

Burma's Missing Dots

THE EMERGING FACE OF GENOCIDE

ESSAYS ON CHAUVINISTIC NATIONALISM AND GENOCIDE IN BURMA
WITH THE POPULAR NOVEL ROHINGYAMA

Dr. Abid Bahar

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WITH THE POPULAR NOVEL ROHINGYAMA

Dr. Abid Bahar

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PREFACE

Not long ago, I was surfing the net and came across several interesting websites, one of which was the Arakan Information Website. On the front page was a flashing red book cover with the title, "Influx Viruses." On the side bar, was the question: "Who is the enemy?" It didn't take me long to understand that this was not a story reprinted from a medieval comic book about ogres and monsters, but about chauvinistic ethnic groups in Burma that promote hatred against other groups. I became interested in knowing the story behind the demonizing fictions that such works disseminate. I soon realized the very serious implications behind such material that resulted in the extermination of the Rohingya people of Burma. This was the very same hatred that resulted in genocide and the forced extermination of people from their ancestral homes in countries across the globe.

At the international conferences I attended, particularly the recent one, the UN Conference on Minorities and Stateless People in Geneva in 2007, I was approached by scholars and NGO representatives interested in Burma who asked me pointed questions: What circumstances could lead them to demonize and commit genocide on their fellow citizens in Burma?" Similar questions were repeatedly asked over and over again in conferences I have attended. Providing answers to such questions necessitated me for a study whose terms of reference are ambitious and include information on a wide range of themes such as the history and Sociology of Burma and its deep-rooted problems in relation to democratic development. To answer such complex questions, I felt the necessity of writing this book.

In addition to providing a survey of xenophobic literature, this book also covers groups in Western Burma that became historic victims of the Burmese invasion of Arakan. It will show how the continuing Burmese

invasion of Arakan has resulted in a displacement of Chakmas, Moghs and Rohingyas from Arakan towards the North, to Chittagong in Bangladesh. Consequently, Chakma, Mogh and Rohingya settlements can be found both in Arakan and in Chittagong. This book covers the subject of Burmese invasion of Arakan and the rise of non-Bengali settlements in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts.

My research on Western Burma began in 1978 when refugees first poured into Bangladesh's Southern region. Rohingyas were being denied of Burmese citizenship. I had visited camps in Taknaf and Ukiya in Chittagong in Bangladesh and interviewed and observed refugee situation there. There I met UNHCR, the Red Cross and members of Amnesty International. I also met senior Rohingya leaders of the time. In the same year, under international pressure, the Burmese government took the refugees back, only to push them out again in 1991-92.

This book began with the work on my thesis" Dynamics of Ethnic Relations in Burmese Society" done in 1982 at the University of Windsor, Canada. Certain chapters of the present book began as occasional papers published online and still others originated in papers I presented in international conferences in Kualalampur, Tokyo, Geneva, Lethbridge University in Alberta, Chittagong and in Montreal. Therefore, to avoid repetition, it is recommended that each chapter be read separately as a paper. Certain terms such as Burma is used for the official name of the country Myanmar, Rakhine sometimes applied to the Mogh or Buddhist population of Abakan. For Rohingyas, I sometimes used the name Muslim of Arakan in a broader sense.

During the period of my research over the past three decades, many people have helped me in this endeavor: Dr. C.L. Vincent, Dr. Max Hadley, Salimullah in Japan, Nurul Islam (ARNO) in UK and Mohiuddin (NDPHR) in New York. Farkan and Hasan, in Japan and Nurul Islam in Chittagong, Professor Zakaria, and.Advocate Hafizullah, my brother also deserve very special thanks.

Thanks to Stuart Black of ABOV (Art Beyond Our Vision), Chicago for providing us digital satellite image of Mouths of the Irrawaddy used as the cover page of the book and Josh Schwartz for facilitating the whole process of transaction. My thanks to my colleagues; Roy Cartlidge of

English department at Dawson College and Brian McFarline of the Plant and Facilities department; if both didn't inspire me, perhaps this work would have taken more time to complete. Special appreciation is due to Dr. Moinuddin Ahamed Khan of Chittagong University, who first inspired me to take up the project on the Rohingya people of Burma. I also would like to thank all the people, the sources, websites, and links I have used in this book for information. As the first edition of the book, there are likely to be some unintended imperfections, which I sincerely hope to change in the second edition.

Abid Bahar Ph.D.
Montreal, 2009

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this book to the victims of lawlessness in Burma and in particular in Arakan the victims among both the Rakhines and the Rohingya community. For a long time this has also been a tradition in Arakan to celebrate lawlessness against ethnic and racial minorities; it was done by their kings and the intellectuals in this corner of the world; but fortunately now such people can run but cannot hide because their actions have drawn international attention. This book identifies those actors and events of genocide and the sources of medieval and modern refugee moments on one hand and on the other it documents grave human rights violations taking place in Burma.

A SYMBOL OF THE UN'S SLOW PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHT'S DEVELOPMENT



The three Strut Chair in front of the UN Human Rights Headquarter in Geneva, Switzerland

"The armed forces have not being created for the purpose of persecuting people, or for the purpose of exercising power with weapons. The army is the servant of the country. The country is never the servant of the army." (General Aung San)

CHAPTER 1

THE ENEMY #1 IN BURMA

Burma is a land of bountiful resources and abundant natural beauty, but the country's real beauty resides in its multiethnic composition. To a tourist, Burma, with its smiling government officials and monks passing by in their yellow robes and its silent minorities occupied in their daily chores, gives the appearance of innocence and calm—the perfect Burma the military wish to portray. Situated in South East Asia between China, India, Bangladesh and Thailand, Burma has a sample of ethnic groups from each of its sister countries within its borders, the legacy of a series of conquests, first by its medieval kings and later by the British. More precisely, Burma has approximately 135 ethnic groups each with a distinct, ethnic identity. These groups have been kept under tight control by the military dictatorship for the past half-century. As Sui Khar notes: "Each of the ethnic groups taken individually might seem small, but together, . . . [they] constitute 40 percent of the population and occupy 60 percent of the land." (1) Given this multiethnic makeup, Burma could have been the Switzerland of South East Asia if it had followed multiculturalism as its official policy. Unfortunately, after close to half a century of military rule, Burma, in spite of its resources and its beauty, is bleeding.

Historians approach Burma from two perspectives—that of its history of dictatorial rule, from the tyrannical medieval kings to its contemporary military rulers, to that of the people with their all-too-brief experience of democracy. (2) Scholars find in the latter a gentle, humorous but racially and culturally diverse people aspiring toward a multicultural society and in the former, a xenophobic military whose collaborators create "fear" and use "force" to rule the nation. Interestingly, their decades-long experience

of army rule has accustomed the people to looking for enemies. It has inculcated a medieval tribal mentality. Depending on who is asking, there is no limit to the number of enemies to be found within the 135 ethnic groups. This number does not include certain ethnic groups who could be considered the most dangerous enemies of all. Not surprisingly, some surveys conducted in Burma by members of certain ethnic groups found considered the Burmans as their enemy, while other surveys found the minority Muslims, who form only 4% of the population as the number 1 enemy, and the list goes on. (3) The military, in its attempts to mobilize the population against the "danger within" have caused over a million refugees to flee across the border into neighboring countries.

Since the military leadership's identification of the "real" enemy, ultranationalist activities have been constantly on the rise. Stateless people continue to look for shelter and genocidal activities continue unabated. The international community is deluded about Burma's progress toward democracy. As a result of years of suppression, the ethnic minorities are too timid even to confess that they follow the "three monkeys rule," (See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil.) This has become one of their only means of survival and revolutionary students protest in vain.

The flip side of Burma's story is that it has also produced great leaders who have worked toward building the nation by creating alliances among groups. These include Aung San, U Razzak, U Thant, Aung San and Suu Ki, to name only a few.

Burma's history is a long story of misfortune. Perhaps the greatest of these was the assassination of Aung San. During World War II, Aung San, along with Ne Win, returned to Burma from Japan, where they had been receiving military training to fight the British. Realizing the ethnic diversity of Burma, Aung San worked with the country's leaders to promote a western model of a federal state. This culminated on February 12, 1947 with the signing of the Panglong Agreement. A very short time later, he and his entire team were assassinated. This unfortunate event took place just six months before the independence of Burma. Partly as a result of these tragic circumstances, Burma's fledgling democracy also suffered a premature death. From then on, under Ne Win, Burma began a history that can be summed up as a "lost half-century" spent in "poverty, paranoia and fear of the outside world." (4) With the death of Aung San, Burma reverted to

its melancholy medieval destiny. The catastrophic events of 1942, 1948, 1962, 1988, and 2007 have come and gone and yet the people's suffering continues. Over the years, affairs have deteriorated so badly that in today's Burma even trivial acts such as gossiping after a meal to break the tedium can land people in serious problems with the administration.(5)

The Western media primarily ascribe Burma's problems to its prolonged military dictatorship; while substantially true, this interpretation is incomplete. There are missing dots in this type of explanation. Burma's ultra-nationalist celebrities, for example fan the flames of division by emphasizing the aspects of the status quo that benefit them personally. They wonder aloud why anyone should change the military government when it has already made so many changes and kept Burma united. During the period of military rule, Burma was renamed "Myanmar," Rangoon became "Yangon," and many other towns and districts such as Akyab, (a Persian derived Rohingya word) was given the Rakhine Buddhist name "Sittwe."

All the new names were derived from Burman-related semi-mythical place names from earlier centuries. True, Burma has also changed in other directions. The aging military dictators are being replaced by a younger generation of military dictators. The ruling junta is made mainly of Burmans and Rakhines, the latter a subgroup of the Burmans. The Burmese army increased from a mere few thousand in Aung San's time to a force of 500,000 for a country of only 50 million people. Rakhine soldiers, both adult and boys, comprise 30% of the army out of a population of only 3 million. A 500,000-man army is needed to fight the ethnic minorities, the supposed enemy within. The military's rule by force has kept Burma relatively unchanged. Amazingly, the regime has established its own human rights committees; the membership list of these committees, however, reads like a "Who's Who" of human rights violators in the country. (6)

The most lucrative job for the average Burman or Rakhine is that of a career soldier, as it offers the opportunity of supplementing one's salary with the proceeds of black-marketing, bribery and taxing minorities and taxing the movement of goods and humans.

After over half a century of such widespread practice, the military now controls big business, the service sector and the bureaucracy. In line with

this tradition, it preaches what it calls a "disciplined democracy," a species of Fascism, whose propaganda is almost always directed against ethnic minorities. It propagates the myth that in the absence of the military rule, foreigners and ethnic groups will take over Burma, causing the country to disintegrate. Burma pursues its "war" against "the enemy" with imported military helicopters and fighter planes. The armed forces are on constant alert in the battle against ethnic groups and their allies, the democracy movement.

Through its use of xenophobia as an ideology, the military intentionally creates communal violence. In order to be effective, it even uses deception. A witness to the Pegu mosque attack of 1997 related that one attacker, supposedly a monk, " . . . did not put his robes on properly, and they later became loose and fell down. Onlookers nearby noticed he was wearing the army-issued underpants which are usually worn by soldiers. The group leader of the monks was seen holding some kind of mobile communication equipment." (7) While members of minority groups reported that monks helped them to save their property, there was unfortunately no one to catch these frauds in saffron robes.

The military's prize captive is the celebrated Aung San Sui Ki, who in spite of being elected in 1988, saw the election result nullified and the repression continue. Even in the face of such outrage, the international community, beyond expressing muted formal disapproval and implementing ineffective sanctions, has made no headway towards improving the situation. People wonder why?

COLLABORATORS OF THE ARMY

Most contemporary works on Burma blame the military for the present state of affairs in the country. But research on Burma shows this type of interpretation to be ridiculously incomplete. Burma's problems are even deeper than they appear. Thus, a far more fruitful line of inquiry is important to ask questions about the circumstances and conditions that keep the army in power. What needs to be understood is what validates the power base of the Burman and the Rakhine state population from which the army is mostly recruited. The leaders of Burma's never-ending quest for democracy, who are themselves members of the ethnic majority, are shackled by their own practice prejudices and favoritism and by the fact

that they fail to expose collaborators in their midst. This very serious issue is raised in this book.

The question needs to be asked: What actually went wrong to cause the military to come to power? Admittedly, from 1948 to 1962, Burma had democratic government. There are also several other related questions; in a future democratic Burma, what will the status of the minorities be? How citizenship will be determined? Is this going to be defined in a way that guarantees both the individual and the collective rights of the ethnic communities or will the Suu Ki experiment be a temporary triumph for the Burman majority and lead to a repetition of the tragedy of military rule? If democracy returns to Burma, can Suu Ki thrive if the conditions for the military's success in remaining in power are not removed? Can the country avoid the vacillation between civilian and military rule that has characterized the history of Pakistan?

In this regard, it is not that there are no Burmese leaders with strength and foresight. Emphasizing the ethnic dimension of the problem, Harn Yawnghwe states, "The military came to power because of its disagreement over a constitutional matter. The talks will have to deal with constitutional matters. When this happens, the process needs to be expanded to include all stakeholders, especially the ethnic nationalities."(8) Burma is a country beset with ethnic problems, and more work has to be done to understand this side of the real Burma.

One continues to wonder: unlike in Eastern Europe after the cold war and Indonesia, Iran, Nepal, where popular protest led to profound changes in the way the countries are governed, why in Burma, with so many of its citizens earnestly yearning for democracy, has the army continued to rule a population of 50,000,000 million for so long? Surely, there must be other important factors present. Again what are the circumstances and conditions that keep the army in power? Are there networks of rank and file civilian members who collaborate with the army? There are reports that in parallel with the democracy movement demonstrations, vast numbers of Burmese people also gather in cities and townships to show their continued support for the military. The Union of Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) is the civilian support wing of the military regime. Even more disturbing is the phenomenon of imposters, who infiltrate, not only the rank and file, but also the leadership of the democracy movement. On

record is a monk originally from Arakan who supported the military's genocide in that province, who is now a leading democracy movement leader in New York. This charlatan even managed to get an "Asia leadership award." (9) The book suggests different alternative ways to deal with this problem.

In Burma, everybody loves the slogan word "democracy," almost everybody except Than Shaw, who can't hide from his real identity. Everybody claims to be either a democracy movement leader or the supporter of the democracy movement. The word democracy is so popular in Burma that Than Shaw even calls his version "disciplined democracy."

Under the circumstances, as the waiting game for democracy continues, the military keeps its elite club functioning by dispensing privileges. "A . . . military-led middle class with a corrupt, authoritarian mindset, as its benefactors or protectors, has developed over the past 45 years under military dictatorship. It operates at a level of skewed superior profits, which are distributed among a small group of beneficiaries along the corrupt military chain and do not therefore put purchasing power to a wider public, which could have an impact on the economy. Corrupt superior profits have a marginal effect on the economy of the country, as they are hoarded by the givers and recipients alike as insurance, when one is removed from the corrupt chain."(10) In the same fashion, democracy movement leaders also reserve their exclusive "pure ethnic" club membership for themselves and maintain a distance from racially and religiously different Burmese ethnic minorities. Some of the movement's members even accept the military's definition of who is a native ("taingyintha" in Burmese translated as "native of a country) and who is a "foreigner." There have been complaints that many high ranking democracy movement leaders even espouse the military's anti-ethnic Rohingya agenda. No doubt, the situation within the democracy movement leadership is complicated by the presence of ex-military infiltrators, xenophobic intellectuals and leaders in high positions who surreptitiously prevent individuals from deprived minorities from gaining access to the leadership. This is the ugly face of ethnic discrimination in Burma.

These are the circumstances under which military rule through xenophobia is carried out in Burma, and the world's longest civil war continues. Refugees continue to cross international borders exacerbating an already

grave humanitarian crisis. Here, contrary to what Aung San, the founding father of Burma decreed, the army is no longer the servant of the country. The country has become the servant of the army. While Burma's ethnic leaders discuss these important issues in the world's foreign capitals in order to determine exactly who the real enemy is, the military leadership is merely buying time because it already knows who the enemy is.

As a Burmese proverb popular among government supporters recommends, when faced with a deadly snake and an ethnic at the same time, don't kill the snake first. (11) From our vantage point, we see several very important "dots" still remain to be joined before the real enemies of Burma are fully revealed.

The multiethnic Burma give the impression of being like a Russian motyoshka doll: inside each layer of ethnic groups is another, which has another inside it and so on. Thus, in reality, however, Burma is a far more complex society than this surface would suggest. In consideration of the above, this book will primarily deal with problems of democratic development in Burma. As a Sociological work, it will also deal with classical Buddhism which is opposed to the contemporary malevolence in Burma, such as prejudice, racism, and in particular it will locate the ideological roots of anti-Rohingya Burman-Rakhine chauvinism, and the issue of stateless people from Arakan of Burma.

Endnotes:

(1) Quoted in SAJAI JOSE. 'Democracy can only be a transition in Myanmar.' Fri, 30 Nov 2007 09:23:35-0800 http://www.tehelka. com/story_ main36. asp? filename= Ws081207Burma. asp# *TEHELKA*—Friday,30 November 2007TEHELKA "Shan-EUgroup" *Shan-EUgroup@yahoogroups.com*

(2) Joshua Eliot and Jane Bickersteth. Myanmar (Burma). England: Footprint handbooks Ltd., 1997. p.7.

(3) A survey was done by Arakan Information Website which gave the readers choice between Muslim Rohingyas or the Burmans as the enemy. Reading the survey felt like I was reading a medieval text.

(4) Robert Horn. "Orbituary: The Puppet Master of Burma, Ne Win made his nation what it is today: poor, paranoid and oppressed," *Time Asia*, *http://www.time.com/time/asia/covers/1101021216/newin.html*

(5) The corrupt Nasaka, Burma's border security force takes money from people on any excuse. In this case, a group of people gossiping in a house to get rid of boredom after having food in Tin May village in Arakan State were being penalized for the act, the excuse that they were gossiping against the military government. *Kaladan Press* "Nasaka extorts money for gossiping." News, Inside Burma http://www.burmanet.org/news/2006/11/07/kaladan-press-nasaka-extorts-money-for-gossiping/ Tue 7 Nov 2006

(6) Aliran Kesedaran Negara, Oral Intervention at the UN Commission on Human Rights, Item 18: Effective functioning of human rights mechanisms, (b) National institutions and regional arrangements, (Delivered by Deborah Stothard, April 19, 2001, 2310 Geneva time)

(7) SAJAI JOSE. 'Democracy can only be a transition in Myanmar' Fri, 30 Nov 2007 09:23:35-0800 http://www.tehelka. com/story_ main36.asp? filename= Ws081207Burma. asp# *TEHELKA*—Friday, 30 November 2007 TEHELKA "Shan-EUgroup" *Shan-EUgroup@yahoogroups.com*

(8) Images Asia Report: "Muslims in Burma." *strider*@xxxxxxxxxxx Date: Thu, 26 Jun 1997 01:56:00
http://www.ibiblio.org/obl/reg.burma/archives/199706/msg00422.html

(9) Ashin Nayaka, who preches anti ethnic sentiment in his native Arakan province even forwarded a xenophobic work "Influx Viruses" identifying certain Burmese born ethnic members as being the "viruses" shows his anti democratic xenophobia, but lately managed to receive the award. Link: *http://search.yahoo.com/search?ei=UTF-8&y=Search&fr=ush2-mail&p=ashin+nayaka%2F+asia+leadership+award*

(10) **5-2-08 PDP'S REPLY TO JAMES LUM DAU,** 5th February, 2008.

(11) Joshua Eliot and Jane Bickersteth. Myanmar (Burma). England: Footprint handbooks Ltd, 1997, p.7.

'One blood, one voice, one command'. You cannot build unity with such a slogan especially when 40% of your population is different.-Harn Yawnghwe Director of the Brussels-based Euro-Burma Office.

CHAPTER 2

XENOPHOBIC BURMESE LITERARY WORKS—A PROBLEM OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN BURMA

For the past half a century, the uninterrupted military rule in Burma, characterized by xenophobia and oppression against minorities' caused the eclipse of much of Burma's people's history. Minorities culturally and racially different from the dominating Burmans have been uprooted from their localities under the pretext of being "Kula," "non natives," or even outright "foreigners." Nowhere is it as serious as in the province of Arakan. Arakan's historic location between South Asia and South-East Asia makes it a "frontier culture" of two major ethnic groups, the Rakhines and the Rohingyas. Here the problem persists between these two major ethnic groups. A survey of the mainstream Burmese literature shows common features of hate and xenophobia. Some of these works are so well-crafted that they could be read as seemingly academic works. In this chapter, the report of the survey is presented and the research concludes that the growing chauvinistic literary works have the potential to breed intolerance and aggression in society—factors that could contribute to producing more refugees to Burma's neighboring states. The survey also notes that these beliefs and attitudes among the xenophobic intelligentsia could also be the antecedents to the problems facing democratic development in Burma.

From 1962, Ne Win set forth Burma's official xenophobic tradition and the parochial Burman understanding of its people and history; eversince it has been either assimilation into Burmese Buddhist system called Burmanization or extermination. In this display of repressive rule, the standard of judging Burmese nationality has been done on the assertion by the dominant group about who came first in Burma, or "who is the most dangerous enemy to get rid of first." (1) It is reported that such an approach is particularly used by the Burman and the Rakhine ultranationalists; the latter is a subgroup of Burmans. Karen Human Rights Group (KHRG) reports: "There is a great deal of debate over who arrived in Burma first; this honor being claimed by the Burmans, Mon, Karen and Rakhine, among others. Most of these claims appear to be based more on racist dogma than on available historical evidence, particularly the claims of the Burmans and Rakhines." (2)

Interestingly, neither the Burmans nor the Rakhines arrived in Burma first. In a multiethnic country like Burma, instead of following the democratic policy of 'unity in diversity,' the chauvinist leaders follow xenophobia as a guide and persecute the minorities, rename places, destroy minority places and replace them with their ethnic names. In order to gain the ultranationalist support, they also encourage xenophobic writings. Ne Win, commonly known as the "Puppet Master," was the initiator of this tradition of ruling Burma through xenophobia and intimidation. (3)

It seems, behind the xenophobic writings and human rights violations, and the trail of refugee production from Arakan as a case, there looms the memory of the "golden age" of an Arakanese medieval kingdom; and a myth of the "Rakhine supremacy." Truly, Noam Chomsky says that our innate conceptual structures that drive through the dynamic interaction with experience. (4)

The contemporary Arakani leader's quest for such a past of how to make Arakan great again led different Arakanese social and political groups to develop these various visions. In this effort, some mainstream literary works profess the model of exterminating minorities through ethnic cleansing, while a smaller section of Arakani intelligentsia recognizes the importance of the diversity of Arakanese society and wish to develop Arakan as a multicultural society. The proponents of the "Rakhine supremacy myth" with their "purity of Rakhine race" theory desire to get rid of the Rohingyas from Arakan. Such a supremacy myth is similar to the "Aryan supremacy

or Sorbian "White supremacy myth." What is alarming in this is that, in the contemporary period, in Arakan, xenophobia went main stream. Rakhapura.com. and other popular Rakhine websites promote xenophobia. Here, in the mainstream Rakhine literary works and the media, the minority Rohingya people, racially and religiously different from the majority Rakhines have been identified as being the Bengali "Influx Viruses" and "foreign intruders" demanding that they be exterminated. The Burmese military government accordingly executes the policy, making the Rohingya people stateless.



Source: *http://www.rakhapura.com/contact.asp?p=1&Id=20*,
(See appendix 6)

Xenophobia is a matter of intolerance. It is about the fear of strangers. Such fear could be real or perceived. In extreme form it is called racism. To make Arakan "great again," in their ways most of these mainstream Arakani groups and the intelligentsia found to be directly or indirectly associated with the Burmese military. They aspire to see a radical solution to Arakan's perceived problems. In this effort they identify the Rohingyas as being the "foreigners" in Arakan. To understand how xenophobic propaganda undermines people's democratic tradition, we have surveyed some sample materials in the province of Arakan, written mostly by seemingly well informed and educated Rakhine intelligentsia. (5)

I. Sample Xenophobic Literature Surveyed:

The content of the items surveyed are:

(a) A book called "Influx Viruses,"
(b) The Arakan information website,
(c) A Statement made by the "Arakanese in USA, on the Rohingyas"
(d) "A Report on the conditions and sufferings of the Arakanese in Maungdaw,"

(e) ANC, the Arakan's ultranationalist group that operates from India and Bangladesh,
(f) The Narinjara News (NN), on-line news-media founded by a group of Arakanese living in exile in Bangladesh.

The findings of the research shows, the xenophobic expressions against the Rohingyas have taken many forms—some works are treacherously rhetorical, some are pretentious as being academic works, some are expressions of anger and frustration made through xenophobic statements, and some others in their show of liberalism simply neglect the use of the name Rohingya in Arakan history, as if Rohingyas do not exist. While the first five types of works are direct and often use pejorative, ahistorical statements, what is, however, found in the last item in the list, the news-media, Narinjara News (NN) which says about themselves "founded by a group of Arakanese in exile in Bangladesh" is astounding. Surprisingly, this group as exiles in Bangladesh propagates for democracy and human rights for the Rakhines in their website, and glorifies Buddhism as the only important tradition in Arakan, glorifies the Rakhine past but didn't even for once mentions the term Rohingya or Muslims or the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh; Rohingya refugees—a problem Bangladesh faces due to problems in Arakan. Surprisingly, these ethnocentric so-called Rakhine refugees' tendency to ignore the Rohingya issue implies that Rohingyas have no history in Arakan. This seems tacitly tolerating and accepting the common Rakhine xenophobia even by this group against the name "Rohingya." In this hypocritical stand by them as refugees, they seem to be only taking advantage of Bangladesh's liberal tradition.

This common tendency could also be seen among some of the Burmese pro-democracy movement leaders in exile who in line with the Rakhine xenophobes believe that simply ignoring the Rohingya issue will help the problem go away. This obviously raises the question of the nature of democracy and human rights they profess, because such groups also do not question the gross human rights violations, including the denial of the Rohingya's citizenship rights by the military through its 1982 Burma Citizenship Law.

Research shows that this is a typical slippery slope that a great number of Burmese leaders follow. As a matter of showing implicit favoritism to

the racially similar Rakhine xenophobes, they in common, neither openly support nor show that they oppose the issue. They simply just don't deal with it. This very strange attitude on the part of exiled human rights groups and some leading Burmese democracy movement leaders seems to come from a fear that by dealing with it, the Rohingya issue will be recognized which in the end will displease the mainstream Rakhines in Arakan. It seems that the half-heartedness of the democracy movement leaders could be the reason behind Burma's unending democracy movement.

Having said the above, the survey doesn't conclude that there hasn't been any democratic-minded Arakanese group inside or outside of Arakan. As a matter of fact, there are different progressive groups and individuals. (6) But this research shows that in recent years, with Burmese Army's widespread sponsorship of the xenophobic propaganda and its appeal to ignorance has become so well-built in the mainstream and the Burmese democracy movement leaders silence on this issue helped disorient Burmese people in general to believe that Rohingyas are truly the "foreigners in Arakan."

II. Xenophobic works overlooks Important Information

A careful survey of the materials reveals the fact that some of the seemingly academic works were motivated by chauvinistic tendency and are simple works of faulty analogy and hasty generalizations. Here are some of the examples. The book "Influx Viruses" identifies Rohingyas as the "foreigners," "viruses," being "Chittagonian Bengalis," and "infectious" people. The motive seems clear; it is to create fear among Burmese people that Rohingyas are dangerous people; so much so that they are like "viruses," required to be exterminated. In the book, "Influx Viruses" Aye Chan contributed a chapter, "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)." This seemingly an academic work is full of belittling terms and biases; technically also it lacks organization and structure. (7) In opposition to such writings, fortunately, there have been notable disagreements from distinguished scholars. For example, in a paper written in Japanese, Professor Kei Nemoto, a Japanese expert on Burma, says Rohingyas have lived in Rakhine since the eighth century. (8)

Arakan's most contemporary xenophobic works reviewed in this research, almost all claim that Rohingyas migrated to Arakan during the British period; the date they cite is 1826. They consider Rohingyas as Indian

migrants from Chittagong. In making such assertions, surprisingly, they neither included the Rohingya refugees that left Arakan due to Burmese King Budaphya's invasion in 1784, which was immediately before the British takeover of Arakan in 1826, nor the more recent exoduses due to the military rule of Burma. This faux pas is significant because the xenophobic works deliberately overlook the outcome of the invasions that resulted in exodus of large number of Rohingyas from Arakan who settled in southern Chittagong across from the Naaf River. Some estimates claim that at the time of Burmese invasion of Arakan in 1784, over 200,000 Rohingyas left Arakan permanently to settle in Chittagong. (9)

III. Burmese Invasion of Arakan and the Rise of Non-Bengali Settlement in Chittagong

Reporting about this horrifying event of Budapaya's invasion of Arakan, Puran, a Rohingya exile who had fled Arakan, said the following from southern Arakan: " . . . [I]n one day soon after the conquest, the Burmans put 40,000 men to death: that wherever they found a pretty woman, they took her after killing the husband; and the young girls they took without any consideration of their parents, and thus deprived these poor people of the property, by which in Eastern India the aged most commonly support their infirmities." (10) In his personal account of such victims, Francis Buchanan said that Puran seemed terribly afraid that the Government of Bengal would be forced to give up all the refugees from Arakan to the Burmans.

Michael W. Charney says that when the British occupied Arakan, the country was a sparsely populated area, and that formerly high-yield paddy fields of the fertile Kaladan and Lemro River Valleys germinated nothing but wild plants for many years. It is worth noting here that the Kaladan valley was inhabited by the former soldiers of Wali Khan and Sindi Khan. Wali Khan and Sinidi Khan were the Bengal Generals who helped Arakan restore its independence. (11)

The authors of the xenophobic book "Influx Viruses" in their promotion of xenophobia didn't take into consideration these mass migrations of the Rohingya Muslim refugees to Chittagong from the vicinity of Kaladan and Lemro Rivers, whose decedents now live in southern Chittagong. In their willful omission, they believed as if the invading Burmese army was

Rohingya's allies and nothing had happened to the Rohingya Muslims and Hindus; it was a threat only to the Rakhines. Considering the fact that during the 17th century, some important Arakanese ministers, even the defense minister of Arakan was a Muslim, a serious student of history simply cannot afford such selective choice of data, and deliberate omissions by chauvinist writers to avoid contradictions.

Again, in claiming the Rohingyas as illegal immigrants to Burma, the xenophobic works identify the Rohingyas as the Indian migrants to Burma during the British period, and cite certain selective census figures. In doing so, they ignore the fact that as the British rule brought peace, some displaced Rohingya families must have returned to their ancestral homes in Arakan. This is similar to some of the Rakhines from Chittagong who went back to settle in Arakan. Surely, this is a matter of human impulse to return to their homeland. We have seen scores of such migratory patterns throughout human history. The Arakan was no exception. Other than that phenomenon of former refugees and their children returning home, it is very hard to believe that there were mass migrations of people from Chittagong to Arakan.

In addition, Chittagong, after all, was a more peaceful and prosperous region compared to the troubled Arakan region of Burma where the memory of Burman massacre some three decades earlier was still fresh in the collective psyche of uprooted and exiled Rohingyas including their descendants. The fear was so intense, even during the British period when law and order was restored with British initiatives, we see mostly "seasonal migrant workers" went to Arakan from southern Chittagong to work in Arakan. But again Rohingyas in southern Chittagong as "seasonal" workers would return home to Chittagong. Having said this, it was possible to have some floating migrations, but under the circumstances, it is not likely that Chittagonians in significant numbers could have settled permanently in the Arakan as claimed by the xenophobic writers like Aye Chan.

Additionally, in laying the claim that Rohingyas were "Indian workers" the chauvinistic writers didn't take note of the Ne Win-created 1962 race-riot in Burma that had led to the mass exodus of Indians and Bengalis to leave Burma. Such works without providing any reference conclude that it didn't affect the Indians settled in Arakan. Chakravarti, however, gives a brief account of the flights of Indian refugees from Burma to Bengal/ India:

> "Most of the estimated 900,000 Indians living in Burma attempted to walk over to India . . . 100,000 died at the time . . . Practically all Indians except those who were not physically fit or were utterly helpless began to move from place to place in search of safety and protection until they could reach India." (12)

The authors of the "Influx Viruses" also didn't identify the expulsion of Rohingya refugees that took place in 1958, 1975 and 1978. They didn't even mention the recent wave of refugee movements dating back to 1991-92. It is interesting to note that the latest exodus was caused after Burma's 1982 constitutional Act. The Act officially declared Rohingyas as non-Burmese. According to this Act, the Rohingyas migrated to Burma after 1826, and as such, they couldn't be given Burmese citizenship. Surprisingly though, all the Rohingyas are Burmese born and were the citizens of Burma.[1]

IV. 1942 Japanese occupation of Arakan and the Rakhine-Rohingya Conflict

Aye Chan's article in the xenophobic book "Influx Viruses" talks about the communal disturbance during WW 11, especially in 1942. It clearly notes that the 1942 event resulted in population displacement of Rohingya Muslims from the south of Arakan (lived mostly by Rakhines) to the northern part of Arakan lived by the Rohingyas. (13) Following his logic, if we take this as a historical event, then Aye Chan seems to contradict himself that most of the Rohingya people in the north of Arakan were not the Chittagonians but the uprooted Rohingyas from the south of Arakan. Despite his contradictions, ironically Aye Chan throughout his paper calls these displaced persons as "Chittagonian people," created "the Bengali enclaves" in Arakan after 1926.

Aye Chan is not alone; intellectuals like Aye Kyaw's and the other writings were also hypocritical and aimed at creating xenophobia among the Burmese population. In their type of tagging, on the minorities, any non-Rakhine

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[1] Strangely though, this constitutional act reminds us of the story of 'the wolf and the lamb' where the lamb was in the downstream but then blamed by the wolf for mudding the water, when was reminded his position in the upstream, he identified the sins of its grand parents he remembered who allegedly caused trouble to the wolf in mudding water.

in Arakan is a suspect of being a "Kula," "foreigner." Here in the case of Rohingyas, we see the trend began after the 1942 riots that each time the uprooted Rohingya Muslim from the south of Arakan wanted to return to his home, he was forcefully returned back to the north of Arakan. As soon as he is in north Arakan, he is branded as a "foreigner," "intruder" or a "Chittagonian in Arakan" For Aye Chan, the author of "Influx Viruses," Rohingyas are the illegal Bengali Muslims entered Burma during the British period and formed an "enclave" in Burma's northern Arakan near the Bangladesh border. This common trend of chauvinism on the part of the Rakhine xenophobes and the resultant suffering of Arakan's Muslim people seem to have served for a people as a survival mechanism and the crystallization of their modern identity—the Rohingya.

The cleverly constructed work "Influx Viruses" clearly supports the military tradition of Ne Win, as if all those atrocities and continued human sufferings through the military operations in Arakan meant nothing. Thus, "Influx Viruses", written in 2003, a decade after the latest pogrom of 1991-92, simply parroted the official Burmese xenophobia suggesting that the Rohingyas are "foreigners" who deserved to be wiped out from Arakan. Contrary to the claims, as mentioned above, contemporary research shows that Rohingyas are simply Arakanese Muslims and some of the Arakanese Muslims that escaped Burmese invasions settled in southern Chittagong were Rohingyas themselves. In addition, to escape Burmese invasions, Bangladeshi Rakhines and Chakma tribes also took shelter in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts. (14)

V. Rohingya History

It is true; "the color of our skin is too obvious a marker." In Arakan Rohingyas in common are called the "Kulas." Here unlike the Rakhines, Rohingya people have their origins in different sources. One of them seems to be the dark-skinned aborigines of Arakan. In addition, Rohingya history records Hindu king of Chandra dynasty Mahat—Sandaya ascended the throne of Arakan in 788 A.D. In his reign several ships were wrecked on Ramree Island and the crews, said to have been Mohammadans, were sent to Arakan proper and settled in villages."(15) The wind direction in the Indian Ocean especially during monsoon season has been such that lost sailors from Arabia, and Persia sailing from Bombay or from Sri Lanka area to the East would invariably be taken to the shores of Arakan. These

Mohammedans mentioned who married dark—skinned local Indian women and settled in Arakani villages must have been some of the earliest ancestors of the Rohingyas.

The Rohingya ethnonym also shows that Rohingyas of Arakan originated from the aboriginal dark—skinned people, and later added to them were the Arabs, Persians, Bengali soldiers of Wali Khan and Sandikhan, Bengali slaves captured by the Arakanese and Portuguese soldiers, Portuguese offsprings, Shah Suja's followers and Rohingya intermarriage with Rakhines. It is clear that kulas' common suffering as mentioned above and the Rakhine stigmatization of them as being people from an inferior race led them to the conceptualization "Rohingya" as an ethnic group, whereas to Aye Chan and the chauvinistic enthusiasts, Rohingya people have no history in Arakan. On the contrary, Rohingya people's ancestors had settled in Arakan from the eighth century. In addition, we see Rohingya people even have their language called Rohingyalish and a literature which has similarities with both the Rakhines and the Bengalis. (16)

After centuries of living in Arakan, many Rohingyas from intermarriages have also developed Mongoloid features and most have Arakanese names. Unfortunately, Rohingya-sounding historical places have been changed to Rakhine-sounding names, such as, Akyab changed to Sittwe and the Rohingya historic sites like the Sandikhan Mosque, Bodor Mokam, Shah Suja masjid and many other sites were being destroyed by the Rakhine hooligans. (17) These calculative acts seem to have done to bulge the Rohingyas with the Indian migrants, the latter settled in Burma during the British period. Such acts were aimed to deny the fact that Rohingya's history is entirely different from the Indian Bengali migrants.

The xenophobic writings, in general, also claim that racially, the Rohingya people and their language are similar to those of the Chittagonian Bengalis. Therefore, they must be from Chittagong of present Bangladesh. This assertion however, contradicts popular knowledge such as among various ethnic communities inside Burma, e.g., the Shan people exhibit cultural and racial similarities with the Thais across the border; Kachins have similarities with the Chinese in China, and Chins have similarities with the Nagas of India. One can correspondingly argue that if similarities between Shans and Thais, Kachins and Chinese, Nagas and Chins don't make these

groups "outsiders" in Burma, how could Rohingya's similarities with the Chittagonians make Rohingyas Chittagonians?

It is evident that, many of these anti-Rohingya works are naive propaganda excuses to get rid of the Rohingyas from their ancestral homes. Indeed, due to the non-Mongoloid racial origin of the Rohingyas, the xenophobic literature judge Rohingyas differently. While these excuses are easily understandable to the educated Burmese, and humanitarian groups, what is alarming is, in this "frontier region," these works provide justifications to the unsophisticated to get to action. Surely, this is the cost of living in a "frontier region," where if xenophobia is allowed to grow, the circumstances could be "fluid" and turn unpredictable into causing genocide. (18)

According to KHRG report "[I]it is a mistake to pretend that the leaders of the SPDC junta are outsiders or aliens with no connection to the society in which they live. They may be deluded, but they did spring from Burmese society and they have succeeded in gaining and holding power over it. Essentially, their power is rooted in the deep racism that has permeated Burmese society since its beginnings; not only the racial supremacy complex which many Burmans are brought up with, but the racism of the Karen against the Burmans, the Burmans against the Shan, the Shan against the Wa, the Wa against the Shan, the Mon against the Burmans, the Rakhine against the Rohingyas, the Burmans against the Chinese, the Christians against the Buddhists, and everyone against the Muslims." (19) The present survey result confirms the above observation that xenophobic writings are on the rise, and it indicates a corresponding trend in the rise of racism particularly in Arakan.

