which I shall mention is that of a people called by the Burman Ayokobat, many of who are slaves in Amarapura.

By one of them I was informed that they call themselves Banga, that formerly they had kings of their own; but that in his father's time, their kingdom had been overturned by the king of Manipura, who carried away a great part of the inhabitants to his residence, when that Manipur was taken last by Burman fifteen years ago. This man was one of the many captives who were brought to Ava from Manipur.

Buchanan said the native Mughls of Arakan dill themselves Yakain, a name given by Burman. By the Bengal Hindus, at least by such of them as have been settled in Arakan, the country is called Rossawn - the Mohammedans settled in Arakan called the country Rovingaw, the Persian called Rekon. Buchanan continued, Mr. Gil Christ has been so good as to examine these dialects, which come nearest to the Hindustani spoken on the Ganges.

They have studied comparatively the three dialects, which appeared in the Asiatic researchers, Calcutta, Vol. 5, 1801. This study of Mr. Gil Christ and F. Buchanan proved the antiquity and historicity of Rohingyas. In the late 8th century, some ships wrecked Arab having been washed ashore on an Island in the west coast of Arakan, called the land Rahambri in Arabic, which means the land of Allah's blessing.<sup>38</sup>

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38. CH. Mohd; AF Narary, in the Dacca Review: Burma an Arab land in the east P-35

## ROHINGYA

Later the whole land of Arakan was called Rahambri or Mukh-e-Rahmi; the same meaning in Arabic. The term Raham-bri is still in vogue with slight corruption in Burmese as Rambree. Arab geographers refer to this place as Jazirat-ur-Rahmi, or Mulk-Rahmi. Here both Mulk and Jazirah means (in Arabic) country. Ibn Khudadbhi, an Arab geographer of 10th century said "Jazirat-ur-Rahmi" come after Sarandip (Ceylon) and contain peculiar unicorn animals and little naked people.<sup>39</sup>

Al Masudi mentioned it as a riparian country after Sarandip (Ceylon) and on the Indian Ocean. Yacut's identification placed it as the farthest land of India towards the Strait of Malacca.<sup>40</sup> Sulaiman the merchant who lived in the middle of 9th century A.D. mentioned that the king of Rahmi was a powerful ruler with fifty thousand elephants and an army of 150,000.<sup>41</sup> In fact Jazirat-ur-Rahmi of Arab geographers was attributed to the kingdom of Rohang, because it still has elephants in the north.<sup>42</sup> Persian was official language of Muslim Indian rulers for many centuries. They used Arab or Persian terminology in naming places. So people in India called Arakan in Persian term Rohang. Besides, many different places, rivers and mountains in Arakan also bear names of Persian or Arabic origin. These include Rambre (Island), Akyab (the capital), Kaladan, Naf, Kalapanzan (rivers) and so on.

In early 12th century A.D. there was Kamal Chega son of Rama Thonza became king of "Rohang". During his reign there was war in the country and the Chakmas (Daiknets) migrated to that country.<sup>43</sup> It is a fact that Arakan in Bangladesh is colloquially called Rohang, Roshang, and Rowang with a little difference of accent, region wise.

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39. Ibn Khurdadhi: C. P. Cit 65.

40. Al Masudi; Muruj-al-dhahabwaMakaddim al Juwahir.Cairo Edition1938 Vol.II,PP129 – 130

41. Silsilat-al-Tawarikh. Extracts from statement in Elliot and Dowson, Op. Cit. P-5. 5,

42. Dr. S. B. Kanungo, PP 233 – 234.

43. Bangladesh District Gazetteer, Chittagong hill tracts, PP 33 – 34



Rohingya is a mixed race. They trace their origin to Arabs, Moors, Turks, Persians, Moguls, Pathans, native Bengali and Rakhine. But some Rakhine people reject the notion that Rohingyas have Rakhine blood or Muslims in Arakan consists of some Rakhines. The real phenomenon is, a great many "kids of Rakhine" are found to have been brought up in Muslim households. Next, there, though very rare especially in the north, are some mixed marriages.

Finally there are authentic chronicles testifying mass or group conversion of natives in 15th and 16th centuries. Rakhine MahaRazwin (Great History of Arakan) by Panditta U OoThaTun Aung, an honorary archeological officer of Mrauk-U Museum, gives a clear description of how Rakhine or natives of Arakan did convert to Islam village by village in the time of Zelata Min Saw Mun, the 9th king of Mrauk-U dynasty.

In this context the remark of a British army officer is noticeable. Anthony Irwin, a front commander of Second World War remarked about the ethnic character of Arakan Muslims as follows:- and to look at, they are quite unlike any other product of India or Burma that I have seen. They resemble the Arabs in name, in dress and in habit. The women and more particularly the young girls have a distinctive Arab touch about them.<sup>44</sup> Rohingya language is an admixture of different languages as Rohingya is composed of different ethnic groups. They wrote in Persian alphabets when Persian influence was great in India as well as in Arakan. Some even say the official language of Arakan, since early Mrauk-U period till the coming of British was Persian. However, I don't have clear proof to testify it, but Burma Gazetteer Akyab District states, about the historic BadrMokam of Akyab.

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44. Anthony Irwin: Burmese Outpost. P-22

## ROHINGYA

It says there are orders in Persian in the deputy commissioner's court at Akyab dated 1834 from William Pam pier, Esq., commissioner of Chittagong and also Dichenson, Esq., commissioner of Arakan, to this effect that one Hussein Ali (then the thugyi "Headman" of Buddawmaw circle) was to have charge of BudderMukam in token of his good services rendered to the British force in 1825), and to enjoy any sum that he might collect on account of alms and offerings.

Since official orders in early British time was in Persian, it can be assumed that Persian was official language until then. But later when Bengali courtiers got high-ranking posts in Arakan palace in 17th and early 18th centuries, Rohingyas used to write their language in Bengali alphabets, many copies of, which are, still in the possession of Rohingya people in Arakan, In remote past i.e. during the Wethali period they used Nagari letters to write as was proved in the inscriptions of that period.

There are region wise names for the Burmans. Upper Burmans are called "Anyatha" or "Pagantha", lower Burmans are called "Auktha" and people in Arakan are called "Rakhaintha". On the same pattern, Rohingyas call "Chatghannya" to Chittagonians, "Rambizziya" to Rambrians and "Rohingya" to people of Rohang alias Arakan Proper. Here one thing, some senior Burmese politicians and imminent personalities such as SayaChae formerly a member of Myanmar election commission used to raise the question why the Rohingyas are all Muslims?

Is there a race with a singular religion? In fact all the native peoples in ancient Arakan were called Rohingya disregard of their faith just as all the people of Burmese extraction in Arakan have been called "Rakhine Thar" by Burmans. Whatsoever there are today in the world so many ethnic peoples whose religion is the same. Further we get the answer of the said question in Arakan itself. In Arakan all Bruwas and Dainets are Buddhists where as all the Kamans are Muslims. So Rohingya's being all Muslims in no way infringes to their being an ethnic group.

Generally Muslims, all over the world are not called by their ethnic names but only as Muslims. Muslims too prefer to be called Muslims. So in Bosnia, Philippines and in many other places peoples know there are Muslim problems. In fact these peoples involved in problems have their own ethnic origin. The same log worked in Arakan; Rohingyas in the early periods were recorded as Muslims.<sup>45</sup> This fact reduced the weight of Rohingya's historicity. However, in the context of socio-political background of Arakan, Rohingya is Muslim and Muslim is Rohingya though there are a few people of other faiths who are also Rohingyas and they indeed have genealogical affinity with Rohingya.

During Burmese invasion of Arakan, ironically, Muslim infantry assisted both Burmese and Rakhine forces. On Burmese side King BodawPyaw enlisted a Muslim force (originally) migrated from Arakan to Ava in early 18th century), which had served as bodyguard in his palace for years. Settled in 1784, the unit served as a standing army posted to Thandowe (Sandway). Their descendants, albeit few in numbers still live in Thandowe and are called Myedus. The British census of 1931 enlisted 5,160 Myedus in total. From outsiders perspective they cannot be distinguished from their Rakhine neighbors, but by their religious habits. As their ancestors lived near Myedu in the district of Shwebo, they are called Myedu Kalah.<sup>46</sup>

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45. R. B. Smart Burma Gazetteer. Akyab District Vol. A P-38.

46. Moshe Yegar; Muslims of Bunna, P-120.

## GOLDEN AGE OF ARAKAN

In 1404 AD, the king of Arakan, Naramaikhla (1404-1434 AD), was forced to flee to Gaur, capital of Bengal Sultanate, which 86 years earlier had already become independent of the Mogul Emperor in Delhi. Ahmed Shah, Sultan of Gaur, welcomed the refugee king. Naramaikhla remained at the court of Gaur, where he served as an officer in Ahmad Shah's army and fought in his wars. After the victory of the war, king Ahmed Shah handed over the throne of Gaur to his son Nazir Shah (according to Bengal History it was not Nazir Shah but Sultan Jalaluddin Mohammed Shah) in the year 1426 AD.<sup>1</sup>

Then Naramaikhla pleaded help from the king to regain his lost throne at Launggyet in Arakan. According to Rakhine Razawin (Rakhine History), the Sultan of Bengal agreed to do so when Naramaikhla agreed to abide the following 6-point conditions. They are: -<sup>2</sup>

1. To return the twelve towns of Bengal.
2. To receive Muslim title for the kings of Arakan from Bengal.
3. The court emblem must be inscribed with KalimaTayuba in Persian.
4. The coins, medallions must be inscribed with KalimaTayuba in Persian and to mint them in Bengal.
5. To use the Persian as court language of Arakan.
6. To pay taxes and presents annually.<sup>3</sup>

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1. M.S. Collis, JBRS, 50th Anniversary No.2, op. cit., P.491.

2. M.A. Taher Ba Tha, The Rohingyas and Kamans, op. cit., P.17.

3. The Journal of Rakhine Welfare Association (Rangoon), No.2, 1996, The 12 Towns of Bengal

As Naramaikhla agreed to six point conditions (Arakanese kings also followed and practised them while they were independent and under no obligation), in 1429 AD, Sultan Nadir Shah sent Gen. Wali Khan as the head of 20,000 Pathan army with Naramaikhla to restore the throne of Arakan to Naramaikhla. The Pathan army conquered Arakan from the control of Mon and Naramaikhla ascended the throne. Soon Wali Khan and Naramaikhla had a dispute over the No. 5 condition of introduction of Persian language as court language of Arakan. Gen. Wali Khan arrested king Naramaikhla and locked up at Balutaung fettering him. Gen. Wali Khan ruled Arakan for one year and introduced Persian in his court which continued as state language up to 1845 AD and appointed Qazis. But some time after that Naramaikhla succeeded in re-conquering Arakan with the help of a second army supplied by Nadir Shah headed by Gen. Sandi Khan. The accession of Min Sawmon to the throne ushered a new era in the history of Arakan. Upon his return, Naramaikhla founded a new city, Mrauk-U on the bank of the Lembro River, now known as Mrohaung, which remain the capital until 1785 when Arakan was conquered by Burma. Naramaikhla's Muslim soldiers, who came with him from Bengal, settled in villages near Mrohaung and built the Sandi Khan Mosque, which still exists today. Muslim influence in Arakan, they may be said to date from 1430, the year of Naramaikhla's return. As a result of the close land and sea ties between the two countries, which continued to exist for a long time thereafter, the Muslims played a decisive role in the history of Arakan Kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

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4. Moshe Yegar, *The Muslims of Burma*, 1972, op. cit., P. 18 – 19; S.N.S Rizvi (Edited), *Bangladesh District Gazetteers: Chittagong, Dacca*, 1970, P.62 - 63.

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Narameikhla ceded certain territory to the Sultan of Bengal and recognised his sovereignty. He introduced Nadir Shah's system of coins bearing the Kalima as used in Bengal since Muslim conquest of 1203 and its fellows that the coinage of Mrauk-U was subsequently modelled. Later on he struck his own coins which had the name of the king in Arakanese letters on one side and his Muslim title in Persian on the other. According to historian M.S Collis, it took the Arakanese a hundred years to learn that doctrine (Islam) from the Moslem-Mongolians.

When it was well understood, they founded what was known as the Arakanese Empire. For hundred years 1430 to 1530 AD, Arakan remained feudatory to Bengal, paid tribute and learnt history and politics. Twelve kings followed one after another at Mrauk-U in undistinguished succession. They struck coins and some have been found. In this way Arakan become definitely oriented towards the Moslem State. Contact with a modern civilization resulted in a renaissance. The country's great age began. In 1531 AD Min Bin as Zabuk Shah ascended the throne. With him the Arakanese graduated in their Moslem studies and the great Arakanese Empire was founded.<sup>5</sup> But according to Arakanese historian U Aung ThaOo, all 13 kings including Min Bin received Muslim titles and state Emblem from the Bengal Sultans.<sup>6</sup>

In 1434 AD, at the age of 53, Min Sawmon died leaving his kingdom at the hand of his brother Min Khari as Ali Khan (1434-1459 AD) as his successor. Min Khari was succeeded by his son Basawpru as Kalima Shah (1459-1482 AD). Taking advantage of weakness of Sultan Barbak Shah of Bengal Kalima Shah occupied Chittagong in 1459 AD. Kalima Shah was murdered in 1482 AD and his kingdom plunged into chaos and disaster.

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5. M.S. Collis, JBRS 50th Anniversary, Vol. 2, op. cit., P.493.

6. U Aung ThaOo, RakineRajawan (in Burmese), Mya Radana Press, Rangoon, P.55

Eight kings came to the throne in succession but most of them were assassinated. At last in 1531 AD a capable young king name Min Bin as Zabuk Shah (1531-1553 AD) ascended the throne of Arakan and declared himself as a full independent monarch. During his rule stability came back in Arakan.<sup>7</sup> Even after becoming independent of the Bengal Sultans, the Arakan kings continued the custom of using the Muslim titles in addition to the Arakanese or Pali title.

The fact that this practice continued even after they had shaken off the yoke of Bengal Sultan, went to prove that there were some cogent reasons for this other than merely compulsion or force. The king had already a large number of Muslim subjects holding important posts in the court as well as in the field of trade and commerce possessing a far superior culture and civilization compared to those of his own people. Court ceremonies and administrative methods followed the customs of the Gaur and Delhi sultanates. There were eunuchs, harems, salves and hangmen; and many expressions in use at court were Mogul. Muslims also held eminent posts in the court of Arakan. With the ever increasing Muslim influence in the court of Arakan and the subsequent subservience of the administration Sonargaon, Muslims of Gaur and particularly those from Chittagong infiltrated into Arakan in large numbers in search of fresh lands and new pasture. Henceforth Arakanese administration continued to bear definite Islamic stamp.<sup>8</sup>

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7. Moshe Yegar, *The Muslims of Burma*, 1972, op. cit., p.19; R.C Majumdar, *The Delhi Sultanate*, PP. 203, 211-212; Dr. Abdul Mabub Khan, *The Maghs*, Dhaka, 1999, op. cit.; PP. 22-23.

8. Moshe Yegar, *The Muslims of Burma*, 1972, op. cit.; P.19; M.S. Collis, *JBRS*, 50th Anniversary No.2, op. cit., P.493; G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, op. cit., PP.138 – 139; D.G.E Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, op. cit., PP. 329-330; Lt. Col. Ba Shin, *Coming of Islam to Burma 1700 AD*, Rangoon 1961, PP. 4 – 6; Rizvi (Edited), *Bangladesh District Gazetteers: Chittagong*, op. cit., P.63.

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Dr. Muhammad EnanmulHaq and Abdul Karim (1869-1953) in their work *Bengali Literature in the Court of Arakan 1600-1700* state that "the Arakanese kings issued coins bearing the inscription of Muslim Kalema (the profession of faith in Islam) in Arabic script. The State emblem was also inscribed Arabic word Aqimuddin (establishment of God's rule over the earth)." The Arakanese court also adoption of many Muslim customs and terms were other significant tribute to the influence of Islam. Mosques including the famous Sandi Khan Mosque began to dot the countryside and Islamic customs, manners and practices came to be established since this time. For about two hundred years Muslim domination seemed to have been completed.<sup>9</sup>

The kingdom of Arakan had come in close cultural contact with the Muslim Sultanate of Bengal since fifteen century so much so that many of the Buddhist rulers of that country adopted Muslim names for themselves. They appointed Muslim officials in their courts and, apparently under the latter's influence, even inscribed the Kalima on their coins. Contact with a modern civilization resulted in a renaissance. The country's great age began. From this time onwards the relation of Muslims with the Arakanese became more intimate and for about two centuries Arakan was united in a bond of friendship with Islamic lands. As a result of the impact of the civilization of the Muslims, Arakanese culture also progressed and thus the 'Golden Age' in the history of Arakan. The end of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century were a period of political instability and transition caused by the break-up of the Afghan state in Bengal and gradual advance of the Mughals. One of the social and demographic effects of this political change was the flight of a large number of Afghan nobles and other Muslims rank and position towards the easternmost districts of Bengal.

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9. Dr. EnamulHaq O Abdul Karim *ShahityaBisharad, ArakanRajshabhay Bangla Shahitya, Calcutta, 1935, PP. 4-12.*



Quite a few of these people found shelter at the Arakan court where they filled up important positions in the government. In this way Arakan became definitely oriented towards the Muslim State. By the end of 1500 AD Arakan region was Islamized and stood as an independent Muslim kingdom.<sup>10</sup> It was later absorbed by the Burmese king in 1784 AD. Arakan, in fact, a continuation of the Chittagong plain was neither a Burmese nor an Indian Territory till 18th century of the Christian Era. Shut off from Burma by a hill range, it is located far away from the Indian capitals. Chiefly for its location, it had not only remained independent for the most part of its history, but also endeavoured to expand its territory in the surrounding tracts whenever opportunity came and Chittagong was the first country to be the victim of the territorial ambition of Arakanese monarchs.<sup>11</sup> The relation between Chittagong and Arakan is influenced by geographical, ethnological, cultural, and historical considerations. From 1575 till 1666 AD, nearly a century, Chittagong was under almost uninterrupted Arakanese rule which is undoubtedly an important period marked; a company of eight sovereigns successively ruled Arakan only with Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts with full despotic power.<sup>12</sup>

After Min Sawmon, the successive kings of Arakan took initiative to evolve administration on the model of Gaur and the Muslims were given high posts in the government offices. It is also true that a large number of Muslim officials were employed in the civil as well as military establishments, who were mostly from Chittagong.

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10. Dr. Muhammad Mohar Ali, *History of the Muslims of Bengal*, Vol.1B, Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University, Riyadh, K.S.A, 1985, P.865; M. Siddiq Khan, *op. cit.*, P.249; Geoffrey Barraclough (Edited), *The Times Atlas of World History*, London, 1985, P.133.

11. Dr. Qanungo, *A History of Chittagong*, Vol.1, *op. cit.*, P.230

12. *Ibid.* P.23

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As a result of the royal patronage, settlements of the Muslim community also grew upon the south-eastern neighbourhood of Mrauk-U; all these settlements are popularly known as Kalapanzan. Close to the Mrauk-U City, in course of time, a trading port named Bandar was developed.



**In this Map of Mrauk U period, all circled villages were mentioned "Phara", a term Rohingya still use for the village**

In Bandar there lived qadis, muftis, ulama, religious fakirs and darvishes. Those high ranking Muslims live there used to converse with the king on equal and friendly terms. At that place the Muslims crowded for business. The ruins of seven mosques and towers (some still standing) eloquently testify to the heydays of the Muslims in Arakan. Most of the Muslim settlements are found on the both sides of the major rivers namely Naf, Mayu (Kalapanzi), Kaladan and Lembro (Lemro). The impact of Muslim culture on the life of the people of Arakan had profound effect on the subsequent course of the history of Arakan. Like the Pathan Sultans of Bengal, the kings of Arakan patronised the cultivation of Bengali literature and many talented poets and writers from different regions thronged the court. With the royal support Bengali literature developed; learned-

men and men of high calibre received patronage from the kings due to the liberal policy. Many Muslim Bengalee poets dominated the court life.<sup>13</sup> Bengali became a favourite language and the Arakan kings encouraged the writing of a number of Puttis, which was then the only form of literature. Some Putti literatures to be mentioned of Arakan are: ShujaQazi's Roshanger Panchali (History of Roshang), Kazi Daulat's Sati Mayna-O-Lora Candrani, Shamer Ali's Razawan Shah, Mardan's Nasir Nama or Nasir Maloum, Shah Alaol's Padmabati, Tufa, Sati Mayna Lor Chandrani, Saiful-Mulk Badiujjamal, Sikander Nama, Hatf-Paikar, Abdul Karim's Dulla Mailis, Hajar Masil, Tamam Anjari, Qazi Abdul Karim's Rahatul Qulub, Abdullar-Hazar Sawal, Nurnama, Madhumalati, Darige Majlis, Abul Hussain's Adamer Larai, Ismail Saquib's Bilqisnama, Qazi Muhammad Hussain's Amir Hamza, Dewalmati, Haidar Jung, and etc. Thus Arakan opened up a new field for expansion and exploitation for the Muslims of Chittagong. Except for the political barriers Chittagong and Arakan became one in all other respects and this continued for well over a century and to some extent lingered even up to the first half of the last century.<sup>14</sup>

According to former Chairman of Historical Commission, Burma, Lt. Col. Ba Shin's "Coming of Islam to Burma 1700 AD", Min Sawmon as Solaiman Shah, the founder of Mrauk-U dynasty and his successor were greatly influenced by Islamic culture. The practice of adopting a Muslim name or title by the Arakanese kings continued for more than two hundred years (1430 – 1638). This titles which appeared in Arabic script Persian Kufic on their coins is given below: <sup>15</sup>

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13. Dr. Abdul Mabub Khan, The Magh, Dhaka, 1999, op, cit., PP. 22-23.

14. Dr. Muhammad Mohar Ali, History of the Muslims of Bengal, Vol.1B, op. cit.1985, PP.866-868; Rizvi (Edited), Bangladesh District Gazetteers: Chittagong, ,PP. 63, 348-349.