VI. Buddhist Communalism in Early Modern Arakan Politics

In a society that valued human rights, it would be unnecessary to recount any of this, because the value of human dignity is taught in school, it would be well known to everyone. But in Arakan, pumped up in prejudices, the xenophobic writers use an ethnocentric history. Here, fundamentalist Buddhism is used as a Rakhine political ideology. It uses the term "Raksha" (in Pali, meaning "to protect" is implied in the local Buddhist literature) to protect the Rakhine's racial purity. In this effort, the Rakkhapura League was established in 1918. All Arakan League was established in 1930 to

promote Arakan's Mongoloid—Buddhist heritage and an ethnocentric educational propaganda movement was continued among the Arakanese people to promote the exclusive Rakhine national identity. Buddhism has been used as a political tool of oppression against minorities. In doing so, unfortunately even some Rakhine monks have been seen as the leading figures in the anti-Rohingya agitation. (20) David Law writes: "The Rohingya are being forced into large-scale internment camps where they are being prevented from marrying legally, their young people beaten up, kidnapped, violated, and otherwise terrorized into submitting to a slow, agonizing death by starvation." (21) In the name of religion, these are some abuses of the fundamental teachings of the great humanist tradition of the Buddha.

VII. Arakan, a "Frontier culture"

Arakan for its location between South Asia and South East Asia, some time came under Bengal's influence and at other times it was under Burma's influence. As a consequence, in this "marginal land," it clearly developed, what Jacques P. Laider calls a "frontier culture" with people from not one but two major racial groups, the Rakhines and the Rohingyas. (22) Historically, both groups have developed their separate language and culture but until recently have recognized on one common Arakan history. The contemporary xenophobic authors in general while recognize Arakan's glorious history of interaction with other cultures, and its Buddhist heritage, refused to accept in the words of Laider, its "hybridity." In their drive to attain a "modern Arakanese society, they use only Rakhine heritage and its "exclusiveness." The present research identified the xenophobic elites to style themselves as the "Rakhine gentlemen" the guardians of Arakan. In this if they have to mention the name "Rohingya" (as if it causes "racial allergy") they would almost always either ignore or apply their "superiority-inferiority standards," paradigm, not knowing that such a xenophobic attitude is a principle that is more akin to Fascism. Unfortunately, some of these ultranationalists also identify themselves as the great fighters for democracy in Burma. As evident, this type of attitude doesn't help to promote either democracy or the meaning of citizenship. This deep-rooted typical medieval xenophobic attitude could be the yet unexplored issue and reasons for the delay in the democratic development in Arakan and Burma.

VIII. The Origins of the "Rohingya" and "Rakhine" Ethnonyms

It is pertinent to note that both Rohingya and Rakhine are two newly adopted official terms lately used by both respectively for their "identity building and cultural self-defense." Rakhines used to be called the "Moghs." The term Mogh, a Pali word referred to a people originally came from Magadha of India. (23) Ralph Fitch mentions the "kingdom of Recon and Mogen" as early as 1585. (24) In British colonial records this is a commonly used term for the newly named Rakhines. The term Mogh also referred as the "pirates" in the Bay of Bengal, referring this to the later Arakani ruler's atrocities in the Bay. The term Mogh seems to have originally developed from Rakhine claim of them as being one of the original Buddhist tribe from India. While the term "Mogh" has been in common use, but due to its negative use as being the pirates in the Bay, as expected, the ultranationalist Rakhines despice in the use of the term for them.

Micheal Charney records," . . . Rakhaing was used after the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-11826) in its strictest geographical and political sense." (25) My understanding is that to the Rakhine ultranationalists, in order to lay claim as the original inhabitants of Arakan, felt the need to officially change the name from Mogh to Rakhine, the latter name said to be historically used by the Burmese for them. Interestingly, the term Rohingyas was also officially adopted over half a century ago for people who were previously known as the "Kulas" (original Pali, Kala), meaning "dark skinned inferior people" Say in America, and Australia as if the "Negroes" (the dark—skinned people). To avoid this derogatory term used by the (now) Rakhines, Rohingyas also preferred to officially call themselves with this new name.

Surprisingly, in this trend of adopting new names, while the Rakhine Buddhist ultranationalists see the name change for themselves as a deserving one, such a change by the Rohingyas raises alarm amongst the ultranationalist Rakhines. They claim that they have never heard of any such people in Arakan and people with such names like "Rohingya" must be from outside Araakan; they must be the migrants from Chittagong. Some popular but non-intellectual Rakhine writers on the xenophobic website Rakhapura.com even claim that the term Rohingya meant "gypsies." (26) Interestingly, Michael Charney says, "Rakhaing has not always been solely an ethnonym of Buddhist Rakhaing, but rather one that has come to be

peculiarly associated with Buddhism as a result of linguistic change over many centuries, change that produced the term 'Rohingya." (27)

Aye Kyaw, otherwise a xenophobic writer, agrees about the inconsistent relationship between Rakhingatha>Rakhing and the etymology of "Rakhanpura." He says, "This theory doesn't make sense semantically." He doesn't accept it for the difference in the spelling of r and y among the Burmese and the Arakanese." (28) This refers to the dispute that if the Burmese naming of the word Rakhing was adopted from the Burmese "bilu" meaning (Rakhasa) or demon, (the Rakhine ultranationalists claim to justify their Arakanese indigenous status), the original name Rakhing should have been Burmese "Yaking' not the Rakhaing," for "Bilu is associated with Yasasa and Yakkha" in Burmese.

Contrary to the typical anti-Rohingya claims that they have never heard of the term Rohingya, it appears that the term was in vogue in Burma even before 1826. Francis Buchanan noted in 1799, some Brahmin informants from Arakan "called themselves Rossawn." (29) Historically, Rohingya referred to the Hindus and Muslims. Buchanan found Moghs, called both the Muslim and the Hindu Rohingya "Kulaw Yakain (Rakhing), or stranger Yakain (Rakhing)."

It appears that the name Rohingya has a prehistoric origin in Arakan. On the contrary, the ultranationalist claim that "Rakhine" has derived from Rakhaing>Rakhha/ Rakkh-pura> Rakhapura>Rakhingatha seems a religiously motivated assertion. Charney based on his examination of Rakhing chronicles finds Rakhine assertions inconsistent because the "Rakhine chronicles even indicate numerous stories of local kings who fought Bilus who were said to have dominated the littoral." (30) Michael Charney concludes, "Rakhaing could more clearly be seen as being derivative of Sanskrit and Pali words, attributed by Buddhists who recorded early conflicts between the first and the second wave of Mranma immigrants into the littoral. In other words, raksa had not been originally attributed to the Mranma later known as the Rakhing-tha, but instead to the "primitive tribes" whom Mranma immigrants fought and displaced as they resettled in the littoral." (31)

In contrast, the term Rohingya seems to be a derivation of the Bilu, "raksa" the "primitive tribes" the prehistoric negroite so-called Rakkhasas, similar

to the demonized dark-skinned untouchables or Raksa Tunga/ today's Rokhin-gya "kula" Rohinga "whom Mranma immigrants continued to fight and displaced from their popularly known "old villages."

The idea that Rohingyas were the aboriginal Dravadian (Rakkhasas) population of Arakan seems more compelling due to some startling similarities in language between some tribes of Chittagong Hill Tracts (the Chakmas, Sacks and the Tanchaingyas) with the Rohingyas. Even notice the last part of the name of the Mongoloid group Tanchngya is similar to the Rohingyas. The above tribal groups originally arrived in Chittagong from Arakan.

It appears that before the Marma group's (Rakhine) successive invasions of Arakan from the South, which eventually led to the end of the Chandras, the language of Arakan was predominantly Indo-Semitic (Chittagonian) and the Chakmas and the other smaller groups must have become assimilated with the Chandras and their Chittagonian language. Then they even adopted Chittagonian as the groups' language of everyday transactions. It is an astounding phenomenon that even the Sacks of Arakan today speak the same language as the Rohingyas and Chittagonians. How this is possible if the Chandra language was not similar to Chittagonian?

It seems that with the successive Marma invasion from the south, these Chakma and other Mongoloid population along with some of the ancient Dravadian Chandra Hindu and Muslim population (the Rohingyas) of Arakan were pushed back to Chittagong. The process of dispossession still continues. In this part of the world, we see there are still many more unexplored issues remained to be resolved.

IX. Colonial Legacy

The problem according to Buchanan is one of "a legacy of European colonial policy which showed little concern for ethnic and cultural realities when the frontiers of the former colonies were demarcated . . . . The inevitable difficulties from this lack of awareness have been aggravated by the uneven impact of the West . . ." (32)

It seems that despite Rohingya's historic origin in Arakan, the British caused the present confusion of identifying them as the "Chittagonians." Perhaps

unwittingly, the British dropped this indigenous name Rohingyas altogether because Rohingyas had more similarities with Chittagonian Rohingyas across the Naaf River than the Rakhines (the latter known in the colonial records as the Moghs). Due to this, the British first began to call Rohingyas as the "Chittagonians" then," Mohammedans", "Burmese Muslims" and even "Indian Muslims." Arthur Phayre, the first British administrator, seems to have unwittingly begun the confusion. He saw the Rohingyas as merely the Bengalis. In the role of a historian, the anti-Rohingya Aye Chan instead of removing the colonial legacy of confusion, used the given names to expand on his xenophobic claims.(33) True, "ethnic and ethnonyms were not primordial, but flexible and could not be understood outside of the context in which they were socially and historically situated." (34)

Ironically, in the midst of the colonial rule and the subsequent rise of xenophobic writings, these are some issues on the historicity of Arakanese ethnonyms that has so far remained neglected. For now, due to the military government's propaganda, and the present confrontational situation between the Rakhines and the Rohingyas, and the direct support provided by the army to the Rakhine ultranationalists, the casual observers of Burma even find Rohingyas (with mostly Indo-Semitic features) absurd to be the indigenous ethnic people of Burma. Under the circumstances, it is important that Burmese historians play a role to clear up the confusion on the Rohingya issue that feeds the extremists to the point that they were being officially declared as the non citizens of Burma.

Another issue of interest; to heighten the fear of the Rohingyas to the Burmese people, one common strategy seen among the anti-Rohingya Rakhine intelligentsia was that it almost invariably portrays the Rohingyas as Muslim "extremists." (35)This seems to create the apprehension that "Muslims in general are dangerous people." It is clearly a faulty analogy. Other than their rebellion during the 60's (which most Burmese ethnic groups did), Rohingyas are generally a peaceful community and have even officially adapted a common secular name "Rohingya" for both the Muslims and the other dark skinned people of Arakan demonstrating their growing modern and secular outlook.

The present research findings also brought to light another xenophobic propaganda technique used by the Rakhine intelligentsia that one day the Muslim army from Bangladesh will conquer Burma and will turn Burma

into an Islamic country. (36)In reality though, Burma and Bangladesh has a small frontier and the dispute is largely on the Rohingya issue. While Bangladesh is much more densely populated and technologically advanced than Burma, but Burma has a much bigger army than Bangladesh.

Habib Siddiqui, a scholar on Arakan history, thinks xenophobia is used by deceitful intellectuals and politicians. (37)To him, if such habits are allowed to grow, it can develop like an infection in a nation's body to destroy peace in society. It is true, such development in Germany—led to the Holocaust, in the former Yugoslavia—there was the ethnic cleansing, in Rwanda—there was genocide. In Burma with Rohingya—ethnic cleansing is going on and if allowed to grow, it might turn into a full blown genocide.

X. Dynamics of Ethnic Relations: Problem of Sharing the Scarce Resources

What has come to light from our research on the dynamics of interethnic relations between the Rohingyas and the Rakhines is that Rohingyas are not the "aliens" in Burma. (39) They are a predominantly Muslim community that took roots in a predominantly Buddhist environment. It is their joint struggle for a democratic Burma that makes the Rakhine ultranationalists fear that in recognizing the Rohingyas, in the future democratic Burma, they will have to share the pie, i.e. the scarce resources with their racially non-Mongoloid non-Buddhist fellow citizens. So from very early on, with the Burmese military help, measures of xenophobic writings, forced labor, rape, excessive taxing, the genocidal practice of ban on Rohingya marriage in villages and extermination have been practiced to get rid of them from their mythically exclusive "Mongoloid-Buddhist Arakan" land. (40)

In 1978, as part of a research project, I had visited the Rohingya refugee camps in Ukiya, Bangladesh. There, Rohingya refugees were mostly old, women and children. When asked if they were Burmese citizens, little children ran to their mothers to bring their NRC cards. Later in the same year, in the face of international pressure, the military government accepted the Rohingya citizens; but again to exterminate them it passed the 1982 Citizenship Act. In 1991-92 it exterminated 250,000 Rohingyas with the excuse of Rohingyas being "foreigners," in Burma. The process continues till today in a smaller scale. Some refugees have mentioned that it was not the government policy to kill, but kill only a few, and scare the rest to leave

Arakan. It wants to make the Rohingya population to a negligible size. (41) It appears that Rohingya problem in Arakan is a matter of unrestrained racial intolerance.

From the present survey, it became evident that a section of xenophobic Arakani leadership couldn't rise above its medieval mob mentality of lawlessness. In India and Bangladesh, people still remember the Moghul Prince Shah Suja who was first given shelter by the king of Arakan only to be robbed and killed with his entire family later. (42) Due to the increase in the xenophobic writings and their mainstream appeal, Arakan has developed a strong culture of lawless hooliganism against minorities.

Refugees interviewed for this research describe of uncertainty and stress among the minorities (due to the lack of respect to law by the chauvinists, when it comes to the non-Rakhines.)They describe of horrifying stories of general lawlessness against the Rohingya citizens. They report of no help except the international agencies. When unlawful actions are taken by the Rakhines against the Rohingyas, local lawless Rakhines tend to say that they are not to blame but simply carrying out the military's order. (43) Under the circumstances, international Agencies working with refugees report Rohingya's horror stories. (44)This has been so widespread especially after 1942 that the fleeing refugees in southern Chittagong coined a name for Arakan being the "Moghur Mulluk," meaning a lawless society of the Moghs. (45)

The Arakan has been under the grip of the military-backed ultranationalist from the 1960's. The increase in xenophobic writings is a sign of Arakan's past prejudices, now crystallized into cleverly constructed written documents. Here a good reading of the materials show a dangerous game they play, which continues to accelerate the worsening of the human rights violations in Arakan. However, just across the Naaf River in Cox's Bazar, the Rakhines (Mogh) that fled from Arakan to Chittagong (of present Bangladesh) in 1784, during Budapawa's invasion, and their decedents, who now are Bangladeshi citizens, have officially adopted the name Rakhines. In Bandorbon of Chittagong, the other group of Moghs call themselves Marmma (Meha-Vurma, the great Burma). In Cox's Bazar, the Buddhist pagodas and the Rakhine historic sites, Aggmeda Khyang and other Buddhist places glitter in the blue sky. Bangladesh government recognized Rakhine temples as important tourist spots. (46) Burma's

Arakani intelligentsia doesn't have to educate people in xenophobia; ethnic minority's similarities with their neighbors, instead of a source of fear could be a source of strength in exchanging "innovative ideas," in the "exchange of commercial goods" in helping develop friendship between nations and could be mutually beneficial to the neighboring countries.

XI.Conclusion: Burma Lives in the Past

To make the multi-ethnic Burma a model of a great democracy, Aung San for the first time successfully brought the different ethnic groups together through consensus. Contrary to this, the army now keeps the country together by the use of xenophobia and force, a model of the Burmese medieval kings. The irony is, in the modern times, intolerance and oppression cannot serve as an ideal model for making a country great. Xenophobic writings based on radical ideology ignore people's history and breed intolerance, which also can lead to the denial of human rights.

It seems that Rohingya refugee problem are symptoms of Burma's hate crimes by the illegal army and its anti-Rohingya associates Aye Chan or Aye Kyaw, the author of the 1982 constitutional Act, now popularly known as the "Prophet of Violence in Arakan." These increases in xenophobic writing propaganda have made Rohingyas strangers in the land of their birth. The xenophobic works embolden the military in its rule through fear, paranoia and criminal justification to exterminate the racially and culturally different minorities. Due to such a policy, more than a million Rohingyas are now refugees and live in outside Burma. Given this realism, it seems some Burmese democracy leaders' hypocritical approach to ignore the 1982 constitutional Act issue will not make the issue go away but continue to make Burma famous for producing refugees.

On the question of how to make Arakan great again, the chauvinistic writings suggest the extermination of the Rohingyas; for it defines Arakan's ethnic boundary along racial lines. But the progressive Rakhine and Rohingya groups show great interest in the model of the founders of the Mrauk U dynasty; its ethical standards of compassion, respect and love of its people which made it to be called the "Golden age of Arakan. Those qualities were contrary to the contemporary ideology of Aye Kyaw and Aye Chan's xenophobia. In the ongoing debate of "cultural self-defense," the ultranationalists are the mainstream trends in Arakan. As different

from the narrowly defined ultranationalist's vision of Rakhine greatness, Rohingyas today are working with Aung San Su Kyi's NLD in Burma and with people outside with international lobbying groups to make Burmese people conscious of their fellow citizen's rights. In this present state of affairs, Rohingya leaders interviewed wish that Arakan acknowledge once again its tradition of diversity.

The Modern Rohingya

From a backward community in the past century, Rohingya leadership today has emerged as a human rights conscious, non-violent group, demanding to the democracy movement leaders the recognition of their citizenship and a negotiated settlement in Arakan and hoping for the safe return of their uprooted people spread around the globe. Some leaders hope that when democracy comes in Arakan, as a matter of recognition, Arakan be continued to be called as Arakan, or be renamed as the "Rakhine-Rohingya province." (47)

Suffice to say, Burma's more than half a century's struggle to have people's history has been overshadowed by the military's triumph in expanding xenophobic history against its own people. Arakanese citizens have to realize that Arakan is no more a medieval kingdom. They have to live in the present as people of a modern province of Burma where citizens will have the protection of law from hooliganism, from vandals destroying properties, ceasing of properties, rape or unlawful arrest; they have to recognize its citizen's individual human rights. To guarantee this, and the democratic forces to succeed, it should encourage dismantling the myths of xenophobic ethnic boundaries created by the xenophobic writers like Aye Chan, Aye Kyaw and others and replace such history with human rights education.

Intellectuals are the designers of ideas that "create values and cultural norms." What kind of norms and values had been created in Arakan that led Burma to create refugees for export? The present research shows, Aye Kyaw and his student Aye Chan as teachers themselves while enjoys the citizenship in the West preaches violence in Arakan are not alone; these ultranationalists work as a group of ultranationalist intellectuals. More research should be done to know the kind of norms the present intellectuals created that led to an anti-Rohingya xenophobic mainstream culture in Arakan. In addition,

it will be of interest to know how did they respond to the challenges Arakan society faced; what is the structural location of these intellectuals; what shapes their world views; how are they communicating with the rest of the society; what role do they play in "building reactionary consciousness and ideology of the group;" do they present unified views; is the group membership restricted; do they allow deviation; how much acceptance do they allow or show. The democracy movement leaders should know how the trend of ultranationalist creates obstacles to reestablish the historical nature of multiculturalism in Arakan.

In terms of democratic thinking in Arakan, some conscientious Burmans and Rakhines, as are some members of other ethnic communities have realized the adverse effect of xenophobia that provides the array for dispossession, pain and sufferings of their communities. This is welcome news, in spite of the fact that such positive developments are happening rather late when the Rohingyas are also seeing the beginning of their end in Arakan.

(Part of this chapter was taken from a research paper presented at the International Conference on "Problems of Democratic Development in Burma and the Rohingya People" held in Tokyo on July16-17, 2007)

Endnotes

(1) Arakan Information website, http://www.rakhapura.com/ Accessed, June 22, 2007. See in an online poll, it asks a xenophobic question.

> "Poll: In history, Muslims helped Arakan to regain its Independence from Burma. But, Arakan was occupied and destroyed by the Burmese since 1784. Present day Arakan and its people are under the brutal oppression by the Myanmar junta. Being an Arakanese,
> Who is your real enemy,
> Burmese or Muslims?
> Burmese Military Junta or Muslims (so-called Rohingya)?" The intent of the poll as shown was to find the "real enemy" among its citizens (but not the friend). Such polls apparently show Burma's medieval mentality of xenophobia in Arakan. (See Appendix #9, p. 147)

(2) Also see *KHRG* (Karen Human Rights group) website in its "Background on Burma."
http://www.khrg.org/background_on_burma.html, June 23, 2007.

(3) Robert Horn. "Orbituary: The Puppet Master of Burma: Ne Win made his nation what it is today: poor, paranoid and oppressed," *Time Asia*. http://www.time.com/time/asia/covers/1101021216/newin.html

(4) Noam Chomsky, "What We Know: On the universals of language and rights," *Boston Review*, (summer 2005.)

(5) Among them Aye Chan, a Rakhine professor who teaches in Japan, co-authored a xenophobic book called Influx Viruses, The Illegal Muslims in Arakan," The other author of the book is U Shw Zan, 2005. The book was published in the United States. It was also published on line website. http://www.rakhapura.com, 2005. This work identifies the Rohingyas as "foreigners," as dangerous as "viruses. In this book, Aye Chan contributes the first chapter, "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar); Also see Aye Kyaw, "The Rohingya and the Rakhaing," America Burma Institute,New York {"This paper was written in response to a conference on the Rohigya and the democratic movement of Myanmar, July 16, 2007 held in Tokyo."} Original Message from AYE KYAW to kunyia@freerohingyacampaign.org ; wao-global@yahoogroups.com, wao-global-team@yahoogroups.com, Thursday, August 09, 2007.

(6) Different Rakhine groups of Arakan are:
   (a) -ALD (Arakan League for Democracy) 11 MP seats winner in 1990 election,
   (b) -ANC (Arakan National Council) of exiled Rakhine extremists in India
   (c) -ALP (Arakan Liberation Party) Rakhine's armed-group (Burma—Thailand border)
   (d) -NUFA (National United Front of Arakan) Liberal pro-Rohingya Rakhine Alliance, led by Dr.Khin Maung(Bangladesh-Burma border)

(7) Abid Bahar, "'Enclave' with 'Influx Viruses' Revisited." In the following, the abstract of the paper presented at the First International Conference on the "Problems of Democratic Development in Burma and the Rohingya People," held in Tokyo on July 16 and 17 2007. Aye Chan's "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar) commonly known as "Enclave" was published in the book "Influx viruses" (2005), and in other Burmese journals. Aye Chan claims that it is an academic work of some importance. Truly, it is designed with genuine academic pitch and a closer look shows that it is one of the

most popular xenophobic literatures of Arakan written from the military's perspective, intended to create fear among his ethnic Rakhines and the Burmese against Burma's Rohingya people. Unfortunately, in the role of a researcher, but not Burmese military personnel he labels the Rohingyas as "illegal," "Bengalis." For researchers of Burma's ethnicity and race relations, this could be an interesting work that outlines in detail the issues of dispute surrounding Burma's Rohingya community written from the Rakhine perspective. In his endeavor, Aye Chan advances the claims that after the British conquest of Arakan in 1826, Rohingyas ("Chittagonian Bengalis"} settled in the north of Arakan; now forming an "enclave" near Bangladesh border. Interestingly, Aye Chan says, the communal disturbance during WW 11, was the beginning of Rohingya crisis, especially in 1942 resulting in population displacement of Rohingyas from the south lived mostly by Rakhines to the northern part of Arakan lived by the Rohingyas. This seems to be true. Chan however infers without providing sufficient and necessary conditions that in the north there is influx of "Chittagonians, forming an "enclave." Apparently, the uprooted people in the north of Arakan seems not the "Chittagonians" but the displaced Rohingyas from the south of Arakan. Here he contradicts with the main theme of his work. As usual with xenophobic works, to make his case against the racially different but Burmese born Rohingya citizens, throughout the work he uses unclear premises and discerning data and failed to make sustained arguments. In his selective use of materials, while he gave importance to certain issues, but he remained silent on the continued refugee movement from Arakan beginning from 1784, 1942, 1957, 1978, 1991-92. In his work he creates an imaginary enclave which is not there.

(8) Aye Chan in his article, "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)" says that he was defending his position against Kei Nemoto's but didn't provide the details of Nemoto's work in the bibliography. If countering Nemoto's was his main purpose, as he claims in his paper, it was necessary to document Nemeto's work. In addition, report received from eye-witnesses says, in the conference hall in Japan, Kei Nemeto was being harassed by the Rakhine ultranationalist hooligans, loyal to Aye Chan for his stance on the Rohingyas.

(9) See for details, M. Habibullah. *History of the Rohingyas*.Dhaka: Co-operative Book Society Limited, 1995; Abid Bahar, "Burmese Invasion of Arakan and the Rise of Non Bengali Settlements in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts." *http://bangladesh-web.com/view.php?hidDate=20060215&hidType=FEA&hidRecord=00000000000000000089087*; Abdul Karim. *The*

Rohingyas: A Short Account of the History and Culture. Chittagong: Arakan Historical Society, 2000.

(10) Francis Buchanan. *Southeast Bengal (1798): His Journey to Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali and Comilla.* Dhaka: Dhaka University Press, 1992, 82.

(11) Michael W. Charney. *Where Jambudipa and Islamdom Converged: Religious Change and the Emergence of Buddhist Communalism in Early Modern Arakan (Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)*. PhD Dissertation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1999; also see Joseph P. Leider used the term "marginal culture" for Arakan. Joseph P. Leider, "Arakan Studies: Challenges and Contested Issues, mapping a field of historical and Cultural research," (an unpublished paper) in Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan Workshop, From Dhanyawadi to 1962. A conference Organized by the Institute of Asian Studies, South Asian Studies Centre, Chulalongkorn University, 2005, 15.

(12) N.R. Chakravarti. *The Indian Minority in Burma.* London: Oxford University Press, 1971, p.170.

(13) Aye Chan's, "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)," 2005

(14) See for details, Abid Bahar, "Burmese Invasion of Arakan and the Rise of Non Bengali Settlements in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts. *http://bangladesh-web.com/view.php?hidDate=2006-0215&hidType=FEA&hidRecord=00000000000000000089087*

(15) R. B. Smart (Compiled) *Burma Gazetteer, Akyab District*, Vol A., Government Printing and Stationary, Union of Burma, Rangoon, 1957, 17.

(16) See for the Rohingalish language, *http://www.geocities.com/rohingyalanguage/*

(17) In total fifteen Rohingya Refugees who presently live in USA, Japan, Malaysia, UAE and Bangladesh were interviewed in Japan and in Bangladesh to find out information inside Arakan.

(18) Jacques P. Leider used the term "marginal culture" referring to the "fluidity" and the contemporary problems in Arakan. Jacques P. Leider, "Arakan Studies: Challenges and Contested Issues, mapping a field of historical and Cultural research," (an unpublished paper) in Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan Workshop, From Dhanyawadi to 1962. A conference Organized by the Institute of Asian Studies, South Asian Studies Centre, Chulalongkorn University, 2005.

(19) KHRG report: Background on Burma, KHRG, http://www.khrg.org/background_on_burma.html (June 23, 3007).

(20) Rohingya refugees interviewed in various locations for the present research reports of atrocities and Monks giving leadership in the mob attacks. The refugees mention that even mentioning of their activities was considered as offense; another Arakani xenophobic work is, Khaing Aung Win's "Arakanese Nationalism and the Struggle for National self—determination (An overview of Arakanese political history up to 1988)," http://www.narinjara.com/eng-art/Arakanese_Nationalism_and_the_Struggle_for_National_self_R.asp

(21) David Law. "Humanity Gone Amok," *Burma Digest*. 25, 09, 2005.

(22) Jacques P. Leider's work is interesting where he uses the key term "frontier culture" for understanding Arakan. Jacques P. Leider, "Arakan Studies: Challenges and Contested Issues, mapping a field of historical and Cultural research," (an unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan: From Dhanyawadi to 1962 Workshop. 2005, p.18.

(23) Michael Charney, "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms" (an unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan: From Dhanyawadi to 1962" 2005, pp. 36-40.

(24) Ralph Fitch mentions it as the "kingdom of Recon and Mogen as early as in 1585: An Account of Pegu in 1586-1587," SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research 22 (autumn, 2004; 168. Also see Michael Charney, "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms." (an unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan: From Dhanyawadi to 1962." 2005, p. 36.

(25) Michael Charney, "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms (an unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan: From Dhanyawadi to 1962, 2005, 37.

(26) Website.*http://www.rakhapura.com/* Accessed, June 22, 2007.

(27) Michael Charney, "Buddhism in Araka,: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms" (an unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan. Workshop: From Dhanyawadi to 1962, 2005, 37.

(28) Aye Kyaw, "The Night the Buddha came," *Rakhing Guardian1*.1, (spring, 1977,) 6-10; See his recent article for his anti-Rohingya views: "The Rohingya and the Rakhaing," America Burma Institute,New York (This paper was written in response to a conference on the Rohigya and the democratic movement of Myanmar, July 16, 2007 held in Tokyo.} Original Message from AYE KYAW to kunyia@freerohingyacampaign.org ; wao-global@yahoogroups.com, wao-global-team@yahoogroups.com, Thursday, August 09, 2007.

(29) Francis Buchanan, "A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire." *SOAS Bullitin of Burma Research* 1.1 (Spring 2003), 40-57; Also Francis Buchanon in South East Bengal (1798) His

journey to Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali and Comilla, Edited by Willem van Schendel, Dhaka: University Press Ltd. 1992, Also in Michael Charney, "Buddhism in Araka,: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms (an unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan, 2005.

(30) See Michael Charney "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms." 2005, p. 45. He quotes Sithu-Gammani-thinkyan, "Rakhine Ra-zawin," [Palm-leaf manuscript 2.1], (National Library, Ministry of Culture, Yangoon, Union of Myanmar.)

(31) Michael Charney explained ethnic and ethnonyms, in his "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms." (An unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan." Workshop, From Dhanyawadi to 1962. A conference organized by the Institute of Asian Studies, South Asian Studies Centre, Chulalongkorn University, 2005, p. 51; for the similarities between the Chakma and the Rohingya language see Abid Bahar, "Burmese Invasion of Arakan and the Rise of Non Bengali Settlements in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts."
http://bangladesh-web.com/view.php?hidDate=2006-0215&hidType=FEA&hidRecord=00000000000000000089087

(32) Francis Buchanan. *The South Asian World; an introductory Essay.* London: G Bell and sons, Ltd., 1967, 113-114.

(33) See Aye Chan's. "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)" quoting colonial terms and records identifying the Rohingyas as being the "Chittagonians."

(34) Michael Charney explained ethnic and ethnonyms, in his "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms." (an unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan. Workshop: From Dhanyawadi to 1962, 2005, 52.

(35) See Aye Chan's, "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)" Here he cites Fazlur Rahman's *Islam*, 1979, pp.200-204 to relate the Rohingyas as being influenced by the Wahabis and the Egyptian brotherhood. But in the above book, the author Fazlur Rahman didn't say anything about the Rohingyas. It is shocking to see Aye Chan's type of scholar and the connection he had drawn.

(36) In Shwe Lu Maung (Shahnawaz Khan)'s *The Price of Silence*. Colombia: DewDropArts and Tecnology, 2005. He shows the rise in anti-Bangladesh, anti-Muslim xenophobia in Arakan which might destabilize peace in the region. He particularly talks about the xenophobic writer Aye Kyaw

who helped the military with the latter's policy of extermination of the Rohingyas.

(37) Habib Siddiqui. "Just ImagineThis—You Are a Rohingya." *www.theamericanmuslim.org*

(38) Abid Bahar, *Dynamics of Ethnic Relations in Burmese Society: A case Study of Inter Ethnic Relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas*, an unpublished M. A. thesis, (Windsor: University of Windsor, 1981, Canada)

(39) Rohingya Refugee Report *http://web.amnesty.org/library/pdf/ASA160052004ENGLISH/$File/ASA1600504.pdf*; see Marwaan Macan-Markar, "Ban on Marriages, Another Yoke on Rohingya Muslims." BANGKOK, Dec 6, 2006 (IPS); Also see Chris Lewa, "The Plight of Burma's Stateless, Rohingya Muslims." *http://www.freerohingyacampaign.com/*. Also see, Alamgir Serajuddin, "Muslim Influence in Arakan and the Muslim Names of Arakanese Kings: A Reassment," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh* 30.1 (June 1986); Abid Bahar. Dynamics of Ethnic Relations in Burmese Society: A case Study of Inter Ethnic Relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas. Also see Rohingya Refugee Report *http://web.amnesty.org/library/pdf/ASA160052004ENGLISH/$File/ASA1600504.pdf*. see Marwaan Macan-Markar, "Ban on Marriages, Another Yoke on Rohingya Muslims," BANGKOK, Dec 6, 2006 (IPS); Also see Chris Lewa, "The Plight of Burma's Stateless, Rohingya Muslims." *http://www.freerohingyacampaign.com/*; also see Marwaan Macan-Markar, "Ban on Marriages, Another Yoke on Rohingya Muslims," BANGKOK, Dec. 6, 2006 (IPS).

(40) Rohingya Refugees interviewed in Japan and in Bangladesh to find out information inside Arakan revealed this information.

(41) Abid Bahar. *Dynamics of Ethnic Relations in Burmese Society: A case Study of Inter Ethnic Relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas*. 1981.

(42) Alamgir Serajuddin, "Muslim Influence in Arakan and the Muslim Names of Arakanese Kings: A Reassment," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh* 30.1 (June 1986); Abid Bahar, "Barbarity in the Bay and the Battered Beast," *Kalander Press*, 2007.

(43) Rohingya Refugees interviewed in Japan and in Bangladesh to find out information inside Arakan revealed this information.

(44) Rohingya Refugee Report
http://web.amnesty.org/library/pdf/ASA160052004ENGLISH/$File/ASA1600504.pdf;
see Marwaan Macan-Markar, "Ban on Marriages. Another Yoke on Rohingya Muslims." BANGKOK, Dec 6, 2006 (IPS); Also see Chris Lewa, "The Plight of Burma's Stateless, Rohingya Muslims." *http://www.freerohingyacampaign.com/*

(45) See Alamgir Serajuddin, "Muslim Influence in Arakan and the Muslim Names of Arakanese Kings: A Reassment," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh* 30.1, June 1986.

(46) Cox's Bazar's Buddhist Pagoda, *http://www.bangladeshonline.com/tourism/spots/coxbazar.htm*

(47) Most Rohingya leaders interviewed unanimously demanded that their citizenship status be restored. To reverse the name Sittwe to its historic name Arakan was also suggested by Martin smith, "The Muslim 'Rohingya' of Burma," a paper delivered at the conference of Burma Centrum, Netherland, 11th December, 1995.

*"The Burmese military has clearly embarked on a policy of ridding the country of ethnic Rohingyas by any possible means. Official claims that the refugees are "illegal immigrants"—**Asia Watch***

CHAPTER 3

RACISM IN BURMA: AYE CHAN'S "ENCLAVE" WITH "INFLUX VIRUSES" REVISITED

(This chapter as a paper was first presented at the International Conference on "Problems of Democratic Development in Burma and the Rohingya People" organized by Arakan-Burma Research Institute held in Tokyo on July16-17, 2007)

An enclave is part of a country geographically separated from the main part by the surrounding foreign territory. A great deal of works has been done by the military's civilian collaborators on the province of Arakan (Rakhine province) claiming that there is the existence of an enclave in Burma. Most prominent of the authors is Aye Chan. Aye Chan, a native of Burma's Arakan (Rakhine) province, says there is an enclave in Arakan. (1) His work even outlines the common issues of dispute surrounding the Rohingyas with the Rakhines. This doesn't seem to be an ordinary enclave. This enclave is Aye Chan's portrayal of Burma's Rohingya people in the Mayu frontier of the Arakan state. Aye Chan identifies the Rohingyas as the non-natives of Burma who, he claims, illegally settled in this region of Burma's North-Western province. This paper is a detailed review of the claims.

It is important to understand the issues raised by Aye Chan, for; Aye Chan's article creates trepidation and suggests to the xenophobic Burmese the issues to consider dealing with the Rohingyas, along with a means to

address them. Aye Chan's article is popular among xenophobic Burmese people as an intellectual work of excellence. It was also published in several other Burmese journals and is popular among anti-Rohingya ultra-nationalists. A review of the work shows, it is a typical reflection of the contemporary state of Burmese scholarship on ethnic minorities. In addition to its Rakhine version of the Rohingya history, genocide readers will find it bearing the warning signs of the Rohingya people's on-going torment in Arakan. Aye Chan's present work is important to consider for its unique version of inter-racial relations of some significance that defy academic understanding of Rohingya history and culture. As we will see below he has given a scholastic face to his xenophobic work. As part of a growing contemporary Arakanse popular literature, his goal here seems less erudite and more to demonize the Rohingyas to create fear among the Burmese people.

Who are the Rohingyas?

Rohingyas are an ethnic minority of Burma. Due to their racial differences with the Burmans, they were being officially declared by the military junta as the non-citizens of Burma, making them a stateless people. A closer look shows Rohingyas are a racially different non-Momgoloid Burmese people of multi-ethnic Arakan and Aye Chan's work is part of a literature intended to validate Burmese military's official claims that Rohingyas are "foreigners" in Burma.

In his article Aye Chan asks "Who are the Rohingyas?" and continues, "Burma gained independence from Great Britain in 1948 and this issue is a problem that Burma has had to grapple with since that time." (p. 15)

Contrary to his assertion, it is not just the Rohingya issue that has been a subject of debate in Burma since 1948; it is about Burma's ethnic minorities in general and about Burma's official definition of who is the native of Burma and who is not has been the issue of debate. To resolve this and the other similar issues, U Nu, the then elected Prime Minister of Burma recognized Rohingyas as one of the Burmese nationalities. U Nu also named the Rohingya majority area in Burma's North-West as the Mayu Frontier. It is the military junta of Ne Win that usurped power later that began persecuting them and questioning the status of the Rohingyas.

The author says, "The people who call themselves Rohingyas are the Muslims of Mayu Frontier area, present-day Buthidaung and Maungdaw Townships of Arakan (Rakhine) State, an isolated province in the western part of the country across Naaf River as boundary from Bangladesh. (p. 15)

It is true that Rohingyas are concentrated in the Mayu Frontier. However, they also live in other parts of Arakan. (2) There is even a Rohingya para (village) in Akyab. It seems that at the outset of his article, Aye Chan with a void premise is beginning to isolate Rohingyas into an enclave.

The author states, "Arakan had been an independent kingdom before it was conquered by the Burmese in 1784. Rohingya historians have written many treatises in which they claim for themselves an indigenous status that is traceable within Arakan State for more than a thousand years. Although it is not accepted as a fact in academia, a few volumes purporting to be history but mainly composed of fictitious stories, myths and legends have been published formerly in Burma and later in the United States, Japan and Bangladesh. These, in turn, have filtered into the international media through international organizations, including reports to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Ba Tha 1960: 33-36; Razzaq and Haque 1995: 15)." (p. 15)

Aye Chan identifies the above mentioned sources as "treatises," "fictitious books" without detailing the content of the sources either in this article or elsewhere. It appears that his personal opinion is being passed on as simply an expert opinion.

He says, "The present paper was written for distribution and discussion at a seminar in Japan. During the seminar, there was a debate between the author and professor Kei Nemoto concerning the existence of the Rohingya people in Rakhine (Arakan). Nemoto, in a paper written in Japanese, agreed with the Rohingya historians that the Rohingyas have lived in Rakhine since the eigth century A. D. The author contests the validity of these claims." (p. 15)

In the above, Aye Chan's stand on contesting the validity of Rohingya's origin in Arakan is clear. But the disconcerting thing is if his paper was written mainly to refute Kei Memoto's arguments, as he claims, it becomes an academic responsibility for the latter to provide the bibliographical

details of Kei Nemoto's paper. Here we are left with Aye Chan as a feisty boxer without the details of the match!