15. Lt. Col. Ba Shin, Coming of Islam to Burma 1700 AD, op. cit., P.5; Dr. Qanungo, A History of Chittagong, Vo. 1, op. cit., P. 233, 239, 250 & 271; Moshe Yegar, The Muslims of Burma, 1972, op. cit., P.19; Siddiq Khan, op. cit., PP. 248-249; Harvey, op. cit., P140; D.G.E Hall, op. cit., P.330; ABM Habibullah, Arakan in Pre-Mughal History of Bengal, JASB, 1945, PP. 34-35.

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In the Ain-I-Akbari of AbulFazal (1551-1602) mentioned Arakan as Arkhang. In the Baharistan-I-Ghaib, Mirza Nathan mentioned the people of Arakan as Rakangi while the name of the country as Arkhang.<sup>16</sup> In a Latin Geography (1597 AD) by Peta Vino, the country was referred to as 'Aracan'. In English version of Van Linschooten's Map of 1598 A.D., it is Aracan. Friar Manrique (1628-43 AD) mentions the country as 'Aracan'.<sup>17</sup> Hindus in his map (1612 A.D.), has been induced to make the country name Aracam.<sup>18</sup> To the Medieval Portuguese and other European travellers and chroniclers, it is Arracam, Aracao, Orrakam.<sup>19</sup> The Portuguese traveller Barros in 1516 A.D. is said to be first man who referred Aracan which is the nearest to the modern name, in his Decadar.<sup>20</sup> But according to Professor S.H. Hodivala, the modern form Arakan is said to be derived from the Arabic word Al-Rakhang.<sup>21</sup> According to eminent numismatists like Lanepole, Rodgers and Wright, Bengal king Sultan Muhammad Khan Sur struck coins bearing the date 962 A.H.(1554-55 A.D.) styling himself Sultan Shamshuddin Muhammad Shah Ghazi, the name of mint is read as Arakan.<sup>22</sup> A few of these coins are preserved in the London British Museum. The coins are similar to those published by Marsden, Lane Pole and Wright.<sup>23</sup>

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16. NalinikaniaBhattasaliCommomoration Volume, Dacca Museum, 1966, P.356.

17. A.B.M Habibullah, A Note on 'Could Muhammad Shah Sur Conquer Arakan', JBSB (19510, PP.13-14.

18. Dr. S.B. Qanungo, A History of Chittagong, Vol.1, Chittagong (1988), P.352.

19. Ibid., P.232.

20. PamlaGutman, Ancient Arakan, Australian national University (1976), P.3.

21. Dr. S.H. Hodivala, Studies in History of Indian Muslim, New Delhi (1992), P.59.

22. J.A.S., LXVII (1951), P.11.

23. Journal of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of West Bengal, Culcutta (1995), P.285.

In the year 1426, Gaur Sultan Nazir Shah sent an army headed by Wali Khan (Rakhine chronicle, U Lu Khin). Gaur Sultan was highly satisfied with service Min Saw Mun rendered during his war with Delhi. Min Saw Mun's military craftsmanship was highly appreciated and the Sultan determined to help enthrone Min Saw Mun in Laungkyet. But commander of the army, Wali Khan who was sent to help Min Saw Mun, betrayed his trust. In collaboration with a Rakhine noble, U Zeka (some chronicles say in collaboration with Ananda Thin, Mayor of Dahlet), imprisoned Min Saw Mun and declared himself king. R. B. Smart mistook this Rakhine noble with a Mon Governor in his description of this event. Wali Khan removed the seat of Government to Parin and built the city.

According to Bengala District Gazetteer, Wali Khan introduced Muslim Judicial system there.<sup>24</sup> In the year 1429 two emissaries from the court of Delhi killed him.<sup>25</sup> There was Muslim Judicial system, only because there were considerable Muslim inhabitants. In connection to the betrayal of Wali Khan, U HlaTunPru, and an eminent historian of Arakan Says: the infamous general Wali Khan eventually made a coup by throwing Narmeikhla into jail. The Sultan of Gaur, however, immediately reacted by sending a new well-equipped army punish the perfidious general. The Sultan was not satisfied until the skin of Wali Khan was converted into a covering for a drum to proclaim his perfidy throughout his dominions by drum beating.<sup>26</sup>

The second general Sandi Khan took action against Wali Khan, re-stored Namekhla (a) Min Saw Mun to his throne in Laungkyet. Two years later a new capital, Mrauk-U was founded and the Muslim troops (came to help him) settled in the area in numbers.

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24. Bengal Disl. Gazetteer: Chittagong 1798, P-63

25. R. B Smart: Burma Gazetteer. Akyab District. Vol. A P-7!

26. U HlaTunPru: In Rakhine Tasaung Magazine, English section. Vol. 21. (1998), P-148.

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They built a Mosque, known still today as Sandi Khan Mosque, three miles away from the palace. The stones used in building the Mosque were like that of the Palace. The king provided them.<sup>27</sup> The turmoil of foreign inroads showed that Laungkyet was ill fated and the omens indicated Mrauk-U as a lucky site. So he decided to move there; though the astrologers said that if he moved the capital, he would die within the year; he insisted saying that if the move would benefit his own people and his own death would matter little. In 1432 he founded the city and in the next year he died.<sup>28</sup>

About Naramekhla, historians said, "The Arakanese king lived there (in Gaur) for 24 years, leaving his country in the hands of Burmese . He turned away from what was Buddhist and became familiar to what was Mohammedan and foreign. In so doing he loomed from medieval to modern, from the fragile fair-land of Glass Palace Chronicles to the robust extravaganza of thousand and one night.<sup>29</sup> From this time Arakan became closer to Bengal, culturally and politically. Nevertheless, they remained Buddhist. In this time of Naramekhla, Abdu Min Nyo wrote his famous Rakhine MinthamiAyechan. This writer's name sound Muslim. Below is a list of Kings of Mrauk-U Dynasty:

### First Mrauk-U

Name of kings	Relationship	Muslim	Titles	Time of Rule
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1. Naramekhla	(a) King of Laungkyet	Sulaiman Khan	1430 A.D.	
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Min Saw Mun	Son of Razathu			
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1. Min Khari	(a) Brother of Sr.	NO.1 Ali Khan	1433 A.D.	
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27. For a more detailed account in connection this, see D.G.E.Hall. History of Southeast Asia. London Macmillan. 1958. P-328.

28. G. E. Harvey: Outline of Burmese History. P-91.

29. JBRS Vol II. Arakan Place in the Civilization of Bay P.49

### **Norenu**

1. Ba Saw Pru Son of Sr. NO.2 Kalima Shah 1459 A.D.
2. Daulia Son of Sr. NO.3 Maghul Shah 1482 A.D.
3. Sa Saw Nyo Son of Sr. NO.2 Mohamed Shah 1492 A.D.
4. Rang Aung Son of Sr. NO.4 Nuree Shah 1494 A.D.
5. Salinka Thu Maternal Uncle Sikandar Shah 1501 A.D.
6. Min Raza Son of Sr. NO.7 Ali Shah 1513 A.D.
7. Gazapati Son of Sr. NO.7 Ilyas Shah 1515 A.D.
8. Min Saw Oo Brother of Sr. NO.7 Jalal Shah 1515 A.D.
9. Thazatha Son of Daulia Ali Shah 1515 A.D.
10. Min Khaung Son of Daulia 1521 A.D.

### **Raza**

#### **Second Mrauk-U**

Name of kings Relationship Muslim Titles Time of Rule

1. Min Bin (a) Son of Min Raza Zabauk Shah 1431 A.D.

Min Ba Gyi

1. Min Dikha Son of Sr. No.1 1553 A.D.
2. Min Saw Hla Son of Sr. No.2 1555 A.D.
3. SetkyaVeti (a) Son of Sr. No.2 1564 A.D.

Min Setkya

5. Min Phalaung Son Min Ba GyiSikandar Shah 1571 A.D
6. Min Raza Gyi Son of Sr. No.5 Salim Shah I 1593 A.D.
7. Min Khamaung Son of Sr. No.6 Hussein Shah 1612 A.D.
8. Min Hari Son of Sr. No.7 Salim Shah II 1622 A.D

(Thrithudamma)

1. Min Sane (a) Son of Sr. No.8 1638 A.D.

Thadu Min Hla

Third Maruk-U

Sr.No. Name of kings Relationship Muslim Titles Time of Rule

1. KuthalaNarapatigyi Great grand son of 1638 A.D

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Thazata

1. ThaduMintra Son of Sr. No.1 1645 A.D.
2. Sandathudamma Son 1652 A.D.
3. UgaBala Son 1672 A.D.
4. WeraDamma Raza Brother 1685 A.D.
5. Mani Thudamma Raza Elder brother 1692 A.D.
6. SandaThunaDamma Younger Brother 1694 A.D.

Raza

8. NgatinNawrahta Son 1694 A.D.
9. Marupai Usurper 1696 A.D.
10. Kala Kandala Usurper 1697 A.D.
11. Naradipati Son of Sr.No.7 1698 A.D.
12. SandaWimala Raza Grandson of Sr. No.2 1700 A.D.
13. SandaThuria Raza Grandson of Sr. No.3 1706 A.D.
14. SandaWiziya Raza Outsider 1710 A.D.
15. SandaThuria Raza Son-in-law 1730 A.D.
16. Naradipadi Son 1734 A.D.
17. Narapawara Raza Brother 1735 A.D.
18. SandaWizila Raza Cousin 1737 A.D.
19. Thuratan Raza 1737 A.D.

(Kala Ketya Min)

20. Mettras Raza Brother of Sr. No.17 1737 A.D.
21. Nara Abay Raza Son of Sr. No.15 1742 A.D.
22. Thirthu Raza Son 1761 A.D.
23. SandaPerma Raza Brother 1761 A.D.
24. AboyaMaha Raza Brother-in-law 1764 A.D.
25. SandaThumana Raza Brother-in-law 1773 A.D.
26. SandaThumala Raza Outsider 1777 A.D.
27. SandaThakitta Raza Outsider 1777 A.D.
28. MahaThamada Raza outsider 1782 A.D.



Note: 1 No. 13, 15, 11, 16 and 14, 18 are same name but different persons.

2 Muslim titles are corrupted and Arakanized in some Rakhine chronicles.

3 The list of Kings here is drawn by adjusting U San Tha Aung's Arakan Coins and Arakan State Council's History of Arakan Vol. I.

## MULIMS IN ROYAL COURT

King MengKhamaung was succeeded by his son ThiriThudama as King Salim Shah II (1622-1638 AD) in 1622 AD. According to the history, the coronation of ThiriThudama was deferred for twelve years, in pursuance of an astrological prediction that the king would die within a year of his coronation. The great king knowing that his life would come to an end transferred the rule of the kingdom to the hand of his Chief and Defence Minister Sri Ashraf Khan.

According to the Muslim Poet DaulatKazi's book known as Sati Mayna-O-Lora Candrani, the king made Ashraf Khan his Chief Minister and the Commander of his army. He sat in court, and look after the day to day affairs of the kingdom. When the king felt that his end was drawing near, he celebrated the coronation ceremony and entrusted Ashraf Khan with the responsibility of governing the country.<sup>1</sup> Portuguese traveller Sebastien Manrique also refers to Lashkar Wazir when he says that the Lashker Wazir led the Muslim contingent of army in the coronation procession of the king ThiriThudama in 1635 AD.<sup>2</sup> His son Min Sani in 1638 AD succeeded King ThiriThudama, the unfortunate prince ruled for a brief period of 28-days. Narapadigyi, the dowager queen's lover, who occupied the throne of Arakan, murdered Min Sani.<sup>3</sup>

According to Muslim Poet Shah Alawal of Arakan court, Narapdigyi (1638-1645 AD.) was king of Arakan after the death of King ThiriThuda

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1. SatyendraNathGhosal, Missing Links in Arakan History, Abdul Karim SahityaVisarad Commemoration Volume, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dacca, 1972, P. 257.

2. Moshe Yegar, The Muslims of Burma, 1972, P.20; Harvey, The History of Burma, P.145.

3. Dr. Qanungo, A History of Chittagong, Vol. 1, P.271.

ma's son Min Sani. He was a paramour of Natshinme, the chief queen of ThiriThudama and was great grand son of King Thatasa who ruled Arakan 1525-31 AD.<sup>4</sup> King Narapadigyi's War Minister or Lashkar Wazir was Siri Bara Thakur. After the death of Bara Thakur his illustrious son Magen Thakur became the Lashkar Wazir or War Minister of king Narapadigyi.

According to Poet Shah Alawal, Magen Thakur was born of Siddique family or descendants of the Muslim first Caliph Hazarat Abu Bakar (RA). He was not only a high born but also a learned man and he respected the learned people. He gathered the learned people of the country by his side and showed them much respect. King Narapadigyi had no son, but only a daughter. When the king became old, he appointed Magen Thakur, who was a minister, guardian of his daughter.

After the king's death she was married to ThadoMintar, nephew of the king. ThadoMintar (1645-1652 AD) became king in 1645 AD and the king's daughter became chief queen of the kingdom. During the reign of ThadoMintar and his queen, Magen Thakur was promoted to the Chief or Prime Minister of Arakan.<sup>5</sup> Poet Shah Alawal composed his famous poetical works Padmavati under the order of Prime Minister Magen Thakur and completed in 1651 AD during the reign of ThadoMintar. The king died in 1652 AD and was succeeded by his minor son SandaThudhamma (1652-1684 AD). As the king was minor, the dowager queen (Thado's queen and Narapadigyi's daughter) ruled the country as regent. She gave her guardian Magen Thakur the authority to rule the country on her and her son's behalf. Magen Thakur's power and influence was further enhanced.

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4. Dr. Qanungo, A History of Chittagong, Vol. 1, PP.271 – 272.

5. Dr. Abdul Karim, The Rohingyas, A Short Account of Their History and Culture (in press}, PP. 48-50; ShityaPatrika, Winter, 1364 B.S. PP.57– 60 and P.83.

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Prime Minister Magen Thakur later ordered Shah Alawal to compose SaifulMulkBadiujjamal. Before the completing the book Magen Thakur died. Shah Alawal completed the book in 1658 or 1659 AD under the patronage of another Arakanese Prime Minister Sayeed Musa. It is thought that Magen Thakur died before 1660 AD.<sup>6</sup>

After the death of Prime Minister Magen Thakur, Sayeed Musa was appointed the Prime Minister of Arakanese king SandaThudamma. Prime Minister Sayeed Musa was a great man and he used to patronise learned man and seeker of knowledge. He was a friend of Prime Minister Magen Thakur and was a minister under him.<sup>7</sup>

Poet Shah Alawal composed Satimaing-LorChandrani in 1658 AD under the patronage of Minister Sulaiman of King SandaThudamma of Arakan. In 1660 AD under the order of minister Sayyid Mohammed Khan of king SandaThudamma Poet Shah Alawal composed the book Half-Paikar.<sup>8</sup>

Prince Shah Shuja, brother of the Moghul Emperor Aurangzib of India, being defeated in his struggle for the throne was forced to seek shelter with the king of Arakan. The Arakan King Sandathudamma (1652-84) consented, and Shah Shuja with his family and followers were brought to Mrauk-U, the capital city of Arakan, in Portuguese gallasses from Teknaf. He arrived in Mrauk-U, the capital of Arakan on 26th August 1660 AD and was favourably received by the king who assigned him a residence near the city.<sup>9</sup>

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6. Sayed Sajjad Hussain, A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, Publication No.3,1960, PP.281– 82; Dr. Abdul Karim, The Rohingyas, op. cit., PP.53-55 7. Ibid. P.507; Dr. Abdul Karim, TheRohingyas, op. cit., PP.55-57.

8. Ibid. P. 282; Dr. Abdul Karim, TheRohingyas, op. cit., PP.66-70.

9. M. Siddiq Khan, The Tragedy of Mrauk-U (1660 – 1661), Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Vol. XI, No.2, August 1966, P.198

According to G.E. Harvey's Outline of Burmese History, "Shah Shuja came to Arakan as the king promised to provide him with some of his famous ships to take him on the way to Macca; he wished to die in retirement at that holy spot. But when he arrived in Arakan with beautiful daughters and half a dozen camel loads of gold and jewels, the temptation was too great for King SandaThudamma. Such wealth had never seen in Arakan before. The king in order to seize all Shah Shuja's treasure had to find out a lame excuse. So, kingSandaThudamma asked the hand of Shah Shuja's daughter Ameena, though he knew very well that Sultan Shah Shuja would never consent. As Shah Shuja refused the suit, the king ordered him to leave his country within three days. So, on 7th February 1661 AD, Shah Shuja fled to forest with some of his followers. The Maghs chased them like famishing wild wolves. Ultimately the Maghs caught Sultan Shah Shuja and chopped him into pieces. The king seized all his treasure, took his daughters into the harem, and imprisoned the rest of the family. Everyday the gold and silver, which the Arakanese have taken, are brought into the King's treasury to be melted down. A year later he executed them all for so called plotting, including the unhappy princess."<sup>10</sup>

SirimantaSulaiman was Finance Minister of King SandaThudamma. At his request Shah Alawal composed Tufa (1662-64 AD) and completed the unfinished SatimainaLorChandrani. The first book was a book on Fiqh, while QaziDaulat wrote the second at the request of Lashker Wazir Ashraf Khan. Before completing the book the poet died and the book remain incomplete. Shah Alawal completed the last part of the book.

According to Shah Alawal's Tufa; "Roshang is a blessed country. There is no sin there and Sri SandaThudhamma is the king there. So his minister Sri-YutSulaiman is a man of heavenly knowledge. God created

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10. G.E. Harvey, Outline of Burmese History, Longmans, London, 1947, PP.95 – 96; Rizvi (Edited), Bangladesh District Gazetteers: Chittagong, op. cit., P.

## ROHINGYA

him at an auspicious hour. He is kind, he is lucky and joyous. He is a singer and plays instrumental and works for other's benefit, giving up his own works. The poet says that SrimantaSulaiman loved learned people so much so that he used to provide them food, clothes and shelter, particularly the foreigners on coming to Arakan received help and patronage from him.<sup>11</sup>

According to Shah Alawal'sSikander Nama, SrimataMajlis became a Mahamatya or Chief or Prime Minister of Roshang after getting Nabaraj: seems therefore that his name was Srimata Majlis. Nabaraj was his official title. It is possible that after the death of Prime Minister Sayyid Musa, NabarajMajlis obtained the job. It seems further that Shah Alawal was not acquainted with NabarajMajlis before; hearing the name and fame of Alawal, NabarajMujlis called the poet to his court and gave him much support, so much so that Shah Alawal was able to clear the state dues.

Once, Prime Minister sat in the assembly of learned men, arranging foods and drinks for the guests. Those present in the assembly praised the Prime Minister for his good works, particularly the construction of Mosques and excavation of tanks. In reply NabarajMajlis said that mosques and tanks were not permanent. In old days great men did these beneficial works, but they did not last. Only books have lasted, books pleased the readers, books imparts education. Illiterate people became learned by reading books; books and poets are honoured not only in their own country but also out side, and books last until the day of resurrection. Shah Alawal in 1673 AD completed the book Sikander Nama.<sup>12</sup>

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11. Dr. Abdul Karim, The Rohingyas, PP.69-70; SahityaPatrika, PP.140 – 141.

12. Dr. Ahmed Sharif, AlaolBirachitaSikandernama, Dhaka 1977/ 1384 B.S., P.P.29-30; Dr. Abdul Karim. , The Rohingyas, PP.59-61.

NabarajMajlis was not only the Prime Minister of the kingdom; he was so important a personality that he administered the coronation oath to the king SandaThudhamma. The king must have his Magh Ministers also, but the Muslim Minister got prominence. Shah Alawal says about this: "The great religious king had a Prime Minister known as NabarajMajlis. He was a great minister and chief of all Muslims of Rohang. Now, I will tell something about Majlis. When the king went to the heaven, the crown prince came to sit on the throne. Out side the throne, he stood facing the east. The Majlis wore his dress and standing before the prince advised him in the following words. 'Treat the people as your sons, do not deceive upon the people. According to religious rites, be just in state duties, and see that the strong do not oppress the weak. Be kind, be true to your religion, be kind to good people, and punish the wicked. Try to forgive and do not be impatient, do not punish anybody for the past offence'. The king accepted all this principles, then bade Salam to the Majlis and then all others of the family of his mother." It appears from the coin of the king that the coronation of the king was held for the second time in 1672 AD.<sup>13</sup>

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13. Dr. Abdul Karim, *The Rohingyas*, PP.69-70; *SahityaPatrika*, PP. 26 – 27;

## STATE POLICY

The motto of the Ministry of Immigration and Population is "The Earth will not swallow a race to extinction but another will." (Translation of motto Burmese "မြေမျို၍လူမျိုးမပျောက် လူမျိုးမှလူမျိုးပျောက်မည် " by the State). The main functions of the Ministry of Immigration and Population are Rohingya Genocide and ethnic cleansing based on religion, especially against Islam in the name of "Preventing foreigners who enter the Union of Myanmar illegally" and "Preventing citizens who went to other countries and re-enter the Union of Myanmar illegally".



**The Earth will not swallow a race to extinction but another will**

↗ မြေမြို၍လူမျိုးမပျောက် လူမျိုးမှလူမျိုးပျောက်မည် ↖

လူဝင်မှုကြီးကြပ်ရေးနှင့်ပြည်သူ့အင်အားဝန်ကြီးဌာန

Ministry of Immigration and Manpower Department



On 20.8.16, Director General of Immigration and Population Ministry, General MaungMaung Than invited leaders of all Muslim organizations in Yangon and some businessmen in his office and explained the State's racist policy towards Muslims that "State considered all citizens in Islamic faith impure, undeserving of full and equal right and Scrutiny Card.

Whoever is holding "Scrutiny Card" will be verified again according to 1982 citizenship law and issued "Green Cards" for those who cannot show five Scrutiny Cards in his or her family members." All the leaders felt so upset and objected apartheid policy of the State.

Dictator Ne Win poisoned all Buddhist ethnics using the term "Tai Yin Thar" indigenous people of Burma, but he had been persecuting all ethnics for his Barmanization. Military Junta built Buddhist Dhammaryun in every street to deceive majority Buddhists and spread racism that have caused nationwide violence since 2012.

Now, elected civilian government led by DawAung San SuuKyí is worse than Dictator Ne Win and TheinSein's administrations in which Muslims could participate in the political and social movement. TheinSein plotted genocidal violence against Rohingya and changed all villages of Rohingya into ghettos by blocking them.