Disparaging Rohingya history

The author says, "In light of this, it is important to reexamine the ethnicity of the 'Rohingyas' and to trace their history back to the earliest presence of their ancestors in Arakan." (p. 15)

In the above, it is not clear "in the light of" what Aye Chan is trying to find the validity of the Rohingya's Burmese ethnicity? In other words, when he is questioning Rohingya's origin, the benchmark of his measurement is not clear. But he continues, "And history tells us that we do not have to go back very far. In the early 1950s that a few Bengali Muslim intellectuals of the northwestern part of Arakan began to use the term "Rohingya" to call themselves." (p. 15)

Aye Chan hesitates to go beyond 1950. One can legitimately question: why? Contrary to Aye Chan's claims, history tells us that the term Rohingya was there before 1950. From the time of Noromikhla (from 1430 when the latter was helped to regain his kingdom from the Burmese) there had been a great degree of contact between Arakan's Mrohaung city and Bengal. Francis Buchanan, a British historian, in 1799 even met people in Burma who identified themselves as Rohingyas. (3) Michael Charney says, " . . . Rohingya was an invention of the colonial period, is contradicted by the evidence."(4)

Obviously, when Aye Chan says " . . . we don't have to go very far" and claims himself as a historian, denying historical evidence as the above, it is a tendency in history-writing called reductionism. It seems that his understanding of the Rohingya situation is clearly taken in its "face value."

It is important to note that Rohingyas developed from several origins of people mainly from Indo-semitic background. In Aye Chan's opinionated understanding he even neglected the Rohingya origin in the ancient Chandra rule of the "Indian Kulas." Chandra rule demonstrated in the Brahmni-derived Gupta-and Debanagri script in Arakan's early history. It was during this time that Arab sailors came in contact with the local

Dravadian dark skinned people forming the first nucleus of the Rohingya people. (5) In other words, this was the first wave of the typical Rohingya population formation in southern Arakan.

The other great wave of Rohingya formation was the Bengali and Persian settlements in Arakan through the reigns of Narameikhla's time beginning from 1430. We also see during the 16th and 17th century even a "massive deportations of Bengalis" from lower Bengal to Arakan caused in the increase in the "Kula" people. In this context Jacques Leider notes, "Muslim mercenaries, poets, traders, and officials were few in number when compared to the thousands of slaves established along the Kalander and Lambro Rivers." (6) Evidently, even if poets and officials were few; their influence in the Arakani administration was significant. It is no wonder that these were the times of Alaol and the other Rohingya poets, originating from Arakanese slaves, who were the pioneers of the present Rohingalist language and its medieval literature.

It is true, "Michael W. Charney, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Stephan van Galen, Ana Marques Guedes who have all made important contributions during the last fifteen years. Their studies have thrown much light on the economic life of the Mrauk U kingdom, the importance of the slave and rice trade, and the importance of Muslim and Portuguese mercenaries in Arakan. They have shown in particular that when we talk about the presence of Muslims in Arakan and the existence of an early Muslim community, we should not only recall a few poets and ministers at the court of Rakhine, but as well the massive deportations and settlements of Bengalis in Arakan before 1785." (7)

The number of these "Kalah" people settling in the valley of the greatest river of Arakan was so huge that the river "Kaladan", was named after the Kalah or the socalled foreigners. It seems from the 16th century this region became the land of the Rohingyas who originated from Bengali slaves. (8)

Surprisingly, the author, claiming himself a native historian contradicts with the above observations and says, "They [Rohingyas] were indeed the direct descendants of immigrants from the Chittagong District of East Bengal (present-day Bangladesh), who had migrated into Arakan after the province was ceded to British India under the terms of the Treaty of Yandabo, an event that concluded the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826)." (p. 15)

In the above we see Chan's yardstick is that Rohingyas, as "foreigners" in Arakan, created for themselves an enclave within Burma. As foreigners, they are also the "Influx Viuses" needing to be exterminated. In detail, his hypothesis is that Rohingyas settled in Burma after 1824. Not surprisingly, this is also Burma's military government's stand on the Rohingyas. In trying to justify his point he used the qualifier, "indeed" ("They were indeed . . ."). Here the source of his information is missing when he used the word "indeed" to emphasize. Again, it appears that it is simply his opinion.

As expected Aye Chan says, "Most of these migrants settled down in the Mayu Frontier Area, near what is now Burma's border with modern Bangladesh." (p.15) In the above when he says "most of these migrants settled down in the Mayu Frontier Area," he supposedly means that not all of Rohingyas are illegal immigrants. If we tentatively accept Aye Chan's argument, we can now argue, are there records of the families of "most of these migrants" to justify this claim? The answer is, of course not. It is a statement based on flimsy premise. A Rohingya from Kyawktaw says "I was born in the village: Ombadi Rwa, under Kyawktaw Township in Arakan State of Burma. My father's name is Rwasugri Hafizur Rahman. My paternal grand father's name is Zebar Mullock who was killed during the pogrom of 1942 in communal violence. My maternal grand father's name is Amiruzzaman. All their graves along with my other forefathers are lying in that village. They also know very well that it is quite impossible for any Bengali settler to settle in a remote and interior area like Kyawktaw and as such it is quite impossible to find out any Bengali settler among the 40-generation predecessors of the people of Kyawktaw which is at a distance of 4 days journey from Bangladesh."(9)

When Aye Chan asserts that Rohingyas are illegal immigrants, I believe Aye Chan here refers to their ancestors having supposedly settled after 1826. In making this type of statement the confusion Aye Chan created here is in his expression that Rohingyas are illegal settlers in Arakan. Contrary to Aye Chan's claim however, Rohingyas are Burmese-born citizens. We now know that based on this same principle of racial categorization, in 1982 the Burmese military government declared the Rohingyas as the non-citizens of Burma. In this allegation, Aye Chan's stand goes in favor of the military's 1982 Constitutional Act which denied Rohingyas's citizenship. It is now clear that the motivation behind Aye Chan's writing this article and the

book "Influx Viruses" is to reinforce the military's position that Rohingyas are the noncitizens of Burma.

Again, to further prove his point Aye Chan calls the Rohingyas as "Chittagonians" because he says he finds it in the British colonial records. (p. 15) In this description, we see Aye Chan's double standard. He preferred to call his own community—Rakhines, identified in the colonial record as "Mugh" meaning the "pirates in the Bay." On the contrary, for the Rohingyas, he found them as "Chittagonians" to justify them as "foreigners." In the colonial record, the term "Chittagonian" for Rohingyas had some colonial ambiguity for identifying them which will be discussed later. Aye Chan's choice for identification of the Rohingyas as being "Chittagonians"—who are a racially different group from his own—clearly reflects his ultra-nationalist Rakhine prejudices.

The term Rohingya was in common use centuries ago. But Chan says, "The creators of that term [Rohingya] might have been from the second or third generations of the Bengali immigrants from the Chittagong District in modern Bangladesh." (p. 16)

As opposed to Aye Chan's beliefs, we see Francis Buchanan records "Rohingya" as an ethnonym in 1799, as a dialect that " . . . is . . . spoken by the Mohammadens, who have long settled in Arakan, and who call themselves Roainga, or natives of Arakan." (10) Michael W. Charney says, "The derivation of Rohingya from Roainga is very clear." (11) Buchanan's explanation that some Brahmin informants from Arakan called themselves as "Rosawan" and that the Rakhines called the Muslims and the Hindus as "Kulaw, Yakin, or stranger Yakin" prove the existence of the ethnonym predating British occupation of Arakan. (12)

Chan continues, " . . . . however, this does not mean that there was no Muslim community in Arakan before the state was absorbed into British India. When King Min Saw Mon, the founder of Mrauk-U Dynasty (1430-1784) regained the throne with the military assistance of the Sultan of Bengal, after twenty-four years of exile in Bengal, his Bengali retinues were allowed to settle down in the outskirts of Mrauk-U, where they built the well-known Santikan mosque. These were the earliest Muslim settlers and their community in Arakan did not seem to be large in number." (p. 16)

We are puzzled with Chan's statement above! When Bengal army was sent twice; once through Wali Khan and later Sindkhan to help the Arakanese forces to liberate Arakan from Burmese occupation, Chan's wishful thinking took away the 30 thousand soldiers of Wali Khan and the 20 thousand of Sandikhan's army and their local wives and children who settled by the Kalander River Valley. (13) Aye Chan's assertion is clearly tendentious, intended to intellectually belittling the Rohingyas history. It is no accident of history that based on a similar type of intolerant attitude, during the 1960s the more active Rakhine extremists to get rid of Rohingya history destroyed the historic Sandikhan mosque of Arakan!

Interestingly, the author acknowledges that, "In the middle of the seventeenth century the Muslim community grew because of the assignment of Bengali slaves in variety of the workforces in the country. The Portuguese and Arakanese raids of Benga (Bengal) for captives and loot became a conventional practice of the kingdom since the early sixteenth century. The Moghal historian Shiahabuddin Talish noted that only the Portuguese pirates sold their captives and that the Arakanese employed all of their prisoners in agriculture and other kinds of services (Talish 1907:422)." (p. 16) Chan, however, tries to belittle Muslim influence by saying, "Furthermore, there seem to have been a small group of Muslim gentry at the court. Some of them might have served the king as Bengali, Persian and Arabic scribes. Because the Mrauk-U kings, though of being Buddhist, adopted some Islamic fashions such as the maintaining of silver coins that bore their Muslim titles in Persian and occasionally appearing in Muslim costumes in the style of the Sultan of Bengal.These were the earliest Muslim settlers and their community in Arakan did not seem to be large in number." (p. 16)

It is mind-boggling to accept Aye Chan's assertion of the Rohingyas considering the fact that after the second arrival of the Bengal army when Arakan became a province of Bengal, it even began using Muslim coins, the kings used used Muslim names and the king paid taxes to the Bengali king. Historically speaking, due to such a Bengali/ Persian and Arabic influence, from this point onward in Arakan we see the rise of two distinct people with two languages; Rakhine and the Rohingya. The Muslim gentry's use of Persian and Arabic in the court was the fore bearer of today's Rohingyalish language, and literature. Poet Alaol and others introduced this new trend in Rohingya literature. Arakan's Rohingyalish received both Rakhine and

Bengali influences which ultimately made it different from Chittagonian dialect. Aye Chan seems oversimplified the complexities of Arakan history and says, "Rohingyas are Chittagonian" "illegal immigrants" and "influx viruses."

Ignoring Important Facts about Burmese Invasion of Arakan

The present author in his work also ignores other important issues. He says "During the four decades of Burmese rule (1784-1824), because of ruthless oppression, many Arakanese fled to British Bengal. According to a record of British East India Company, there were about thirty-five thousand Arakanese who had fled to Chittagong district in British India to seek protection in 1799 (Asiatic Annual Register 1799: 61; Charney 1999: 265)." (p. 16)

While Aye Chan reports about the Rakhine exodus to Bengal due to the Burmese invasion of Arakan, he remained silent on the Rohingya exodus during the same event. He has excluded the Rohingyas as if Rohingyas were Budapaya's favorites and nothing happened to them. Whereas Puran, probably a Rohingya (as quoted by Buchanan), says, " . . . in one day soon after the conquest of Arakanthe Burmans put 40,000 men to Death: that wherever they found a pretty Woman, they took her after killing the husband; and the young Girls they took without any consideration of their parents, and thus deprived these poor people of the property, by which in Eastern India the aged most commonly support their infirmities." (14) Other Bengali sources report that refugees poured into Chittagong as far as up to the Sanga River in Chittagong. (15)

Chan, quoting Charney, says, "A considerable portion of Arakanese population was deported by Burmese conquerors to Central Burma. When the British occupied Arakan, the country was a scarcely populated area. Formerly high-yield paddy fields of the fertile Kaladan and Lemro River Valleys germinated nothing but wild plants for many years (Charney 1999: 279)."

In Aye Chan's co-authored book, Influx Viruses, says, "Many Rakhines, who took refuge in India, began to return to their homeland immediately after the annexation. Most of them began to settle in Sittwe, Kyaukpyu and Thandwe and some people managed to settle in their original native

places." (16) It is true the invasion created such a fear that a great number of people left Arakan. "The population at the time of British occupation in 1826 did not exceed 100,000. In 1831 it amounted to 173,000; in 1839 to 248,000, and in 1901 to 762,102."(17) It appears that only a fraction of its population returned back to Arakan. What was the population of Arakan at the time of Burmese invasion? From the close contact that Arakan maintained with Bengal for over 3 centuries, it is reasonable to assume that at the time of invasion there could be equal number of Rohingyas and Rakhines in Arakan. This makes sense when we notice that Rohingyas are descended from the aboriginal Dravadian Kula stock, the Arab settlers from the 8th century, the Persian soldiers during the Narameikhla's time and afterwards, and the massive Bengali slaves exported to Arakan that had culminated to a large "Kula" population in the Kaladan valley of Arakan. It seems clear that with the Rakhines, a large number of Rohingyas also migrated to Chittagong and mingled with the racially similar Chittagonian people.

It is unfortunate that neither the British colonial historians nor any modern Western scholars of Arakan raised this important issue, causing the Aye Chan's type Rakhine speculation that the rise in the Rohingya population in Arakan was caused by Bengali settlements in Arakan. Bengali sources however, shows that during the genocidal Burmese campaign, a majority of the Arakanese population—both Rakhine and Rohingya—escaped from Arakan to Chittagong causing this 'depopulation' of Arakan. Therefore, this massive depopulation cannot be attributed solely to the Rakhine migration to Chittagong; it is also due to the Rohingyas leaving Arakan for a safer place in Chittagong. (18)

Referring to the Chittagong region, just prior to the Burmese invasion, Jacques Leider notes, "Arakan's territorial expansion in the late 16th century came at the price of a large buffer zone that was waste land: the region north of Chittagong up to the Feni River in the Noakhali River; that land was depopulated." (19) Prior to the Burmese invasion, this depopulation in Chittagong was caused by the "Mogh-Portuguese piracy" and Bengali slave trade making Chittagong a wasteland.

During the period of Burmese invasion, the terrified Rakhine and Rohingyas simply crossed the river Naaf and settled in the Chittagong region depopulated due to the Mogh piracy. In order to justify his

notion that Rohingyas are foreigners, who had entered Arakan after 1826 as illegal immigrants, Aye Chan says, " . . . the British policy was to encourage the Bengali inhabitants from the adjacent areas to migrate into fertile valleys in Arakan as agriculturalists." (p. 17) Not surprisingly, Aye Chan notes Rakhine returnees after the British conquest of Arakan but ignores the Rohingyas, and blames the British for allowing return of the non-Mongoloid Rohingyas. Aye Chan names the Rohingya returnees as the "Chittagonians." This, in spite the fact that, as a result of such a genocidal massacre by the Burmese king, just over four decades earlier, many Rakhines and Rohingyas had settled in the relatively peaceful and fertile southern Chittagong, which is topographically similar to Arakan. Seeing the law and order situation restored within a generation, under the British rule, some Rohingyas, like the Rakhines, out of nostalgia must have returned to their ancestral lands. Aye Chan finds it a problem!

Aye Chan says about these migrants: "The migrations were mostly motivated by the search of professional opportunity. During the Burmese occupation there was a breakdown of the indigenous labor force both in size and structure." (p. 17). This 'breakdown' of the labor force can be explained by the fact that Rohingya (generally agculturists) had left Arakan to settle in Chittagong. Aye Chan identified these returnees as "Chittagonians."

Aye Chan states "At first most of them came to Arakan as seasonal agricultural laborers and went home after the harvest was done." (p. 17) understandably, the oppression by the Burmese rule was so fearsome that some Rohingyas must have returned only as seasonal workers considering the fact that Arakan was still in anarchy and Rohingyas had termed it as a (Mogher Mulluk) lawless society. (20)

There is no doubt that as news of the restoration of law and order spread, many Rohingyas must have gone back to reclaim their ancestral homes. Ignoring this vital information, Aye Chan finds the Rohingyas as "Chittagonians" and bulged the Rohingyas with Indian migrants who migrated to Rangoon in Burma during the British period.

Aye Chan says," . . . hunger for land was the prime motive for the migration of most of the Chittagonians. The British judicial records tell us of an increase in the first decade of the twentieth century in lawsuits of litigation for the possession of land." (p. 17)

In his attempt to prove Rohingyas as being niggling people, Chan cites the number of litigation as an example. However, seen from another angle, it explains the huge volume of the Rohingya population that left Arakan during the invasion and now as the returnees to Arakan had to go to court to reclaim their property that were already occupied by the Rakhines and other aliens from Burma. In accounting the returnees, the impact of the Burmese invasion and its result in the rise of Arakanese Rohingya population in Chittagong, Aye Chan has neglected the Bengali sources that recorded the accounts of migration to southern Chittagong, When dealing with this key issue, his neglect of the contextual approach created a void in his work and retarded his entire line of arguments.

Aye Chan fails to use cross-cultural references and cross checking of data to verify the records in its totality. These make his research incomplete. It appears that the contradictions in his claims are clouded by his willful omission of the Rohingya side of the story. Aye Chan's most striking omission is that while he remains critical of the Rohingyas, he remains silent about the Burman colonial settlement in Arakan during the same period, which shows his racial favoritism to the Burmese settlers but remains xenophobic in accounting the Rohingyas issues.

Aye Chan also ignored few other details. His main concern was the increase in the Rohingya population during the British period. Other than Rakhine and the Rohingya returnees, the increase in Muslim population could be attributed to the fact that Rohingyas living in agricultural societies had practiced polygamous marriages that must have led to an increase in the child birth which was not the case with the Rakhines.

In proving his hypothesis, Aye Chan often displayed other contradictions. He himself mentioned that the British census included Arakanese Muslims in some accounts as "Indians" and in some other accounts as "Chittagonians." It is an irony that Aye Chan used such faulty categorizations of the 18th century to identify Arakanese people of our modern times by race and religion to determine their native status and their citizenship rights. In all this, Aye Chan's misadventure seems to be that, he is as trying to find a pin (the illegal Rohingya) in a haystack.

Aye Chan's Religious Xenophobia

To create a victim's complex among the Rakhines, Aye Chan now eulogizes the alleged discriminatory policy by the British. He says, " . . . British administration to a certain extent gave the Muslim village communities religious and cultural autonomy. How the new comers from the Chittagong District set up their village communities in the frontier area. They occupied the villages deserted by the Arakanese during the Burmese rule and established purely Muslim village communities." (p. 19) What is surprising is that Aye Chan didn't want to understand that there could be the displaced Muslim villagers who had returned back and obviously on their return they were not going to build pagodas in their villages. It is a simple truth that Christians would build church, Buddhists pagodas, and Muslims mosques in their localities. Aye Chan didn't clarify how making mosques can make the Muslims "purely Muslim communities."

1942 Japanese Occupation of Arakan and the Birth of Rohingya Tragedy

If the Burmese invasion of Arakan in 1784 and the subsequent British colonial occupation from 1826 were not enough to create misunderstanding among Arakanese people, the 1942 Japanese occupation and the race riot was the last straw to break the camel's back. It led to the birth of Rohingya tragedy. Aye Chan relates, "The Japanese air force attacked Akyab on 23 March 1942 and the British moved their administrative headquarter to India on March 30. The administration by martial law began in Akyab District on 13 April 1942 and with this racial tension burst to the surface, giving way to the public disorder (Owen 1946: 26)." (p. 22) He continues, "Regarding the beginning of the ethnic violence in Arakan, Moshe Yegar wrote that when the British administration was withdrawn to India in 1942 the Arakanese hoodlums began to attack the Muslim villages in southern Arakan and the Muslims fled to the north where they took vengeance on the Arakanese in Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships (Yegar 1972:67). However, an Arakanese record says: When the British administration collapsed by the Japanese occupation, the village headman of Rak-chaung village in Myebon Township and his two younger brothers were killed by the kula (Muslim) villagers. Although the headman was an Arakanese, some of the villagers were kulas. The two Arakanese young men, Thein Gyaw Aung and Kyaw

Ya, organized a group and attacked the kula villages and some inhabitants were killed (Rakhine State People's Council 1986:36)." (p. 21)

In the above Aye Chan quotes the notorious Rakhine State People's Council as a biased source that identifies the Rohingyas as the Kulas. Aye Chan continues, "It is certain that hundreds of Muslim inhabitants of Southern Arakan fled northward, and that there were some cases of robbing the Indian refugees on the Padaung-Taungup pass over the Arakan Yoma mountain ranges after the retreat of the British from the Pegu Division and southern Arakan." (p. 22) If the above version is true, Aye Chan's original hypothesis that Rohingyas are Chittagonian Bengalis has been contradicted by his own description. The displaced Rohingyas in the north seem to be not from Chittagong, but from southern Arakan.

Reporting the impact of the 1942 events, Aye Chan relates, "But the news of killing, robbery and rape was exaggerated when it reached Burma India border (Ba Maw 1968: 78). The British left all these areas to the mercy of both Burmese and Arakanese dacoits." (p. 22)

Surprisingly, when Rakhines commit genocide, to Aye Chan, they are only decoits, not the Fascists. The fact of the matter is that genocide was committed by the ultra-nationalist Arakanese army with its local followers who were "the leaders of ANC (Arakan National Congress), formed in 1939 . . . that . . . formed a de-facto government, before the Japanese troops and Burma Independence Army (BIA) reached there." (p.21)

Throughout his essay, Aye Chan shows that Rakhines were the main victims. The question to Aye Chan is: how is this possible when the British withdrew from Arakan and the Rakhine leaders were in charge of Arakan under the Japanese Fascist army? Contrary to this, we see, the Fascist Rakhine leaders were busy inciting their followers. Yes, as evident in Germany and in former Yogoslavia, the 1942 is a single event that displaced Rohingyas from the South to the northern Arakan, in the Mayu Frontier, which Aye Chan erroneously calls the "illegal enclave."

Aye Chan says, "The events during the war contributed the Chittagonians' fervent sense of alienation from the heterogeneous community of the Arakan. Anthony Irwin called the whole area a 'No Man's Land' during

the three years of Japanese occupation (Irwin 1946:27). Irwin elucidates how the ethnic violence divided the Arakan State between Arakanese and Chittagonians: "As the area then occupied by us was almost entirely Mussulman Country . . . (from) that we drew most of our "Scouts" and Agents. The Arakan before the war had been occupied over its entire lenghth by both Mussulman and Maugh (Arakanese). Then in 1941 the two sects set to and fought.The result of this war was roughly that the Maugh took over the southern half of the country and the Mussulman the North. (Irwin 1946: 86)." (P.23)

Xenophobia

Burmese traditional culture enshrined by the military and its collaborators are characterized by xenophobia. Typically, Aye Chan relates the Muslim community of Arakan. "The village committee authorized by the Village Amendment Act of 1924 paved the way for the Imam (moulovi) and the trusteeship committee members of the village mosque to be elected to the village council. They were also allowed to act as the village magistrates and shariah was somewhat in effect in the Muslim villages (Charter 1938:34-38). At least the Islamic court of village had the jurisdiction over familial problems such as marriage, inheritance and divorce. There was no internal sense of unrighteousness and presence of nonbelievers in their community, and accordingly they believe no internecine struggle was for the time being necessary. However, the ethnic violence between Arakanese Buddhists and those Muslim Chittagonians brought a great deal of bloodshed to Arakan during the World War II and after 1948, in the opening decade of independent Burma. Some people of the Mayu Frontier in their early seventies and eighties have still not forgotten the atrocities they suffered in 1942 and 1943 during the short period of anarchy between the British evacuation and the Japanese occupation of the area." (p.20)

While Aye Chan recognizes the 1942 massacre, he doesn't recognize its victims being the Rohingyas. Contrary to Aye Chan's, some conservative estimates put the figure of Rohingya death over 40 thousand. (21) Aye Chan's argument shows him as an anti-Rohingya collaborator of the military government policy and its xenophobic interpretation of history. In Aye Chan's demonstration of events, casual readers of 1942 event might confuse scholarship with propaganda.

Stretching Imagination

"One of the underlying causes of the communal violence was the Zamindary System brought by the British from Bengal. By this system the British administrators granted the Bengali landowners thousands of acres of arable land on ninety-year-leases. The Arakanese peasants who fled the Burmese rule and came home after British annexation were deprived of the land that they formerly owned through inheritance." Aye Chan says (p. 20) To put Aye Chan's argument in context, generally speaking, British Zamindary system had not been known as a pro-people system. Zamindars were the agents of the British masters. Since there were Zamindars from both Rakhines and fewer from the Rohingyas, the negative impact of this system by Rohingyas themselves could not have been more than their Rakhine counterparts on the Arakanese society.

Aye Chan continues his anti-Rohingya grievance: "Most of the Bengali immigrants were influenced by the Farai-di movement in Bengal that propagated the ideology of the Wahhabis of Arabia, which advocated settling ikhwan or brethren in agricultural communities near to the places of water resources. The peasants, according to the teaching, besides cultivating the land should be ready for waging a holy war upon the call by their lords (Rahman 1979: 200-204)."

What is the purpose in the use of this paragraph from Fazlur Rahman to explain the religious trends in Arakan? My research on Aye Chan's work reveals his lack intellectual honesty. In the above quote, Aye Chan misuses the source to prove his point. Firstly, Fazlur Rahman didn't say anything about Arakanese Muslims or about their Faraidi movement or their Ikwan connection because there was no such thing. The fact of the matter is that unlike the Wahabi movement in India, Faraidi movement was largely a homegrown movement against the oppressive Zamindari system in Bengal. Then, it appears that Aye Chan's motivation has two dimensions, using a Muslim writer as a source to show Aye Chan's cross cultural expertise on the subject and secondly to portray Islam as being dangerous. As we have come this far, based on the above, we are beginning to question Aye Chan's credibility as a historian.

More Stretching of Imagination

Aye Chan continues his stretching of imagination: "For the convenience of Chittagonians seasonal laborers the Arakan Flotilla Company constructed

a railway between Buthidaung and Maungdaw in 1914. Their plan was to connect Chittagong by railway with Buthidaung, from where the Arakan Flotilla steamers were ferrying to Akyab and other towns in central and southern Arakan." Here no citation of reference was provided. Since such plan was not mentioned anywhere, whether there was an actual plan, couldn't be ascertained. Under the circumstances, it appears to be a Rakhine xenophobic gossip, recorded by Aye Chan as fact. In addition, such a plan couldn't be true for other reasons that the distance between Arkan and Chittagong city is over 300 miles. Chittagong, due to its mountainous terrain, and numerous rivers and their tributaries, until today, the railway didn't expand over more than 18 miles from the city of Chittagong to the south. Clearly, there is a difference between ghost writing and history writing!

Aye Chan says, "In the period of the independence movement in Burma in 1920s and 1930s the Muslims from the Mayu Frontier were more concerned with the progress of Muslim League in India." Again no source of Aye Chan's information is provided to prove the trend. But what is evident in a similar situation in India was that the Ulama in India sided not with the Muslim League but with the Congress. In the absence of a source for Aye Chan's information, his hypothesis appears to be no more than what is based on his anti-Muslim built-up prejudices.

Aye Chan describes, "[A]lthough some prominent Burmese Muslims such as M.A. Rashid and U Razak played an important role in the leadership of the Burmese nationalist movement. In 1931, the Simon Commission was appointed by the British Parliament to enquire the opinion of Burmese people for the constitutional reforms and on the matter of whether Burma should be separated from Indian Empire. The spokesman of the Muslim League advocated for fair share of government jobs, ten percent representation in all public bodies, and especially in Arakan the equal treatment for Muslims seeking agricultural and business loans (Cady 1958: 294)." Contrary to Aye Chan's perception, this must be a good thing by the Rohingya minorities to ask for their rights which he found absurd. Instead of that the more relevant question to be asked, did the party want to separate Arakan from Burma? The answer is a clearly no. So, if it was not to create fear and cause incitement among the Rakhines, why is it necessary for Aye Chan to use this type of anti-Rohingya argument in the first place?

Aye Chan's Rohingya as the Illiterate Brute

Aye Chan says, "In education, the Chittagonians were left behind the Arakanese throughout the colonial period. According to the census of 1901 only 4.5 percent of the Bengali Muslims were found to be literate while the percentage for the Arakanese was 25.5. Smart reported that it was due to the ignorance of the advantages of the education among the Chittagonian agriculturists. Especially Buthidaung and Maungdaw were reported to be most backward townships because the large Muslim population in that area mostly agriculturalists showed little interest in education." (p. 20) Here, Aye Chan is contradicting himself again. In the above, he first makes the Rakines victims in the hand of Muslim Zamindars. Then again he is saying that Muslims remained backward. The point is: if the British helped Muslims with Zamindari system at the expense of the Rakines, how come Muslims remained so backward compared to the Rakhines. In Bengal, where there was also the Zamindari system and most zamindars were Hindus, the latter excelled over the Muslim majority. Here in his description, if Muslims were favored by the British as Chan has mentioned before, Muslims were supposed to excel but now he is saying Muslims remained backward.

It is not hard to understand what Aye Chan has been trying to advocate to his Arakanese and the Burmese audience. It could simply be his conclusion that Muslims were illiterates, and therefore brutes/ fundamentalists, and the trouble-makers to his peace-loving and respectable Rakhine gentleman. Unfortunately, his use of this type of assertions in a seemingly academic paper put together in spurious relationships can easily deceive casual readers of Arakan history.

Aye Chan the Linguist

Aye Chan relates, "In 1894 there were nine Urdur (sic) schools with 375 students in the whole district. The British provincial administration appointed a deputy inspector for Muslim schools and in 1902 the number of schools rose to seventy-two and the students increased to 1,474 (Smart 1957: 207-209). Consequently, more Arakanese and Hindu Indians were involved in the ancillary services of the colonial administration." (p. 21)

Aye Chan claims that he is a linguist. But the language he is referring to is not "Urdur" but "Urdu." Aye Chan says, "Towards the middle of twentieth century, a new educated and politically conscious younger generation had superseded the older, inactive ones. Before the beginning of the Second World War a political party, Jami-a-tul Ulema-e Islam was founded under the guidance of the Islamic scholars. Islam became the ideological basis of the party (Khin Gyi Pyaw 1960: 99)." (p. 25)

What does Aye Chan mean by "superseded the older, inactive ones"? If they were inactive how could they be important? What were they doing when remained inactive? Surprisingly, in identifying this, Aye Chan didn't mention the other Rohingya political parties and their individual ideological trends among the Rohingyas, except the one he found important useful for his explanation; Jami-a-tul Ulema-e Islam to foment anti-Muslim prejudices amongst his followers. This shows his agenda against the Rohingyas.

Aye Chan says, "During the early post-war years, both Arakanese and Bengali Muslims in the Mayu Frontier looked at each other with distrust. As the British Labor Government promised independence for Burma, some Muslims were haunted by the specter of their future living under the infidel rule in the place where the baneful Arakanese are also living." (p. 23) The constant anxiety of living in a land that is characterized by intolerance against minority Muslims is understandable. But for Aye Chan to reinforce the prejudices with a loaded word "infidel" as if it is an Arakanese Muslim community's own version of the Rakhine is hypocritical.

Rohingya Frustration and Alienation

Aye Chan in his analysis of the topic goes back to the events of 1942 in a zigzag fashion. He says, "An All Arakan Conference was held in Myebon on 1 April 1947 and about ten thousand people from all parties in Arakan attended. U Aung San was openly assailed to his face as an opportunist by some people attending the conference, using rebellious slogans (British Library, London, India Office Records M/4/PRO: WO 203/5262). U Seinda with the communists behind him moved forward to the rebellion. Actually, Thakhin Soe's Red Flag Communists took advantage of the misunderstanding between U Seinda and AFPFL. It was in fact an ideological struggle in the AFPFL, the national united front of Burma that was under the leadership of the charismatic leader U Aung San. On the other side

some Arakanese intellectuals led by U Hla Tun Pru, a Barrister-at-Law, held a meeting in Rangoon and demanded the formation of "Arakanistan" for the Arakanese people (British Library, London, India Office Records, M/4/2503). All these movements of the Arakanese might have alarmed Muslims from the Mayu Frontier. In the wake of independence most of the educated Muslims felt an overwhelming sense of collective identity based on Islam as their religion and the cultural and ethnic difference of their community from the Burmese and Arakanese Buddhists." (p. 24)

As a matter of fact, alienation and panic was not only amongst Muslims from Myu frontier, it was all over Arakan. It was such a panic and a general sense of suffering on the rank and file members of the so-called "Kulas" (the Muslims of Arakan) that during the 1950's it led them to identify themselves with a common secular name "the Rohingyas of Arakan." While the name "Rohingya" was already existent in Arakan, it was now officially adopted for Muslims by their leaders to fight xenophobia and to state clearly that they will not settle for a derogatory term—"Kolas" (Negros).

Aye Chan says, "At the same time, the Arakanese became more and more concerned with their racial security and ethnic survival in view of the increasingly predominant Muslim population in their frontier." (p. 24) Indeed, among the Rakhines, during the Anglo-Burmese war (1824-1826) the ultra-nationalist sentiment began to grow to the point that after the First World War, the colonial given name Mugh was officially changed into the present name "Rakines". Lately, with the help of the Burmese government, the province was also renamed as the Rakhine state; as if Rohingyas do not exist. The city's Rohingya name Akyab was also changed into Sittwe and Rohingya historic places were even demolished to confirm that Rohingyas are simply "foreigners" in Burma. While this Rakhinization continued on one hand, on the other hand, intellectuals like Aye Chan and their nonintellectual followers even comically exclaim that they have never heard of the name Rohingya before the 1950s; therefore, to them Rohingyas must be foreigners!

In pulling down the pillars of communal tolerance, Aye Chan in biting disposition states, "The ethnic conflict in the rural areas of the Mayu frontier revived soon after Burma celebrated independence on 4 January 1948. Rising in the guise of Jihad, many Muslim clerics (Moulovis) playing

a leading role, in the countryside and remote areas gave way to banditary, arson and rapes." (p. 25) This accusation is libelous, and not surprisingly, thus, that Aye Chan fails to provide a reliable source for his information. He, however, quotes Moshe Yeagar who "wrote that one of the major reasons of Mujahid rebellion was that the Muslims who fled Japanese occupation were not allowed to resettle in their villages (Yegar 1972:98)." (p. 25) Can we blame the Rohingyas under the prevalent circumstance? Their situation was complicated by 1942 riot. The denial of their ancestral land-claims in the south made Rohingyas desperate, leading up to the rebellion against the institutional racism. In this, unlike Aye Chan, Yager as a historian records Arakan as a source of one of the refugee producing areas in South-East Asia, In contrast, Aye Chan identifies the Rohingyas simply as the "Chittagonians" creating an "Illegal Muslim enclave" in Burma to justify the continued genocide.

Arakan's distant past shows Arakan is both at the same time an extension of Burma and also Bengal and the Rakhines and the Rohingyas are the expressions of its past. Now that the xenophobic Burmese military rules Arakan, it denies one part of Arakan history; the Rohingya history. It shows that in this crossroads of South Asia and South East Asia, whenever there is a repressive xenophobic regime in Burma, Rohingyas continues to migrate to Chittagong. Even today, there are 20, 000 registered Rohingya refugees in Chittagong. In this tragic triangle, we see when a Rohingya from Arakan crosses the Burmese border to Chittagong and becomes a refugee in southern Chittagong; he is identified by the Burmese military and their collaborators (Aye Kyaw of the ANC and Aye Chan likes) as simply the Chittagonians. In times of stability, when such a Rohingya goes back to Arakan to reclaim his property, he is seen as the "dangerous Chittagonian" and are normally either killed or put in jail or pushed out of Arakan as a "foreigner." So, xenophobia followed by repression on the Rohingya prolongs the flow of the refugees to Chittagong.

The author says, "The Mujahid uprising began two years before the independence was declared. In March 1946 the Muslim Liberation Organization (MLO) was formed with Zaffar Kawal, a native of Chittagong District, as the leader. A conference was held in May 1948 in Garabyin Village north to Maungdaw and the name of the organization was changed to "Mujahid Party." (Department of Defense Service Archives, Rangoon, DR 491 (56))."

Aye Chan, to reinforce his stand, continues, "Jaffar Kawal became the commander in chief and his lieutenant was Abdul Husein, formerly a corporal from the Akyab District police force (Department of Defense Service Archives, Rangoon, DR 1016). The Mujahid Party sent a letter written in Urdur (sic) and dated 9 June 1948 to the government of Union of Burma through the sub-divisional officer of Maungdaw Township. Their demands are as follows (Department of Defence Service Archives, Rangoon: CD 1016/10/11):

(1) The area between the West Bank of Kaladan River and the east bank of Naaf River must be recognized as the National Home of the Muslims in Burma.
(2) The Muslims in Arakan must be accepted as the nationalities of Burma.
(3) The Mujahid Party must be granted a legal status as a political organization.
(4) The Urdur (sic) Language must be acknowledged as the national language of the Muslims in Arakan and be taught in the schools in the Muslim areas.
(5) The refugees from the Kyauktaw and Myohaung (Mrauk-U) Townships must be resettled in their villages at the expense of the state.
(6) The Muslims under detention by the Emergency Security Act must be unconditionally released.
(7) A general amnesty must be granted for the members of the Mujahid Party."

As mentioned earlier, there was a general discontent. However, the question that Aye Chan didn't answer is: why was there a general discontent? Why even the local police felt alienated? It must be a result of gross injustices done to the Rohingyas? While the demands seem legitimate, neither the Burmese military nor the Arakanese dominant group, the Rakhines, felt it necessary to fulfill their demands. During U Nu's time attempts were made to integrate the Rohingyas and they were recognized as one of Burma's nationalities. But after the 1962 military coup of Ne Win, Rohingya rights were being violated and the rule by fear and force continued.

As if the 1942 event was not enough, the military's oppression from 1962 culminated into the total denial of the Rohingyas as the citizens of Burma,

It is known that when ethnic cleansing madness begins it affects innocent people more than criminals. But the biggest culprits in such situations are not the ordinary people who also participate in genocide, it is the inciters. Here in Arakan, it was some Western-trained Arakanese xenophobes who remained the brain behind the violence.

Aye Chan relates, "In the two years following the decision to nationalize the retail trade, some 100,000 Indians and some twelve thousand Pakistanis left Burma for their homeland. The flow of Indians returning to India as a result of these policies began in 1964 (Donison 1970: 199-200). But the Muslim agriculturists from Northern Arakan, most of them, holding the national registration cards issued by the Department of National Registration in the post-war decade, were not concerned with the event and remained in the frontier areas till the Citizenship Law of 1982 was enforced in 1987." (p. 26)

To Aye Chan "Muslim agriculturists from Northern Arakan, most of them, holding the national registration cards issued by the Department of National Registration" were not yet Burmese and as the "illegals" in the "enclave" should have left Arakan! But the point is, when it takes less than a decade by Burmese (like Aye Kyaw) living in the West to become citizens of western countries, why should such people object at Rohingya's Burmese citizenship in their ancestral land? When the democratic government of U Nu issued the National Registration Cards to the Rohingyas, if it is not racism, what makes the NRC invalid and requires amending the citizenship law by the military government? It seems that it is not the Rohingya's origin in Arakan that is the issue here but it is the military government's genocidal strategy to get rid of an undesirable group—the Rohingyas. Aye Chan's present work confirms the situation and seems to weather a continuing existence of genocide in Arakan.

Aye Chan says the story

Aye Chan says, "By this law those Muslims had been treated as aliens in the land they have inhabited for more than a century. According to the 1983 census report all Muslims in Arakan constituted 24.3 percent and they all were categorized as Bangladeshi, while the Arakanese Buddhists formed 67.8 percent of the population of the Arakan (Rakhine) State (Immigration and Manpower Department 1987: I-14)."(p. 27) He cites the census by

the military government that considers Muslims as only 24.3% and they are all considered Bangladeshis; it doesn't cover close to a million Rohingya refugees scattered across the globe. Compared to the military's labeling of all the Arakanese Muslims as Bangladeshis, indeed, Aye Chan's portrayal of the hypothetical Rohingya "enclave" with "influx viruses" in the Mayu frontier seems quite liberal in comparison!