NLD government, instead of lifting the blockage to end genocidal process, it firstly tried to change the name of Rohingya into Muslim, then, make all of them impure and undeserved for citizenship. But now, they are trying to drive all Muslims out of Arakan, accusing them illegal immigrants, requested the UN to bring them to a third country. The cruel attitudes of MaBaTha, 969 and Rakhine extremists are unacceptable in this Modern World.

## ROHINGYA

NLD MP of Kathar Constituency, DawPyunKaythiNaing, freely accused Islam, Muslims and Rohingya threats of national security in the parliament on 6.9.16. It is 100 times worse than Ne Regime and Thein Sein government.<sup>1</sup> Chinese who recently entered into Myanmar and Bangladeshi Rakhine refugees from Bangladesh very recently are considered citizens of Burma because they are Buddhists. The state of Myanmar may be held responsible for acts of genocide committed against Rohingya by security forces. States are responsible for acts of genocide committed by its state organs. According to the International Law Commission, state organs include “any person or entity which has that status in accordance with the internal law of the State.”<sup>2</sup> The Myanmar Army, the Myanmar Police Force, and the NaSaKa (when it existed) are components of Myanmar’s security forces, so these entities are (or were) state organs. Since the 1962 military coup, Myanmar’s Army, called the Tatmadaw, has been the “primary coercive arm of Myanmar’s central government.”<sup>3</sup>

The United Nations and human rights organizations have reported that members of the NaSaKa, in particular, have committed atrocities against Rohingya. On March 6, 2013, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, Tomás Ojea Quin-Tana, urged the Myanmar national government to investigate and hold accountable the NaSaKa for committing human rights abuses against Rohingya.<sup>4</sup>

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1. NLD MP of Kathar Constituency, DawPyunKaythiNaing discussed to promote crimes against Rohingya in the parliament (Lutthaw) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZpK...>

2. Report of the International Law Commission on the Work of its Fifty-Third Session, U.N. Doc. A/56/10, art. IV (2001)

3. Andrew Selth, “Myanmar’s Police,” see above note 44, pp. 53-54.

4. UN Expert Greets Abolition of Notorious Border Security Force in Rakhine State and Calls for Accountability (June 16, 2013)

The state is responsible, under Article I of the Genocide Convention, for punishing perpetrators of genocide. Thus, Myanmar is directly responsible for the conduct of the NaSaKa and for failing to punish members of the NaSaKa who have committed acts of genocide.<sup>5</sup>

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6. Genocide Convention, art. I

## WAY TO GENOCIDE

**D**r. MaungZarni, who co-authored the 2014 report “The Slow-Burning Genocide of Myanmar’s Rohingya” in the Pacific Rim Law and Policy Journal, detailed official and popular narratives in Burma that call the Rohingya illegal immigrants, a threat to national security, “viruses” and “invaders,” a threat to Buddhist culture, and economic bloodsuckers.<sup>1</sup>

As 2012-2013 violence were preplanned and well organized activities of army generals and Rakhine extremists for the annihilation of Rohingya, they keep Rohingya under genocidal blockage since 2012. Rohingya are not allowed to work freely, move one place to another, get medical access, and attend school, farming and fishing. Since 2012, we can see three types of Rohingya live in the ghetto-like villages; those who depend on a ration of WFP and other INGOS, those who have family members abroad and get their support, and those who face starvation and difficulties. The third group of people always seeks a way to leave the country and human traffickers take advantages of their weakness that caused boat people crisis.

Though Rohingya in Buthidaung and Maungdaw are not in the IDP camps, they are living in the open prison. They cannot move one village to another, even for shopping; they have to ask permission from the security guards. They are not allowed for fishing, collecting woods for cooking, and deprive of educational and healthcare rights.

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1. Harvard Gazette

With the formation of NaSaKa, marriage has been restricted for Rohingya; to get permission, a couple has to wait years, not only that, male NaSaKa examine virginity of girls and harass them in the headquarter of NaSaKa. In this way, they cannot get permission to marry and violate fundamental rights of Rohingya.

Section 345 of the 2008 Constitution states; "All persons who have either one of the following qualifications are citizens of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar: (a) person born of parents both of whom are nationals of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar; (b) person who is already a citizen according to law on the day this Constitution comes into operation.<sup>2</sup> But Rohingya who were citizens and had right to vote after the enforcement of 2008 Constitution, who had representatives in the parliament of the Thein Sein Government were accused illegal immigrants from Bangladesh after the 2012 violence.

Section 347 and 348 states; "The Union shall guarantee any person to enjoy equal rights before the law and shall equally provide legal protection. The Union shall not discriminate any citizen of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, based on race, birth, religion, official position, status, culture, sex and wealth."<sup>3</sup>

Citizens shall enjoy equal opportunity in carrying out the following functions: (a) public employment; (b) occupation; (c) trade; (d) business; (e) technical know-how and vocation; (f) exploration of art, science and technology.<sup>4</sup>

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2. The Constitution of 2008, Section-345

3. The Constitution of 2008, Section-347 and 348

4. The Constitution of 2008, Section-3

Rohingyas had right to vote when the 2008 Constitution was approved by the consent of Myanmar generals. If elected parliament members who were among the approving figures of the 2008 Constitution, are not citizens of Myanmar, and then the Constitution cannot be considered legitimate. They use Rohingya whenever they want and expel whenever they don't need them. It is a clear cut discrimination, and arrogant attitude saying "This is our land; we can do whatever we want".

Besides, Rohingya candidates for respective Hluttaw who competed in the General Elections throughout parliamentary elections of all governments in Myanmar since independence, are accused now illegal immigrants from Bangladesh as a State's plan of Rohingya Genocide. Among PhaSa Pa La Parliament Members, some had served as Ministerial posts and Secretaries of Parliament posts.

Rohingya had served as military officers and military staffs in Tatmataw; as police officers and staffs in Police Force; as Professor, Lecturers, Assistant Lecturers, Tutors, Demonstrators of University and colleges under the Ministry of Education; Township Education Officers, Headmasters and teachers of High school, Middle schools and Primary schools; as Senior Officers and Staffs at other Ministries respectively. But now, we cannot find anyone appointed as government servant in the respective departments within Rakhine State as well as in Tatmataw and Police Force.

Department of Immigration and Populations confiscated national registration cards of Rohingya in Arakan in 1992-1993 and issued temporary certificates instead of national registration cards. It also issued a temporary certificate (white cards) to children who are descendants of holder of national registration cards. The issue of over 500,000 temporary

certificates (white cards) after seizure of national registration cards from a holder of national registration cards is alleviation of status and those orders were overwhelming upon provisions of laws so that ought to cancel those orders.

According to above mentioned facts as the regional Rohingya in Arakan have been enjoyed rights of natives and Citizen formerly but now, they are being kept under genocidal ghettos accusing them illegal immigrants.

## 2012 massacre

No one exactly knows how many Rohingya were killed in 2012 massacre. Many media wrote only 200 dead causality of Rohingya but accurate figure might be fifty times more. In Sittwe alone, more than 200 Rohingyadied, there was a mass grave in Sittwe and MayBon. 67 Mosques and 29 religious Madrasa were destroyed.<sup>5</sup>Before the violence, more than 20000 Rohingya lived in Pauktaw, after the violence only 7000 remained in Camps, the rest were either killed or missing. Similarly, in KyaukPyu, MinPya and MyayBon, 1000s of Rohingya were missing.

Since June 2012, when the latest wave of anti-Rohingya violence broke out, attackers have burned entire Rohingya neighborhoods, butchering the populace with knives, sticks, and machetes. Since then, half the population of Myanmar's Rohingya has been displaced. Some have tried to escape to other Southeast Asian nations on rickety boats often operated by human traffickers.

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5.<http://loveandntolerance.blogspot.com/2012/10/rakhine-racists-and-myanmar-dictators.html>

If the migrants do not die of dehydration or heatstroke, they are frequently picked up by pirates or the Thai navy—which may not be much better than getting nabbed by pirates. Exhaustive reporting by Reuters seems to suggest that Thailand's navy is closely involved in shuttling Rohingya refugees into slave labor in Thailand's seafood, fishing, and other industries. Rohingya women who do not have enough to pay traffickers are forced into marriages or prostitution. On October 23, 2012, at least 70 Rohingya were killed in a massacre in the Yan Thay village in Mrauk-U Township.<sup>6</sup>

The violence directed toward the Rohingya in 2012 appears to have been provoked by dominant ethnic groups in Burma, led by both Rakhine extremists and Generals including President Thein Sein. Since 1988, to control and deviate public from democracy, Myanmar military junta promoted chauvinism in the name of Buddhism that dominant groups initiate hostility among the masses, develop aggressive nationalism, where the dominant elite to create conflict in order to reinforce leadership.<sup>7</sup>

Lectures of 969 Buddhist monks shift from communal violence in June 2012 to the planned and organized violence by political and religious leaders in October 2012. The State's propaganda, State's sponsored monks' hate speech and violence directed toward the Rohingya are escalating, having reached a stage of overt crisis in 2012. As Government gives favor to the extreme monks, rule of law represents a transition from instability to violent conflict.

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<sup>6</sup><http://www.maungzarni.net/2016/06/genocide-in-burma-joshua-kurlantzick.html#sthash.Kcl6QBVm.dpuf>

<sup>7</sup>U.S. Department of State. (2012)



Human Rights Watch reports that the crimes committed against the Rohingya in 2012 represent state- supported crimes against humanity, part of an overall campaign of ethnic cleansing<sup>8</sup>. Indirectly, State forces did not prevent the violence directed toward the Rohingya by armed mobs of extremist Rakhine Buddhists.

Further, the Burmese state has not taken accountability by failing to investigate or persecute those involved in the organization and execution of the violence. Directly, the Arakan state's religious and political leaders are accused of planning and executing the violence with the objective of removing the Rohingya from their territory. While the June 2012 violence appears to have been led by Arakanese Buddhists masses in response to crimes committed by Muslims, the October 2012 violence appears to have been highly organized and coordinated, resembling systematic crimes against humanity as defined by the Rome Statute. In support of this observation, Human Rights Watch refers to anti- Rohingya hate speech and propaganda that was widely distributed leading up to the October 2012 violence.<sup>9</sup>

This is illustrated in the current massacres of the Rohingya and other minority ethnic groups such as the Shan, Kachin and Karen by the Burmese army. At the extermination stage, mass killings legally known as genocide, occur at the hands of armed forces in conjunction with local militias. On March 29, 2013, Genocide Watch issued an updated Genocide Emergency Alert for the Arakan State, calling on the authorities to cease human rights violations against the Rohingya and other minority groups and grant full citizenship to Rohingya.<sup>10</sup>

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8. Human Rights Watch. (2013, April)

9. Ibid      10. Department of Foreign Affairs & International Trade. (2013, May)

The report deems that the Rohingya are subject to crimes against humanity by the Burmese government. The United Nations Special Rapporteur notes ongoing religious persecution, arbitrary arrests and restriction of movement of the Rohingya Muslims. Over 1,000 individuals, largely Rohingya men and boys, have been arbitrarily detained in poorly run prisons characterized by torture and maltreatment.<sup>11</sup>

Awakyunetha is a name given by original Rakhine natives to those Rakhine who entered after 1974 when Rakhine was promoted Rakhine State. Their first leaders are Dr. Aye Chan, Dr. Aye Kyaw , Dr. Aye Muang and AshinNayaka. Those leaders trained a lot of students all over the world according to their mission. Their mission is clearly mentioned in their WebPages; Arakan Army, Rakhapura Media Group, Narinjara, Arakan Media Group, Eleven Media Group, and Rakhine Bloggers. There is also Rakhine Myoromaha Web Page which means the best human race. They call Arakan as Father Arakan like German Aryan, not like Rohingya who say Mother Arakan.

Awakyunetha succeed to unify all Rakhine Buddhist including Marama because of their religion, Buddhism. They have their own authority, own police, Arakan Liberation Army, and their strong media, unlike Rohingya. Rohingya have nothing at all; no protection, no right, and even no fundamental human right. Rakhine Buddhists are proud of being Aryan like Hitler's followers. Most of their activities' bases are in Bangladesh as it is a democratic country, they can do freely there. Their main mission is to make Arakan independence Rakhine Pray.

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11. United Nations [2]. (2013, April); & United Nations [3]. (2013, April)

Rohingya is their obstacle toward independent State, so their first target became Rohingya. On the other hand, Myanmar dictators are enemy of democracy, Rakhine and dictators gathered together to clear this obstacle. Basically, Rakhine hate Bamar, Rakhine call Bamar Auakchi in their language that means lower filth. Rakhine are supporting dictators to clear Rohingya first, later they will fight to dictator too. In the Arakan Army Web, they announced openly their main agendas in their language. Like Aryan of Germany, Rakhine Buddhists are racists; they think that Arakan is only for them, no Muslim can live there. They succeeded in three township clearing Muslims; they call those places Muslim-free places. Their main mission is to make Arakan as a Muslim-free Buddhist Independent State. Rakhine Buddhist main slogan "Wherever we are, the only place we call home is Father Arakan."

Rohingya have been continuously begging, crying, appealing, and requesting to the World in order to get only fundamental right which deserve every single human on Earth. They have been demanding according to the International Declaration of Human Right. For many decades, Rohingya people have been suffering, we could not see any international organization which tried to solve Rohingya's problem. Whenever severe persecution was faced, International society, and media talk two three weeks, after then, government and Rakhine increase their speed of persecution.

## **Rakhine Commission**

The Rohingya in Arakan have suffered serious and persistent human rights abuses. Myanmar authorities, security forces, police, and local Rakhine actors have engaged in widespread violence, acts of torture, arbitrary detention, rape, and other crimes causing serious physical and mental harm. The scale of these atrocities has increased precipitously

since 2012. In the wake of the conflicts in 2012, the majority of Rohingya have been confined to villages or internally displaced persons concentration camps. The conditions in both villages and the IDP camps are dire: Rohingya lack freedom of movement, access to food, clean drinking water, sanitation, medical care, work opportunities, and education. They live in conditions that appear to have been calculated to bring about their destruction. The acts committed against the Rohingya, individually and collectively, meet the criteria for finding acts enumerated in the Genocide Convention and have been perpetrated against a protected group. There is strong evidence to justify such an inference of intent to destroy the Rohingya. For this reason we pleaded the United Nations several times to establish a commission of inquiry on the human rights situation in Rakhine State, Myanmar.<sup>12</sup>

The Human Rights Council should adopt a resolution that mandates the commission of inquiry to conduct an urgent, comprehensive, and independent investigation of the widespread and systematic abuses committed against Rohingya. The commission should be tasked with establishing the facts and circumstances that, taken as a whole, may indicate that genocide has occurred or is occurring. An independent commission of inquiry, with the legitimacy conferred by a U.N. mandate and adequate power to investigate, can determine authoritatively whether human rights violations against Rohingya in Rakhine State constitute genocide.

After preplanned genocidal violence 2012 against the Rohingya, TheinSein Government formed a Commission to investigate the case. The Statement of Rakhine Commission was full of bias and it is questionable why did it expel Muslim members of the Commission like U NyuntMaung Shin and U Tin Maung Than. There is no explanation of their expulsion. It

is uncertain that statement was released without or with the consent and approval all members.

At the end his term, President TheinSein conducted a systematic plan of Rohingya Genocide. Those who were Parliamentary MPs of National Constituent Assembly, lawmakers, elected MPs of the 1990 elections, MPs of 2010, are accused illegal immigrants and attempted to issue temporary identity cards for them. Rohingya are banned to participate in the parliament. Who confiscated National Registration Cards of Rohingya and issued White Cards for them, why are responsible for not having Scrutiny Cards?

Now, a new Commission was formed in which Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan is a chairperson. We hope the Commission will find a solution for the problem facing in decades as it included international experts. We are also worried that some people may harm its free and fair investigation that may cause to conceal the reality.

Those who oppose the Commission bitterly are ANP party led by Dr.AyeMaung, USDP Party led by former President U TheinSein, and MaBaTha Buddhist extremists. Because of their inhumane activities and cruel discrimination, 1000s of IDPs still remain in the camp, the persecution continues against the Rohingya, more than one million Rohingya have to live in the ghetto-like villages without enjoying any basic human right.

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12.U.N. Ofce of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Commissions of Inquiry and Fact-Finding Missions on International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, p. 2 /2015

This is the reason international community highlights genocide and ethnic cleansing in Arakan State of Myanmar. Respondents and criminals have been demanding to remove international experts from the Commission because they are afraid to be aware of their crimes; long term religious persecution in Myanmar.

Saying "Every person has his or her own personal identities" is a norm in the World. To erase the identity of Rohingya, State Counselor suggested calling Muslim instead of own identity. UN opposes the idea. Myanmar is not ruled by the Rakhine. The Majority has no right to persecute minorities. Finding a solution by pleasing Rakhine is not logical and unacceptable idea. Rakhine were also called Mogh in the history. Will they agree that name? We propose Commission to be free and fair in the investigation.

## Way to Genocide

There are people who are beginning to awaken, to realize the illusion of Myanmar's generals under which they have been living. Many scholars, human rights activists, and World leaders have pointed out disease of Myanmar, that is not an ordinary disease, a harmful cancer; racism, ultra-nationalism, discrimination based on race and religion, persecution, human rights violation and genocide. We cannot cure a man suffering from such cancer by giving him a new coat; we cannot bring democracy in Myanmar where State's policy is like a cancer for all minorities of Myanmar especially, Rohingya, Muslims and Christians. What are needed are a correct diagnosis, radical surgery and constant back-up treatment. The State's apartheid policy is an obstacle to all developments, peace

process and prosperity of Myanmar. It is the most fearsome disease, known as cancer, in Myanmar society. State's apartheid policy was a cancer forming obstacle to every sort of progress.

Enforcing apartheid policy, segregation and discrimination are like acts of aggression against the whole humanity. Therefore those who committed such crimes must be received punishment. Those who afflicted cancer like disease calls the World, saying: please help us, we need your help, provided us such and such thing to develop our country. Before any kind of the World leaders should remove cancer, which can damage the whole body of Myanmar. Removing cancer from the body is the real help for people of Myanmar.

When AntónioGuterres, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, visited Yangon and asked for the release of the UN workers arrested by the authority in 2012, TheinSein responded immediately that "Rohingya are not citizens of Myanmar. Therefore, the person who prompted for the ethnic cleansing and Genocide first and foremost was former President TheinSein.

In the speech of Prime Minister U Nu by Cabinet decision delivered on 25-9-1954 stated that the RohingyainMayu Frontier region were Muslims. U Ba Swe, Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister also delivered speeches on 3-11-1959 and 4-11-1959 at Public meetings of Buthitaung and Maungtaw that Rohingyas have lived together with other natives of Arakan since many years ago. They are within Union of Myanmar in equal status. He also broadcasted about it from Burma Broadcasting showing evidences of historical documents. No Rakhine protested at that time, why do they protest after 58 years? Can Rakhine claim that Rohingya bribed Prime Minister U Nu to announce equal right for them?

Now, Rakhine extremists and some politicians, including U TheinSein claim "There is no Rohingya in history of Myanmar" and organize protests against them. Though TheinSein announced to take action after the formation of Rakhine Commission, he failed to punish those who created violence and protected against his own citizens of Myanmar. It is clear that behind all violence and protests, there might be army generals.

75% of population in May Yu District are Rohingya.<sup>13</sup> According to the decision of the cabinet a Rohingya broadcasting program had been performed (3) times per week as a program of national with effect from 15-5-61 .<sup>14</sup> Former Information Minister Ye Htut said "U Nu passed away, his speech harmed the nation, we cannot accept U Nu's cabinet decision". Does it logical if we claim "Nu-Attlee Agreement nullified after U Nu, no independence now in Myanmar, we should be subject of British again?

History has proved that Rohingya and Rakhine have lived peacefully in Arakan for centuries. In the struggle of independence, Rohingya community leaders such as the Sultan Ahmed from Maungdaw and MP Abdu Gaffar from Buthidaung worked together with general Aung San for the constitution of Burma. Those two Rohingya were among the 35 members drawn the 1947 Constitution. Rakhine Commission formed by former President TheinSein commented Mr.Gaffar as a rebellion.

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13.Myanmar encyclopedia, Vol-9, Pg-90 published in 1964 by SarpayBeilHman.

14.Myanmar Radio book for (30) years, published by Department of Information and Broadcasting, pg-71



During dictatorship era of Ne Win, Immigration and Manpower Department of State announced 144 indigenous ethnic as an approved list of TainYintha on 9.12.1972 and it was announced again in the national newspaper on 23.2.1973 decreasing an ethnic, 143 indigenous ethnic groups of Myanmar. According to the list, RakhineCittagonian, Myanmar Muslim, Kaman, Maydu, and other Indian arethe indigenous people of Myanmar.<sup>15</sup>

In the list of indigenous published in 1972, Dinet was an alien ethnic and Kokhant was not in the list at all. Later, they are included in the list and removed Rohingya and other Muslims. Who decided the exact number of 135 ethnic? Why did it remove 5 Muslim ethnics from the list, who are responsible for that? This is a symbol of hate state, Apartheid State.

State Consellor, DawAung San SuuKyi and U Aye Maung proclaimed "It is time to change Myanmar" at end of their term before 2015 election and organized by people with the slogan of change. All Mulsims including Rohingya hoped positive changes after the election but within 100 days, situation became worse than TheinSein administration. Rohingya in the whole Arakan are being forced to accept National Verification Cards instead of Scrutiny cards.

MaBaTha extremists and other mobs destroyed Mosque and houses of Muslims in ThuYeThamin, WawTownship, Pagu Division in front of police's existence. That is not different from violence in Mitthila.

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15.State's newspaper, Myanmar Ahlin, 23.2.1973

State Counselor did not say a single word to condemn the violence. Police officers announced "We cannot open any case because there is no plain-tiff" against the laws. Similarly, another Mosque was destroyed in Hpa-Kant. Can we say "Rule of Law" exists in Myanmar? Or State gives license to extreme Buddhists for the destruction of Muslims?

Hundreds of books and videos are sold openly, distributing nationwide, which encourage people towards hatred, racism, ultra-nationalism and violence. Most of those books were published with the approval of Information Ministry.<sup>16</sup>The State accuses Rohingya illegal immigrants from Bangladesh but only Rakhine Buddhists are entering and they are provided everything for the settlement in Arakan by the State.<sup>17</sup>



100s of World's leaders including UN Secretary General, scholars and human rights advocates have been urging Myanmar Government to end persecution against Rohingya.