Aye Chan says, "In the abortive 1988 Democracy Uprising, those Muslims again became active, hoisting the Rohingya banner. Subsequently when the military junta allowed the registration of the political parties they asked for their parties to be recognized under the name "Rohingya." Their demand was turned down and some of them changed tactics and formed a party, the National Democratic Party for Human rights (NDPHR) that won in four constituencies in 1990 elections as eleven candidates of the Arakan League for Democracy (ALD) were elected to the legislature." (p. 27). Contrary to Aye Chan's portrayal of the Rohingyas in this and in his other articles as being dangerous Muslim people, the Rohingya's election participation and the result shows that they are a democratic-minded people. They are for negotiated settlement of their problems. It shows that after all Burmese Buddhist people don't have to fear the Rohingyas because they are neither "foreigners" nor dangerous.

Aye Chan says, "However, the Elections Commission abolished both the ALD and the NDPHR in 1991. Some of the party members went underground and into exile. Recently, the main objectives of the movement of some groups have been to gain the recognition of their ethnic entity in the Union of Burma and to obtain the equal status enjoyed by other ethnic groups. But some elements have adopted the radical idea of founding a separate Muslim state. The following are the Rohingya organizations currently active on the Burma-Bangladesh border (Mya Win 1992: 3):

1. RSO (Rohingya Solidarity Organization)
2. ARIF (Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front)
3. RPF (Rohingya Patriotic Front)
4. RLO (Rohingya Liberation Organization)
5. IMA (Itihadul Mozahadin of Arakan)"

Aye Chan again is using xenophobia as a trick. He says, "Some elements have adopted the radical idea of founding a separate Muslim state." When

I checked the details, I found Aye Chan showing the case as if this was a trend during the 1990s but in reality it was not. Today most Rohingyas are in favor of their reconciliation and justice through democratic reform in Arakan. Contrary to the current trend, Aye Chan in his work gives us the notion that Rohingyas are some radical elements and their presence is as if "viruses" in Arakan who are required to be destroyed or will eventually destroy the Arakanese Burmese people. This type of dehumanizing literature by so-called academics reminds us of the early signs of genocide in Germany, in the former Yugoslavia, and recently in Rwanda and the literature written by intellectuals in those countries to incite the general public, so as to take up action against its targeted minority.

Fear of Democratic Reform and the End of Rakhine Supremacy

Aye Chan says, "Their leaders began to complain that the term "Chittagonian Bengali" had arbitrarily been applied to them. But the majority of the ethnic group, being illiterate agriculturalists in the rural areas, still prefers their identity as Bengali Muslims. (p. 27) Aye Chan's source of this information is not from a reliable survey. He is wrong in his observation, for he himself said that the Rohingya parties wanted recognition under their name—Rohingya—which was denied to them by the junta. My general observation of Aye Chan's work is that no doubt he has a hypothesis. But to prove it, he even strips the source, and suppresses core evidence to make it look credible.

Aye Chan says, "Although they have showed the collective political interest for more than five decades since Burma gained independence, their political and cultural rights have not so far been recognized and guaranteed. On the contrary the demand for the recognition of their rights sounds a direct challenge to the right of autonomy and the myth of survival for the Arakanese majority in their homeland." (p. 28) It is known that when the legitimate demand for the recognition of the minority rights is seen as "a direct challenge," it triggers genocide. Here Aye Chan is right: Rohingya's demand for their rights is a direct challenge "to the right of autonomy and the myth of survival for the Arakanese majority in their homeland." Whose homeland? Isn't Arakan supposed to be the homeland of its people?

The ultranationalists like Aye Chan dreams of the revival of an independent kingdom that was lost to the Burmese. Rakhine's autonomy from Burma

is a minimum gain and guarantee for them; whereas a democratic reform and the establishment of a modern sense of equality and justice will take away such a privileged position from the Rakhines as the absolute owners of Arakan. Aye Chan's conclusion that if Rohingyas are tolerated, Rakhines have to share the scarce resources with the Rohingyas is clear. Ashin Nayaka, an Arakani monk in encouraging the ultra-nationalists wrote in the forward section of the book *Influx Viruses* the same: "Rohingya movements have been accompanied by certain dangers and challenges, particularly for the Arakan State and beyond." (22)

Undoutedly, most of the ethnic/ racial troubles originate from an unwillingness to share resources and the myths of a glorious past allow them to demonize the minorities with the myth of being "foreigners." So Aye Chan's "influx viruses" in the "Enclave" are simply a myth of a Rakhine survival strategy reinforced by the military government.

Aye Chan says, "A symbiotic coexistence has so far been inconceivable because of the political climate of mistrust and fear between the two races and the policy of the military junta." (p. 26) There is no doubt that there is a problem between the two races—Rakhine and the Rohingya—in this meeting point of South Asia and South-East Asia. But when Aye Chan understands this, ethically speaking, himself as an educationist, he should not have taken up academic tools to fool people to preach the xenophobic survival myth for his Rakhine race. While the military's practice of "how to lie convincingly for years helps" in the construction of falsehood through xenophobia, Aye Chan's use of intellectual tools to understand Rohingya history as well doesn't help in the construction of knowledge.

Aye Chan denies the birth right of the Rohingyas by concluding, "The Muslims from the other parts of Arakan kept themselves aloof from the Rohingya cause as well. Thus the cause of Rohingyas finds a little support outside their own community, and their claims of an earlier historical tie to Burma are insupportable." (p. 28)

Aye Chan's article "Enclave" portrays a politically defined superior Rakhine country gentleman living in peace and serenity in Arakan with its glorious past. Here with a future democratic reform, he sees the racially different Rohingya posing a dangerous threat—a threat from an enclave just near the

international border, if not taken seriously, will destroy their lost Arakan's glory.

Conclusion: Behind the Mask of the Devil

As an educationist, Aye Chan doesn't like to appear as a street fighter, so he is fighting against the Rohingyas with the mask of the devil, showing an attitude of internal arrogance through his pen. Works like Aye Chan's justify army's brutal action to restrict movement on the Rohingyas, ban marriage, impose extreme surveillance and enforce Rohingya's suffering through starvation in villages which are more like the concentration camps as if they are dealing with "aliens," "foreigners", or even "viruses." Aye Chan seemed to be trapped in his imaginary "enclave" he wanted to build to facilitate the military to act on the Rohingyas like " . . . hyenas on Africa's Serengeti picking off old and sick gazelle or wilder beast and making a meal," in this case help the military continue its genocide in Arakan.

From the above review of Aye Chan's description of Rohingya history, the following themes are rather evident:

(1) Muslims and Rakhines were divided on racial-religious lines;
(2) Muslims fleeing from the south to the north of Arakan and to Bangladesh has been a historical trend; therefore, Rohingyas can not be Chittagonians;
(3) The increase in the population in the north of Arakan seems to be a result of the internal Rohingya migration from the south, thus, disproving Aye Chan's original hypothesis that Rohingyas are the "Illegal Bengalis." However, a revisit to Aye Chan's imaginary enclave with "Influx Viruses" shows that the enclave is there only in Aye Chan's imagination. His dehumanizing work shows his analytical failures in his mixing of ethnic politics with scholarship. Contrary to Aye Chan's findings, the present research found Rohingyas only as any other human beings demanding protection from the Burmese democracy movement leaders and from the international community to live their lives in the land of their forefathers.

As we came to the end of the wrangle, I am confronted with the old question, what it is that turns "neighbors against neighbor?" It is an irony that Aye Chan was a native of the Mayu frontier. The answer is not easy

even when you turn to the wise and ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus. He had warned "one ought not talk or act as if he was asleep." Surely Aye Chan was not asleep when he made the xenophobic and inciteful arguments in his work, so the warning doesn't apply to him. It appears that he consciously made the above arguments. However, what is perfidious is that Aye Chan's cleverly constructed work can raise the eye browse of casual readers on the question of the indigenousness of Rohingya people, and can serve as a handy tool for inciting Arakanese ultra-nationalists and xenophobic military to exterminate more Burmese Rohingyas. But to a historian, his findings could at best be seen as an exhilarating wild-goose chase, culminating in xenophobic dead end. Wiliam James rightly said: "A great many people think they are thinking when they are really rearranging their prejudices."(23) In this review of Aye Chan's essay it is clear that Aye Chan remained thoroughly prejudiced and only tried to rearrange the Arakanese prejudices against the Rohingyas.

Endnotes

(1) Aye Chan, "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)" in U Shw Zan and Aye Chan's *Influx Viruses, The Illegal Muslims in Arakan*. New York: Arakanese in the United States, Planetarium Station 2005), 14-33. The book was published in the United States. It was also published on line website.http://www.rakhapura.com, 2005, accessed on November 20, 2005. "Aye Chan is a native of Arakan State in Burma. He studied Japanese language at Osaka University of Foreign Studies and oriental history at Kyoto University. His field of study is Pre-modern history of Burma.During his twenty years of teaching at Rangoon University (Burma), Bard College (NY, USA) and Kanda University of International Studies, Japan, he published articles in Southeast Asian Studies (Tonan-Ajia Kenkyu), SOAS Bulettin of Burma Research and Journal of Siam Society." He claims himself as a Burmese democracy movement leader.

(2) In July 2007, I have interviewed some Rohingya refugees in Japan and some others who arrived from Rangoon to attend the "International Conference on Problems of Democratic Development in Burma and the Rohingya People" in Tokyo, held on July 16, 2007. In my trip to Bangladesh, in July 2007, I also interviewed some other Rohingya refugees. I have interviewed them for this research.

(3) Francis Buchanan. "A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire." in *SOAS Bullitin of Burma Research* 1.1 (Spring 2003), 40-57; Also in Willem van Schendel (Ed.) "Francis Buchanon" in South East Bengal (1798); his journey to Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali and Comilla. Edited by Willem van Schendel. Dhaka: University Press Ltd. 1992. Also in Michael Charney, "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms" (an unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan From Dhanyawadi to 1962: A conference Organized by the Institute of Asian Studies, South Asian Studies Centre, Chulalongkorn University, 2005.

(4) Michael Charney, "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms," 2005, p. 53.

(5) R. B. Smart. *Burma Gazettier: Akyab District* Vol.1.A. Rangoon: Burma Governmen Printing and Stay., 1957), p.19

(6) Jacques P. Leider, "Arakan Studies: Challenges and Contested Issues, mapping a field of historical and Cultural research, (an unpublished paper) "in Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan From Dhanyawadi to 1962, 2005, p.15.

(7) Ibid

(8) Abu Anin, A Study on the Issue of Ethnicity in Arakan, Myanmar, *http://www.kaladanpress.org//index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=866&Itemid=36*, Accessed on November 10, 2007.

(9) S.W.A. Rahman Farooq. "Pls speak first against any injustice <sfarooq678@yahoo.com" The Council for Restoration of Democracy in Burma (CRDB)" <*rohingyascrdbinfo@gmail.com*>Sat, 22 Dec 2007 06:30:50-0800.

(10) Francis Buchanan. "A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire." Pp.40-57; Also Willem van Schendel (ed.) "Francis Buchanon in South East Bengal (1798) His journey to Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali and Comilla." Also in Michael Charney. "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms" in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan from Dhanyawadi to 1962.

(11) Michael Charney. "Buddhism in Araka: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms."

(12) Francis Buchanan. "A comparative Vocabular of Some of the languages Spoken in the Burma Empire." P.55. Also see Willem van Schendel (ed.) "Francis Buchanan in South East Bengal (1798): His journey to Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali and Comilla," p. 55.

(13) Mohamed Ashraf Alam." THE ROHANG (ARAKAN)," Arakan Rohingya National Organization, 2006. http://www.rohingya.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=3, accessed on November 12, 2007.

(14) Buchanan, "A comparative Vocabular of Some of the languages Spoken in the Burma Empire," 1992. p.82.

(15) Abdul Haque Chawdhury. *Chattagramer Ittihas Prosongo* (the old Society and Culture of Chittagong), part 2, Chittagong: Chawdhury 1975 in Bengali, p.2.

(16) U Shw Zan and Aye Chan's *Influx Viruses: The Illegal Muslims in Arakan*. P. 4.

(17) ARAKAN Online Encyclopedia Originally appearing in Volume V02, Page 315 of the 1911 Encyclopedia Britannica *http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/APO_ARN/ARAKAN.html,* Accessed on November 12, 2007.

(18) Abdul Haque Chawdhury. *Chattagramer Ittihas Prosongo* (the old Society and Culture of Chittagong), part 2, 1975, 2. Also see M. Habibullah *History of the Rohingyas*. Dhaka: Co-operative Book Society Limited), 1995; Abid Bahar, "Burmese Invasion of Arakan and the Rise of Non Bengali Settlements in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts." *http://bangladesh-web.com/view.php?hidDate=20060215&hidType=FEA&hidRecord=0000000000000000089087*; Accessed on November 12, 2007.
Abdul Karim. *The Rohingyas: A Short Account of the History and Culture*. (Chittagong: Chittagong: Arakan Historical Society, 2000; Also see Abid Bahar. *Dynamics of Ethnic Relations in Burmese Society: A case Study of Inter Ethnic Relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas*; an unpublished M. A. thesis, (Windsor: University of Windsor, Canada, 1981).

(19) Jacques P. Leider's work is interesting; he uses the key term "frontier culture" for understanding Arakan. Jacques P. Leider, "Arakan Studies: Challenges and Contested Issues, mapping a field of historical and Cultural research," 2005, p.22.

(20) Abid Bahar. *Dynamics of Ethnic Relations in Burmese Society: A case Study of Inter Ethnic Relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas.* 1981.

(21) M. Habibullah. *History of the Rohingyas*. 1995; Abid Bahar, "Burmese Invasion of Arakan and the Rise of Non Bengali Settlements in Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts"; Abdul Karim. The Rohingyas: A Short Account of the History and Culture. 2000; also see Abid Bahar, *Dynamics of Ethnic Relations in Burmese Society: A case Study of Inter Ethnic Relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas*. 1981.

(22) Ashin Nayaka in U Shw Zan and Aye Chan's *Influx Viruses, The Illegal Muslims in Arakan*. New York: Arakanese in United States, Planetarium Station 2005. Forward p. vii.

(23) William James quoted in Lewis Vaughn and Chris MacDonald. *The Power of Critical Thinking*. Oxford University Press: (Canadian edition) 2008, p. 45.

For "What is this" a Chakma would say "Yian ki?" in Rohingyalish, it is the same "Yian ki." Were the Chakma and the Rohingya ancestors the citizens of the ancient Chandra kingdom of Arakan?

CHAPTER 4

MYSTERY BEHIND THE CHAKMA AND THE ROHINGYA'S LINGUISTIC SIMILARITIES

Chakmas are the largest racially Mongoloid people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. Thanchingya's are the close cousin of the Chakmas. Both of the above tribal groups speak in Chittagonian dialect. There is Chakma population also in Burma's Arakan who also speak in Chittagonian dialect. History of the Chittagonian Chakma shows that they originally arrived from Arakan to Chittagong in the 14th century during the Sultani period. Due to their origin in Arakan, the language was believed to be influenced by Rakhine or the Burmese language, but surprisingly it is a corrupted Chittagonian Bangali. There is also research done on Rohingya language, a language spoken by the Muslim people of North Western Burma which shows the language is also closer to Chittagonian Bengali than the Rakhine or the Burmese. In the absence of an adequate explanation, there seem to be confusion about why these people of Arakani origin in common speak in a language closer to Chittagonian Bengali but not in Rakhine or in Burmese. Rakhine explanation to the Rohingya language is simply that Rohingyas are Chittagonian people, migrated to Arakan during the Btitish period and Rakhines have been living in Arakan from the time of the Buddha. To most Arakani scholars, Buddha even visited Arakan. The Rakhine explanation to the above question seems more simplistic because the pieces of the puzzle to the answer are scattered all over this region. This confusion was further complicated by the fact that after the Burmese occupation of Arakan in 1784, Arakan's history was rewritten by racially motivated Burmese

proto-historians. In addition, there has not been enough research done on the origins of these people and their languages before the British occupation of Chittagong and Arakan. However, based on our research of the Chakma and Rohingya's linguistic similarities, place names, racial differences and cross-cultural checking of events, one probable answer to the broad question why both the Chakma people and the Rohingya people each from different racial background speak the same language could be that historically they were the citizens of the Chandra Indian Mohayana Buddhist kingdom; Rakhines arrived late in Arakan with their Hinayana (Theraveda) Buddhist tradition and replaced the Chandras. As for language, Chandra language was Sanskrit, the proto-Chittagonian Bengali, different from the Pali influenced Tibeto-Burman Rakhine language.

The land between Fani River of Bangladesh and Cape Nigra of Burma is geographically more like one territory. Historically speaking, for a long time this remained a "no man's land." It constantly changed hand between Monipuri, Arakanese Mogh and the Bengali Sultanite rulers. These kings and rulers of different races and cultures fought for its lordship and now the region became part of at least two different countries; Burma and Bangladesh; the northern region now called Chittagong became part of Bangladesh and the southern region, called Arakan now became part of Burma. Despite that this region for its past history, is now lived racially both by Indo-Semitic and Mongoloid population. Among these varieties of people, Chakmas and the Rohingyas are two interesting but different racial groups scattered both in Chittagong and Arakan kept their unanticipated similarities that derived from their historic roots. History shows both Chakmas and the Rohingyas lived on the line of fire but tried to escape from trouble. While the Chakmas in their escape finally settled in the north east of Chittagong and now are Bangladeshi citizens, Rohingyas are still fleeing the Burmese military oppression; in 1982 they were being declared as the stateless people of Burma. What is the mystery behind the Chakmas and the Rohingyas while different in race and religion speak the same language called Chittagonian? To the Rakhine historians like Aye Chan and the military rulers "Rohingya" is a newly coined term came into existence during the 50's but Francis Buchanan met some Burmese people in Burma in 1799 who called themselves as the Rohingyas. (1) What is the explanation to the conflicting claims?

The entire region of Arakan changed in 957 A.D. when the Rakhines, (Mogh) a cousin tribe of the Burmans attacked Arakan and conquered the existing Chandra dynasty. A Chronological account will show the trend that developed ever since.

In 957 A.D. Tibeto—Burman Mogh invasions of Arakan and the beginning of the absorption of Arakan's Chandra Mohayana Indian Buddhist kingdom into a Buddhist Hinayana (Theraveda Buddhist) Tibeto—Burman kingdom.

1044 A.D. Burmese king Anawrahta invaded Arakan and claimed the northern Arakan for himself.

1208 A. D. Muslims first occupied Bengal. During the time of Fakaruddin Mubarak Shah (1338-1349) of Gaur, under the command of Kadal Khan Gazi and with help from Pir Badar Alam, Chittagong came under the direct control of Gaur. Two Arabs named Haji Khalil pir and Mahi Aswar as missionaries took the task of spreading Islam among Buddhist, and Hindu population of Chittagong.(2)

In 1406 due to a Burmese invasion of Arakan by King Min Kuaung Yaza, led to Arakani king Noromi-kla with his large followers taking shelter at Gaur. The Chakmas, who are Mongoloid by race but speaking a non Burmese dialect, must have felt threatned in Arakan from the new rulers left for Chittagong.

During Sultani period, the northern part of Chittagong was populated by Indo-Semitic Bengalis. In the north, the settlers were mostly the soldiers of the Muslim army. Historical records also show that during Nasrat Shah's(1518-32) rule he settled a colony in Chittagong with a Mosque and a tank at Fatabad.(3) These activities were taking place mostly in northern Chittagong. In southern Chittagong there had been some Arab, Persian and Bengali settlement particularly in the coastal areas. Enamul Haque considers that at this time, there was an Arab Sultanate in Chittagong. In the present Chakaria Thana of Southern Chittagong, there is a village called Kakara. In the middle of the village there is a huge tank called Baro Kamoner Dighi and royal gates and a compound floor full of baked Brick known as the Gazzali compound with a huge Mosque and nearby the

mausoleum of a pir Shah Omar seem very likely to be the place of the ancient Arab Kingdom in Southern Chittagong. (4).

In 1430 A.D. the Arakani king was reinstated by the Muslim Sultan of Bengal with "30,000 Muslim army" headed by General Sandi Khan. For the next two hundred years Arabs, Persians and Bengali Muslims settled both in Arakan and in its adjacent area in southern Chittagong.

1538 A.D. We also see big geopolitical changes when Nasarat Shah was expelled from Gaur by Sher Shah. After this event Arakani Moghs denied their allegiance to Bengal Sultanate in Gaur. We also see the Arakani king by defeating Jamal Khan took over Chittagong. During the hundred years of Mogh rule, the people of Indo-Semitic background in southern Chittagong either left their settlements or were captured by the Moghs to be forcefully employed in Agricultural activities in the Arakan proper. There had been a great number of people captured and taken to Arakan. These captives no doubt formed the bulk of today's Muslim Rohingya people of Arakan with their Bengali physical features. The general character of the Arakanese Mogh rule during this time is described vividly by Shihab-ud-din Talish "The Mogh did not leave a bird in the air, or a beast on the land from Chatgaon to Jagdia, the frontier of Bengal, increased the desolation, thickened the jungles, destroyed the land, closed the road so well that even the snake and the wild could not pass through."(5) During this time, Mogh oppression was so unbearable that Chakma ballads, "Ghorae Thaiekle Moghe pai, Birai galee Bighai Khai" (If you stay home Moghs will get you and if you go out to the forest, the tiger will kill you) truly depicts the condition of Chittagong during the hundred years of Mogh rule. (6) It was during this time that Rohingya poet Alaol (original name in Arabic, Al Awwal) along with his father were captured by the Moghs from northern Chittagong. His father was killed and he was captured and taken as a slave to Arakan. (7) To escape from this constant "Mogh terror" during this time of their rule, majority of the Chakmas slowly moved from Southern Chittagong to the north to Raozan then to East of Chittagong Hill Tracts where they live today. It appears that Chakmas already lived in Chittagong during the Mogh rule but they have earlier entered Chittagong from Arakan during the Sultani period.

1666 A.D. 26 January, Moghul governor Shaista Khan by defeating the Moghs and the Portuguage, took over Chittagong which is now a part of Bangladesh.

1784 Burmese invasion and conquest of Arakan and the Burmese King Budapawa carried with him the Mahayana Buddha Maha Muni statue. It is important to note that the statue was built during the reign of Indian Chandra king, Sanda Suriya, in keeping with the Mohayana tradition in approximately B.C. 554 has no direct connection with the racially mongoloid and Buddhist Rakhine Theravada tradition arrived in the 19th century. Mohayana, a more liberal Buddhist tradition was also followed in Bengal before it was converted to Islam.

Chakma-Rohingya similarities

Chakmas are a racially Mongoloid people but speak a proto-Bengali called Chittagonian. Rohingyas of Burma also speak a similar language. When and where they have learnt Chittagonian? Loofler's assumption directs to this end that Chakmas adopted Chittagonian Bengali during the 15th to 17th century (8) Chakmas lived in southern Chittagon attested by the fact that in Ramu there is still a place called Chakmarkul. (9) But if they lived in southern Chittagong during this Mogh rule of Chittagong, how could they have learnt Chittagonian when there was no such Chittagonian Bengali settlement there at the time. One possibility that the Rohingyas and the Chakams were the citizens of the Chandra kingdom of Arakan where they had already learnt Sanskrit zed Bengali prior to the establishment of the Mogh rule in Arakan, but subsequently, Chakma's and the Rohingya's common living in southern Chittagong only sharpened the practice. This appear more probable because Chakmas began to live in southern Chittagong during the Sultani period especially from 1430 when Arakan became a province of Bengal, and southern Chittagong were also inhabited by the soldiers of Bengali sultanate of Gaur who went to Arakan to help reinstead the Noromikhla's regime. There is no doubt that at the time, those soldiers formed part of the later Rohingya Muslim population. This assertion seems more probable because Chittagonianin language is a Sanskrit based proto Bengali with heavy Persian influence. It appears that in the beginning, the proto-Chittagonian was the language of the Chandra kingdom also known as *Arakkha desa.* Chandras were racially and linguistically Indo-Semitic and spoke a language similar to Chittagonian dialect. It seems that the subsequent addition of Arabic and Persian with the original Sanskrit formed the basis of the original language of the Indian Chandras of Arakan. In the following a sample of Chakma and Rohingya words are presented showing their high degree of similarities:

For "what is this" in English, Chakma would say "Yian ki?" in Rohingyalish, it is the same "Yian ki." However, in Bengali "Eta Ki?" In the same way, "they" in Chakma is "onora" and Rohingya is also "onora." The similarities in the language of the Chakmas of Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Rohingyas of Arakan are striking. See below for more details:

Rohingyalish English Chakma

Onora	You	Onora
Thara	They	Thara
Sail	Trick	Sail
Jadi	Quick	Duadi
Zii	Daughter	Zii
Muu	Face	Muu
Nai	Not there	Nai
Sai	Ashes	Sai
Sol	goat	Chagol
Nun	Sault	Nun
Khuda	God	Khuda
Mura	Jungle	Mura
Doro	Hard	Doro
Boin	Sister	Boin
Aura	Coal	Aura
Bal	Sun	Bail

Bara	Chicken	Kura
Mouog	Wife	Begum/Mouog

Despite their racial differences, it is interesting to see similarities and differences in the Rohingya and Chakma grammar and vocabularies. Such as

Chakma English Rohingyalish
Moi no jaim / I will not go / Ai no jiam

There are interesting differences as well:

Boda	Egg	Anda
Gura	Baby	Fulu
Dhar	Sharp	Moinna

(10)

Apart from the above, it is interesting to note that there are other similarities between the Chakmas and the Rohingyas referring to their origin in Arakan. Unlike Bengali women who wear sari, both Rohingya and Chakma women put on two piece cloths, different from the Bengali Chittagonian women wearing Sari.

The similarities between the Rohingyas of Arakan and the Rohingyas of southern Chittagong are strikingly closer and the these similarities in the common vocabulary and gramer demonstrate compelling evidences that the inhabitants of the ancient Mohayana Buddhist kingdom of Arakan spoke Sanskrit; a proto Bengali language which was continued to be practiced in Arakan among the Rohingyas and the Diagnet Chakmas of Arakan and in Chittagong among the Chakmas and the Chittagonians till today. This understanding is highly probable; after all the Chandra was an Indian kingdom in Arakan uprooted by the Mongoloid invasion but in Chittagong, with continued Semitic influence has developed the modern Chittagonian language.

Another mystery that supports this hypothesis is the Chakma legend, (Chakma Bijak, the oral tradition) claims that Chakmas "migrated from a place called Champknager (now Bihar) in India. It says, once the Chakmas had a king named Shakhya from a Kshatriya Royal lineage." (11) It is impossible that Chakmas came from Bihar. It could be that their Buddhist evangelists originated from Bihar. But the Champaknager could have been confused with the Chandra kingdom in Arakan. As for their lineage to a Kshatrya Royality surely is not about the Buddhist Arakan of the Moghs but it must be the Chakma's historic association with the Hindu influenced Chandras with Kshatrya strata that was eventually absorbed into a Buddhist Mogh kingdom. From the above, it appears that neither the Chakmas, nor the Rohingyas nor the Chittagonians have learned Bengali from Bangladeshi Bengalis. It seems more likely that before the Mongoloid Mogh (Tibeto—Burman) invasion of Arakan in 957 A.D. the language of *Arakkhadesa* was proto-Chittagonian which the Chakmas and the Rohingyas as the aborigines of Arakan had learned in Arakan. From this understanding one can surmise that despite the gradual taking over of Arakan by the Moghs, Chakmas and the Chandra Rohingyas continued to speak Chittagonian, the language of the Chandras.

Chakma differences with Rakhines

While Chakmas are racially similar with the Moghs, they have had sharp differences with Moghs (Rakhines). Chakmas speak Chittagonan and Rakhines speak an archaic version of Burmese. Chakmas are darker in complexion compared to the Moghs so are the Rohingyas. Rohingyas for their darker complexion are called by the Moghs as the "kulas" (black people). The question is when Chakmas and the Moghs are racially Mongoloid and speak a sharply different language than Chittagonian; it confirms that Moghs are the late comers to Arakan. Compared to the Moghs, Chakma and Rohingya's relative darker complexion also testify that both must have intermixture with the local dark skinned so-called Rakkusha (bilu) Mohayana Buddhist Chandra population of Arakan. Rakhines idea of bilu seems to have come with the Hinayana tradition of Buddhism imported from Sri-Lanka through the Burmese Buddhist missionaries. This is because Rakhasa (demon) idea is very predominant in the Southern states of India and very dominant in Sri Lankan Buddhist tradition.

About the ethnic origins of Chakmas, it is likely that Chakmas were the distant cousins of the Mon tribes of southern Burma lived in Burma before the Tibeto—Burman invasion from the north. It is to note that Mons were the first Mongoloid settlers in Burma who had adopted Theravada Buddhism from Sri Lanka. Chakmas as the ancient Mon settlers of Arakan must have been Buddhists for a long time. With Burmese invasion from the North of Burma, it appears that most of the Mon tribes were pushed down to the South where they live today and Chakmas as a subgroup first took shelter in Arakan and subsequently to Chittagong. As mentioned earlier, during the Chandra period some of these fleeing tribes from Burma took shelter in Arakan where they had learned Chandra language (now called Chittagonian.) Despite their racial similarities, the expulsion of the Chakmas from Arakan must be for no other reason then to their speaking of a non Burmese but an original Arakani language.

1044 A.D. First Burmese invasion of Arakan

It appears that as a result of the first Burmese invasion, among the largely Indian Chandra population, Chakmas began to concentrate in northern Arakan and had the social pressure to abandon their original Mon language altogether and had to learn the Chandra Chittagonian language. Therefore, Chakma's differences in language with the Arakani Moghs suggest that Chakmas lived in Arakan before the beginning Mongoloid Mogh invasion of Arakan in 957 A.D.

Chandra Muslim vs. Chandra Buddhist synthesis

One might wonder the unique nature of the Chandra kingdom. As a Mohayana Buddhist kingdom with its very much caste hierarchy, and the existence of the untouchables, Arakani Chandra rule in the city of Vassali seems to be no different from the Hindu kingdoms in Thaton of the time (a centre of Indian civilization in lower Burma). We also see similar centers of Hindu kingdoms in lower Thiland, is a place now inhabited largely by Thai Muslims who like Chittagonian population were originally converted to Islam by the Arabs and the Persians. There were other Mohayana based Hindu kingdoms of similar type in Cambodia before most of those lands were converted either to Theraveda Buddhism or to Islam. (12)

As for Arakan, we know that the Chandras of Arakan in the south began to be heavily inhabited and absorbed into Mogh's Theraveda Buddhism and the north have subsequent Muslim influence from especially Persian and Bengali culture that continued more vigorously when in 1430 Arakan became a province of Bengal. This was possible in the north because of the continued presence of Muslim population. The dominance of both Fersi (Persian) in Rohingya and Chakma is visible in their use of their "no" expression before verb. "Aei no Jaium"(I will not go.) In Bengali it would be "Ami Jabo Na." (I go not).This Rohingya and Chakma style to place no before a verb is from Persian language. An example of Persian is ""ne mitounam" means "I can't" and in Rohingyalish, Chakma and Chittagonian language it is "no Pairgom."

Persian played a significant role in Arakan and Chittagong for a long time. It appears that even after the annexation of Arakan by Burma, the official language of Arakan still remained Persian. Persian influence in the region was so predominant that after the Burman invasion of Arakan, Vu Ama, an Arakanese wrote a letter in Persian to the English Commissioner of Chittagong, dated the 24th of April, 1787 in which he mentioned that the Chakmas fled to the jungles."((13) The name Akyab in Arakan is also Persian. Akk means one and abb means water.

From the above discussion, both similarities and differences among the groups seem compelling. However, it is important that further research should be done to find out the historic truth behind these similarities in language between the two racially different groups, Rohingyas and the Chakmas speaking the same language called Chittagonian. For the strong similarities in their languages, one can say with some certainty that it is their common Arakani Chandra background not the racial origins that holds the key to Chakma and Rohingya history. From this perspective, what is more probable is that in Arakan Chandra and Arab/Persian Muslim intermixture led to the Rohingyas and the Chandra Buddhist synthesis led to the Moghs (Rakhines).

Research findings show that Rohingyas are not the only people who speak in a language similar to Chittagonian; there is a racially Mongoloid group a subgroup of the Chakmas called Tanchangyas (Tan-chang-gya) who have the same last part of the name "gya" as the Rohingyas (Rohin-gya).

Lately, they have changed their name from Tanchangya into Tanchanya, in line with more of Burmanization. From the above analysis one can draw the conclusion that Rohingya people's racial Indo-Semitic and linguistic similarity with southern Chittagonian people is not a proof of their origin in Bangladesh, Research shows that such understanding appear to be too simplistic and racially motivated. The answer seems to lie in an unfamiliar territory, in the mystery behind the Chakma and the Rohingya's linguistic Similarities.

In retrospect, one can surmise that if Anawrahta's historic invasion of North Arakan first initiated the expulsion of the Chittagonian speaking ancient Indo-Semitic Chandra Rohingyas and the Chakmas from North Arakan to Chittagong, it is safe to conclude that it is not a coincidence but a continuation of a despotic medieval trend in today's Burmese society, the eviction of citizens by force for their perceived differences not due to their historic origin elsewhere than in Arakan but because of Rohingya's racial differences. Despite all the historic blood litting continued trend of possession and dispossession in this frontier region, it appears that both the Chandra Indian population and the Rakhine Tibeto-Burman racial and cultural trends survived in Arakan until Ne Win's military coup in 1962 which basing on propaganda began to dispossess the Rohingyas in favour the racially similar Rakhine population upto the declaration of the Rohingyas as the noncitizens of Arakan, Burma.

Endnotes

(1) Francis Buchanan. "A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire." *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research* 1.1 (Spring 2003), 40-57; Also Willem van Schendel (ed.) Francis Buchanon in South East Bengal (1798) His journey to Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali and Comilla. Dhaka: University Press Ltd. 1992, Also in Michael Charney, "Buddhism in Arakan,: Theories of Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms." (an unpublished paper) in the Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan.

(2) Abdul Haque Chawdhury. *Chattagramer Ittihas Prosongo*, (the old Society and Culture of Chittagong), part 11, 1975, p2. The Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers, L.S.S O'Malley, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariate Book Depot, 1908

(3) Enamul Hoque quoted in Abdul Haque Chawdhury. *Chattagramer Ittihas Prosongo* (the old Society and Culture of Chittagong), part 11, 1975, p.2, 16.

(4) Abdul Haque Chawdhury. *Chattagramer Ittihas Prosongo* (the old Society and Culture of Chittagong), part 11, 1975, p2. *The Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers*, L.S.S O'Malley, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariate Book Depot, 1908; Enamul Hoque quoted in Abdul Haque Chawdhury, *Chattagramer Ittihas Prosongo*, (the old Society and Culture of Chittagong), part 11, 1975, p2. 16.

(5) Shihab-ud-din Talish quoted in *The Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers*, L.S.S O'Malley, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariate Book Depot, 1908.

(6) Aditya Dewan, a Chakma academician originally from Chittagong Hill Tracts was interviewed in Canada. He testified that in the Chakma ballet the above type of "Mogh oppression" is mentioned.

(7) Abdul Karim. *The Rohingyas: A Short Account of the History and Culture*. Chittagong: Arakan Historical Society, 2000.

(8) Loofler quoted in Aditya Dewan. *Class and Ethnicity in the Hills of Bangladesh*. Department of anthropology, McGill University, 1990, An unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation.

(9) M. Habibullah. *History of the Rohingyas*, Dhaka: 1995, p. 40

(10) The above chart of Rohigya and Chakma vocabularies were drawn from my consultation and verification of ideas with Rohingya, Chakma and Persian speaking people.

(11) Aditya Dewan. *Class and Ethnicity in the Hills of Bangladesh*. Department of anthropology, McGill University, 1990, an unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation.

(12) Alexander Horstmann "Ethnohistorical Perspectives on Buddhist-Muslim Relations and Coexistence in Southern Thailand: From Shared Cosmos to the Emergence of Hatred?" *http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=5005889227*.

(13) M. Habibullah. *History of the Rohingyas*. Dhaka, 1995p. 40.

CHAPTER 5

"KULAS": THE ABORIGINALS OF ARAKAN

(Part of this paper was presented in Kulalampur, Malaysia in 1993 at the International Conference on Indigenous people)

The present research findings from cross checking of historic documents found that the so-called "kulas," who were the ancestors of the Rohingya were the aboriginals of Arakan and the Moghs (Rakhines) were only the late-comers. In pre British period, the term Rohingya was used to refer to both the Hindus and Muslims of Arakan. It appears that the "aboriginal Kulas" seems to be the ancient Chandra Hindu (kula) Rohingyas of Arakan.

To begin, Arakan was ruled by an Indian dynasty called the Chandras until 957 A.D. Chandras were people of the Negroide variety. Such dark-skinned people could be found in the costal areas extending from from the Red sea bordering Africa, to southern part of Arabia, southern Iran, southern India, Andaman Islands, southern Burma, Malayan islands, and all the way up to Papua New Guinea. Here we are talking about the *Maritime Asia* and *Oceania* and the coastal Burma. These people are known as the *Austronesians*. (1)

The Hindu epic Ramayana, India's ancient literature identifies racially dark skinned people with Negroide features to have lived in the southern part of India. They were called the *Rakkhasas,* meaning cannibals. (2) In the epic it identifies Ravana of Sri Lanka as the demon king alledged to

have kidnapped the saintly Sita. But Rama, the husband of Sita had a fight with Ravana, which as expected led to the demon king's defeat and eventual death. It appears that the so-called demons were the Dravadians dark skinned Negroides aboriginals of the South, but demonized as the Rakkhas. It seems that the epic was referring them as possessing all the uncivilized qualities including them being cannibals. In the Indian epic story and in the Indian caste, these subjugated native people with flat nose, thick lips, curly hair and dark skin for their racial features were degraded to the status of subhuman or the untouchables.

Before the Mongolode invasion of Arakan, (Before 957 A.D.) the Chandra kingdom was known to the Indian Buddhist missionaries as the land of the Rakkhasa, in short the Rakkhapura i.e. the land of the aboriginal dark skinned people. Here we are tracing the Chandras, the earliest ancestors of Rohingyas.(3) Historical sources document that from the middle of the 8th century a small minority of Muslim population was beginning to emerge in Arakan. There was a similar trend of settlement taking place in the rest of Bengal and particularly in Chittagong of Bengal. Like in Chittagong, in Arakan there were small Muslim settlements resulting from Arab and Chandra intermixture. It is important to note that historically from the beginning of 7th century Arabs were doing trade in the Indian Ocean.

These Arabs were mostly the Yamanis and the Gulf residents from the Southern cost of Arabia and Persia. Starting from this time, until the European dominance of the Indian Ocean, Arabs monopolized trade between the East and the West. There have even been records of Arab shipwrecks in Ramree islands of Arakan. Such shipwrecks were recorded at about the time when Arakani Chandra king Mahat-Sendaya ascended the throne in 788 A.D. It says:

In his reign several ships were wrecked on Ramree Island and the crews, said to have been Mohammadans, were sent to Arakan proper and settled in villages. (4) Raham-bri in Arabic means the land of Allah's blessing. It is still in practice with an Arakani corruption as Rambree. It is said that ships facing storm from southern part of Indian coasts, sailing for the East due to wind direction were almost certainly washed to the shores of Arakan. Collins says that during the medieval period, Arabs made the Indian Ocean an Arab lake with their continued contact with the East. (5)

The Arab presence in Arakan continued up to the seventeenth century. This is evident also from the fact that Arabs developed a port city in Arakan known as Akyab, the present capital of Arakan. The Persian version yak-ab means place of a river meeting the sea. There is also the river Teknaf, which means the turn of a river. It is similar to the name Punjab (meeting point of five rivers) in India named by the Persians.

The Rakhines in the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya history recently changed the name Akyab into a Buddhist name Sittwe. Usually, the Arabs didn't bring their women with them and probably took local Negroid Rakkhas females as their wives forming the Chandra-Rohingya population of Arakan; much like the Arab and Persian Muslims mixing with often the lower class dark-skinned Hindus or converting them formed the Bengali people in Bangladesh.

The descendents of the mixed marriages between the local Dravadian Indians (Chandras) and the Arabs no doubt formed the original nucleus of the Muslim population of Arakan. This could be the reason why Rohingyas till today carry the Arab dress and customs. However, Rohingyas vary from very dark to some bronzing colored and unlike the Rakhine yellowish.

It is not known how big was the Muslim population of Arakan at the time of the Chandra rule but it seems certain that if there was no mass migration of the Tibeto-Burman population from Burma into Arakan from 957 A.D. when they defeated the Chandras, (instead of today's half and half Muslim and Mogh population in Arakan) it is almost certain that Arakan would be a Muslim inhabited region much like it is in Chittagong of present Bangladesh.

In the below, the illustration of a dark-skinned Rohingya refugee family driven out of Arakan is now staying in the refugee camp in Chittagong.

Where did the term "kula" originated from? Kala is a Pali word. The Tibeto-Burman Buddhist Rakhines after their conquest of Arakan, began to call the subjugated people (comprised of Hindus and Muslims) as the "Kulas" meaning the Dravadian aboriginals. As in India, where due to the Aryan invasion from the north, the racially dark skinned Dravadian population moved to the south, so in the same way from 957

A. D. due to the continued Mongoloid invasions of Arakan, it was destined for a permanent change; the dark-skinned aboriginal Hindu Chandras and Muslim Chandra began to escape toward north and the Rakhines remained largely in the South.

The Arakani princes Echhin or Yaingcrong (cradle song) of Fadu Min Nyo during the reign of Ba Saw hu (1459-1482) A.D. talks about Arakan as being Rakhaing, a land of the belu (Rakkhas). Contrary to the Rakkhine understanding, the above, it seems to praise the Tibeto-Burman Buddhist rulers who freed Arakan from the Chandra Rakkhas rule. It is an irony that in order to erase the negative medieval connotation of Mogh being the notorious pirates, lawless people, contemporary Rakhine elites even adapted adapted the Burmese used name biloo as being the Rakkines. In doing this, they claim that they are the direct descendents of the Rakkhasas which seems entirely contradictory. To the proto-historians of Arakan, from the word Rakkhas, came Rakka tunga, to the word Rakkhanpura and to the name Rakkine people. However, these claims don't seem consistent with facts at all because there is no historical connection between the Moghs and the Rakkhasas. History or myth, there is no doubt that the motive behind this absurd claim is based on self propagating myth to prove Mogh's aboriginal status over the "Kulas. "To justify such claims political Rakhine intellectuals also add that in Buddhism there is the existence of Rakkhasa biloos. It is indeed, the myth of biloo is very much present in Theraveda Buddhism imported from Sri Lanka to Burma.

Interestingly, in the Arakanese Theravada Buddhism, biloos are there neither as gods or nor as the superhuman but as demons to be feared and desired to be destroyed as we see in the Indian Ravana as a demon king that was defeated by Rama, the Aryan king. From this understanding, Moghs or Rakhines couldn't be the Rakhhasas as the Rakhine intellectuals wish to see. Such absurd explanation doesn't justify the aboriginal claim of the Rakhines. On the other hand, the word "Mogh" has derived from Indian Buddhist origin of identifying the locals as the Rakhhas, the aboriginal dark skinned Rakhangyas as the aboriginals sounds more probable.

What is at issue here is that Moghs are the Tibeto-Burman Mongoloid people and the Rakkhases or the Kulas were the Hindu-Muslim Chandras, the aboriginals of Arakan. The point is, if the Mongoloid Moghs defeated

the Chandras, and subjugated them as the Kulas, who were also known as the sudras, dasas; the untouchables as they would be called in India they couldn't be at the same time the descendents of the Mongoloid Rakine. Here the racial difference is apparent.

It is to note that Rohingyas are not from a single race or culture; they originated from the mixture of the ancient Dravadian Chandra, Arabs, Persians, Bengali slaves, and from Portuguese decendents. These were the "Kulas" located mostly in the north of racially Indo—Sematics are more likely to be the Rohingyas of the Hindu-Muslim Chandras. Therefore, it seems that such Mogh claims are based on self-serving biases that can only create myths and non amphibious blobs.

It might sound unusulal but to a careful researcher the name Arakan is also close to the Muslim name Al Rokon, the Portuguage called it Rakan and in English Arakan closer to the Muslim term. In the Ananda Chandra's Chandra inscription, it calls Arakan as Arakandesa, sounds more like a Chandra Hindu-Muslim invented term, more like a Sanskrit Bangladesha/ Bangladesh. It seems that to establish the Mogh legitimacy, the xenophobic Mogh elites felt the urgency of changing the Rohingya historic name into Rakhine state.

After cross checking the dates and names in recorded history, it is now easy to draw some intriguing conclusions that if the Rohingyas who are not yellowish but dark skinned inhabitants of Arakan are still called by the Moghs as the "Kulas," got to be the aboriginals of Arakan not the Moghs, Moghs were the invaders of the Mahayana Chandra Arakan, the latter introduced the Theraveda Buddhism. Therefore, there seem to be no connection between the term Moghs with Rakkhas. As demonstrated above, Rohingya ancestors are more likely to be the aboriginals of Arakan. However, it is also true that Moghs has been living in Arakan for centuries. Today, Rohingya and Rakhines are like two sides of the same coin Arakan. In this frontier land of Mongoloid and Indo-Semite population, both Moghs and the Rohingyas are the people of their ancestral land Arakan. It is true; Arakan history shows that the Moghs and Rohingyas lived in peace for centuries.

Why has it now become so difficult for co-existance? It seems that Rohingyas are the victims of extremist nationalism based on race and religion. The rise of the contemporary Buddhist fundamentalist extremism began from the

30's and in Arakan in 1940 and 1947 in Arakan led to the contemporary age of Rakhine created mythologies against the Rohingyas people. Arakan's Buddhist fundamentalism had its roots in the Monk U Ottoma, "the leading Pongyi activist and friend of India who led the entire Pongyi movement during 1920s" Twice he became the President of Hindu Mahasabha during the 1930s. (6) He was an orthodox Buddhist and anti-Muslim. He wanted a closer cooperation between Hindus and Buddhists.

It seems that in the face of contemporary ultra-nationalist Rakhine propaganda, people fail to distinguish the difference between belief and knowledge, fact and opinion. Today, the political Buddhist fundamentalists like Ashin Nayaka, Aye Chan bottled up in pride and prejudices, calls the Rohingyas as "foreigners" even as "Bangali influx viruses." (7) They with Burmese military help follow Burma's raciallly exclusivist policy (enacted in the 1982 constitution) which deprives the Rohingya Muslims of their right to citizenship and deny the share of participation in the political arena of Arakan.

Surprisingly, in Burma, majority of its people follow Buddhism as their faith. Buddhism is known as a religion of peace. The Buddhist samsara discourse in its subtle meaning is normally understood to work as an aid to pacify anger and promote peace. This is however not the case in the north western corner of Burma's Arakan province. Contrary to Buddhist precepts, in Arakan, Buddhism is used to promote antagonism and violence against its Rohingya citizens. In this type of use, the extremist Rakhines (also historically known as Moghs) have elevated their Theraveda Buddhist faith to the status of a political ideology. Using propaganda, they are denying the fact that Chandra-Muslim population; the "kulas" are not the aboriginals of Arakan.

Endnotes

(1) Indigenous Australians. *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indigenous_Australians*

(2) Ramayana. *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramayana*, Ramayana "tells the story of Rāma, whose wife *Sita* was abducted by the demon (***Rākshasa***) king of *Lanka*, *Rāvana*."

(3) The Significance of the term "Kula" for the Rohingyas and the Burmese Muslim,
http://www.rohingya.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=105&Itemid=33 also see *http://www.rohingya.org/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=105*

(4) R. B. Smart. *Burma Gazettier: Akyab District*. Vol.1. A., Rangoon: Burma Governmen, Printing and Stay., 1957, p.19

(5) M. S. Collis. "The Strange Murder of King Thiri-Thudhamma." *http://www.rakhapura.com/scholars-column/the-strange-murder-of-king-thiri-thudhamma.asp*

(6) Swapna Bhattacharya (Chakraborti), "Islam in Arakan: An interpretation from the Indian perspective: History and the Present." 2006. *http://www.rohingya.org/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=76*

(7) Aye Chan's, "The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)," *SOS*, 2005.

*"The Burmese destruction of Arakan and its policy of demanding slave labor from Arakan for project inside Burma led both to rebellion and large communities of exiles and refugees forming on the other side of the Indian border.[Bangladesh]"—**http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/***

CHAPTER 6

BURMAN INVASION OF ARAKAN AND THE RISE OF NONBENGALI SETTLEMENTS IN BANGLADESH

(Part of this paper's arguments dealing with refugee problems were presented in Geneva at the United Nation's Human rights conference on minorities and the stateless people held on December 6-7, 2007)

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

It is important to note that Shah Suja before taking shelter in Arakan was the Moghul Govornor of Bengal (1639-60) and was being chased by the Moghal General Mir Jumbla. Suja was given the assurance of assylum by the Arakanese Mogh king. However, soon after his arrival in Arakan, Suja was robbed and then in 1661 at the order of the king the entire family was massacred. This tragic event triggered anger and frustration both in Arakan among Suja's followers that accompanied him and also in the Moghul capital Delhi against the brutal murder of the royal family. Subsequent to the death of Shah Suja, the Moghals led a campaign led by Shah Suja's uncle Shaista Khan who reconquered Chittagong. After the massacre of the Moghul prince and the chain of events of repeated uprising led to internal

chaos in Arakan. At the same time, with the mighty Moghul presence in the Bay, Arakan lost its lucrative revenue from piracy and of slave trade. The new circumstances also brought an end to the infamous "Golden age" of Arakan that now lives only in the history book to tell the tale of human suffering and misery in that part of the world caused by the joint adventures by the Portuguese and the Moghs.

In our contemporary period the event of Suja and the massacre of his family is not the reason why understanding the dynamics of ethnic relations in Arakan and by extention in Burma become so central; it is largely to watchfully understand the roots of racism in Arakan and to recognize the refugee production trends in the region. Indeed, Alamgir Serajuddin expresses rather bluntly the reasons behind the historic Arakani problem by saying, "The Arakanese [Rakhines] were a daring and turbulent people, a terror at once to themselves and to their neighbours. They fought among themselves and changed masters at will. Peace at home under a strong ruler signaled danger for neighbours."(1) True, Arakan a kingdom based essentially on slave trade when it had strong leader was a constant threat to its neighbors from its pirates but taking advantage of the internal chaos, in 1784 Burma occupied Arakan and the subsequent neglect under the Burmese rule and the continued Burmese annexation of the Arakani territory turned Arakan into a tiny and backward province of Burma-no doubt it is the price of Arakanese Mogh's unforgivable historic boisterous performances.

We continue to see that despite its present improvised existance, Arakan continued to make headlines in the international media not for it's any glorious present but for producing refugees. Todays flow of refugees from Arakan to Bangladesh are not the Moghs, Chakmas or the Rakhines (Moghs), but are the Rohingyas of northern Arakan. Rohingyas complain that Rakhine hoodlums in Arakan along with the Burmese military are involved in a war of intimidation against them.

Rohingyas have been taking shelter in Southern Chittagong for sometime. Burmese Military government and their Mogh collaborators claim that these refugees are the Chittagongnian people originally from Bangladesh. Contrary to the claim, surprisingly even the more recent, the 1978 Rohingya refugees were found to carry Burmese National Registration cards. (2) But

in the 1991-92's again there was the fresh eviction of refugees; the latter Rohingyas arrived in Bangladesh without the NRC cards. Rohingya leaders claim that the NRCs were being confiscated before the eviction.

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

It appears that the influx of refugees from Burma is not a new phenomenon. The present research findings show that Burmese invasion of Arakan resulting in the creation of refugees has been a cronic problem in this region. Even before 1978 mass eviction of the Rohingyas, historically there had been large scale refugee movements to Chittagong of Bangladesh. As a result of the historic Burmese invasions of Arakan, in addition to the contemporary Rohingyas exodus, it even led to the rise of Arakani origin population in southern Chittagong and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. Among them are the Chakmas (Northern Chittagong Hill Tracts), Rakhines (in Cox's Bazar), Marma (in Banderbon), Tanchainga (in the central Chittagong Hill Tracts).

Burmese Invasions of Arakan

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

Anawrahta's Invasion of Arakan (1044)

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

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

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

In 1406 A. D., the second Burmese invasion was led by the Burmese King Min Khaung Yaza. As a consequence, Noromi-kala, the king of Arakan along with his large followers took asylum at Gaur, the court of Bengal sultan Gaisuddin Azam Shah. This invasion also led to a large scale influx of people who were the followers of the king to settle in Bengal.

In 1430 A. D., after 24 years of exile in Bengal, Sultan Jalal uddin Khan sent his General "Wali Khan as the head of 20 thousand pathan army" to restore Noromikla to his throne. Noromi Kla now takes the name Sulauman Shah and becomes the king. He shifted his Captial to a new palace site in Mrohaung.

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

1433 Nadir Shah, the Bengal Sultan sent General Sindhi Khan with 30,000 solders to help restore Noromi—kla as the king. After this event, Arakan becomes a province of Bengal. Wali Khan was killed in the battle and his followers were allowed to settle near Kalander River. In return for the help, the Arakannse king promised to return the twelve feuds of Chittagong, which most likely be the the whole of southern Chittagong that was then under Arakanese rule. Arakan began to pay annual taxes and Persian continued to be used as the court language. The consequence of the retaking over of Arakan by Noromi—kla with the help of the Muslim army had the effect of the settlement of a great number of Rohingya Muslim population in Arakan. (4)

Budapawa's Invasion of Arakan (1784)

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

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

During the time of the Burmese invasion of Arakan, Chittagong came under the British rule. The British never attempted to rescue the Arakani king to his throne. To escape the brutal attack of the Burmese King both

Muslims and Hindus of Arakan fled to safety in Chittagong. Puran Bisungri, a Hindu Rohingya "was an officer of the police station of Ramoo." He was born in Arakan and fled the country after Burmese invasion in 1784. (5) Harvey says, traditionally Burmese cruelty was such that "to break the spirit of the people, they would drive men, women and children into bamboo enclosures and burn them alive by the hundreds." This resulted in the depopulation of minority groups such that "there are valleys where even today the people have scarcely recovered their original numbers, and men still speak with a shudder of 'manar upadrap' (the oppression of the Burmese)."(6)

During the invasion of Arakan, the Burmese king took with him 3,700 Muslims and settled them in Mandalay. Some of them were known to even become the Ministers to the Burmese king. The decendents of the 3,700 Muslims are known as Thum Htaung Khunya (Three thousand seven hundred). For the continued oppression, in Southern Chittagong, a term was coined for Arakan of now Burma as the "Moghur Mulluk" meaning the land of lawless people, generally referring to the Burmese oppression of the time. The Arakaniese Muslims and Hindus that continued to escape to Chittagong ro settle there were called by the Chittagonian Bengalis as the "Rohi." "During the seven years of their operation, the population of Arakan was reduced by no less than half. During the early months of 1884, a quarter of a million {refugees took shelter} in the English territory of Chittagong."(7)

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

Brithish rule (1826 AD-1942 AD)

After the Burmese conquest of Arakan, the Burmese king demanded the fugitives be returned. In 1824 a decisive war between the Burmese and the British took place resulting in the British occupation of Arakan. By now

due to the merciless massacre, Arakan almost became depopulated. "When the British occupied Arakan, the country was a scarcely populated area. Formerely high—yield peddy fields of the fertile Kalandan and Lemro river valleys germinated nothing but wild plants for many years. (9)

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

It was in the Kalandan and Lemro river valleys where Rohingya Muslims were farmers and peasants. There were fewer people to cultivate the land. Rakines males normally love to enjoy entertainment than do the hardwork. Rohingyas were the hardworking peasants.The British adopted the policy to encourage the . . . inhabitants from the adjacent areas to migrate into fertile valleys in Arakan as agriculturists . . . . A Superndent, later an Assistant commisioner of Bengal, was sent in 1828 for the administration of Arakan Division, which was divided into three districts repectively,: Akyab, Kyaukpyu, and Sandoway, with an assistant commissioner in each district.(10) After the British conquest, despite the memories of horror, but naturally out of nostalgia, some Rakhines and Rohingya refugees from Chittagong returned to Arakan. Aye Chan, a xenophobic Rakhine writer calls these returnees to their homes as the settlements of foreigners in Arakan. He calls them as "Influx Viruses". Surprisingly, he seems to know about the Rakhine returnees as well but calls the latter as being returning to their homes. Surprisingly he also finds the huge Rakine (Mogh) and Rohingya settlement in Southern Chittagong due to Budapawa's genocide as normal. But he characterizes the slight increase due to the higher birth rate in the Muslim population in Arakan after the British conquest as the result of settlement by "Chittagonian Bengali Muslims."(11) Aye Chan's claim of these people as being Chittagonians is due to the fact that he didn't take into account the fact that many of the original uprooted people of Arakan returned to Arakan to claim their possessions. Given such a disturbing climate in Arakan after such a destruction by the Burmese king, one wonders, why Chittagonians living in a relatively peaceful region in the north would migrate to Arakan. Naturally, the Muslim migrants were the original Rohingya inhabitants of Arakan returning to their ancestral homes. It is evident from the fact that in the aftermath of the genocide, despite the return of order by the British occupation, but the fear of uncertainity still persisted and those returnees must be driven by nostalgia and we see even other Rohingyas preferred to work in Arakan only as "seasonal labourers,"

and most others (like the Bangladeshi Rakhines) permanently settled in Chittagong.

1930 and 1938 anti Indian riots.

In the meantime, there was in 1930 and in 1938 anti Indian riots due to the "Burma for the Burmese" campaign led by the Monks mainly from Arakan which made Muslims of Arakan felt the threat of their existence in Burma. But worst of all, during this time, the British census on Burmese population made things complicated for the Arakani Rohingyas. The British categorized all the Burmese Muslims including the indigenous Rohingyas of Arakan as the Indian Muslims.

Japanese Rule (1942-1945)

The next large scale migration of Rohingyas to Chittagong took place during World War 11. In 1942 Japan occupied Burma and the ultra-nationalist Buddhists jointly massacred the Karens, the Mons and in Arakan the Rohingyas. Feeling the threat of extinction, and certain Rakhines determined to drive out the Muslims of Arakan, Muslim leaders officially took the already existing name "Rohingya" for their suffering community. However, Rohingyas were conveniently identified by the Rakhine extremists as being the "Chittagonians." During the time of Japanese occupation, the number of Rohingya death in Arakan was staggering to be over 100,000. Rohingyas call the event as the "Karbalai Arakan," the bloodshed in Arakan. (12)

In 1942 when the British withdrew from Arakan, the Japanese immediately took over the control of Arakan. The Arakanese xenophobic hoodlums began to incite people with the slogan, "our brothers came, and your brothers left you." The hoodlums began to attack the Muslim villages in souhern Arakan and the Rohingya Muslims fled to the North where they took vengeance on the Rakhines in Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships(13) Ashraf Alam provides a list of 294 villages destroyed in the pogroms of 1942: (a) Myebon in Kyaukpru District 30 villages; (b) Minbya in Akyab District 27 villages; (c) Pauktaw in Akyab District 25 villages; (d) Myohaung in Akyab District 58 villages; (e) Kyauktaw in Akyab District 78 villages; (f) Ponnagyun in Akyab District 5 villages; (g) Rathedaung in Akyab District 16 villages; and (h) Buthidaung in Akyab District 55 villages. (14) In 1950,

a memorandum by the public of Maungdaw demanded the protection of fundamental rights and demanded an unconditional repatriation of Rohingyas from Chittagong. Yoger claims that during this time the Arakani Muslim migration to Chittagong was at 20,000.(16)

There was no action taken by the British to bring the Rohingya refugees back to Arakan. But due to this event, the Rakhine-Rohingya relations deteriorated further. Aye Chan says: "It is certain that hundreds of Muslim inhabitants of southern Arakan fled north."(15). While saying the above, at the same time Chan from his chauvinistic believes contradicting himself that Rohingyas in Butheding, Maungdaw etc. areas in the north bordering Bangladesh are migrants from Chittagong. In this Chan as expected seems to have failed to keep consistency in his arguments.

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

In 1948 Burma became independent from British rule. Rohingyas again began to be protectionless. Aung San became Burma's democracy leader. He was trying to bring ethnic harmony through dialogue with ethnic minorities but the entire team of democracy leaders including Aung San was assisinated by powerful quarters who sought to control Burma by force.

1958 Rohingya refugges took shelter in East Pakistan; the number of refugees identified as being 10,000. (17) 1959, Burma agreed with East Pakistan governor Zakir Hossain to take back Rohingya refugees who had taken shelter in Chittagong in 1958. When questioned "why refugees were pouring into Pakistan from Burma, the Govornor replied that the government of Burma had noting to do with it. Actually the Moghs of Arakan were creating the trouble." (18) In 1960 The Daily Guardian, Rangoon, 27th October 1960 reports that Burmese "Supreme Court queshes expulsion orders against Arakanese Muslims."(19)

From 1930's led by the Arakani xenophobic Pongi monk leader U Ottoma Arakan became anti-Rohingya and anti-Muslim.(20)

Rohingya Refugees during Military rule (1962-)

In 1962, General Ne Win took over power and confiscated most Indian and Chinese owned busineses in Rangoon and began his "Burmanization

policy" which advocated that "Burma is for Burmans," referring that Burma is for racially Mongoloid and religiously Buddhist people. Ne Win first began a policy of "divide and rule" in Arakan between the Mogh and the Rohingyas. His government identified the Rohingyas as "Indian Bengalis" from Chittagong migrated to Burma during the British period beginning from 1826. (20)

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

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

In 1982 the military rulers passed the Citizenship Act in which it made a povision that Burmese people' ancestors who came to settle in Burma before 1826 will be considered as "foreigners." Rohingyas were seen as people migrated from Chittagong of Bangladesh after 1826. Aye Chan and other similar Rakhines followed this line of xenophbic interpretation. Aye Chan wrote dehumanizing books and articles, identifying Rohingyas as the Bengali Muslim Immigrants" from Bangladesh.Contrary to such assertions, Rohingya's earliest ancestory in Arakn however, dates back to the 8th century. Our research shows that Rohingyas called by the Arakan's Tibeto-Burman population as the "Kulas" were the offsprings of the aboriginl Indian Chandras, Arabs, Persians, the soliders of the Bengal Sultan's army, the offsprings of the Mogh-Portuhuese captured Bengali slaves, Portuguese offsprings. (22). The name Rohingya was adapted by these people from various origins as a survival mechanism.

In 1990-92 again over 2, 68,000 Rohingyas were sent back to Bangladesh. This time the Burmese government made sure that Rohingyas do not carry any official Burmese document. Rohingyas continue to be identified as "foreigners" and now suffer in the land they were born and brought up.

The Burma's military in alliance with the Rakhine ultra-nationalist plays a extermination policy based on fear and intimidation.(23)

Habib Siddiqui identifies some of the major armed operations of intimidation against the Rohingya people, orchestrated by the Burmese government since 1948:

01. Military Operation (5th Burma Regiment)—November 1948
02. Burma Territorial Force (BTF)—Operation 1949-50
03. Military Operation (2nd Emergency Chin regiment)—March 1951-52
04. Mayu Operation—October 1952-53
05. Mone-thone Operation—October 1954
06. Combined Immigration and Army Operation—January 1955
07. Union Military Police (UMP) Operation—1955-58
08. Captain Htin Kyaw Operation—1959
09. Shwe Kyi Operation—October 1966
10. Kyi Gan Operation—October-December 1966
11. Ngazinka Operation—1967-69
12. Myat Mon Operation—February 1969-71
13. Major Aung Than Operation—1973
14. Sabe Operation February—1974-78
15. Naga-Min (King Dragon) Operation—February 1978-79 (resulting in exodus of some 300,000 Rohingyas to Bangladesh)
16. Shwe Hintha Operation—August 1978-80
17. Galone Operation—1979
18. Pyi Thaya Operation July 1991-92 (resulting in exodus of some 268,000 Rohingyas to Bangladesh)
19. Na-Sa-Ka Operation since 1992.(24)

Despite a clear evidence of Burmese invasion and atrocities on the Rohingyas, resulting in the latter to take shelter in Chittagong, xenophobic writer's continue to propagate that Rohingyas are "Chittagonians." The intensity of the nationalist hatred by the military reached so deep into the Burmese consciousness that today even some Burmese people began to believe that indeed Rohingyas are "Chittagonians" from Bangladesh. Contrary to this, the present research found that the production of refugees in general and the Rohingya refugees in particular from Arakan is not a

new phenomenon; the study reveals that the internal troubles in Arakan along with the historic Burman invasions of Arakan from time to time led to the rise of not only the tribal people in Chittagong and in Chittagong Hill Tracts,(the Arakanese Rakhine settlements in Bandorban and Cox's Bazar, a result of mainly 1784 Burmese invasions, the Chakma settlements in Chittagong Hill Tracts) but also the Rohingyas settlements in the entire southern Chittagong area upto the Sangha River close to Bandarbon.

In understanding the refugee problem in Western Burma, the phenomenon of intolerance seems to be the deep-rooted cause. In Burma, Burma's xenophobic authors continue to brand Rohingyas as the Chittagonians of Bangladesh. Rohingyas are not recognized as the "taingyintha" (indigenous) people of Burma for their racial differences with the Rakhines and the Burmans.

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

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

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

Endnotes

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(4) Mohammad Ashraf Alam, A Short Historical Background of Arakan, Arakan Research Society, Chittagong, Bangladesh, October 2006, http://www.rohingya.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=30
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(14) Moshe Yegar, The Muslims of Burma A Study of a Minority Group, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden Moshe Yoger, 1972:67
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CHAPTER 7

HISTORY OF THE ROHINGYAS IS THE HISTORY OF SUFFERING

***(This paper was first published in the News from Bangladesh on* November 09 2005)**

Burmese military and the local ultra-nationalists have been trying to classify the citizens of Burma on the basis of religion and race. In their Burmanization effort only the Buddhists and racially mongoloid people were considered as the true citizens of Burma. The rest were considered as "foreigners." This is similar to India's BJP party's Hinduanization of the Muslims of India that Muslims should call themselves as the Hinduanized Muslims with Rama as one of their prophets.

In this type of thinking Burmese nationalists classify Rohingyas as the Burmese Muslims to justify that these Muslims settled in Burma during the British period. Lately, the government passed a new law that classifies Muslims who settled during the British period as not being qualified to be Burmese citizens. By categorizing the Rohingyas as Burmese Muslims the nationalists find excuses for the Rohingya expulsion from Burma. So is the story of Rohingya identity and Burmese intimidation and the Rohingya exodus to Bangladesh.

The reality about the origin of the Rohingyas however, is different. Rohingyas are ethnically a different people from the rest of the Burmese Muslims. Historically speaking there had been several major sources of Rohingya settlement in Arakan.

The first one being the Arab settlement began from the 8th century from which the name Rohingya is known to have derived. The second one had to do with the armies of Wali Khan and Sind Khan settled in the Kaladan River valley. Thirdly, Rohingyas are the decedents of the Portuguage and Mogh capture of Bengalis from Lower Bengal and populating them in Arakan where these people were forced to work as slaves.

In course of time these people even have developed a language which is not even comprehensible to the Chittagonians. The history of Rohingyas is the history of suffering, the names of places such as Ak-ab (one river) similar to Punjab (five rivers) had been changed, college professors, civil servants were forced to give up their jobs all in the name of Burmanization. During the UNu's rule, Rohingyas even had central government ministers elected from them but were dismissed by Ne Win's military government.

Today Rohingyas are a stateless people. Their demographic size also is not large enough to allow them exert their position of influence. Moghs in the Arakan state of Burma, in comparison have been seen as the favorites of the Burmese nationalists over the Rohingyas.

Taking the same Burmese analogy of citizenship, the Mogh population that settled in the Cox's Bazar area, (the name Cox's is from an English official who helped settle the Moghs of Burma) shouldn't also be qualified to be Bangladeshi citizens, for their historic origin in Arakan. Fortunately, in Bangladesh, they are rightfully recognized as the citizens of Bangladesh.

When Rohingyas are by birth the citizens of Burma, it is pointless to debate on who settled where, when and how, after all we are talking about human lives. Rohingyas were from Arakan of Burma and should be given the status of Burmese citizenship.

It seems that Bangladesh has been suffering from external aggression of refugee resettlement with Burma, and India's dam-building and water aggression problems from the beginning of its independence. Bangladesh government and Bangladeshi researchers particularly in applied social science; in Political Science, Sociology, Religion, and in Centre for development studies, strategic studies centres, think-tank research groups should work together to implement research based policies on refugees, minorities, and on issues of Bangladesh-India, and Bangladesh-Burma relations.

*"**The** area of Arakan was about 20,000 sq. ml. till the British period. But, Burmese ruler, . . . split up a north western Arakan Hill Tracts area bordering India and a southern most part of Arakan (from Kyauk Chaung River to Cape Negaris) from the Arakan mainland. Due to these partitions, the present day total area of Arakan . . . comprises less than half of historic Arakan." Arakan Information Website*

CHAPTER 8

LIVING IN A GLASS HOUSE

(This paper was written in response to Aye Kyaw's article "The Rohingya and the Rakhaing" first published as Barbarity in the Bay and the Battered Beast in Kalandanpress)

Arakan, once a beautiful kingdom in the Bay of Bengal, rose to its fame when in 1406 it looked to West for help from the Sultan of Bengal. Sultan Jalaluddin's army reestablished the deposed Arakanese king and helped to establish its historic city Mrohaung. Unlike its Burmese rivals, from this contact Arakan's glorious kings had learnt to develop civilization not as a matter of creating terror through destroying human habitat, raping women, using human beings in forced labor or encouraging xenophobia through proto-historians. Here people developed Arakan by practicing the art of civilization; how to be kind to it subjects, encouraging tolerance among communities, be just and encouraging the development of art and literature.(1) However, in the subsequent period in Arakan with this beauty was also born a beast.

After the defeat of Sultan Giasuddin Mahmud Shah in the hands of Sher Shah Sur in 1538 there was a weak central government in Gaur, instead of helping Bengal at this difficult time, the Moghs turned the lower Bengal and some parts of India into a place of terror; capturing man, women and children and sold them into slavery. With Portuguese help in terror centres like Deang Hills in Chittagong, Bengal witnessed, Chittagong and the residents of lower Bengal lost their peace for the next two hundred years. Until the fall of Gaur, this spilled over terror from Arakan was unknown in the Bay. But it was not long when capturing human in the vicinity of

the Bay became a lucrative business for the Mogh pirates. Some of these unfortunate Bengali souls cruelly captured were taken to Arakan as slaves (now Rohingyas) were employed in agricultural activities. By the method of terror, the Moghs almost completely depopulated southern Chittagong. Against this historic barbarity, it was not until the event of Shah Suja, the governor of Bengal that took shelter in Arakan, when in the name of giving shelter but at the king's order was robbed and the entire family members and many of his associates were massacred. Shaista Khan, the Mogul Governor in 1666 finally chased the notorious Mogh pirates out the Bay and the Bengal territory.

Taking advantage of internal chaos created by the Mogh chauvinist, in 1784 Burmese king invaded Arakan and the final blow to the once beautiful Arakan came to an end. Arakan was conquered by the Burmese army through genocidal killings of Buddhist, Muslim and its tribal population. To keep it under continued domination, Burmese king even took away Arakan's precious symbol, the Mohamuni. Considering the state of unrest in Arakan (which continues till today), it seems most of these refugee people from Arakan decided to stay in the peaceful Chittagong that was by then came under British rule. It is from this single Burmese invasion of Arakan that Bangladesh today has people of Arakani origin. Arakan was finally battered after Burma's independence when almost one third of its original territory was added to Burma's mainland. Rakhine intellectuals still have not yet learned the lesson that when one lives in a glass house it says "do not ever try to throw stone at others' house."

Today Arakan's glory exists only as an ego in the mind of some xenophobic and Western trained historians. Prominent among them are a combo of Aye Kyaw and his student Aye Chan and a monk named Ashin Nayaka. Unfortunately both Aye Kyaw and Aye Chan have been teachers and citizens of other countries. It seems that finding no other enemy in outside Arakan that they can now fight with; Rakhines now have turned their attention against their fellow Rohingya citizens to exterminate them with the help of the Burmese army.

The contemporary problem in Arakan is a racial problem; it has its religious dimension as well. In this the present Arakani xenophobes' power base is the Burmese military. Aye Kyaw's recent article "Rohingyas and Rakhines" written in response to the "First Conference on the problems

of Democratic Development in Burma and the Rohingya Issue" held in Tokyo in 2007 shows his self confessed collaboration with the Burmese army. In this article he notes that he was the architect behind the 1982 constitution Act that officially denied the Rohingya people their Burmese citizenship, triggering genocidal circumstances of unthinkable proportion in Arakan. Aye Kyaw says:

Rakhaing have been enjoying their life since the beginning of their history with King Marayu in B.C 3325. In ancient time Rakhaingland comprised the area of present Bangladesh and the area west of the Rkhaing Roma (Arakan Mountain Range). In 1853 the Governor of Pathein annexed the southern portion of Thandwe District. By 1935 Burma Act, the Paletwa Township was given to the Chin Division. These areas had been in the Rakhaing Kingdom for more than two thousand years. We ask whether or not these areas would be in the newly created Rakhaing State under the new Federal Constitution? (2)

Aye Kyaw's student Aye Chan coauthored a book named "Influx Viruses" identifying the Rohingyas as mere "viruses" now live in "enclave" in Arakan, implying that they be exterminated from Arakan. Both authors claim that Rohingyas entered Burma after 1826, the year British occupied Arakan and are therefore the "foreigners" in Arakan. Surprisingly, both of the proto-historians and many of their xenophobic followers live outside Arakan and enjoy the flavours of Western democracy. They have obtained their citizenship in the West in couple of year's time, while Rohingyas lived in Arakan for centuries. Aye Kyaw often uses vulgar expressions, and publicly uses ethnic jokes (understandable only to his followers) but with Aye Chan a bit more organized claim that no one has ever heard of the word "Rohingya." To them the stateless Rohingyas mean "gypsies." These unscholarly claims by the proto-historians are contrary to British historian Francis Buchanan, who recorded the word Rohingya in Burma in 1799, making Aye Kyaw's joke about the Rohingyas a joke. Contrary to the xenophobic claims, Rohingyas trace their ancestry in Arakan from the 8th century.

It seems the beasts of today's Arakan are no more some of the oppressive kings of Arakan but the notorious Aye Kyaw, Aye Chan and their followers. These are educated people like Julius Streicher of Germany who fanned the flames of German Holocaust. Today, it is not the example and the

inspiration of the founders of Mrauk U dynasty that makes Arakan famous; it is these writers' incitation and collaboration with the military government for its human rights violations and producing refugees that makes Arakan notoriously famous in abroad.

It appears that Arakan lost its beauty when it replaced the art of civilization for its barbarity in the Bay. The abandonment of the art of civilization led to its internal chose and the eventual Burmese capture of Arakan and its contemporary situation of anarchy. Available information shows that the Rakhines comprise 30% of its representation in the 400,000 strong Burmese army. With the military help from the central government, it has unilaterally renamed the province from its original Arakan into the Rakhine state. In the Arakan of chaos, Bangladesh becomes the first victim of refugee problem. Surprisingly, despite the refugee problem, the xenophobic writers still continue to blame the Rohingyas as being "Bengali intruders." The beast of Arakan that feeds on xenophobia seems not dead but only battered.

Despite Burma's unfriendly gestures, Bangladesh should continue to seek Burmese people's friendship but should also watch out the developments in Burma and should keep an eye on the presence of some Arakani anti-Bengali ANC activists working as refugees in Bangladesh and in India. If these visitors remain unchecked, it could inspire Arakani fundamentalist "Rakkha" Buddhist sentiments spilled over in the otherwise peaceful Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts. After all the developing and democratic Bangladesh walking on a tight-rope can not afford to take things for granted.

Endnotes:

(1) Civilization, *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/*; also see Civilization Legacy Origins of Civilization
http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-8589279834591533O&hl=en-CA

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Thursday, August 09, 2007; **Also see Khaing** Aung Win's "Arakanese Nationalism and the Struggle for National self determination(An overview of Arakanese political history up to 1988." *http://www.narinjara.com/eng* art/Arakanese_Nationalism_and_the_Struggle_for_National_self_R.asp

"Never by hatred is hatred appeased, but it is appeased by kindness. This is an eternal truth." (Buddha)

CHAPTER 9

A SHORT REVIEW OF AYE KYAW'S "THE BURMA WE LOVE" AND "THE ROHINGYA AND THE RAKHAING

Aye Kyaw's "The Burma we love" and The Rohginya and the Rakhaing are two maliciously written papers with a chauvinistic tenor, written against Burmese minority peoples who are neither Mongoloid by race nor Buddhist by religion. The lines in his paper are as if taken directly from Hitler's Mein kampf. Aye Kyaw is trying to develop a victim complex among his Burmese Rakhine hoodlums against Rohingyas, says about the Rakhines, "they lost their religion-Buddhism, that they preserved and promoted for many many centuries; and, more importantly they lost their race that they love and respected for many many centuries."(1) Here, in this work he seems to be addressing/ inciting people that Rakhine Burmese ". . . lost their race" i. e. the "purity of their race" due to the presence of other races among the Rakhines; justifying the reasons to his followers for committing crimes against humanity through encouraging genocide and producing refugees so as to create room for people of his kind.

Again, Aye Kyaw presenting himself as a historian says: "Rakhaing have been enjoying their life since the beginning of their history with King Marayu in B.C 3325. In ancient time Rakhaingland comprised the area of present Bangladesh and the area west of the Rkhaing Roma (Arakan Mountain Range). In 1853 the Governor of Pathein annexed the southern portion of Thandwe District. By 1935 Burma Act, the Paletwa Township was given to the Chin Division. These areas had been in the Rakhaing Kingdom for more than two thousand years. We ask whether or not these

areas would be in the newly created Rakhaing State under the new Federal Constitution?"(2) Aye Kyaw writes so inconsistently, but while promoting racism, ironically he also boldly mentions his educational background. This is an oxymoron of a smart—flat mentality.

Aye Kyaw confesses about his collaboration with the military junta to declare the Rohingya and some non Buddhist minorities as the noncitizens of Burma. He says, "Present at that meeting in his office was U Kyaw Nyein who later became Misnister of Education. I submitted my proposal that those people who appeared in the Inquest (census) of King Bodawpaya taken in the 1880s ought to be regarded as ethnic minorities. Through the discussion, we agreed that those people who were in Burma before the end of the First Anglo-Burmese War in 1826 should be regarded as ethnic minorities. Those people who came along with the British colonial administration were regarded as non-ethnic minorities."(3) Clearly, Aye Kyaw demonstrates the Burma he loves is a nondemocratic, uniracial and military ruled xenophobic Burma.

It is not difficult to understand who will benefit from this type of xenophobic propaganda. I am also surprised seeing this xenophobic person's writing style. Firstly, while he pretends himself as a scholar/ authority, he however, doesn't care to cite any source for his information about history. He says: " . . . the Rohingyas are a new creation, which is not found in the Arakanese chronicles and in the British records as well. Their primary objective is to establish a State. On the other hand, The Rakhaing lost their land that they owned for many many centuries; they lost their religion-Buddhism, that they preserved and promoted for many many centuries; and, more importantly they lost their race that they love and respected for many many centuries."(4) Contrary to Aye Kyaw's claims of the origin of the Rohingyas Francis Buchanan found some people of Burma identifying themselves as Rohingyas in 1799 which was before the British occupation of Arakan in 1824. (5)

Is Aye Kyaw a historian? Surely it doesn't demonstrate in his works! On the contrary, the paper shows he could only be a popular proto-historian of contemporary Arakan. If I am right, here he seems to be addressing not an educated audience but his ultra-nationalist Arakanese-Burmese exclusive club, the ANC. The ultra-nationalists on one hand are the believers of Arakan's independence and on the other are against the Rohingya people's existence. To them both the Burmans (Burmese military) and the Rohingyas

(the "Kulas") are enemies. (6) For their intolerant behavior, they are truly fascist people.