16.Genocide Watch, 9 July 2014

17.A Myanmar National Newspapers expressed that the State proudly help Rakhine Buddhists from Bangladesh because they are being persecuted there.

In his speech, Speaker of the House of Commons, RT Hon. John Bercow emphasized the Rohingya issue "I call for a genuine independent analysis of the Rohingya people's history in Burma, so that misunderstandings can be corrected, misinformation countered and prejudices addressed. I call on the Government and civil society to invest in initiatives for inter-religious and interracial dialogue and reconciliation. And I applaud religious, political and civil society leaders who are already beginning this vital work. Rohingya are among the most marginalized, dehumanized and persecuted people in the world.

They are treated worse than animals. Stripped of their citizenship, rejected by neighboring countries, they are rendered stateless. No human being deserves to be treated this way. Whatever the perspectives – and there are, within my country, a variety of perspectives – about the origin of the Rohingya people, there cannot be doubted that those who have lived in Myanmar for generations have a right to be regarded as citizens, and that all of them deserve to be treated humanely and in accordance with international human rights. Seeing thousands of people living in dire, inhumane conditions in camps; seeing the segregation, the apartheid that has been established in Sittwe; seeing thousands risk their lives at sea to escape these deplorable and unbearable conditions – this is not a basis for a stable, peaceful future for my country.

Dr. Gregory H. Stanton, President of Genocide Watch, strongly urged to restore citizenship rights of Rohingya; "This violation of fundamental human rights, this denial of citizenship is at the very heart of the violation of human rights of the Rohingya," Stanton said. "Without citizenship, no human being can enjoy the basic rights that are guaranteed to

every person under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”Matthew Smith of Fortify Rights said “But still the easiest way to prove intent to commit genocide would still be to show how the group has already been destroyed and obviously that’s not good enough.” Mr. Tomas Ojea Quintana (Former UN Human Rights Rapporteur on Myanmar) spoke up about ongoing segregation, restriction on healthcare and “pattern of systematic discrimination”. No acts of revenge or restitution could make up for the deaths of thousands, the annihilation of Rohingya life in much of Burma, the destruction of property, and the shattering of trust and coexistence.

Washington highlights about a slowing of reform and the treatment of the Rohingya, a minority living in apartheid-like conditions in Myanmar's Rakhinestate.U.S. President Barack Obama said "Myanmar needs to end discrimination against Rohingya people if it wants to succeed in its transition to a democracy, something he has sought to make a legacy of his presidency.I think one of the most important things is to put an end to discrimination against people because of what they look like or what their faith is. And the Rohingya have been discriminated against. And that's part of the reason they're fleeing."

We have 1000s of disturbing pictures and videos, Myanmar's generals and Rakhine extremists' crimes against Rohingya. Since 2012, 100s of reports have been released by several organizations throughout the World but Myanmar government still keeps Rohingya in the concentration camps and ghetto-like villages, deprives basic human rights, and attempts to annihilate name and history of Rohingya.

Whatever name one applies to these heinous acts—crimes against humanity, genocide, mass atrocities—they seem to be the hardest crimes to deal with. China is a state party to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, should end urge Myanmar Generals to end crimes against Rohingya rather than supporting them for the advantages of Golden Gas in Arakan. Universal jurisdiction was included in the 1973 United Nations Convention that declared Apartheid in South Africa to be a “crime against humanity”.

As Samatha Power chronicled in her study of Genocide, "A Problem from Hell", United States, as a party to the treaty, to take action to prevent ethnic cleansing in Arakan; State's policy to annihilate Rohingya and should punish those who committed crimes against humanity in Myanmar. Myanmar generals will never stop persecution and annihilation of Rohingya unless the international community takes action against them. The World should remove cancer from the body of Myanmar to make it a peaceful democratic nation.

## **Blockage as a State's Plan of Genocide**

Rohingya in Arakan State need urgent humanitarian aids before the restoration of their fundamental rights for their livelihood, education and health care. We would like to explain their need Town by Town. Nearly 55000 children aged 5 to 20 lost their educational rights in Sittwe alone. Depriving educational rights and livelihood caused boat people crisis, social problems, and harm existence of Rohingya in Arakan. In Sittwe alone, there are more than 90000 internally displaced Rohingya live in the con-

centration canmps and their own tents. Nearly 70000 Rohingya cannot work and find their own food. Providing humanitarian aids are not enough to save their lives.

### **Rathedaung Township**

In Rathedaung, there are 42000 Rohingya; 600 IDPs live in Chihali IDP camp miserably, up to August 2016, they were provided ration by WFP but now it cut their ration. Before 2012 violence, only three Primary schools were available for the whole of Rohingya community in Rathedaung, after the violence only one primary school in ZediPyin remained open where no government appointed teacher comes, villagers have to pay 200000 kyats to the Headmaster of the school to get permission, some Rohingya volunteer teacher (former under graduate students) teach nearly 200 students. AnaukPyin and Nyaung Bin Gyi of Rathedaung located surrounding 24 Rakhine villages. They have no right to cultivate their farm lands since 2012, most of their lands were confiscated by the authority and Rakhine after 2012. They have been provided rice by WFP since 2012 July but it cut providing ration to them. In Panga village and ZayKundan village, there are 2500 IDPs whose rations were cut since June 2016. In June 2016, WFP handed over distribution of its ration to local NGOs such as MHDO, CDN, Save the Children which cut ration of most of Rohingya IDPs. There is no clinic at all to cure 42000 Rohingya in Rathedaung. They are not allowed to go to the hospital. For serious cases, they hardly try to get permission to go Sittwe. Only few persons can effort to go Sittwe. Many Rohingya died lack of medication and malnutrition since 2012.

### **PunnaKyun Township**

The only Rohingya village remains in PunnaKyun is Kadi or Sidirkul where 2789 Rohingya live in dire condition, isolated and blocked, no clinic, no aid, depended on their cultivation and fishing since 2012. In 2015, most of their farmlands and cultivation materials were confiscated by Myanmar army. 417 students in the villages are being taught by 5 volunteers (formerly Grade-10 students). They are not allowed to attend government school. Since September 2016, authority warned them not to fish in the river and face starvation.

### **Min Pya Township**

There are 15 villages in Min Pya of Arakan out of which 6 villages were burnt down in 2012 violence. Total Rohingya population live in those 15 villages is 28200, only 33% can cultivate their farmlands, before the violence 40% people worked in the down town of Min Pya but after the 2012 violence, they are blocked and have no right to move from one village to another, fishing, no medical access except some NGO come once in two months. Although there are 7 primary schools, one middle schools and one high school for 4500 students, no teacher comes to teach them, and no educational facilities available.

### **Kyauktaw Township**

In Kyauktaw Township, there are 57000 Rohingya, out of which 20000 are children. 40% of the Rohingya house holds can cultivate their farmlands. Those who relied on fishing and other jobs before 2012 violence became jobless after the violence. Seven villages were burnt down during the violence and many of their lands were confiscated by the authority. As they are not allowed to attend schools, villagers arrange a self-help school turning a Madrasa into a high school, no teacher, no facility; volunteer teachers, some under graduate Rohingya students are teaching nearly 200 students.

No clinic and no one is allowed to be hospitalized even for the emergency case. Seven IDPs received ration from WFP 2012 to June 2016 but since July 2016, WFP cut their ration as follow:

	IDP	House Hold	Population	Provided ration	No ration
1	ShweHlaing	200	1073	422	651
2	GupiTaung	164	908	204	704
3	Ambari	285	1602	98	1504
4	La SaungKauk	410	2325	200	2125
5	ApaukWa	174	910	250	660
6	Sagataung	97	658	220	438
7	RwaNyar	145	438	No	438

### **Buthidaung Township**

No accurate Rohingya population of Buthidaung is available, estimated population is 290000. Only 40% of Rohingya households can cultivate their farmlands. Since 2012, many farm lands of Rohingya were confiscated and whoever gets chance of cultivation cannot produce surplus food because of restrictions. There are 3 high schools, 9 middle schools and nearly 80 primary schools; no teacher teaches in those schools like in other government schools, most of the teachers are volunteers who are undergraduate students; no quality, no facility of education. There is only one clinic where Rohingya in Rathidaung can be cured minor cases, for the major cases, they need help from INGOs.

### **Mrauk U Township**

There are 26300 Rohingya population in 12 villages of Mrauk U. In 2012 violence, Yanthay and Parein were burnt down and WFP provided rice and



oil until June 2016 but now it cut providing ration to them. Only 25% of Rohingya households can cultivate, 50% became jobless after the violence. Those who took odd jobs for their survival before 2012 violence are now starving. There are 7 primary schools, 3 middle schools and no high school, there is no teacher appointed by the authority, some undergraduate students teach voluntarily, no educational facility at all. No clinic is available in these 12 villages; if any INGO helps, they can get medication for major cases.

### **Kyauk Pyu Township**

Before 2012 violence, there were 12000 Muslims including Kaman and Rohingya lived in 8 Quarters of Kyauk Pyu, after the violence only 1500 remained in the camp, the rest left the Town, no one has accurate list of those people. Now, there are only 1030 IDPs in the camp where they make a school in a shelter taught by volunteers. There is a clinic for show provided paracetamol for every kind of diseases.

### **Pauktaw Township**

	IDPs	Villages	Household	Population
1	Nget Chaung	Dun Ywa Nget Chaung Lambardia Gaugia Ywa ChaEitHaung	1584	7702
2	KyinniPyin	KyinniPyin MinSarpha ShuliPyin KanPyin-1 Kan Pyin-2	1212	5430
3	AnaukYwe	Pauktaw Ngawa Chaung	1174	4517
4	San Tet Maw	Came from Kyauk Pyu & MayaBon	757	2820

There are twelve primary schools for the IDPs using IDP shelters in Nga-Chaung, 7 in KyinniPyin, 3 in Santet Maw, and 5 in Anauk Ywe, no teacher and facility; some volunteers teach what they know.

	Village	Household	Population	School	Clinic
1	Sitkay Pyin	825	5230	1PS	no
2	Anauk Ywe	369	1875		no
3	Santet Maw	845	4452		
4	Taung Ywa			1PS	
5	KunDan(AnriFara)			1PS	

**Myay Bon Township**

More than 7000 Rohingya lived in MyayBon; Taungpau, Taung Haung-1, Taung Haung-2, KwaHtet-1, KwaHtet-2, TaungHtet-1, Taung Htet-2, Kantar Htwet and Tayuktin before 2012. After the violence 3700 remained in the IDP camp, now only 2700 are in the camp and the rest left the camp. There are 4 primary schools in 4 shelters, no teacher, and no facility.

**Maungdaw Township**

Rohingya population in Maungdaw estimated 740000 in 118 tracts. There are three high schools, 28 middle schools and every tract has primary school but there is no teacher in those schools since 2012, even some teachers come to some schools, they don't teach properly, no quality education. 40% of the Rohingya households in Maungdaw can cultivate their farmlands and 30% are in dire conditions.