Aye Kyaw's spurious expressions can be forgiven for the reasons that his first language is not English. But what is unwarrantable is his chauvinism; and here of course, his ideas are to deny Burmese people's birth rights. Surely, it derives from his impulsive mind-set of hating Burmese people of other races of mankind; for the Burma he loves is clearly a racist Burma.

Surprisingly, these half-baked and prejudiced papers by Aye Kyaw are now put on the net for distribution. The xenophobic Arakanese websites and yahoo groups feed these ideas to ordinary Arakani citizens creating more obstacles to democratic development in Burma. The pumped up and prejudiced Aye Kyaw's xenophobic thinking shows he has strayed away from the classical Arakanese Buddhist tradition of compassion and his expression in these papers further show him the disappointing medieval Mogh pirate that still lives in this fake Buddhist heart.

Endnotes

(1) Aye Kyaw. "THE BURMA WE LOVE" A Position Paper of the Arakanese Perspective Presented at the Oslo Burma Seminar on January15-17, 2004 *http://www.arakanland.com/index_4.html* (This paper was written in response to a conference on the Rohigya and the democratic movement of Myanmar, July 16, 2007 held in Tokyo.}Original Message from AYE KYAW to *kunyia@freerohingyacampaign.org* ; *wao-global@yahoogroups.com*, *wao-global-team@yahoogroups.com*, Thursday, August 09, 2007.

(2) Ibid

(3) Ibid

(4) Ibid

(5) Francis Buchanan. "A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire." in SOAS Bullitin of Burma Research 1.1 (Spring 2003), 40-57; Also in Willem van Schendel (ed.) "Francis Buchanon" in South East Bengal (1798) His journey to Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali and Comilla, Edited by Willem van Schendel, (Dhaka: University Press Ltd. 1992.)

(6) In the Abakan poll taken by these ultra-nationalists who are the serious Arakanese antagonist?
http://www.arakanland.com/index_4.html

CHAPTER 10

THE STORY OF ROHINGYAMA

(Adapted from Abid Bahar's Rohingya Heritage and Refugee Life Series)

Introduction and Hints

It is true, "artistic work is considered to be a fundamental aspect of human culture, one of the defining characteristics of humanity." The conceptual distillation of the story Rohingyamaa in both drama and in narrative form is about the plight of Rohingya people of Arakan. This work, Rohingyamaa is about the universal story of grief and suffering commonly experienced by most refugee women. It seemed like after years of my association with the Rohingya people, I came to the end of the journey, in this work recording the Rohingya people's suffering in the novel Rohingyamaa. During this time of my working with them, I have compiled some works to document what was happening in Arakan, Burma.

The story of Rohingyamaa is about Arakanese Rohingya mother. In the novel, we see Arakan as a province in Western Burma had been a peaceful place and from nowhere turned into a place of anarchy by the Burmese military and by certain Rakhine collaborator xenophobes. As a result, many young and innocent lives of people like Pori, Sahara or Amena were either lost in the turmoil or displaced somewhere else. Amena to escape the genocide left her village but on her way out of the country she lost her husband and the daughter in the military's shooting at innocent people. She crossed mountains and a river and found herself moved out to an unknown land; she lived in a refugee camp and after decades was lucky to

reach to a country called Kanada. She settled in the new place with her life's grief from turmoil and tragedies, and had continued nightmares as much that she dies shortly after her arrival and could not enjoy the peace, stability and the medical assistance available in her new home, Kanada. The stream of consciousness in both Amena and Mabud's fragmentary thoughts and sensory feelings about the protagonists in the form of interior monologue were used all along the work.

Considering the state of the Rohingya people reflected in this work, Rohingyamaa is less of a comedy or an entertainment piece. It is intended to serve both as an educational tool and to serve therapeutic purposes. It is a literary work demonstrating problems in Burma and the resultant depiction of the Rohingya nation in distress. This work with minor modifications could be turned into a drama.

This is a work in tragedy and the four episodes in the drama with minor changes could be staged separately. Scene1 is about the relatively peaceful Rohingya life in Arakan, Episode 2 is about Rohingya's pain of saying farewell to the motherland and, episode 3 is about the antagonist, Kirakini who is the internal enemy that kills the Rohingya energy and its international image. Episode 4 is about fighting the demon. Here Rohingyamaa was caught in a "loop of events" that led her to travel back in time. Scene 4 could be staged as a children's drama. Scene 5, is a tribute to Rohingyamaa, the refugee mother who was a mother like any other mother except that she suffers the most among mothers. The themes for the stories in the novel were taken from real events taken place in the Rohingya people's everyday lives in Arakan and elsewhere.

Rohingyas originated from various sources; from the Indian Hindu Chandras, Arab merchants, Persian soldiers who marred local women. Rohingyas also originated from Bengali people captured by the Mogh and Portuguese pirates of Arakan. Historically speaking, Rohingyas threatened by the Rakine xenophobia, as a matter of survival strategy officially adapted the name, "Rohingya" already in existence. It appears that their common suffering made them united as a people. Rohingyas lived mostly in the rural existence in green pastures with their abundance of space in coastal regions and in the Kaladan River valleys. As a result of riots in 1942, they began to take shelter in the Mayu frontier. Culturally the Chandra-Rohingya

Arakan was very much a part of India. In 1937, after the British separation of Burma from India, Rohingyas became detached from people in India with whom they had more cultural affinity.

The author of the present novel was a refugee himself in India's Mizoram state in 1971 and personally experienced the suffering of refugee people fleeing persecution. In addition, in 1978 the author personally visited the Rohingya refugee camps and saw the suffering of especially women and children in refugee camps in Chittagong of Bangladesh. He also noticed special characteristics about Rohingya people that they are a people with the culture of caring for the elderly and the sick. These attributes worked to keep them endure even the unbearable ordeal of the refugee life.

The anti-Rohingya Rakhine and the xenophobic military leadership committing genocide are shown as the antagonists and then Rohingyas even have their own internal antagonist, Kirakini, who with his gang is unto spoiling the Rohingya image internationally.

This present work is meant to add to the existing Rohingya literature that began from the times of Alaol to our time when Siddique engineer and others made the written version of Rohingya language. This work is of different kind about the Rohingya's ongoing struggle and the main theme derives from several sources; firstly from the Rohingya suffering caused by the Burma's Chauvinistic nationalism on one hand and their refugee experience on the other. However, the dual forces of conflict seemed to give Rohingyas the creative energy of developing the loosely constructed newly emerged feeling of a Rohingya nation developed especially in the Diasporas.

In addition to this work, the author of the present novel contributed long articles against xenophobia in Burma from the belief that revolutionaries are not shy people. They know the difference between democracy-lovers and the reactionaries. As a matter of duty of impeding reactionaries from their pretensions their works were brought to public attention. In this direction, some of the works the author produced could be found in the following websites:

Abid Bahar. "Xenophobic Burmese Literary works and the problem of Democratic Development in Burma."

http://www.rohingya.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=43&Itemid=72
http://www.rohingya.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=182&Itemid=70
Abid Bahar, "Racism in Burma: Aye Chan's Enclave revisited."
http://www.kaladanpress.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1065&Itemid=38
Abid Bahar. "Barbarity in the Bay and the Battered Beast."
http://www.kaladanpress.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=823&Itemid=27

Abid Bahar. "Burmese Invasion of Arakan and the Rise of Non-Bengali Settlements in Chittagong of Bangladesh"

Abid Bahar. "Arakan bottled up in Pride and Prejudices."

http://bangladesh-web.com/view.php?hidDate=2006-02-15&hidType=FEA&hidRecord=00000000000000000089087

Abid Bahar. "The Significance of the term "Kula" for the Rohingyas and the Burmese Muslims."

http://www.burmeserohingya.com/wp-content/uploads/The%20Significance%20of%20the%20term%20%20Kula%20%20for%20the%20Rohingyas%20and%20the%20Burmese%20Muslims.pdf

The author acknowledges his debt to the Rohingya newsgroups, and websites that proficiently presented some of the information that were incorporated here. During my work, I was fortunate to meet some sophisticated Rohingya minds who are tolerant, sober, compassionate and respectful people; their show of love and appreciation put me back to complete this work. The character Mabud is about them. The names used in the novel are imaginary and also the characters portrayed are different. Special thanks are due to all the Rohingya leaders for their inspiration to initiate and finish this work. It is the wish of the author that the present work will be translated into both Rohingyalish and Burmese.

During the time of writing this work, the author received a constant barrage of abuses from tedious people. During the time, of my work with Rohingya people, I have noticed the presence of a few Kirakinis (Rohingya protagonists). They seem to steal Rohingya people's positive energy, when it is very much needed. I was also being attacked by Kirkinis for no reason. I have attacks from xenophobic Rakhines regularly. But how can the self-righteous Kirkinis and the xenophobic Rakhines stop me? My commitment is deep both as an academician and as an activist. For, I am fighting on behalf of the humanity against Burma's chauvinistic nationalism where the worst victims are the Rohingyas.

This work is dedicated to Burma's women and the rape victims, particularly to the Rohingya woman Zohra, and Sahara. The latter was first raped by the army and later on was killed. Rohingyas are targeted by the xenophobic junta to exterminate them through genocide of intimidation. The genocide is for Rohingya's racial differences with the Rakine and the Burmans. There is no answer to this type of crime. To escape the ongoing genocide, there are many brave Rohingyamaas sending their children outside Arakan some of them losing their lives in unknown lands. I especially dedicate this work to the brave mothers, and the surviving Rohingyamaas of Burma carrying the unbearable burden letting them go to their journey to the unknown; some disappearing in the dark cloud.

EPISODE #1: JOURNEY TO THE UNKNOWN: IN KANADA AND ELSEWHERE

(Mother Amena and her son Siddiq arrived in Kanada yesterday and are now staying with Amena's elder son Mabud. Mabud came to Kanada several years earlier. (Father Jakaria and sister Poori Banu were killed in Burma's Arakan state where Rohingya's original home is located). Amena and Mabud finished their morning prayer. Siddiq joins them at the diner table)

Mabud: Maa, did you have good sleep?

Amena: Yes, but I was thinking about the people I left behind.

Mabud: You should rest for a week, ok maa and don't exhaust yourself thinking about anything that will trouble you. (Mabud looks out through the window) Do you see what that is?

Amena: What?

Mabud: Those are snowflakes! Snow mother!

Ameena: Yes, I saw it. It looks beautiful but the weather is getting very cold. (She grabs her shawl next to her and puts it on her).

Mabud: Did you know maa, yesterday, when you were crossing through the immigration, at the airport, I was standing by the balcony and in my comatose mind I was also searching for my father and Poori. But I am glad that you and Siddiq are safely here.

Siddiq: We had a long journey. Especially that maa was not feeling well. She had chest pain all through the journey. She was also thinking about something. She seemed always in grief.

Mabud: Why Maa? You don't seem even happy here!

Amena: No, I am ok. (Tears poured in her eyes.) I don't know yet what kind of country is this, but I can see people are nice, help us and smile at us. I can't speak in English, so it will be a problem.

Mabud: Don't worry maa, you have two sons you will be ok! Did I tell you, I have many friends who will come to see you? We didn't have a country we could call our own. We came to a new country called Kanada we can now call our own. We wouldn't have to starve to death as is in refugee camps or in the sea going to Malaysia or in Arakan where the NASAKA is chasing us!

Amena: Siddiq, you did the right thing not going to Malaysia by boat. I heard many people died. Those that survived, heard the one's drowning said" Maa! Maa! Maa! When tide swept through the boat, they kept saying that!

Mabud: Yes, I heard about the Rohingya boat people; Rohingya refugees in Thailand and in Malaysia.

Amena: I feel bad for the mothers in refugee camps in Chittagong. The have no life. When I think about them, I feel very upset. But I am happy

that we came to Kanada. (The mother, thoughtful but a smile crossed across her face).

Siddiq: From the refugee camps, many people went to different countries but my friends told me, Kanada is the best of all.

Amena: No country is better than the country you are born and brought up! I remember many things about my country Burma. I am a Burmese.

Siddiq: If you are a Burmese why then they have killed my father and my sister and forced you out? How does that make you a Burmese? They don't think we are Burmese!

Amena: Their thinking doesn't make what I am. I was born there and I am Burmese. We are not Bengalis, nor Rakines. We are Rohingyas from Arakan. Arakan is a very beautiful place. You were very young when we left Arakan and, you wouldn't remember it.

(Somebody knocks on the door; Mabud opens it. His friends came with prepared breakfast from their home, "Assalamu Alikum!" Wassalam!")

Mabud: Come in L Win, come in everybody, and come inside! I was talking to my mother about you that you will come to meet her. We were talking about Kanada, and my mother says, no country is better than the country you were born. (Mabud talks and greets his friends) She says, Arakan was a very beautiful land. It is true, we have snowing in Kanada but in Arakan now it must be summer.

L Win: Give me some plates (borton). I will set the table for breakfast. We have egg and toast and coffee for everybody.

Mabud: Ok, let me help you.

Siddiq: You will sit with mother and we will serve you. Remember, in our Rohingya culture, young people serve older people?

Mabud: Siddique, I am not very old. Don't make me old. (Siddique with L Win's help serves the breakfast.)

Siddiq: Maa! Tell us what do you remember about Arakan?

Mabud: Let's hear about Arakan from my mother.

L Win: I was born in Bangladeshi refugee camp and I heard that Arakan is a beautiful place. Yes aunty, I also enjoy knowing about Arakan?

Amena: I remember many things about my village! But you should eat now and we will talk about it later.

(Finished breakfast. now drinking coffee)

Siddiq: You never told me all about it in detail.

(Now knock on the door again, Anuwar, Faroque comes in)

Mabud: Anuwar, good to see you. Hi Faroque! Come in.

Anuwar: We came to meet aunty. Assalamu Alikum Aunty!

Amena: Wassalam (says quietly and covers her head with scarf.)

Siddiq: We are talking about Arakan. Maa, tell us what you know

Anuwar: Look, you have to give aunty some time to rest. She came to live with us. We will have plenty of time to listen to her.

Mabud: Anuwar, I know my mother, she is a tough lady. If she wants to say things about Arakan, we will listen.

Siddiq: But maa, don't make it too sad, because it will make me cry.

Amena: (Sat in the corner, a courteous but tough lady sits straight, her voice is clear.) I remember many things!!!

I was only five years old. I remember my childhood in Arakan. In the morning, our villages located near the ocean had gentle breeze from the river and in the village it becomes full of mist and after a little while sun

rays pass through the tree branches and immediately after you could see dew on the floor. My father after prayer would have breakfast; some days we had fish and watery rice, some other days we ate meat and watery rice. I saw my father go back to Akyab College to teach. He walked like a very proud man. We had two cows for milk, fresh vegetables from the field; we had 10 acres of land. Some people worked for us. My father said, his forefathers were from the decedents of Sind Khan, the Persian General who went to Arakan to help restore Arakani king Noromikhala to power. My father had some visibly Rakhine features perhaps because most of the soldiers married local women.

Siddiq: You never said that to me! When was that?

Amena: Sind Khan liberated Arakan for the Arakanese people in 1430.

Amena: Sind Khan helped Arakan freed with his 30 thousand soldiers. He defeated Wali Khan who was the king of Arakan for a short period of time. After that Rohingyas and Rakhines lived in relative harmony and built the Mrouhaung city near Lambree River. My father also told me that for the present xenophobic problems Ashin U Ottoma is responsible. He was the Rakhine ultra-nationalist during the 1930's been the first anti-Muslim xenophobe and was behind the anti-Muslim riots in Rangoon. Ottama is long dead but I think he has many followers in Arakan who now work with the military government

Siddiq: Maa, tell us more about Arakan when there was no war.

Amena: I was only 8 years old. I remember vividly, one night; it was a moon lit night, everybody was enjoying Ha du du game, and little children were also playing, I was with them. I remember peasants sitting by the roadside, gossiping, we had Rakhine people also joined us in the game. There was a small river flowing next to our village. You could smell fresh air and hear the sound of some fishes once in a while jump up and down in the paddy field half merged in water. This was the peaceful Arakan.

Faroque: When was it?

Amena: It was during the early 40's. But suddenly there was a big war. The British withdrew from Arakan and the Japanese took it over.

L Win: Are you talking about 1942?

Amena: It got to be! Then everything became upside down. In our locality, many Muslim people were killed; I saw piles of dead bodies and the smell coming from the paddy field. Many people left their villages but a Rakine Monk who was my father's friend gave us shelter. In Arakan, this event was known to the Rohingya Muslims as the "Karbalai Arakan."

Faroque: So, not all the Rakhines are bad people?

Amena: No, no there are some evil ones.

aroque: What about the monks?

Amena: Monks are good people. They say killing is not permitted in their religion. After the event however my father was fired from his job.

Anuwar: Why?

Amena: No reason was given. But we found out that they hired a Rakine Buddhist. They say it is their country. Ever since he stayed home until he died. He was very upset for firing him as a non Buddhist. Unlike many others, we were still alive but became terrified.

Mabud: Ma, tell us about my father. (Tears began to roll down her chick)

Amena: Your father was a good man. He had many Rakhine friends. About 6 months before the independence the country's leader Aung San was killed. The nation was shaken. Your father was an MP from our area. One day he came back from Rangoon and stopped talking to anybody. People asked, "What happened?" He finally broke his silence and said: "Our great leader Aung San was killed." He said, U Nu assured us that there will be peace. There was a relative peace. U Nu was a man of good quality. He was a true Buddhist. People had fine time. We felt relatively secured. Then came 1962; in the village, we used to hear all kinds of birds singing on tree branches every day. But lately, there was a black crow making strange sounds for the past couple of days as if something bad is imminent. People have been talking about it. With the crow's bemoaning cries first arrived the local hooligans to loot our village. The apparent pin drop silence was suddenly shattered

by the sound of shooting. We were running in every direction, I heard a sound, somebody shot the singing bird and I saw it fallen injured on the ground. It was the military shooting in every direction. I asked your father," Who are these people? He said: "We have an army coup, a notorious person named Ne Win took over power, and "He is a racist who says," Burma is for Burmans and for Buddhists." The army barricaded our entire area; on the radio the army said "Rohingyas couldn't be Burmese people, they don't look like us." Rohingyas look more like Bangalis, so they should go back to Bangladesh." The military would come to our village take our men for forced labor, confiscate our land, and take women with them to the camp. The captured men and women were as if like war booty to them. I saw some of the Rakhines helped them to capture the Rohingya villagers. During this traumatic time Mabud was born. To avoid trouble, we moved from our Akyab locality to further North, and settled again near a valley. When we left Akyab suburb, we left everything behind. Your father had no income here. Some Rohingyas fearing danger crossed the border to Bangladesh. We settled in Buthedaung. In Buthedaung your father began tutoring students for income. Young Poori was very happy here. She would run around the valley and collect wild flowers. One day I went out to look for her and she appeared out of no where as if with the glances of a deer. People called her the lily of the valley; that was my beautiful Rohingya girl. Some Moghs seeing us new in the area began calling us "Chittagonian" even knowing very well that the military is pushing Rohingyas out to Chittagong.

(Amena goes inside to take a break, Mabud and Faroque continues the discussion)

Mabud: Despite the fact that due to Burmese invasion of Arakan, historically, both Rohingya, Rakhine and Chakma tribes settled in Chittagong, but some notorious Rakhine intellectuals have been trying to prove that our ancestors were from Chittagong. They even say, "We never heard of the name Rohingya." To them Rohingyas settled in Arakan after 1925 when Arakan came under British occupation." Any Muslim moved from the South to the North in the Mayu frontier were even seen by the Burmese as the newly arrived Chittagonians from Bangladesh.

Faroque: These writers are ignominious individuals. They say Rohingyas are Chittagonians but I checked the history of our people and found that

British historian Francis Buchanan found the name Rohingya in 1798. He met some Burmese people who called themselves as the Rohingyas. Rohingyas are simply Arakani Muslims. But even when the name was there in use, it is true; the name was officially adapted by the Rohingya leaders during the 50's to distinguish themselves from the Indian migrants settled in Burma. You know that there were anti-Indian riots in Rangoon. To me what is happening in Arakan is to link us as the Indian migrants which is not true but is purely racism.

Mabud: You heard about Charney, he thinks the name Rohingya actually derived from Rakhing. Read even Martin Smith's "The Muslim "Rohingyas" of Burma who says Rohingyas are the natives of Arakan.

Faroque: But who listens, Rakhines listen to their own ideas, laws? Now they have the extra help from the Burmese military. Did you know that even the name Rakine was also newly adapted during the 1940's? They were identified in British records as Moghs. Arakan was a Mahayana Buddhist place with an Indian population. The Mohamoni statue is the proof of this fact. Mohamuni is not the Rakhine statue. Rakhines arrived from central Burma with Theravada Buddhism during the 10th century. Mohamuni statue is much older than that; it was the statue of the Indian Chandra people.

Mabud: Muslims were already present from the 8th century. Many of them arrived by the sea and settled in coastal regions. The xenophobic Rakhine leaders would respect their made up history, reject law except their own. They base their rule on conspiracy, intimidation and killing. Beginning from the Burmese Invasion of Arakan in 1784 almost every trace of Muslim presence was razed to the ground with the claim that Arakan is owned by the Moghs only. It is total ethnic cleansing. Muslim names like Akyab Akk Ab, like Punjab in India, were even changed to Sittwe.

Faroque: They blame the Burmese destroying Arakan. What about anti-Rohingya Rakine vandals who are the ones destroying Rohingya properties. All we see today are hill and hill tops with Pagodas only built by slave labor. When tolerance level among the Rakhines went so low, society is bound to be fragmented. That is why they lost their kingdom they once shared with Arakani Muslim people.

Mabud: Did you know this? It is in Arakan that a historic massacre was committed? There, the son of the Moghul emperor Shah Jahan was given the promise of shelter but was later robbed, then with the entire family massacred. That was in Arakan in 1666. There is a culture of anarchy in Arakan. That is why Arakan even earned its legendary name the "Mogher Mulluk" (the lawless society).

Anuwar: Thanks Mabud, That was very interesting. I think our children should know this history. I will come tomorrow if Mabud is free

Faroque: Why don't you all come to my house tomorrow to eat?

Mabud: That is ok. We will join you. I will ask my friends from Buthidaung; you invite your friends from Rathedaung, and Kalam, you invite your friends from Maungdaw. Please invite our people from all the areas of Arakan. We will prey together.

(Wassalam, everybody leaves)

EPISODE 2: FAREWELL TO MOTHERLAND

(Mabud enters Faroque's house with his brother Siddiq. Young Rohingyas already gathered there. Mabud says Assalamu Alikum to everybody, Wassalam the rest of the people present says).

Faroque: Where is aunty? Why didn't you bring her?

Mabud: She has a lit of temperature, so she is taking rest. On top of that the weather is changing pretty fast. It has been snowing for the past two days.

Faroque: That is ok. I think aunty should take rest. Feel yourself comfortable. (First tea with home-made items was served).

Iman: Did you read the Kaladan News?

Faroque: what is it? There turmoil again began in Arakan. Rohingya people are coming out again to take shelter in Bangladesh.

Mabud: I don't know when this will stop. Our people are suffering for so long!

Salekh: Our leaders never did anything good for us!

Mabud: I personally don't blame our old generation leaders. We were suddenly attacked by the organized army and their local xenophobe collaborators. In Arakan, we were an agricultural community with simple lifestyle. During the 1960's we had hardly any educated people, hardly any book written on our history. No one was ready for this organized crime against humanity. In Burma we were not the only people, there are other minorities faced similar problems. So, I would say, from 1962-2007 against he military's actions we have been a disorganized community. We didn't know how to respond to their crimes. We fought more among ourselves then against the enemy. Now we know who the enemy is. From 2007 we are regrouping ourselves internationally. We are working as lobbying groups. We know our enemies are not the Rakhines or the Burmans in general. There are good people among them. We are fighting against the xenophobes who are trying to deny our basic rights. The xenophobes see us as Muslims but not human. You see our young leaders; they are now spread all over the world. We have rich businessman who cares. Did you see so many Rohingya Websites, our young and spirited leaders are now working together, organizing seminars and conferences? It is an intellectual investment our young leaders did in the Rohingya heritage through their hard work. See the Rohingya Radio, Mayu TV in Burmese, Rohingyalish language now so easy to learn, we have our news groups, lobbying groups, and now a growing number of educated Rohingya people. We are moving forward. But we need more. I don't blame our leadership entirely, after such barbaric rule for so long by the xenophobic army, Burma became a very oppressive society. It is not easy to break the ice. Did you also know that among the democracy movement leadership there are strong anti-Rohingya xenophobic people from Arakan? Westerners are questioning these very fault lines in Burma's democracy movement leadership. They are pointing out that this is not fighting for democracy! Indeed, this has to change. But the problem is if this extreme genocide of intimidation through forced labor, ban on marriage, mass arrest, and confiscation of property continues, we will not have anybody left in Arakan. To me generally speaking, we are not a violent people. Rohingya cause is a human cause so we should get

international support. We have to keep up our hope and keep moving. I don't know about you, when I think of my father and Pori, it gives me strength to get to action. It helps me keep moving.

L Win: How did the trouble for Rohingyas began in Arakan?

Mabud: It actually began in 1942. My mother was telling us all about her experience at my home yesterday. I think it was a result of Japanese invasion of Burma which ignited racism among some Arakani racist people. Before that Arakan was a great place.

Hanif: How did you escape Arakan?

Mabud: It's a long story. It was in 1978. Nasaka arrested my uncle and took his daughter Shahra with them. There were few other families with them. They never came back. Pori was only 18, she was very beautiful; there were many proposals for her marriage, realizing the trouble that we will be the next to be picked up by the local goons and the military, I, my father and mother and my sister Poori and Siddiq (was only 1 year old,) left our village. There were approximately 200 people with us leaving the entire village. Suddenly we saw close to 50 soldiers who surrounded most people. We slowed down. Now we took a different turn. Here we were about 20 people. Now we are near a hill but still in the valley. The soldiers spotted us and began firing at us. My father was shot in the chest. Pori was bleeding from the nose. She had a bullet in her head. My father said to my mother, "Keep moving." I tried to drag my father, he was losing blood. I went to Poori. She was already dead. My father said, "Go! Go!" I didn't want to leave them. The army was quickly approaching us. I was running and running and there was a shot and I fall on the ground.

Iman: Then what happened?

Mabud: I lied down in the paddy field. "Am I injured? I didn't feel any pain. No I was not shot." I said. I saw none around me. "Where is everybody?" There was a total silence.

Iman: What happened?

Mabud: After a while, I tried to emerge but I was tired. I heard a whispering sound, "maa" I responded "maa." I looked around." I didn't see my mother anywhere around. I checked around and said, a little loudly, "maa" then I herd it responded again "maa." I realized that my mother is alive," I screamed, loudly "Maaaaaaaaaa." The sound even became louder, said in return "Maaaaaaaaaa."

Iman: Did she wait for you?

Mabud: I couldn't see anybody around and where is my mom," I saw her fleeing with the crowd. I saw mountains around me but not my mother. I walked for two days in search of my mother and brother. I finally arrived at the Naaf River crossing.

Iman: Then what happened?

Mabud: I looked back through the valley and I said one last "farewell to my motherland" and crossed the river to Bangladesh.

What happened to aunty?

Mabud: While in Bangladesh, I looked for my mother and Siddiq everywhere. I saw camps set up everywhere. I asked people such and such a woman with a child, "Did you see her?" "No" they said. It was the same response every one gave me. I couldn't find them anywhere. Then I thought they are also not alive. But I searched them everywhere.

Iman: Where did you find them?

Mabud: Then after a week I was exhausted, came to the Ukhiya camp. I was told by a friend that he saw my mother here. Yes, from a distance, I spotted a woman with a child. I wasn't sure. The woman looked different. Her swollen red eyes spoke of the terrible suffering she had endured. She had wrinkles, and she seemed too weak to move forward. Is that my mother? Yes, she is! She is forwarding fast to hug me. I approached her faster to save the distance between her and me and at first she kissed me on the forehead, then on the check, and even on my cloths. I said, "Maa!" She now replied "Maa! This time the sound was not from Arakan's walling mountains. It

was real, my mother! She held me in her arms. I felt as if her touches clenched my body, her tears continued to pour on me like a torrent.

Iman: Was it a tent or a sack?

Mabud: She took shelter in a sack. It was raining hard as if the cloud was also weeping with us seeing us descended from a peaceful life of paradise into a tragedy. We are now some homeless people-the refugees. We will now be living as if in a subhuman status. But despite the uncertainties, I now felt protected in my mother's abundance in love, stored for me. Despite our destitute status, I realized that we are still human and we could give love and even cry but that we can do it even louder. Despite the transformation into a new life, I remember I was very happy to find my family.

Iman: What happened after?

Mabud: I couldn't forget Arakan where I left my father and Poori Apa. Worst of all, I felt humiliated that we were forcefully exterminated from our birth place. I promised, one day, I will go back to Arakan to visit the spot where I left both of my family members.

Faroque: (Faroque in his tears, tried to wipe it said) Then what happened?

Mabud: Well, that is my story (Mabud said sobbingly). What is your story Faroque?

Faroque: what can I say? My story is similar to yours except that the actors were different. The military was collecting young people for constructing highway. My parents fearing that I will be picked up by them decided to send me out of Arakan. With me there were many other people leaving the village. On our way, when we were crossing the Apawa mountain pass, I saw many old and disabled men and women falling down dying while climbing the rugged hazardous mountain and most painful was the scene of the groaning pregnant women while giving birth to their baby in that dense forest. And more painful was the groans of some Rohingya women wailing terribly.

Mabud: When was it?

Faroque: It was in 1991.

Altaf: I left Arakan in 1978. We lived in tents in the Nayapara cap. Next year we were sent back to Arakan. I didn't want to go but the authorities forced us back. The persecution began again. In1982 the military government at the persuasion of some Rakhine leaders passed the Citizenship Act and this time, before we were forced to leave, our citizenship papers were taken back. They set fire in the village homes, and two of our Rohingya men were arrested and soon dumped in the village paddy field. Some officers we met on our way surprisingly didn't want to harm us as long as we leave Arakan. One officer said, "Look, "We could kill all of you, but our intention is not to kill you. Like a hunter we have order to kill few and scare the rest so that you leave our country." We kept walking and we had no water, nothing to feed ourselves. In Bangladesh, we took shelter by the street under a tree. I remember a Bangladeshi woman from the nearby village gave us some food. I was hugely dehydrated and hungry. Later on we were admitted in to the refugee camp. I met many of our our villagers also became refugees. Many of them later on died of starvation and sickness. Sometimes I also carried the dead body to burry in the graveyard. I saw so many people dying. I cried and cried. Then I stopped crying.

Mabud: True, how much can you cry? Here in my file I found a story of the military oppression: Title "The harrowing Tales of Rohingya Refugees" This was published in Asia Week. I will read it for you. Listen!

The Harrowing Tales of Rohingya refugees
Cox's Bazar, January 20

Her gaunt and swollen red eyes speak of the terrible sufferings she has endured; squatting on a dusty path in front of a shack. Zohra Begum, a sunken checked emaciated woman in her early 20's stared blank, her chin resting on her left hand. Wrapped in a dirty Tami, she seemed too weak to walk. When she appeared to muster enough strength to tell her story, it poured out like a torrent punctuated repeatedly by deep sighs.

Barely audible, her voice dropping almost to a whisper, what Zohra Begum said is this: On a cold Monday, two months ago Imam Hossain, Zohra's husband—a grocery shop owner was forcibly taken away from his shop by

the Burmese army to work as a porter. They placed a huge ammunition box on his shoulders and ordered him to follow them. When Imam Hossain pleaded he was unable to carry the burden, he was severely beaten up. Then he was crucified-nailed to a three with his arms stretched wide. The soldiers then cut his penis and put it in his mouth. Then his nose was severed and eyebrows ripped off. As though it was not enough for the defying their order, one of them drove bayonet through his chest. He died instantly.

When Zohra heard the news, she rushed to the spot. It was in Imamuddin Para under Buthidaung Township in the Burmese province of Arakan. Seeing his mutilated, crucified body, "I nearly fainted and I can not remember how I got back home" she said.

This was not the end of her ordeal. She was put through another hellish experience. For five consecutive nights Zohra was gang raped by the same soldiers at her home. One night at around 2 a.m. four soldiers broke open her door and forcibly took Zohra and her 12 year old sister to an army base at LawadongIa newly established military cantonment) where she saw at least 40 women herded into a room. There she and others were forced to welcome the soldiers between their parted thighs. Unable to endure anymore, Zohra's sister collapsed. She never recovered. Zohra was released after they discovered she too couldn't respond to their eramal needs any longer.

Shattered and devastated, Zohra was carried by her brother a month later to another village, called Nagpura, near the Bangladesh Burma border. Twenty days ago she came to the Maricha Palong refugee camp . . . The camp scattered over two hillocks along the Cox's Bazar Teknaf road is a pathetic collection of tiny sacks made of bamboo and coconut leaves that exposed the belongings within some earthen pots, tattered cloths and a few cooking utensils. With no running water and sewage facilities, the overpowering stench of human excrement filled the air in the camp.

Almost every resident of the camp I spoke to recount the horror stories of the army's brutality and bestiality.

Nurul: It is true, the life of a refugee is like a foot ball, kicking from bar to bar. One goal bar is on the soil of east Naff River and another is west Naff River. The Naff River is a foot ball ground. The world communities should

come forward to rescue the refugees . . . by settling them in 3rd countries because they are human beings. They have their birth rights to be alive with dignity like others.

Kirakani: Stop telling us the refugee stories. I am tired of hearing that. "Refugees, refugees, refugees!" I am not a refugee!

Iman: Who are you?

Kirakani: After the military attack, I went to Thailand and came to Kanada and went to University and now earn lots of money, I also bought a new house. I have a new car. You keep saying "refugee, refugee" I am no more like any shitty newly arrived Rohingyas doing cleaning jobs.

Hamadan: Were you a refugee in Thailand?

Karakani: Yes, but I hate people calling us refugees. I don't care, ok!

Hamadan: No one is calling you a refugee. We are talking about a situation that is real.

Kirakani: Look, once I bought a lab top. I began to attend seminars to help my community.

Hamdan: Listen, it was not the laptop; laptop doesn't come with a brain. You need brain to help your community. For your conspiracy and badmouthing, now everybody blames you. I don't know how you can call yourself a good Muslim. You have done more harm to our nation than the Rakhines did. You created bad name for our nation internationally. I know in every community there are betrayers and destructive people; you are the one in our community. Oh man, you are arrogant!

Karakani: Don't call me arrogant. You bastard! (Kirakini phones his friend Rasheed and leaves the place promising he will come back)

EPISODE 3: KIRAKINI KILLING THE ROHINGYA IMAGE

(Farouque's house: Guests are still there, some finished food. Kirakini enters with his friend Rasheed.)

Faroque: Why did you leave?

Kirakini: Man! You have invited some bustards that is why I went to eat out with Rasheed. But I am back!

Rasheed: Like Kirakini, you should all be supporting the Rakhines to help separate Arakan. You have some bustard Bengalis here who will not agree with me.

Forkan: Why did you call Rohingyas as Bengalis?

Rasheed: That is what you are.

Kirakini: Yes, that is what you are! I am an educated person. I know the history.

Hamdan: The way you talk using abusive language, you don't sound educated.

Kirakini: I am educated. The way I see myself, I am not only educated, I am highly educated, you bastard don't know.

Hamadan: You called me "bastard," I heard many things about you but I didn't say anything. Tell me, what made you highly educated?

Kirakini: I took some courses from university.

Rasheed: Don't say anything to my brother! Ok!

Hamadan: Stop your silly gestures. You have been a menace to our community. I read your very imprudent letter you sent to our well-wishers like Dr. Sahab. Once I attended his speech, he said he was once a refugee in India and suffered like us. Look at his expression of humility. He said his suffering as a former refugee gave him the strength to fight against Burma's chauvinistic nationalism that caused our own suffering. He says he is with us as a member of the suffering humanity. He says, his work for us is as if his prayer or duty to God who created the humanity. He has a thankless job here. He says he receives threatening emails from both the Rakines and sometimes from the Rohingyas. Why? It hurts me to see your and your

friend's mindless actions. If we have couple of more people like you, we have big problems. So, stop that hyperactive nonsense!

Kirakini: What did the Dr. Shaheb do for us, nothing?

Hamdan: Look, I have an article by him and his response to the xenophobic Rakhines on the name "Rohingya" is very thoughtful.

Rahmat: the xenophobe Rakhine who says "I have never heard the name Rohingya, Dr. Sahab asks a simple question: How could a 5 year child forced out of Arakan with his parents could be the one labeled as an illegal immigrant entered Arakan in 1825? What is this? Tell me the answer as a human being? You don't have to be a peace-loving Buddhist or a democracy movement leader to understand this? You just have to be a human being of the 21st century to break the ice that divides us between xenophobes and the peaceful Rakines. He says, these assertions "I have Never Heard of the Name Rohingya." is simply a xenophobic Rakhine pretention.

Karakini: You guys are assholes! You wouldn't understand! I am leaving.

Altaf: Ok, Ok, tell me before you go, who gave you the name "Kirakini?" It is not a Rohingya name.

Karakini: My mother! (Everybody laughs)

Altaf: (Very loudly) Ha ha, ha, haa, hahaha!! I sounds similar the Rakani. (More people laughs)

Hasan: The name sounds more like Portuguese. (Everybody laughs)

Altaf: (Asks Faroque) Faroque, say something to Kirakini.

Faroque: No. He is a guest in my house. So I shouldn't say anything. Moreover, I am saving my energy for a bigger cause.

Altaf: (Continues laughing at Kirakini) Ha ha ha, Haaaaa!! Portuguese! I heard that for some reason he is anti Rohingya, anti-Bangladesh and

pro-Rakine. He hates Bangladeshis. Like the racist Rakhines he calls the Rohingyas, "kula."

Gaffour: Kirakini is wrong; Bangladesh is the only country gave shelter to the Rohingya people. There could be some occasional bad treatments and exceptions. I know some Bangladeshis really hate us. Did you hear one Palit. He gave our people so much trouble. He was an anti-Rohingya police officer.

Alraf: People who went to Saudi Arabia and the Middle East all went with Bangladeshi passport. Remember, we are stateless people! Even now unofficially we have over 200,000 Rohingyas in Bangladesh. There are some Bangladeshi scholars who take it seriously to support the cause because as an over populated country, the first victim of the Burmese refugee problem is their country, Bangladesh. Through us they are also the victims.

Hasan: Kirakini is always an anti Bangladeshi and pro-Rakhine person, I don't know why! He thinks if you are not with his gang you are with his enemy's gang. But it is possible that you are with neither party. His logic is similar to W Bush's logic that says: "if you are not with him you must be with my enemy." This is called Fascism. Some of our most unsophisticated and arrogant people have this type of mentality.

Faroque: Don't put down Kirakini like that. I think Kirakini has a point. It is good to be not anti-Rakine. Not all the Rakines are bad people.

Altaf: No I don't mean that. I mean something else. Kirakini associates with all kinds of people who are there to create confusion against the Rohingya nation. I don't trust him. This Rasheed is a Rakhine xenophobe. Rasheed is his fake name.

Kirakini: You bustards! You don't know anything. I am leaving you! (Kirakani leaves slamming the door laud and everybody laughs)

Mabud: (Visibly upset at Rohingyas throwing mud at each other says) please don't laugh.