## Without Action Genocide Never End

"The fact that only one particular ethnicity is being driven out is by definition ethnic cleansing," Malaysia's foreign ministry said in an unusually strongly-worded statement. "I would appreciate it so much if the international community would help us to maintain peace and stability, and to make progress in building better relations between the two communities, instead of always drumming up cause for bigger fires of resentment," Suu Kyi told the state-owned Channel News Asia.<sup>1</sup>

Efforts to resolve the issue must focus on "the root cause" inside Myanmar, Mr McKissick, and head of the UN refugee agency UNHCR in the Bangladeshi border town of Cox's Bazar, told BBC Bengali's Akbar Hossain. He said the Myanmar military and Border Guard Police had "engaged in collective punishment of the Rohingya minority" after the murders of nine border guards on 9 October which some politicians blamed on a Rohingya militant group. Rohingya refugees and asylum-seekers have arrived into Bangladesh from Myanmar in waves since at least the 1970s. There are some 33,000 registered Rohingya refugees living in Cox's Bazar's two camps, Kutupalong and Nayapara.<sup>2</sup>

Myanmar is carrying out "ethnic cleansing" of Rohingya Muslims, a United Nations official has said, as stories of gang rape, torture and murder emerge from among the thousands who have fled to Bangladesh.

Up to 30,000 members of the ethnic community have abandoned their homes in Myanmar to escape the unfolding violence, the UN said, after troops poured into the narrow strip where they live earlier this month.

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1.<http://news.abs-cbn.com/overseas/12/03/16/malaysia-hits-out-at-myanmar-over-ethnic-cleansing>

2.<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-38091816>

John McKissick, head of the UN refugee agency UNHCR in the Bangladeshi border town of Cox's Bazar, told the BBC that troops were "killing men, shooting them, slaughtering children, raping women, burning and looting houses, forcing these people to cross the river" into Bangladesh.<sup>3</sup>

New satellite imagery from Burma's western Rakhine state reveals mass destruction in ethnic Rohingya villages, said Human Rights Watch on Monday, calling for an urgent United Nations investigation into alleged abuses. The high resolution images show that between November 10 and 18, 820 structures were destroyed in five villages in the jungles of the remote state. The area is inhabited by Muslim Rohingya, one of the world's most persecuted minorities. In 2013, HRW accused the Burmese authorities of "ethnic cleansing" against the Rohingyas. The region of Maungdaw, northern Rakhine, is now seeing the biggest upsurge of violence against the minority in four years.<sup>4</sup>

Rohingya Muslims in Burma are being ethnically cleansed, according to a UN official, and government soldiers have allegedly killed children and raped women in the northern Rakhine state. Burmese troops have been conducting counter insurgency operations in the region against Rohingya militants, but the fallout is said to have been bloody, with numerous reports of atrocities emerging from Rohingya refugees. We've seen ethnic cleansing in Rakhine state before, when HRW documented ethnic cleansing against the Rohingya in 2012. No one was held responsible for those atrocities; everything was swept under the rug by the Myanmar government.

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3.<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/11/rohingya-face-myanmar-ethnic-cleansing-official-161125065731036.html>

4.<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/21/mass-destruction-of-ethnic-rohingya-villages-underway-in-burma-h/>

"No one should forget either that that the Myanmar military conducted similar security sweeps and committed atrocities against the Rohingya in 1978 and 1992, driving hundreds of thousands of Rohingya into Bangladesh in both instances." <sup>5</sup>

Humanitarian aid workers and independent journalists have been barred from the area since the start of the lockdown. More than 150,000 people who normally receive life-saving assistance have received no food or medical aid for more than six weeks. Over 3,000 children diagnosed with severe acute malnutrition have not received treatment; as many as half of them are at serious risk of death.

Reports of atrocities have surfaced over the past few weeks. Reuters reported that dozens of women claim to have been raped by Burmese soldiers, and Human Rights Watch this week revealed satellite images that appear to show more than 1,200 buildings that had been burned to the ground. More than 100 people have been killed and hundreds of others detained by the army, which has admitted to using helicopter strikes against alleged lightly armed suspects.<sup>6</sup>

The Myanmar security forces are responsible for unlawful killings, multiple rapes and the burning down of houses and entire villages in a campaign of violence against Rohingya people that may amount to crimes against humanity, Amnesty International reveals in a new report today. Based on extensive interviews with Rohingyas in Myanmar and Bangladesh, as well as analysis of satellite imagery and photos and videos, the report also documents how dozens of people have been arbitrarily arrested during the military's vicious and disproportionate security campaign in Rakhine

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5.<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/rohingya-muslims-ethnic-cleansing-burma-myanmar-aung-san-su-kyi-a7438441.html>

6.<http://time.com/4582157/burma-myanmar-rohingya-bangladesh-arakan-ethnic-cleansing-su-kyi/>

State over the past two months. "The Myanmar military has targeted Rohingya civilians in a callous and systematic campaign of violence. Men, women, children, whole families and entire villages have been attacked and abused, as a form of collective punishment," said Rafendi Djamin, Amnesty International's Director for Southeast Asia and the Pacific.<sup>7</sup>

Around 21,000 Rohingya have sought refuge in Bangladesh over the past two months, as Burmese forces launched what one U.N. official says is "getting very close to what we would all agree are crimes against humanity." TIME reports from the Bangladesh border, where the full horror is only just emerging.<sup>8</sup>

Humanitarian workers and independent journalists have been banned from affected areas as the Burmese army, known locally as the Tatmadaw, carries out what it calls "clearance operations." The government, which is headed by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, said that those killed were jihadists — information that was gleaned, it said, through interrogations. The government said the rape allegations were false. It said that Muslim terrorists burned down the buildings themselves in an attempt to frame the army for abuse and claim international assistance.

A delegation of nine diplomats and one U.N. official visited parts of Maungdaw for the first time since Oct. 9. The highly chaperoned trip lasted two days, during which they visited four villages selected by the government. While members of the convoy — which included U.S. Ambassador to Burma Scot Marciel and U.N. resident coordinator Renata Desallien — were allowed to speak with some villagers, the visit was tightly controlled.

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7.<http://www.amnestyusa.org/research/reports/we-are-at-a-breaking-point-rohingya-persecuted-in-myanmar-neglected-in-bangladesh>

8.<http://time.com/4596937/burma-myanmar-rohingya-bangladesh-refugees-crimes-against-humanity/>

Authorities detained at least two Rohingya men while they were speaking with members of the delegation. Ambassador Marciel insisted that they be freed immediately. Reports surfaced that some people who had spoken with the delegation were later detained and beaten.<sup>9</sup>

Ever since 2012 and 2013, when a wave of attacks by their ethnically Rakhine neighbors in the north-eastern state of Arakan/Rakhine of the Union of Myanmar killed thousands and displaced hundreds of thousands from their homes—driving them into refugee camps abroad or internally displaced people's (IDP) camps within the country—numerous NGOs and U.N. Agencies have warned that they were the population most at risk of genocide. Ever since an attack against a few government border outposts back in October allegedly carried out by a group of militant Rohingyas, the entire community has been taken to be collectively responsible and has suffered from an unrelenting assault by various organs of the state, including border agencies, the police and the army. Troops were "killing men, shooting them, slaughtering children, raping women, burning and looting houses."<sup>10</sup>

In recent decades, scholars of genocide have identified several likely indicators of mass killings. Several of those signs are now clearly in evidence in western Rakhine: The systematic dehumanization of the target group; their isolation inside camps and barricaded ghettos; and violent attacks on them involving the participation of security forces. These trends have intensified in recent weeks with the amplification of a narrative that singles out the Rohingya as a menacing alien presence in Burma.

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9.<http://time.com/4576079/burma-myanmar-arakan-rakhine-rohingya-tatmadaw-suu-kyi/>

10.<http://europe.newsweek.com/rohingya-genocide-has-begun-earnest-530283?rm=eu>

The new civilian government, elected in April amid jubilation that Burma was finally charting a passage towards democratic rule, has shown a worrying tolerance toward these ominous developments — at times bordering on outright complicity. Despite the worsening crisis, Suu Kyi continually refuses to be drawn on the plight of the Rohingya. At best, she calls repeatedly, but vaguely, for rule of law to be respected in Rakhine State. She asked the U.S. Ambassador to Burma in May 2016 to refrain from using the word “Rohingya” lest it imply recognition of a group that the state in Burma long ago deemed to be an illegal presence in the country, and to whom it has refused citizenship and all associated state protections.<sup>11</sup>

Muslim Rohingyas face deeply rooted discrimination from Myanmar's Buddhist majority, who consider them illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, despite them living in Myanmar for generations.

"There continue to be reports from many sources alleging arbitrary arrests, extrajudicial killings including of children, rape by soldiers, burning of Rohingya villages as well as destruction of homes and places of worship," said Anifah Aman, Malaysia's Foreign Minister, according to a speech released later by the ministry.

I have spent the better part of the last sixteen years photographing human suffering, human rights abuses and, all too often, displaced civilians and refugees fleeing from war or persecution. But I have seldom seen the systematic oppression and abuse of an entire population go almost entirely unaided and undocumented. The camps and settlements in Myanmar and Bangladesh are conspicuously bereft of the international aid community and, consequently, a countless number of Rohingya are dying undocumented. This is the invisible genocide.

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11.<http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/11/30/a-genocide-in-the-making-burma-myanmar-rohingya/>



Crimes against humanity means crimes committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilians during peace or war time. Including, enforced disappearances, killings, enslavement, deportation and mass, systematic rape, Myanmar authority has committed this crimes.

Myanmar authority, in the name of "Rule of Law" committed Extrajudicial executions -unlawful (without legal process) and deliberate killings carried out by a government (or with their complicity), or by a state official acting without orders.

Genocide means acts committed with the intent to destroy, completely or partially, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Myanmar forced to leave more than half of total Rohingya population and the rest are being kept under genocidal blockage deprive basic human rights with the intent to destroy all. The denial of Rohingya is enough to say "Myanmar commits Genocide"

Impunity - the phrase used when someone can commit an offence (intimidation, attacks, murder etc.) without punishment or consequences.

War crimes - crimes that violate the laws or customs of war defined by the Geneva and Hague Conventions. Including targeting civilians, torture, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war, Myanmar authority has committed war crimes against Rohingya.

The OHCHR, the UN rights agency, says Myanmar's treatment of the Rohingya could be tantamount to crimes against humanity, reiterating the findings of a June report. "The government has largely failed to act on the recommendations made in a report by the UN Human Rights Office... (that) raised the possibility that the pattern of violations against the Rohingya may amount to crimes against humanity,"

According to Dr.Maung Zarni, No genocide is ended by the internal social forces historically, because these forces are typically part of the genocidal process.The Burmese generals are cleverer than Hitler and the Nazis. They set the process of destroying the targetted victim community in motion almost 4 decades ago, and they let it simmer, they let it spike, they let it plateau and they are now revving it up. The latest framing of the issue of "extremism" 'terrorist attacks", and the frenzied racist "Buddhist" public gets whipped like Pavlovian experimental animals howling and barking in support the regime's killing of innocent Rohingya - men, women and children, burning down whole villages, firing rocket launchers into Rohingya villages.

Pesecution, Ethnic cleasing, crimes against humanity and Genocide against Rohingya will never end without action of Genociders; especially Myanmar Generals and Rakhine extremists.