Forkan: We have to have clear thinking. I know many people now complain about Kirakini. He now has earned his notoriety as the Rohingya spoiler

#1. You see that? Yesterday, I had a call from Abu Dhabi complaining about his postings. You see, other than his postings, we have good things going on also. My brother Ustad in KSA was explaining about our children learning Rohingyalish language. It is a great job Siddique Engineer and also other educated people did for our people in the literary arena. These creative things are happening in the Middle East. There we have over 700,000 Rohingyas. Outside Arakan, our future is in the Middle East and in Bangladesh. If we can have all our children learn Rohingyalish, we will have a big second generation Rohingya community there. But my friend Kamal from KSA was also complaining about Kirakini' confusing the community. I have suggested him to stay away from Kirkini and his notorious activities. Kirkini is a swindler, a charlatan

Mabud: Through cyber bullying he is making a bad name for our people on the net. I have information that some Rakhines are using his name to spread anti Rohingya propaganda on the net. He has been a problem in our community. Just ignore him.

Forkan: I didn't get what you mean by cyber bullying?

Mabud: It is harm inflicted through the medium of electronic text. It is ganging up on the opponents by ridiculing them in forums, and posting false statements to humiliate them. In doing this Kirakini allows space for Rakhines to find ways to ridicule our people. Bullies like Kirakinis are typically impulsive, hot-tempered, and easily angered. It says they have strong need to dominate others and usually have little empathy for their targets. They always find problems with others but not with themselves. It says that their attitudes develop from parent's discipline styles. But, look in the Bukhara Sharif it says about the sin of finding faults in others 'Abd Allah (RA) reported that the Prophet of Allah (saw) said, "A believer is not a fault-finder and is not abusive, obscene, ..."

Forkan: It makes sense.

Mabud: Kirakini ridicules' his opponents a lot. He and his likes made the rohingyanet media sensational by posting allegations but the ultimate victims are us. It is time to think why we sufferer for people like him? Like most people once Rohingya people had peaceful life in Arakan. We had our villages, our community. We have developed our culture of respecting elders.

It is true, like most refugee people, most of us had traumatic experience but Kirakini probably had a traumatic early life also and seems he is from a very bad upbringing. He didn't get our Rohingya culture of showing respect to each other. The way I see it, it is a good idea to ignore him.

Forkan: But again think about it. We are a nation without a leader or leaders. We all had those things once. Now we have to reorganize our cultural traits; ourselves and develop leadership through respecting each other and making sacrifices. We should choose those our leaders who made the most sacrifices.

Hamdan: But how are we going to ignore Kirakini. He is worst on the rohingyanet. He doesn't understand that it is a formal media. It is used by the international community. He uses strange names like Adward. I don't understand why this person has to be so deceptive. Why to cheat each other? Why can't we have free and frank discussion?

Samad: Kirakini, Iba Uggwa Kwuror (dog) Motoo, Uddwa Kowora Koawari Goirto Chaii!! (Kirakini is like a dog! His habit is always to bite people)

Saiful: Ethar Oiezza Oal Ethaar Bilai. (His friends are like his cats) Everybody laughs!

Sultan: Remember, I said to ignore him. You write to the rohingyanet to publish only news, important issues of education, and development of the community and use strict censors.

Mabud: Yes, this is a serious problem. I will talk to Kirakini and write to the rohingyanet moderators separately.

Saiful: Mabud bhai, tell us, why the military is so cruel to us?

Mabud: The answer is: It is our property they want to grab. They don't want us.

Kaiser: Why do they use the name "Rohingya" as an excuse to declare us as non Burmese?

Mabud: It is like the wolf and lamb story. In the story the wolf says, "How dare you muddle the water from which I am drinking?" "Nay, master, nay," said the young lamb; "if the water be muddy up there, I cannot be the cause of it, for it runs down from you to me." "Well, then," said the Wolf, "Why did you call me bad names this time last year?" "That cannot be." I was not born then. "If it was not you it was your father;" Before the lamb jumped from the clip to save him said, "Any excuse will serve a tyrant."

Saiful: It has been going on for so long! Some of our people are also not enlightened enough to understand that we have to create pressure from outside. We keep fighting on the net among ourselves. That brings bad result for us. When Kirakini starts a nasty fight everybody joins. Then we see the dialogue of the deaf. All are screaming at each other. After the battle is over, the victims couldn't be seen; for it is the Rohingya image, as if the wolf now can easily justify the lamb responsible for mudding water. For the Kirakini type of Rohingyas, I see they "lose the substance by only grasping at the shadow."

Mabud: Look, due to our failure to respect each others, we are the ones dying. International agencies avoid us to rehabilitate in third countries.

Faiz: (Faiz was on the computer) Look, what is happening in the refugee camps in Bangladesh. (Shows a computer print out with name of people died in the camp in a single year; most of them are women and young children)

Mabud: Our infighting is as if like the story of the Frogs Desiring a King. The story goes like this: The frogs thought they "should have a king and a proper constitution, so they determined to send up a petition to Jove to give them what they wanted." Mighty Jove," they cried, "send unto us a king that will rule over us and keep us in order." Jove laughed at their croaking, and threw down into the swamp a huge Log, which came down plash to the swamp. The Frogs were frightened out of their lives by the commotion made in their midst, and all rushed to the bank to look at the horrible monster; but after a time, seeing that it did not move, one or two of the boldest of them ventured out towards the Log, and even dared to touch it; still it did not move. Then the greatest hero of the Frogs jumped upon the Log and commenced dancing up and down upon it, thereupon all the Frogs came and did the same; and for some time the Frogs went

about their business every day without taking the slightest notice of their new King Log lying in their midst. But this did not suit them, so they sent another petition to Jove, and said to him, "We want a real king; one that will really rule over us." Now this made Jove angry, so he sent among them a big Stork that soon set to work gobbling them all up. Then the Frogs repented when too late."

Faiz: We have to stop acting like frogs.

Mabud: As a nation I think we have to help ourselves through whichever way we can help each other. For now the log is the international body. We will have real a king when we act like human. For now we have to watch double agents among us and talk less. We have to work from wherever we are located with international agencies, interfaith dialogue in Burma, lobbying foreign governments to accept more people. We have to involve young people to write on the life of our people in Arakan and our people in the Diaspora in different other countries. We have to start contact among young people living in the Diaspora. We can have photo exhibition and collect photos and travel to different cities with collection of photographs of all kinds; in the Diaspora in settlement in the Gulf States, in Kanada, in USA, in Japan and in Bangladesh and from localities and in Arakan. It says a picture is worth a thousand words. We have to approach the Amnesty International, the Refugee International, and refugee resettlement agency. We have to be active. We have to organize more International conferences. We have to have Rohingya scholars not on the Rohingyas but also on Burma. Burma is our country man! We have to break the Rakine xenophobic ice.

Forkan: In Arakan, we are like a leaf in the storm. Kirakini should have listened to your analysis.

Mabud: No, he is a wicked man. He will not listen. He went too far against everybody. He is destroying our creative energy and passion. He will not change. In the confusion, we are losing our focus. I have a friend named Stephen who once said, "Those who do not get creative with their pain and passions most often stay stuck in the past and sadly do not make as much contributions to their own lives or to other's lives." He also said, "In English we say 'If you aim for the stars you won't hit the mud' He says, "I enjoy aiming for the stars."

Forkan: With a person like you Mabud, we are walking in the direction of hope.

Mabud: We have to involve young people who will come up with new ideas and get to action. There must be a way to break the ice to be recognized as a member of Burma's ethnic groups. We can not do it alone. We have to get help from our well-wishers. Our people are suffering. God knows when it will end. It is time for prayer. Let's pray.

(Everybody prays and after leave the house)

EPISODE 4: CHASING THE DEMON

The illustration: Courtesy of Wikipedia



(Mabud's house: It is about 5 a.m. Amena in her dreams screams. She had the flashback of what happened in refugee camps and things happened to her on her way to Kanada)

Amena: I am going to slay you, where is my sword? I am going to destroy you. You killed my husband, my Poori. Poori! Poori! Poori! I will show you; I have Dara's sword!

Siddiq: What demon mother? What sword? Who is Dara?

Amena: (Opens her eyes) what did I do?

Siddiq: You were screaming mother! What happened?

Amena: I saw a dream.

Siddiq: Maa, you are holing a pen, not any sword. Where did you get it; in your dreams?

Amena: What is happened to me? I saw in my dream that some people were trying to kill us.

Siddiq: Us who?

Amena: You and me! It seemed so real! I even saw the two brother's faces

Siddiq: Who are those two brothers?

Amena: They are the two Mogh (Rakhine) brothers named Aye and Maung from Buthdaung area of Arakan. I remember we kept running and running for safety. The two brothers were chasing us with long knifes. They came very close to capture us. Then I saw Salim and Dara two demon fighter knights who are helping our people. Salim and Dara took out their long knifes and shrieked at the notorious brothers and said, "Let them go!" "Let them go!" They began chasing them away. Dara is a very tall and a brave man and fought with Aye and Salim kept Maung busy chasing.

Siddiq: Interesting maa.

Amena: Not far from there, I saw a big white bird set near a mountain pass. It was a very beautiful bird. She in her blaring voice but with a caring look at us said, "My name is Chrisa. "Come, come! I will take you to a safer place." It felt as if I had a fleeting glimpse of the bird. I thought I never saw a bird like this before. I first gaped wordlessly at this incredible apparition. I realized that we had no choice. We rushed to climb on the bird. As we climbed, the demon brothers were loose again. Just before the bird could fly, Maung tried to cut the wing of the bird but Dara fought hard and disabled Maung and passed me the sword. Dara said to me: "Keep it with you!"

Siddiq: Maa, I don't see you have a knife. I don't see any Dara or Salim here also. But it is true; it is you and me here. You know maa, I think you were thinking about the two people came to see us off at the airport. Remember,

they that gave us a gift and when we opened it we found a pair of pen and there in a note said, "Pen is mightier than sword."

Amena: No, it can't be; I saw everything so clearly!

Siddiq: I think you are right! It must be a nightmare! But it is true; Rohingya people should not be violent. They should educate themselves to fight their bigoted enemies. Maa, we don't have such enemies in Kanada!

Amena: Yes, I think you are right; it must be a bad dream. It is good that we are safe here.

(Amena got up from bad and checks the weather by looking through the window. Mabud woke up)

Amena: Is it time for prayer?

Mabud: Ma, I am checking the watch, it is 5:45 a. m. yes. You can pray.

Amena: In which direction am I going to pray?

Mabud: This direction.

(Amena does the prayer; than blesses the king for bringing her family to Kanada.) "God bless the King"

Mabud: Maa, there is no king in Kanada

Amena: What did you say? There is no king?

Siddiq: I heard there is a Queen who exists on dollar bill only.

Amena: What do you mean?

Mabud: Canada is a democratic country. Here people can elect their leaders. Burmese democracy movement leadership is fighting for a system like this.

Siddiq: Ya maa!

Amena: Ok, I will pray for the people of Kanada. God bless Kanada and our Rohingya Children. God, help our Rohingy boat people in so much trouble in Thailand, Malaysia in the Middle East and the Rohingyas in Bangladesh refugee camps. God, help the Rohingya children in refugee camps so that they could be brought to foreign countries! They are suffering so much. They have no food, place to sleep or play! God, help our people and the people of Burma to have democracy! Ameen! (Amena finished her prayer and saying "I always pray to God to help us to return to Arakan!"

Mabud: Yes, we need your blessing maa!

Siddiq: We just arrived! Why do you want to return maa?

Mabud: Siddiq, you will not understand; it is called longing to return home! It is nostalgia. (Mabud leaves the room)

Amena: Even if you don't want to go back, one day, I will return to Arakan!

Siddiq: You have so much benevolence for your people, people should call you Rohingyamaa.

Amina: You aren't joking with me! Are you?

Siddiq: No maa, I am right, you care so much about our people, you are not just my mother; you are the Rohingyamaa! You pray for our people and I am sure Allah will help us!

Amena: I know I pray for our people, but my main concern here is Mabud and you should get married and raise lots of Rohingya Children. You teach them to be respectful, kind, gentle and helpful! Raise children just like my son Mabud.

Siddiq: I have no money; we have no relative here, who is going to marry me?

Amena: My Rohingya boys are very handsome; anybody will like you if you have some education from here.

Siddiq: It is only you who say I am handsome! You always joke with me.

Amena: I don't joke with you; I will first find a girl for Mabud then for you.

Siddiq: Mabud bhai is interested in a girl born in Buthidaung who recently came to Kanada with her parents.

Amena: (Amena was not feeling well. said) Siddiq, Help me, go to bed. I am having pain.

Siddiq: Mabud bhai, mother is not feeling well! (Mabud was on the computer in the next room)

Mabud: What happened? Maa!

Amena: It is not serious. But please put me on the bed.

Mabud: Maa!

Amena: I am not feeling well. My chest pain is increasing.

Mabud: I don't know what to do about it.

(Siddiq brings water for the mother to drink. Amena holds Mabud and Siddiq in her arms and cries. Both of them sit near her on the bed)

Mabud: Let me call my friends for advice. (Mabud phones everybody and then sits near the mother. Soon after U Kalam, U Nurul, U Habibur Rahman, U Yonus, U Maung Sein, U Shah Newaz, U Zaw, U Arif, Sadeq, Enayet, Islam, Faroque, Nur, Hasan, Zaid, Alam, U Taher, U Salimullah, U Ashraf, U Jilani, Ghiyathudeen, Rahmat, U Shamsul, Nyi, Kalim, U Gaffour, Hamadan, Mohamed Ali, Soe, Salim and many others began to arrive and worries about her; the Rohingyamaa.)

Kalam (Was a pharmacist in Arakan): (goes to Mabud): Mabud, did you give her something to eat.

Mabud: No, we were getting ready! She likes to eat rice crispy cereal with banana.

Kalam: Mabud, this is my friend Stephen. He is a human rights activist helping our people.

Mabud: Hi!

Stephen: I am so sorry to hear about your mother. I am praying for her.

Kalam: (Kalam and Nurul were friends of Amena's deceased husband go to see Amina who is lying on bed. Kalam weeping), how are you feeling? I couldn't arrive sooner. I am sorry!

Kalam: Aunty! Have some breakfast.

Amena: I don't feel like eating anything.

Mabud(cries) Maa!

Amina: "Don't cry for me! But promise me, you Rohingyas will always be together. Remember that we are from Arakan, we are from Burma, and we are Burmese people. You will one day return to Arakan.

Mabud: Maa, don't think about it now! (Amena's pain increased. She was sweating, and loses consciousness.) She was taken to the hospital).

Mabud: (At the hospital) "Maa!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!" "Maaaa!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!" "You left us so soon." I couldn't serve you enough, I lost my mother. Who am I going to serve?

Kalam: (Hugging Mabud says) don't cry. Aunty blessed us. We are a stateless people. You will serve my community!

Mabud: "Maa!" "Maaaa!!!" Yes, I have to walk in the direction of hope.

EPISODE 5: God Bless our Mothers!

(Mabud's house. For a week Mabud could not sleep. He contacted his boss who allowed him time to recuperate from the tragedy. Shahid Alam, a local Muslim, Nurul, Ustad and Maung Moi from the Rohingya community

also came to see Mabud. Siddiq in in grief doesn't know what to do but to listen to Mabud.

Shahid bhai: How are you feeling? Better.

Mabud: Can I get something for you.

Shahid bhai: No, No. I just came to see you.

Mabud: (Looking at him) Thanks for coming.

Shahid bhai: (Mabud and Shahid bhai, Nurul and Maung silent for a while) it was good to see all your friends came to support you the other day.

Mabud: We still keep the tradition of caring for each other that we had in Arakan. For the past week everybody is sending us food.

Shahid bhai: What did you do during the week, eat and sleep?

Mabud: Yes, basically that.

Shahid bhai: I brought a poem for you which I wrote about my mother after she passed away.

Mabud: You want to read that for me?

Shahid bhai: Ofcourse! I love to read it for you.

The name is: "**Mother Earth and her Fulsome Face**!"

Today far away from my motherland, I was sitting alone on a riverside beach watching the birds, cranes and the sunset in the horizon;
nothing felt good to me. I could hear someone's
grasping
faint breath.
Suddenly,
my heart
pounded
not

hearing
it anymore.
I looked
Around
and
heard a
distant
thunder.
I asked
myself
"What
happened?"
"What happened?" I saw the birds suddenly
took flight to their unknown destination; saying "not here
but somewhere else, and to somewhere else." I feared that something happened. I went home tired. Then the late night call, the phone set in slumber jumped out of the stand in rude awakening repeated the message to me, "Your mother is no more." Instantaneously, I remembered her face . . . Mother, "Where are you?" I lost my grip!

I lost my mother, she is in another country. She was my first early childhood educator. When I began looking, crawling and putting everything in my mouth and soon I was chasing the butterflies, she said not to kill, and said," Let it go." I remember her to wake me up in the morning to do my prayers, finish my homework while she would sit in front of me and my siblings with a cane in her hand just to scare us and slowly she would dismiss the session for our breakfast, followed by the next preparation for us to go to school. She was a disciplinarian.

My mother padded me to comfort when I was too afraid and not sure because I was young. She was always worried when I left my village and wished for my safe return. I took refuge in the city and left again and kept moving then it was never to return. I changed one city after another, from Chittagong to Demagri, Dhaka, London, Kulalampur, Tokyo, Geneva, Lusanne, Bankok, New York, Toronto, Calgary, Los Angeles, Madrid, Cordova to gain things and I didn't know that I would lose the only possession that—my mother once I had.

From a distance, I always look my mother as the sunflower to the Sun. On a cloudy day if I couldn't see her, I could follow her valued signs. I travelled in the rain, in the snow, at night and day. Each time I left her, she wept and I renewed my grips. From a distance she shed tears. I could have given her sapphires in return. But no, she wanted me to her side once in a while and nothing in return.

When I returned home away from home, I saw her eyes amid the course of a dried up river beds. "Mother! You wanted to say something?" I asked: "What is it, but I didn't want to know. Now I know, you wanted to say for one, "I love you" But sorry mother, for my failing, I know it is too late,

I couldn't say," I love you too!" in return!

I know it is the time of life to lose not the pearls and the gems we possess but the dear ones; a brother, the father; slowly losing even our own eye-sight, losing a tooth you gave to me as a gift, but mother! This is the biggest lose, and you left me so silently and so soon. Now you aren't there to wait for me with so much worry for my return.

Mother, your's was the first face to see after my birth, hazy but tried to understand it. I kept smiling seeing it moving and glowing, looking at me with delight. I wondered at the face and faced the face daily. I t was a beautiful face. Momentarily, if I lost track of it, I cried and keep crying as if that I lost my only possession.

Mother, where are you? I am looking for you everywhere! Wait! I can hear something from the whisper of the leaves. Are you somewhere there? Mother, where can I find you? Early in life mother, you taught me how to find you in the hide and seek game. Mother! I can't find you now "Where are you?" Where can I find you?"

When I cry and cry to find you, fishes in the pond raise their heads, gazelles in the forest stop running to hear me. Orphans stop crying.

I keep moving and asking for your whereabouts. Mother! Don't play any hide and seek game with me anymore!

Are you there? Do you hear me mother? Are you also crying?

Can you come back?

Did I lose you?

Forever? Mother!!!

I lost my mother, my Mother Earth! I can't find her. It is true, something I have to face. I will be missing a face. But wait! Now I remember my mother Earth, it is in you, she taught me; I can find her, and her fulsome face!

Siddiq: That is a very long poem.

Mabud: Siddiq, don't say that. It is a very good poem. I needed that. I have listened to every line carefully. I think mothers in every culture are the same. They are the care-givers, educators, and selfless givers of blessings. I felt the same way as you felt for your mother. Thanks!

Maung: God bless your mother! I came to tell you this. Take few more days off please. We have to move on forward. We have to do some good work for the community.

Siddiq: I think you are right but Mabud Bahi should also get married.

Maung: Mabud, good idea!

Siddiq: Can I say more? He needs somebody's help. He is getting very depressed. I mean he needs a female company.

Mabud: Siddiq, stop that.

Maung: Siddiq, tell me, if he already knows anybody?

Siddiq: Ask Mabud Bhai! Somebody in his life!

Ustad: who is that girl? What is her father's name?

Mabud: Not so fast. I am ok! I have yet to organize other things.

Nurul: Once married, she will help you to organize your life. Don't worry but, who is that girl?

Siddiq: I know the details.

Shahid bhai: We will do something about it.

Maung: I think it is a good idea. We will invite as many Rohingyas as possible.

Siddiq: I think my mother would be happy to see from heaven that Mabud Bhai got married; not just that he also has lots of children. (Mabud's face changes from sadness to smile on the face and contemplation.)

Mabud: If I get married, who will look after the Rohingya community?

Maung: **masaaallah** . . . !!!i, we the Rohingyas people together will take care of our nation.

Long Live the Rohingya Nation!!!!

(Everybody give a round of applause)

CHAPTER 11

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF GROWING UP IN CANADA: THE CASE OF ROHINGYA PEOPLE

(The speech was delivered at the Workshop on "Rohingya people of Canada" in Rohingyalish language at the Reception Centre in Kitchner, Ontario. An English version in print format as the following was also made available)



The author with Mira Malidzanovic
(the coordinator of the Kitchner Reception centre)

INTRODUCTION:

Ladies and gentleman! Madam Mira Malidzanovic, hello!
Assalamu Alikum, Rohingya bhaii ar boenora!
Unora keon Ashon?

I came to see you from Montreal. As you perhaps know, I am neither a Rohingya leader nor a Rohingya follower. I am a researcher on the Rohingy people and a Human Rights activist. But Rohingyas as being a stateless people, I am also a Rohingya sympathizer. However, I have no personal interest in Rohingya people's internal matters.

Rohingyas are a very special people to me because somehow Rohingya history has became part of my life's history. It was in 1978 when I began my research on the Rohingya people and my work is still continuing. In this journey, I met and became friends of many big and small Rohingya leaders and people both in Bangladesh and in all over the world. I met and had contact with Advocate Kalam, Haji Kalam, Dr. Yonus, Professor Jakaria, Advocate Nurul Islam (UK), historian Ashrafu Alam, Salimullah in Japan, Mohiuddin in New York and and many other younger ones; Nurul Islan (Ctg), Sadek (Malayasia), Giasuddin (Malaysia) Abdur Rahman Faroque (Norway), Enayet (Thailand), Nur Hashim (Canada) and hope to meet many more in future.

While attending a conference in Geneva, I was given the good news by Chris Lewa of Forum Asia and Francis of UNHCR that Rohingya people were coming to Canada and ever since I wanted to come to see you and help you to give some orientation about Canada. I know you are getting help, since I speak your language, and I have been to Canada for close to 30 years, I thought I could play some role to facilitate you and your children's endeavor to adapt with this society. I will divide my speech in two parts:

PART 1: Problems and Prospects of Growing up in Canada: How to be a good Rohingya Canadan

Before you came to Canada, you were a stateless people. You were known as the Rohingya people, now you are Rohingya Canadian. Before you had no country, but now you have a very big country, from coast to coast which is called Canada.

As a researcher on the Rohingya people, and my teaching experience in Canada as an Early Childhood educator and also teaching communication courses at Dawson College, at the invitation of Mira Malidzanovic, Program Director K-W Reception Centre, Kitchner, I came here voluntarily to give you orientation as to how to be a good and effective Rohingya Canadian.

You should know that unlike Burma, Canada is a multicultural society. Here it encourages the policy of multiculturalism which means that you can keep the valuable cultural traits of your culture and at the same time it demands you to respect other people's culture. Here it follows the rule of law, and tolerance and respect to other Canadians who could be culturally different from you. This is an unwritten rule followed here. Because of its policy of multiculturalism, it is one of the best countries on this earth to live a good life. Compared to Canada, Burma is a very intolerant society, in Canada, the government's policy is one of integration and in Burma it follows the policy of extermination.

Like you, I also came first to Canada's Ontario province and have learnt things about Canada. Like you, I also came originally from Southern Chittagong of Bangladesh. I was born in Southern Chittagong and you lived in the refugee camp in Southern Chittagong. Like you on my way to Canada, I came to Dhaka, then to London. Toronto but I went to Windsor and you came to Kitchner. You came as landed immigrants and I came as a student.

Before I came to Canada, I was a university professor at the Univesity of Chittagong. I was advised by a professor from the History department (Moinuddin Ahamed Khan) to take up a project on the Rohingya refugees from Burma. I had visited Rohingya refugee camps in Ukhya with my students and collected information on them. In 1979 I came to do my studies where I wrote my thesis on the Rohingyas; "Dynamics of Ethnic Relations in Burmese Society: A Case Study of Rohingya-Burmese Relations."

I want to ask you, what is your Identity in Canada? Uone Kon? I would say you are both Rohingya and Canadian. Who is a Rohingya? Rohingyas originated from many sources but their common suffering and a common history made them one people called the Rohingyas. It is because you

suffered as a Rohingya for which you are brought to Canada. Therefore, the identity Rohingya as a survival mechanism has been important and useful to you. Never forget that. Now that you re in Canada, with this, if you are a law abiding citizen of Canada and know how to nurture, you can have unlimited opportunities to grow. But if you get involved in extremism, alcohol, drug, religious extremism etc. Canada could be a hell for you. To me, Rohingya religion and culture dictate them to be moderate in their behavior. So in your newly found freedom, you can make your choice between growth and self annihilation. In the endeavor to grow, also your future lies also in knowing how you can help educate your young children as the Rohingya Canadians.

PART 2: Problems and Prospects of Growing up in Canada: Growing up as Rohingya Canadian

Most of you have lost your country of birth. You were being exterminated from your country of birth by the xenophobic military government. Your children were born in refugee camps. You came to a new country where the culture is very different from both Burma and Bangladesh. It is normal to have problems and face many new problems. One is to adapt with this society. But there are always solutions to problems. The solutions are in giving the right orientation to your people especially to the children.

I know when you first arrived in Canada, and heard that Canada is a great country, among many other things, you must have one important thing in mind; how to educate your children in Canada. Well, the main purpose of my trip to Kitchener is to give you some information about this topic.

In the audience, I can see more mothers present to hear me than the Rohingya fathers. I hope most fathers didn't go out for fishing, which male member's sometime love to do.

I am sure Rohingya mothers from their suffering in refugee camps found out to give more importance to how to raise their children than other less important issues. So I am glad to have the right audience here.

Canada is known as a land of immigrants. The original people here were the Canadian Natives. However, the two major cultural trends are English and French. French is predominant in Quebec. And the rest of Canada is

English. In outside Quebec, one is required to learn English and English manners to be able to communicate with the people outside their homes. It is important that you and your children learn at least English very well; because it will empower you. In addition, in not knowing well of the Canadian ways of communication one might be behind in becoming successful in life. So it is very important that learning English and the other necessary communication skills is the important tool to adapt and be successful in Canadian society.

Since, most people giving orientation are familiar with European traditions and you are of Asian and South East Asian origin, you and your children might face more culture-shock and some of the important issues could be left out. In this scenario, instead of the sincere help provided by the organizations, you might fell contradictions and alienation and which could be seen as your problems in adaptations. Your children might face the same thing more and more as they grow into teenagers. In the culture-shock for you, if you strive very much to become an English Canadian and you reject everything about Rohingya culture as being primitive, inferior, and uncultured, therefore worthless you will only become a lost Canadian because you will lose your self confidence and the basic foundation, which is Rohingya.

My advice to you is to keep good things from your culture and learn better things from Canadian culture and make a synthesis to become a Rohingya Canadian.

Rohingya good things:

(1) Rohingya people are very courteous. They are also respectful to others and very hospitable.
(2) Rohingy young children are taught by their parents to respect elders. In Japan I met young Rohingya children who wanted to help the elders eat first and then they would eat. To me, anything about respect is good. I think this is wonderful about Rohingya people.
(2) I think Rohingya people keep a special place of respect to their mothers. This is because mothers keep looking after their children in their large families and provide care to the young one. Mothers' sacrifices are appreciated.

(3) Like the Japanese mothers, Rohingya mothers stay home to care for children's home-work and caring.
(4) Rohingya mothers do not allow drinking, drug use and extremism in their children.
(5) Rohingya parents give importance to education than entertainment or any other activities.

I have already talked about good things in Canada; the most important one is the rule of law that comes from tolerance and respect to others. Now I will explain to you my 7 rules to educate young Children in Canada

My 7 rules (suggested) to Educate Young Rohingya Children in Canada

(1) It says, "You can catch more flies with sweet than vinegar." So be nice to children, be gentle. Never be physical. If you use corporal punishment, you as parents might end up in jail and in extreme cases; social welfare agency might take the child from you.
(2) By being nice don't led them become spoiled to led them do accesses such as to buy them toys or whatever they want or whatever they want. Set limits for them and keep practicing it early, which means that you be consistent with children. Keep an eye on them so that children do not become bullies at school. Some children learn to become bullies by imitating their parent's violent behavior. Don't allow your children to use violence to solve problems. Show them that negotiation can bring better results than trying to solve problems through conspiracy and violence.
(3) Model behavior: If you want them not to lie, instead of lecturing, you should model yourself as an honest person. When you have a phone call from a friend received by let's say your daughter, you said to her to tell your friend that you are not at home is not teaching children not to lie.
(4) Don't discuss everything about adult life in front of children. They might follow the adult's harmless white lies.
(5) In encouraging children to do a good job, parents praise not the child but the work she did so that she repeats the good work. If she hangs the coat, say "thank you." If you simply praise the child for no reason, she will be confused to think why you are praising her.
(6) Teach them through telling Rohingya history, morals and stories, Morals could be taught from stories like the boy who cried wolf, or

the bird that used of little pebbles to drink water from an almost empty jar etc. Teach them the story of xenophobic people who caused trouble in Arakan and other people who helped Rohingyas both in Arakan and in refugee camps in Bangladesh. Rohingya mothers must have so many good stories to tell to their children. Tell them that racism is bad and democracy is good. Tell them, Aung San Suu Kyi is a great leader fighting for democracy in Burma. There are Burmese democracy movement leaders like Aung Tin and Tin Maung Htoo in Toronto and Ottawa are good Burmese people working with the Canadian government for bringing democracy in Burma.

(7) Teach children values such as to have empathy for refugee children in Thailand and in Bangladesh, to be patience, to be honest, to be social, to be nonviolent, to respect lives, both human and animal, which is also about developing conscience. Parents teaching children values can control them even when they are away. Help children to develop the morality of autonomy which means to do things on their own using conscience; to be self reliant in doing things responsibly.

Children watching video games, violent videos, or playing video games and uncensored TV shows will ruin their time and education. Parents willing their children do well must keep an eye on this.

I must say this to you: You will be happy to see most of the Rohingya children quickly learn how to speak in English but to the Rohingya mother who suffered in silence in the Rohingya refugee camps that shouldn't be accepted as enough. Rohingya children should be doctors, lawyers, human right's activists, social workers, and even engineers to help people in distress. In this endeavor, Rohingya parents must help children to continue to do children's daily homework. In doing this they will be building their and their children's future. In doing this, children will be able to help the more unfortunate ones still in refugee camps languishing their hopeless lives. So choose the middle path called the Siratul Mustakin; to be moderate.

Conclusion

Hopefully, by following the rule of law, by taking advantages of educational and other opportunities, one day young Rohingya people will become

leaders in Canada in education, politics and in business. But for that, learning how to lead is important. Compassion and forgiveness but not arrogance and egoism are the leadership qualities. So don't ask if people did enough for you, but ask what you do for your family and your Rohingya community.

Again, I would like to thank Mira Malidzanovic from the Reception Centre and Sunanda Sachdev from YMCA and the local Rohingya people: Nur Hasim, Shamsul Alam Shah, Syed Alam Shah, Mohammed Ali, Mohammed Elias, Mohamed Ayub, Mohamed Yonus, Amir Hossain and many other man and women participated in the discussion and and also want to thank others who are present here at the meeting. I would like to thank especially Mira Malidzanovic for accepting this painting from me on the theme: Rohingya people, crossing the Naff River; drawn by Carolla, a Canadian artist.

Note: As my deliberation was in progress. Madam Mira Malidzanovic who is very helpful as a coordinator came to give us the news that Rohingya children were fast adapting to learn Canadian communication skills in English and learning to say thank you to people who help them. Indeed, I saw their faces glowing in the room where they were being attended by baby-sitters.

CHAPTER 12

"I HAVE NEVER HEARD THE NAME ROHINGYA"—XENOPHOBIA OR RACISM!

Well, the above can't be my statement. Those of you, who know me, know I have been working with the Rohingya people and on Burma for the past 31 years. So I have heard the name "Rohingya" many times. But surprisingly some Burmese people, who lived with the Rohingya people in Arakan and in Burma all their lives are of the claim that they have never heard of the name "Rohingya. It is as if saying "I have never met my brother, I have never seen my sister or even saying I have never seen my neighbor;" It sounds strange to me but not funny. Such assertion about an ethnic group aimed at intentionally ignoring them because you dislike them is called xenophobia, fear of the stranger. When Rohingyas as Burmese are made into strangers by the Rakhine gentlemen like Aye Kyaw, Aye Chan and the monk Ashin Nayaka, it is more than xenophobia; it is racism. It is a matter of extreme intolerance: an idea that also goes against even Buddhism.

What is behind all this?

1. Burma is a huge country with more than 130 ethnic groups. Rohingyas are not included within them by the military government and their collaborators because the xenophobe's assertion that they entered Burma after 1825 when the British occupied Arakan.

How is this possible? The recently arrived Rohingya refugees from Arakan show some of them are not even as old as 5 years to enter Burma in 1825? Strange logic indeed, against some people's birth rights. Well, the real story is Rohingyas as the Arakani Muslims are racially and religiously different from the racially Asian and religiously Buddhist Arakani and the Burmese majority population. The Karen Christians also have similar problems in Burma because of their religious differences. There you go!

2. The fact is Arakan had an Indian kingdom first Hindu, later on Mohayana Buddhist (See the history of Mohamuni of Buddha statue now in Mandalay, see in the research work of Martin Smith "Muslim Rohingya of Burma, 1995). About Buddhism, this is similar to Mohayana Buddhism in Bengal of the time. The Rakhines (also known as the Moghs, identified in British history) took their official name Rakhine during the 40's was recorded in history (not in Aye Kwaw's proto-history) to have entered Arakan with Theravada Buddhism in the 10th century, much later than Rohingya Muslim's arrival in Arakan in the 8th century.

Where did all these people called Arakani Muslims go who began to settle in Arakan from the 8th century?

Where did the decedents of the soldiers of Wali Khan and Shandhi Khan who married with the local women in the 15th century go? This Muslim army of 30,000 by Wali Khan and 40, 000 by Sindkhan went to Arakan to help the Arakani king settled in the Kaladan valley. Where did the decedents of the captured Bengalis forcefully brought to Arakan by the Portuguese in the 15th century to work in agricultural lands go?

Well, they were all there settled in all over Arakan. But after the 1942 Arakani Muslim genocide most of the Arakani Muslims began to retreat to the north of Arakan called the Mayu frontier area and the Rakhines feeling unsafe began to settle in the north settled in the South; some Rohingyas from 1942 even began to cross to Bangladesh. Then the situation was made more complicated when the British identified all the Arakani Muslims as being the Indian Muslims this was because India and Burma were under the one British Empire. However, in 1937 Burma was separated from India and the Arakani Muslims' were seen as "foreigners," and their fate was allotted with the Burmese Buddhist majority country.

To avoid the anti-foreigner movement that began in Rangoon by Ottama, an Arakani reactionary monk, Rohingya leaders began to separate their British labeled identity (of being the Indian immigrant Muslims settled in Rangoon.)to their indigenous identity. In order to do that they officially adapted an existing Burmese name called the "Rohingya" used by the Arakani Muslims for themselves before Britain occupied Arakan. The leaders officially adapted the name during the 50's.That was a smart move by the Rohingyas but to the military and the xenophobes, it was another excuse to attack the victim; the Rohingya. It had turned out to be another excuse as if like in the wolf vs. lamb story of blaming the victim. The naming provided the military and the xenophobes the excuse that Burmese people have never heard of the name "Rohingya." "They must be "Bengalis" "immigrant" "Kula" and thus the contemporary anti-Rohingya propaganda began.

3. Surprisingly, the name "Rohingya" was heard by Francis Buchanan in 1798 in Burma, recorded in Francis Buchanan, in Southeast Bengal (1798): His Journey to Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali and Comilla, (Dhaka: Dhaka University Press, 1992), 82. It is true, Rohingyas look more like the Bengalis across the border from Burma but, Jacques Leider calls Arakan a "frontier culture." And it is true, Rohingyas are as if the Shans of Burma who have their Thai cousins across the border. But that doesn't make Rohingyas non Burmese.
4. No wonder, there are still some Rakhine Burmese people in Arakan says "We have never heard the name "Rohingya." Well, my question to a xenophobe Burmese who says "I have never heard of the word "Rohingya," question #1 Did you hear the news of Rohingya exodus of 1978 when 200,000 Rohingyas were forced out from Burma who were carrying NRC (national Registration Cards) because as a researcher I personally verified their NRC cards in refugee camps in Ukiya Bangladesh. Burmese government was forced to take back Rohingyas due to the pressure from international body because Rohingyas were carrying official documents. (b). did you also hear that in 1982 Burmese military government through a constitutional Act officially denied Rohingyas's Burmese citizenship? (c) Did you hear that in the 1991-92 there was another huge Rohingya exodus to Bangladesh? This time Burma made sure that Rohingyas don't carry any NRC.

Are you still confused? If you are still not sure about the name "Rohingya," it is your problem because you are most likely not informed of your country; in that case I can not help your ignorance.

Worst of all if you as a xenophobe are acting strangely, it is called hypocrisy. In that case, if you are a citizen of Burma, you are intentionally keeping yourself ignorant, so that you can pretend, surely then you are a charlatan.

But if you are promoting this pretension saying "I have never heard the name Rohingya," they must be foreigners," and you are helping the military to exterminate them, and let me tell you, even if you have deserted a Burmese government job in a foreign embassy and is now a powerful democracy movement leader in USA or in UK, it is true, you are more likely to be a double agent, a war criminal that demands to be investigated and exposed to the world.

Why is it important to identify this type of assertions? Because in saying "I have never heard of the word Rohingya before" some leaders of Burma deny a people's birth rights, and help the military to exterminate them.

Strangely, it is some opportunist Arakanese Rakine gentleman pumped up in prejudice, posing as the devoted democracy movement leaders in everywhere, do everything to block Rohingya leader's participation in Burma's ethnic nationalities' programs quietly asserting the statement "I have never heard of the name Rohingya."

But revolutionaries are not shy people. They know the difference between democracy-lovers and the reactionaries. As a matter of duty to Burma's democracy movement and particularly to discourage the growth of xenophobia, reactionaries and their pretensions in Burma, by seemingly responsible people should be brought to public attention. In the mean time, Rohingyas continue to leave Arakan. FIDH International Federation of Human Rights says:

The . . . exodus is a deep, sustained trickle of low visibility. The Rohingyas progressively leave Burma in small groups, families or individuals . . . . Little by little, the population is being forced to leave Arakan because of a deliberate policy of cleansing."

In that situation an observer lately commented about the Rohingya situation "The life of a refugee is like a foot ball, kicking from bar to bar. One goal bar is on the soil of east Naff River and another is west Naff River. The Naff River is a foot ball ground."

The international community should know that those people in the democracy movement leadership who receive huge donations from Western democracies in the name of promoting democracy in Burma are tolerating the military's exclusion of the Rohingyas from Burmese citizenship; in the name of democracy they are tolerating and some even promoting racism in Burma. One Aye Chan published a book called Rohingyas as the "Influx Viruses." The book was forwarded by Monk Ashin Nayaka. For the international community, in addition to sanction grants, there is much to be done to promote democracy in Burma.

CHAPTER 13

BURMA'S ANTI-ROHINGYA XENOPHOBES

Section 1: Varieties of Burmese Military's Civilian Collaborators and the Genocide in Burma

It is becoming increasingly clear that Burma is developing underdevelopment both intellectually and economically. The reason for such a trend is not due to people's choice but of the military illegally occupying power. With the military, there is also a huge army of civilian collaborators committing genocidal activities. Many of the latter opportunistic people brand themselves even as the leaders and activists of the democracy movement. The local collaborators are the most dangerous forces committing rape, inciting hooligans to destroy minority properties and exterminating them from their homelands. Some of these collaborators also work as double agents and are the worst human rights violators. This is more so in Western Burma, in the Arakan state of Burma.

In the Arakan state collaborators like Aye Kyaw convinced the military to even declare the native Rohingyas as the non Burmese citizens and he contested the differences on the basis of race. This makes him a racist. He confessed this in one of his writings. When time comes, he could be one of the top collaborators presented to the international tribunal for inciting people to cause so many massacres and help commit genocide in Arakan. Laughingly, in his retirement he teaches human rights to some of his like-minded Burmese people in Australia.

Varities of Burmese xenophobic collaborators:

(1) Intellectuals/ professors/ politicians: who wrote or gave speeches
(2) Anti—Rohingya fake Burmese democracy movement activists: those who are less educated but are active in spreading hatred sometimes done through the net.
(3) Local hoodlums: who take up law into their hands to commit crimes

These people are committing crimes against humanity. In Arakan and elsewhere, the military alone can not carry out the crimes. It is important that human rights groups collect the collaborators activities, email correspondences glorifying their own race and putting down the minorities as foreigners, promoting prejudices such as Muslims/ Christians marry Burme women to destroy the race,(similar type of justifications were made in Hitler's Germany against German Jew and Catholics and Gypsies) and collect the writings or any evidences, photographs, videos of the massacres, name of the military personals carrying out crimes and very important that prepare name of collaborators in those three categories and publish them in the media and be ready to submit it to the proper authority.

We are presently preparing a list of who is who and their criminal activities in Arakan and in Burma and in abroad. We are starting our work in Arakan and hope to include whole Burma. If the xenophobe lives in EU or in any other country outside Burma it will be easy to bring them to justice. You can submit the suggested names and their details to me. I am presently working with some Burmese groups and local NGOs on a project to bring the culprits to justice. To bring the culprits to justice, the activists have to be relentless in their activities. These xenophobes are playing with human lives with their excuse of race and racial superiority. It is a good cause for genuine Burmese democracy movement leaders, activists and ordinary people in general to identify, condemn, and catch them, so that they don't continue to preach racism and develop both intellectual and economic backwardness in Burma.

Section 2:
Who Is Who of the Anti-Rohingya in Arkan

(Some of the information in this piece was collected from exiled Burmese refugees)

Arakan was a medieval kingdom now a tiny and backward province of Burma, with a big problem drawing international attention. Certain Arakanese xenophobe Combos helped the military made Arakan famous by producing refugees.

The smiling anti-Rohingya Drs. of Rohingya genocide are Dr. Aye Kyaw and Dr. Aye Chan. Both intellectuals were originally from the state of Arakan. The former is the self confessed military's collaborator who enjoys his US citizenship but helped in the drafting of the 1982 xenophobic Burmese Citizenship Act that declared the Rohingyas as the noncitizens of Burma. Dr. Aye Chan is a former student of Aye Kyaw also a US citizen now teaches in Japan is the coauthor of the anti—Rohingya book, *Influx Viruses,* which dehumanizes Rohingyas as if viruses needing extermination from Burma. (Photo: Arakanland.com)

Arakan's three xenophobic Combos

The prominant Arakanese xenophobe **Combos** that justify the military's propaganda are Dr.Aye Kyaw who was a professor in New York University, USA. It is documented that Aye Kyaw was behind denial of Rohingya citizenship Act. (1) Dr.Aye Chan, is a professor at Kanda University, in Japan. He is the co-author of the xenophobic book: Influx Viruses." In this book the authors identified Rohingyas as if viruses required to be exterminated. (2) And Ashin Nayaka, the monk who is a big democracy movement leader in abroad but supports Rohingya extermination from Arakan. (3) The strategy they take is as if they are the supporters of the democracy movement. When they are being challenged, they pretend that the violation of human rights was being done by the army and they have no business with this. However, evidence shows that it is their intellectual collaboration and justification that Rohingyas are "foreigners" and the military government should exterminate the Rohingyas." There are other ones as individuals and groups: Shwe Zan Aung, an immigration officer in

Arakan is a leader of the genocide of intimidation who is directly involved with the army to provide the details of the Rohingya extermination.

" . . . Arakan National Council (ANC) that includes exiled groups like the Arakan League for Democracy, Arakan Liberation Party (ALP), Democratic Party of Arakan, National United Party of Arakan (NUPA), All Arakan Students Youth Congress, Arakan Women Welfare Association, Rakhaing Women Union (RWU) and some ultra-nationalist Rakhaing academics, advisers and intellectuals. While the ANC was established in New Delhi, India in 2004, most of its member parties operate from inside Bangladesh. (4) "Some of the ANC member parties are terrorist organizations (e.g., ALP) and are heavily involved in drug trafficking."(5)

"ANC regards the people who lived in Arakan before the British annexation of Burma in 1824 as indigenous, and those who immigrated after the British occupation of Burma as non-indigenous . . . . As the Bengali Muslims and Hindus immigrated and settled in Arakan after the British occupation they are regarded as non-indigenous . . . . The name (Rohingya) is used by descendants of Bengali Muslims who settled in Arakan after the British occupation of Burma. (6)"

The other xenophobes are: Moe Kyaw Tun, Khine Kyaw Kyaw, and the ANC members in India. These xenophobes deny Rohingya citizenship. "This, in spite of the fact that Rohingyas make up almost half the population of Arakan [47%; see Dr. Shwe Lu Maung's The Price of Silence, DewDrop, USA (2005), p. 252, for population statistics] and had successfully contested the 1990 election, sweeping all the 4 constituencies in the Muslim majority Mayu province by one of its parties (NDPHR), and were in a position to make political alliance with Daw Suu Kyi's party—the NLD—to form a coalition government in the Arakan state if the military junta had honored the election results. [The victory of NDPHR angered the military regime and its ultra-nationalist supporters within the majority Rakhaing community leading to forced expulsion of some 300,000 Rohingyas to Bangladesh in 1991.] The reason for such a nonchalant, if not hostile, attitude towards the Rohingya can be explained by the fact that most of the member parties (except NUPA) within the ANC are led and advised by anti-Rohingya Rakhaing extremists that can best be described as xenophobic, anti-Muslim, anti-Indian, ultra-nationalist bigots. Its key advisor is a retired academic—Dr. Aye Kyaw—who co-authored the

infamous 1982 Burma Citizenship Law that is at the heart of Rohingya Diaspora, leading to major mass exodus and ethnic cleansing in the last three decades. More than a million Rohingyas now live as unwanted refugees in many parts of our world. (7)

"Regrettably, it is ANC's ultra-nationalism, chauvinism, racism and sectarianism that are the greatest roadblocks to a united, more inclusive, democratic Arakan and Burma. Through its endorsement of the 1982 Citizenship Law, it is the ANC that is dividing the Arakan into skeptical, if not hostile, camps. Its policy plays directly into the divide-and-rule policy of the SPDC. Obviously, the ANC has not learned to evolve into a pluralistic, democratic organization that respects minority rights, that values their opinions, and is mindful of their legitimate aspirations and concerns. The statement from the group is a hypocritical attempt to distort the fundamental issue that is at the root of dehumanization of millions of people within Arakan."(8)

Bangladesh government normally discourages religious extremism. Not long ago it sentenced to death some Muslim religious extremists causing violence. But if there has been the alliance between Bangladeshi monks and Arakani anti-Bengali Ashin Nayaka types of xenophobes in Arakan, who support the Rohingya genocide, it could destabilize regional harmony. The recently formed umbrella organization under the name of United Thinga Alliance in Bangladesh, to support the Burmese monks is not an alliance of political radicals.

Bangladesh government should keep an eye on xenophobic Arakanese elements including monk's activities in Bangladesh. Considering the radical Chakma armed movement and initiatives and the initiatives of name changes of the tribal areas by the tribals, it appears to be an anti-Bengali trends they follow in Arakan. The five member organizations in the new monk alliance are the Rakhine Thinga Association, Nyinyutye and Lonsawye Committee, Chittagong Hill Tract Thinga Council (North), Thinga Union for Buddhists, and the Thinga Nugaha Association, hopefully are not some radical group

While Bangladesh must ensure religious freedom of minorities, it also should continue to discourage Buddhist religious extremism exported from Arakan through the ANC. After all, the innoncent looking travelling

Arakanese monks of the saffron revolution could be not so innocent after all. The destruction of mosques in Mandalay by Monks caught in camera; see below shows serious anti-ethnic communal spirit of the Burmese monks. (9)

Section 3:
Arakanese Monk's Burmese Way to Democracy

Ashin Nayaka a native of Arakan is a leading member of the International Burmese Monks Organization in USA and a visiting professor, at Columbia University in New York. Recently he gave testimony to the US senate led by United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. But unknown to the outside world, at home in Arakan Ashin Nayaka spreads xenophobia among the Rakhines against other ethnic Arakani minority people's freedom. This is evident in a book written by U Shw zan and Dr. Aye Chan, (2005) where Rohingya are being demonized as being the "Influx Viruses." Ashin Nayaka in encouraging the above ultra-nationalists wrote in the forward section of the book the following:

"Rohingya movements have been accompanied by certain dangers and challenges, particularly for the Arakan State and beyond."

Here Ashin Nayaka due to his ethnic superiority feelings refused to acknowledge Rohingyas as a people and says "dangers and challenges" should be feared by the Rakhine and the Burmese people. It is to note that Rohingyas are a racially and religiously different group of Burmese people.

About the book "Influx Viruses" he further says:

"I hope this collective contribution will give both a broader understanding of so-called Rohingya issues and practical measures to address challenges of the future. I extend my heartfelt gratitude to both contributors whose scholastic works are credibly expected to give appropriate answers to all . . ."

Here he identifies his fellow countrymen as the "so-called Rohingya." It is a very strange assertion by a Buddhist monk who prefers to be addressed as the "Venerable Ashin Nayaka."

What seems to be the problem here? In dehumanizing the Rohingyas, the authors of the book "Influx Viruses," and Ashin Nayaka as a Buddhist monk refused to accept the birth right of the Rohingyas calling the Rohingyas as simply the "Viruses."

The "practical measures" Nayaka recommended were been taken by the ultra-nationalists Rakhines to destroy the Rohingya historic sites in Arakan and even rename the Rohingya names such as Akyab into Sittwe. And for the army of course the "practical measures" were to exterminate the "so-called Rohingya" "virus." Strangely though, Ashin Nayaka opposes the military rule in Burma but supports the military's Rohingya extermination policy in Arakan.

The problem is, due to such preaching by powerful xenophobic preachers like Ashin Nayaka, today, there are at least 700,000 stateless Rohingya people live in Malaysia, Japan and in the Middle East and approximately 200,000Rohingyas unofficially live in Bangladesh.

Surprisingly, Ashin Nayaka as an honorable Buddhist Monk would be expected to preach nonviolence. Whereas he keeps his xenophobia and hate in his closet at home in Arakan and pretends to be a great democracy movement leader in abroad, collecting important prizes on behalf of the Monks of Burma.

As a democracy movement activist recently he said to the US Senate, "We remain steadfast in our commitment to the freedom in our country and the freedom in our own hearts. All these things Americans value and cherish. Freedom for the people of Burma cannot be denied. The cost of that freedom is the only question in Burma," Surely, this is the typical Ashin Nayaka style of Burmese way to democracy. To him of course human rights are only for its Buddhist majority; because he is fighting for human beings but against "viruses." Due to such dual roles played by certain Monks as Ashin Nayaka and some ultra-nationalist Arakani intellectuals, like Aye Chan and Aye Kyaw, Rohingya people's rights of citizenship were being officially denied by the military government.

Remarkably, Ashin Nayaka's style is a typical Burmese way to democracy by most Arakanese ultra-nationalists: xenophobia at home and great democratic demonstration in abroad. No wonder why the military government has

been successful in ruling Burma for such a long time! Rohingyas have been suffering genocidal repression inside Arakan state and outside the country suffers as stateless people.

For dehumanizing the Burmese born Rohingyas, and misrepresenting Buddhism, inciting Rohingya genocide and helping the extermination policy in Arakan, and helping in jailing of Rohingya leaders in Burma, it is imperative on the genuine democracy movement leaders to separate the fake democrat Monks like Ashin Nayaka along with his team of ultra-nationalists be expelled from Buddhist sacred places and they be referred to the international tribunal for their crimes against humanity.

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"I saw some Muslims kneel down and pay respect to the Buddhist monks," said Pan Cha, a Burmese Sikh businessman who arrived at the Thai-Burmese border in early October after being involved in the September demonstrations. http://www.bmnetwork.org/bmc/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=132&Itemid=2

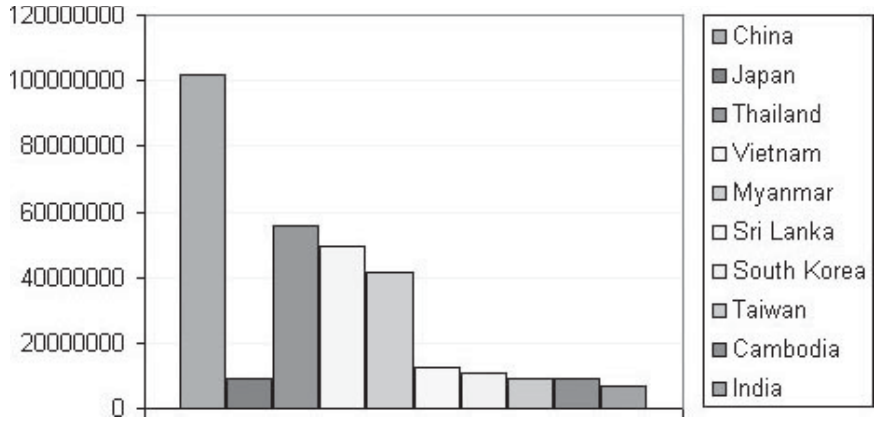
CHAPTER 14

ISLAM IN BUDDHIST ENVIRONMENT: MUSLIM LEADERSHIP AND THE CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES IN BURMA

The region of South East Asia is almost entirely Buddhist. To account for Islam in Burma is to account for Islam in a Buddhist environment. In our contemporary period, survivng as a Muslim in the Burmese Buddhist environment has become very challenging. The biggest challenge before the Muslim leadership seems to be to learn to fight the common local and international stereotypes propagated against Muslims.

A study on the themes of Buddhist-Muslim dynamics and the uses and abuses of religious themes in contemporary Burmese politics is likely to shed some useful light on this important issue. This paper raises the question that in the face of these challenges whether Muslim leadership should calibrate and keep Muslim identity or it will keep it in tandem with the Burmese in this very unique societal context. Other emerging questions that as a minority religious ethnic group whether Muslims should understand the elements of Theravada Buddhist culture in cognizance of its own broad range of interests in Burma or following the fatalist view remains isolated within themselves. In addition, one can also ask whether like the prominent Muslim leaders of the past, Muslims should continue to adapt culturally meaningful survival strategies but also develop local roots that are both appropriate and contextual or in the face of challenges just abandon their identity.

Islam as a world religion exposed itself to all over the world. It is seen to survive in Christian, Jewish, Hindu and here in Burma's Buddhist environment. "I saw some Muslims kneel down and pay respect to the Buddhist monks," said Pan Cha, a Burmese Sikh businessman who arrived at the Thai-Burmese border in early October after being involved in the September demonstrations. (1) Buddhism is world religion. Majority of its followers populate in Asian countries.



China	—102 000 000	Sri Lanka	—12 540 000
Japan	—8 965 000	South Korea	—10 920 000
Thailand	—55 480 000	Taiwan	—9 150 000
Vietnam	—49 690 000	Cambodia	—9 130 000
Myanmar	—41 610 000	India	—7 000

Source: *http://www.buddhist-tourism.com/buddhism/buddhism-statistics.html*

Section 1: Burmese Muslims

Muslims and Buddhists in Burma lived in relative peace until the beginning of Ne Win's military rule in 1962. Previous to this there were powerful Muslim advisors worked with Burmese kings and in the recent past there were government Ministers in Aung San's and also in the U Nu's cabinet. (2) When did Muslims begin settling in Burma? How did Islam survive in Burma? What were the causes of its contemporary letdown?

It is estimated that Muslims began to arrive in Burma from the 8th century A.D. (3) Their ancestors arrived to Burma from almost every nationality of the world. The current population of Myanmar Muslims are the descendants of Arabs, Persians, Turks, Moors, Indian-Muslims, Pathans, Bengalis, Chinese Muslims and Malays who settled and intermarried with local Burmese (4) From "1255-1286, in the first Sino Burman war, Kublaikhan's Muslim Tatars attacked and occupied up to Nga Saung Chan. Mongols under Kublai Khan invaded the Pagan Kingdom. During this first Sino Burman war in 1283, Colonel Nasruddin's Turks occupied up to Bamaw. (Kaungsin) (5) As a result of the various historical forces present in Burma, there developed a Muslim religious ethnic minority which is spread all around Burma. **The various groups of Myanmar Muslims** are:

(1) Panthay (Burmese Chinese Muslims),
(2) The Indian-descended Muslims live mainly in Rangoon.
(3) Muslims of Malay ancestry in Kawthaung, people of Malay ancestry are locally called Pashu.
(4) Rohingya population is mostly concentrated in five northern townships of Arakanstate: Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Rathedaung, Akyab, Sandway, Tongo, Shokepro, Rashong Island and Kyauktaw. (5)

Despite their history of long settlement and now being indigenous to the land, Muslims are still considered as "foreigners" in Burma. " . . . violence and discrimination against Burma's Muslim minority has been commonplace over the last four decades. Islamic leaders in Rangoon believe that attitudes among the predominantly Buddhist Burmese population began to change from tolerance to persecution after General Ne Win seized power in a military coup in 1962. Since then, Muslims have been deliberately and systematically excluded from official positions in the government and the army." (6) "Over the decades, many anti-Muslim pamphlets have circulated in Burma claiming that the Muslim community wants to establish supremacy through intermarriage. One of these, Myo Pyauk Hmar Soe Kyauk Hla Tai (or The Fear of Losing One's Race) was widely distributed in 2001, often by monks, and many Muslims feel that this exacerbated the anti-Islam feelings that had been additionally provoked by the destruction in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. (7) One of the major Burmese Muslim groups called the "Rohingyas" lately was even declared by the military government as the noncitizens of Burma. (8) Surprisingly, Muslims who only comprise from 5-10% of the population are identified as the #1 enemy of the Burmese people. Questions often asked

"why?" Are Muslims the "easy targets?" (9)Are they themselves intolerant to the Burmese culture? It is not easy to answer these questions.

Causes of anti-Muslim xenophobia and genocide

The present research found most observers blame the military for spreading anti-Muslim xenophobia. There are also the others that blame Burma's Theravada Buddhism's political dimension, some others identify the anti-Muslim Hindu fundamentalist influence from India for the problem, while still others blame the "militant Islam" for Muslim's lack of respect to the Burmese Buddhist environment. In dealing with these problems this paper also raises the question, what Muslims should do to overcome these challenges; whether Muslim leadership should calibrate and keep it in tandem with the Burmese ethnic dynamics or keep their strong and pure Muslim identity in this very unique and hostile societal context. Other emerging questions asked that as a minority whether Muslims should understand the elements of Theravada Buddhist culture in cognizance of its own broad range of interests in Burma. In other words, whether like the prominent Muslim leaders of the past, Muslims should continue to adapt culturally meaningful survival strategies such as educating themselves in Burmese, and at the same time encourage higher education as the strategies of survival.

Problems and the Prospects

The biggest problem Muslims face today is xenophobia. Research shows that it comes originally from the common reactionary stereotypes spread by Western missionaries and the early Hindu Mohashoba fundamentalist campaign in Burma against Muslims during the early part of the 20th century. Historically speaking, during the British period, we see the penetration of Indian Hindu influence in Burma. Such reactionary alliances launched from India by the fundamentalist Hindus from India for a Hindu-Buddhist alliance against Muslims resulting "from mid 1930s there appeared to be a succinct polarization between Buddhists and Muslims of Burma, . . . U Ottama, the leading Pongyi activist and friend of India who led the entire Pongyi movement during 1920s, became twice the President of Hindu Mahasabha in 1930s." Swapna Bhattacharya says, "We should however restrain ourselves to stamp out this revolutionary monk as orthodox and anti-Muslim. He demanded a "closer cooperation between Hindus and Buddhists." U Ottama was from Arakan."(10) The stereotype that Islam was instrumental in the

destruction of Buddhism in India and in Afghanistan and now a threat to Burma is a major problem Muslims face today. In the face of this, should Muslims keep low profile? Historically speaking, for an ethnic group living in a hostile environment, keeping inactive has always proven to be less effective. Then should Muslim leadership educate Burmese people of the historical fact that the stereotypes were only myths. Contrary to the myth, one would find that after Asoka, (the Buddhist emperor's death), it was the rise of Hindu fundamentalism that led to the destruction and massacre of Buddhists in India and in Afghanistan. As a result of this historic event, Indian Buddhists continued to take shelter in Sri Lanka, in China and in South East Asia. (11) Surprisingly, the xenophobic mentality has reached to a new height during the colonial period that "Muslims were stereotyped in the society as 'cattle killers' (referring to the cattle sacrifice festival of Eid Al Adha in Islam). The generic racist slur of 'kala' (black) used against them as the perceived "foreigners" has also negative connotations when referring to Burmese Muslims.(12)

During U Nu's time Hindu fundamentalist influence in Burma became even greater. "U Nu as the devoted Buddhist was pressured by the wealthy and influential Hindi merchants and the former ordered the prohibition of slaughtering the cattle. Although he relaxed that during the Kurbani Edd (Hariraya Haji), Muslims had to apply the permits for each cattle and strictly follow under police supervision."(13)

Common themes and strategies for Buddhist-Muslim understanding

Muslims in Burma live in Buddhist environment. Despite the rise of a great deal of propaganda and hatred, Muslims should find ways to bridge friendship with their fellow Buddhist citizens. It seems that there is a great deal of resources common among the Buddhists and Muslims. Therefore, the leadership should find Islam's especially Sufi Islam's common themes of unity with Buddhism and find ways to interfaith dialogue and involve in local community works and disapprove the present day extremist Muslims strategy of self destruction for the Burmese Muslims.

(1) **Dialogue:**

This is obligatory to the faithful Muslims because the Quran says, "O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and

made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other (not that you may despise (each other)." (Qur'an, 49:13) It is true," . . . dialogue with the other requires patience, flexibility and open-mindedness which were clearly revealed in Prophet Muhammad's dialogue with others even if they were idolaters and this is why Allah praises him,"(14) The Quran says, "It is part of the Mercy of Allah that you deal gently with them. Were you severe or harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from about you: so pass over (their faults), . . . ; and consult them in affairs (of moment) . . ." (Qur'an, 3:159)

(2) **Education**:

It has proven over and again that education and research helps. Muslim leadership should urge its people to educate and inform themselves in both Islam and Buddhist themes and not remain isolated within its madrassa education and within its own community.

(3) **Finding similarities**:

Muslims believe that Allah had sent more than 124,000 prophets to our world. It is possible that the various religions are just the various forms of a common faith with different approaches. "And certainly, We sent messengers (rasul) before you: there are some of them that We have mentioned to you and there are others whom We have not mentioned to you . . ." [Qur'an 40:78] "For We assuredly sent amongst every People a messenger . . ."[Qur'an 16:36](12) It is true, "the word Muhammad is also spelt as 'Mahamet' or 'Mahomet' and in various other ways in different languages. The word 'Maho' or 'Maha' in Pali and Sanskrit mean Great and Illustrious and 'Metta' means mercy. Therefore 'Mahomet' means 'Great Mercy'.Here are some other links regarding Gautama Buddha's Prophecy about Muhammad being another Buddha (Maitreya Buddha)"(15) According to Buddhism, "Great compassion makes a peaceful heart. A peaceful heart makes a peaceful person. A peaceful person makes a peaceful family. A peaceful family makes a peaceful community. A peaceful community makes a peaceful nation. A peaceful nation makes a peaceful world." " . . . according to Islamic doctrine, there is no problem in establishing peaceful relations with Buddhists. It cited three reasons for this. First, certain modern Islamic scholars have asserted that the Prophet Dh'ul Kifl—the "man from Kifl"—mentioned twice in the Qur'an, refers to

the Buddha, with Kifl being the Arabic rendering of the name of Buddha's native kingdom, Kapilavastu. The Qur'an stated that the followers of Dh'ul Kifl are righteous people. Secondly, al-Biruni and Sehristan, two eleventh century Islamic scholars who visited India and wrote about its religions, called Buddha a "Prophet." Thirdly, Kashmiri Muslims who settled in Tibet from the seventeenth century married Tibetan Buddhist women within the context of Islamic law. His Holiness Dalai Lama opened the dialogue by explaining that if both Buddhists and Muslims remain flexible in their thinking, fruitful and open dialogue is possible. (16)

Julian Ruth notes "His Holiness Ashin Adissawuntha, the Abbot or Head of Buddhist Monastry of Narathiwa, Thailand visited the Jame Mosque of Narathiwa on last Friday, and meet with Muslim Religious teachers and said that" Buddhists & Muslims have to work hand in hand for PEACE in the world. His Holiness said both Buddhism & Islam are based on Logic and Reason . . . Lord Buddha said . . . you have to investigate about it and it you find truth in it, than believe it. The Prophet Muhammed also encouraged his followers not to follow blind doctrines but reason, ponder and think and believe. The great Lord Buddha treated human beings as same without any discrimination or race, colour or nationalities and the Prophet Muhammed did the same. The last sermon of Prophet Muhammed can be said "the fist Human right declearation in the histroy of the world".(17)

The similarities between Islam and Buddhism are outstandingly similar. Buddha's teaching emphasized on self-enlightenment and self-liberalization similar to Islam's *jihadi Akber*, the greater Jihad. Sufi meditation tradition, emphasize the practice of love, compassion and service. Gautama the Buddha and Prophet Mohammed never claimed to be God. Both were rebels and fought against discrimination by the upper class. Both wanted suffering to end but through different methods**.** The other similarities are that ethics is given priority; compassion is one of most important virtues in both religions. Buddha told the Brahmins and householders of a certain village as follows: *"A lay-follower reflects thus: How can I inflict upon others what is unpleasant to me?' On account of that reflection, he does not do any evil to others, and he also does not cause others to do so"* (//Samyutta// 55, 7).(18) The Quran says: "And certainly We sent messengers (rasul) before you: there are some of them that We have mentioned to you and there are others whom We have not mentioned to you . . ." [Qur'an 40:78] "For We assuredly sent amongst every People a messenger . . ."[Qur'an 16:36]

(4) **Survival of the Fittest**: While the xenophobic military is to blame for the suffering of ethnic groups including the Muslims, it is also important that Muslims by religion are obliged to know and learn to live in their environment, in this case in the Buddhist environment. Islam says, "read," "seek knowledge,""come and learn; you can be what you want to be." From the above it seems that the old maxim "knowledge is power," still holds truth for the Muslims of Burma. The main idea should be to learn about "the other's beliefs and cultures." Increasing contact and cooperation between Buddhists and Muslims is a necessary condition. In the interfaith dialogue, they should encourage themes that can lead to more understanding between religious groups and avoid tendency toward fundamentalist expressions. After all, both Muslims and Buddhists are Burmese people and only dialogue can bring peaceful existence.

(5) To get rid of the stigma that Muslims are a "dangerous people," Muslims have to develop their popular news media among the Burmese people and employ effective intellectuals to help them in this democratic and humanistic endeavor.

Struggle for Democracy and Law and Order

Suffice to say, the failure of the Muslim community in the South East Asian region in the similar Buddhist environment, such as in Thailand, the Thai Muslims and in Cambodia, the Cham Muslims suffered; the latter in a Buddhist environment faced genocide of near extinction. In Burma, mosques had been attacked by Buddhist monks, there has been genocide going on in Arakan against Rohingya Muslims.(19) Burmese people irrespective of religions "should focus on fighting poverty, diseases, unemployment and bloodshed on its soil and not on destroying relics, which are a living lesson of history." The research findings will recommend for Muslims of South East Asia to learn to be both competitive, loyal, and at the same time effective. This is more important in a military ruled hostile environment in Burma. Again, the focus should be on education, a regularly held bi-yearly global conference on Muslims of Burma and being informed of both an inward-looking strong tradition based Muslim identity as well as to be a strong Burmese in the outward-looking identity could be one of the most useful survival strategies for Burma's Muslims and its emerging leadership to adapt.

Muslims are Burmese People

It is not easy to be a Muslim in Burma despite the fact that "most Muslims are indistinguishable in appearance and behavior from the country's Buddhists population: they dress the same, wear longyis, speak Burmese, and understand Burmese culture and history."(20) However, as a result of their common suffering, the Muslim minority of Burma historically has become an ethnic group. In this never ending struggle, it seems that only in a democratic Burma Muslim can have their future and Muslims should fight and utilize every democratic means to promote their survival strategies of peaceful living in Burma. Muslims of Burma should know that their ability to adapt and survive in this Theravada Buddhist environment as the fittest will decide their fate either of survival or extinction.

Section 2:
Rohingya Nation: Contemporary Problems and Making Certain of the Uncertain Future

Rohingya people comprise the biggest block of Burmese Muslims. Historically speaking, Rohingya people have been driven out of Arakan in large numbers starting from A.D.1784, 1942, 1978, and 1992. But the worst one is taking place now. In the words of FIDH International Federation of Human Rights: The . . . exodus is a deep, sustained trickle of low visibility. The Rohingyas progressively leave Burma in small groups, families or individuals . . . . Little by little, the population is being forced to leave Arakan because of a deliberate policy of cleansing."

Today over a million people, approximately 200,000 live in Bangladesh, 20,000 in Malaysia and about 700,000 in different Arab countries and smaller numbers in Western countries and in Japan. There are still another 1 and a half million Rohingyas live in Arakan under serious hardship and repression. Burma continues to have anti-Rohingya xenophobic military government. The scenario doesn't look good.

From the times of Sindhi Khan who conquered Arakan, until the time of U Nu Rohingyas lived as a prosperous community in Arakan But today, Rohingyas are at their lowest existence. They are now identified as a stateless people. Rohingyas lost almost everything. But until now

what was not lost was the identity—"Rohingya." Are they presently losing it? Yes, in Bangladesh, it has been a historic trend that Rohingya people to escape repression in Arakan cross the Naff River and try to amalgamate with the Chittagonian people of Southern Chittagong. To escape from the continued oppression, this has been a historic trend by the suffering Rohingya people. This continued practice of crossing the border to Bangladesh for shelter helped neither them as individuals nor their community to return to their ancestral homes later on to make claims on their properties because Rohingyas once left Arakan never returned back again to Arakan. The few Rohingya returnees to Arakan were almost always identified as Chittagonians and invariably put in jail as foreigners. While in Bangladesh, out of a fear that if they identify themselves as the Rohingyas, they would lose their earned privileges; they preferred to abandon their Rohingya identity. This is not a healthy and creative thing for the Rohingya survival. In their exiles what is needed is that they are needed to keep up their identity alive.

It is my understanding is that Southern Chittagong is almost all inhabited by the Rohingya people. Historically speaking, beginning from 1784 and 1942 and in the later time influxes, helped to the development of about two thirds of the people of Cox's Bazar district. These were the original Rohingyas of Arakan. In 2007, I met M.A. Habibullah, the famous author of the book, *Rohingya Jatir Etihas,* who kindly travelled from Cox's Bazar to meet me in Chittagong city, and I had the privilege to meet him. He said to me that his forefathers were Rohingyas that escaped the 1942 genocide. To strengthen the Rohingya future, Rohingyas like the Rakhines of Southern Chittagong, the latter are already citizens of Bangladesh should do something about Bangladeshi Rohingya identity. This has to be done by the Rohingya leadership as a thought-out plan with Bangladeshi Rohingya sympathesizers to secure Rohingya rights in Bangladesh. The point is if the stranded Biharis can have their rights to be the citizens of Bangladesh, why not the Rohingyas.

In addition to the above, there is a large group of up to 700,000 Rohingyas in the Middle East, most live there as Bangladeshis. This anonymous nature of the Rohingya existence has to be removed and Rohingyas has to identify themselves as the members of the Rohingya nation. With this change, they will enjoy more freedom and recognition in Arakan especially in abroad. It is evident in the Rohingyas in outside Arakan that those who identify

themselves as Rohingyas get more privileges. I am almost certain that the identity of a Rohingy nation and its recognition by Arab/ Muslim nations will give the Rohingyas in the Middle East and elsewhere more advantages. Advocate Nurul Islam (U.K.) and U Mohiuddin of New York and the other capable leadership who have contacts with Arab Organizations should work in this direction. To me, Rohingyas lost their country but they still have their national identity, the Rohingya nation. There are complains of Fascist and fundamentalist superficial elements in the leadership. If it is true and Rohingyas continue to lose this due to the weakness in their leadership, like in the past Rohingyas will risk losing everything. It seems to me that to the Rohingya people, the identity Rohingya nation is their only survival design. If there is any hope of returning to Arakan, the identity Rohingya nation as a survival mechanism can only help them to return to their ancestral homeland or at least in future will help them to see the unfolding of a much better future than what is presently now for the Rohingya people that are scattered around the globe. The spirit of Rohingya nation has to be kept alive not through the blame game and reiterating the hopelessness but through involving young leadership with the experienced ones and through initiating creative workshops, and yearly conferences. This should be done by the leadership both inside Arakan and in abroad. Once initiated this continued intellectual process will slowly undermine division in favor of consensus among the people of the Rohingya nation.

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(20) **Crackdown on Burmese Muslims, Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper, July 2002** *http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/asia/burma-bck3.htm* **Also see Anti-Muslim picture of Monks destroying Mosques in Bago/Pegu in 1997**

«http://sanooaung.wordpress.com/2007/12/15/photos-of-anti-muslim-riots-in-bagopegu/

*"**The** . . . exodus is a deep, sustained trickle of low visibility. The Rohingyas progressively leave Burma in small groups, families or individuals . . . . Little by little, the population is being forced to leave Arakan because of a deliberate policy of cleansing."-FIDH International Federation of Human Rights.*

CHAPTER 15

BURMA'S MISSING DOTS

Burma was born with deep structural problems. In this, the British conquest of Burma and the introduction of modern institutions was a cataclystmic event which fatally wounded the xenophobic Burman pride in the medieval "masochism" state of mind and provoked it to give birth to its Burman "melancholic" nationalism, conceptualized it as being a "failure," "rupture" due to the colonial rule and asked for a "rebirth" which it in fact already has in the form of a "still birth" that is its present military rule. In this "rebirth," ever since its independence, the military has continued to apply its medieval method of nation-building model by its historic purge of its ethnic members and their heritage; causing Burma's continued misstep towards modern democracy. In this continuity of Burmese xenophobic nationalist tradition, it "lays traps against the . . . unfolding of reason in history."

Burma's Misstep towards Modern Democracy

Burma is a medium-sized country; rich in mineral resources and agriculture, and the majority of its people are followers of the Buddhist faith. With such material and spiritual assets, it should be a peaceful and prosperous nation, but the reality is different. Burma has become a despotic country with a world-wide reputation for human rights violations and producing refugees. It is now clear that from the time of Burman King Anawrahta's accession to power, through the advent of military rule in the 1960s until the present day, Burmese rulers have treated ethnic and racial minorities

as subject peoples or even aliens. This is the most important idiosyncrasy in Burma's history; even at the present time, it is causing massive refugee movements to neighboring countries. Seen in this light, Burma's problem is not primarily a democratic predicament but an ethnic one. In this chapter, I hope to provide the missing dots to the derisory understanding of Burma presented in the popular media.

Burma became independent in 1948, but it squandered its opportunity to become a truly modern nation. It has become clear from this research that in the last couple of centuries, Burma has developed two distinctive models of rule: the military's model of rule by force and the democratic model of leadership with citizens' participation. The tradition of the Kings is indigenous to Burma. In the new jungle capital, Nayapyidaw (City of Kings), it is not the statue of Aung San or U Nu that tower over the city, but those of the three kings who sought to keep Burma together through their genocidal rule.

The Burman model of ruling by force while still claiming to be good Buddhists began in the time of the Pagan King, Anwardhta (1044-77). Anwardhta was a usurper who deposed and banished his elder brother, and then took over power in mainland Burma and began occupying the territories in the South, North and East. Anwardhta also made Burma a Buddhist Theraveda kingdom. The King founded Buddhism as the state religion and appointed himself defender of the faith. He also proclaimed himself ruler of the newly-annexed territories, two-thirds of which today are inhabited by minorities. He made Buddhism a political ideology. This model of brutal oppression of minorities was so diligently practiced by Burmese rulers that, referring to the tradition of another Burmese king of the late 18 century and its effect on 19th century politics, Harvey says "The reasoning on which Bodawpaya acted was not peculiar to himself. It was the regular policy of most Burmese kings . . . It was not unlike the policy of European countries in former times, but they outgrew it."(1) The traditional belief among ethnic Burmans—that they are the citizens of Burma and the minorities are only the strangers in their land—is a direct result of the model established by the Burmese kings. This type of chauvinistic mentality forms the basis of xenophobia in Burma, and persists even among some representatives of the so-called modern democratic leadership movement. Meanwhile, the suffering of the minorities continues.

Despite strong commitment to the traditional kings' model, there was one point in its history that Burma experienced a marked shift toward the model of democracy. Burma's British colonial history was brief—from 1824-1948—and during this time, Burma did not manage to evolve a system comparable to that in western democracies. Burma's move toward democracy received its greatest setback when Aung San, the leader of the liberation movement, who wanted to terminate the traditional Burman understanding of minority peoples as subject peoples, was assassinated along with his entire team, by ultranationalists. This occurred only six months before the country's independence. Thus, without Aung San, Burma missed its first great opportunity to become a modern nation.

Chris Lawa comments: "Arakan is no less than a microcosm of Burma with its ethnic conflicts and religious antagonisms, and is by far the most tense and explosive region of the country." (2) The Western media concentrates mostly on Burma's eastern border with Thailand based on information gained from NGOs. This book focuses on the Western frontier where human rights violations based on racial discrimination are rife. What is even more serious is that there have been systematic efforts to exterminate Burmese-born Rohingya citizens. Based on the military's interpretation of history, Rohingyas are not Burmese citizens because they are not considered indigenous people of modern Burma, where an ethnic group is called "taingyintha" which translates as "native of a country." As a result, Rohingyas are denied their birthright. The International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) states: "Every child has the right to acquire a nationality."(3) In its attempts to scare away the Rohingyas, the military conducts intimidating night raids against the villagers, ostensibly to verify their citizenship. Marriages have been banned, forced labour has been imposed, and destruction of villages and rape has been used as a weapon of war against minorities, particularly the Rohingyas. These are some of the medieval practices that the military has utilized without any remorse.

Although the rulers of Burma are mostly responsible for the genocide, their numerous collaborators are equally answerable for their crimes. The Convention on Genocide spells this out unequivocally in Article IV: "Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article

III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals."(4) And in the post-Nuremberg world, genocide is no longer the internal business of individual national governments, but of the entire international community.

The defiant junta attempts to excuse itself by claiming that Rohingyas entered Burma after 1824, the year the British occupied Arakan. According to this interpretation, only the ancestors of people who settled prior to 1823 are the indigenous people of Burma and those who arrived later are not citizens. To the military rulers, it is up to the present so-called noncitizens such as the Rohingyas to prove the residence status of their ancestors. This is unfortunate for the Rohingyas, since all their ancestors born before 1824 are long dead. The other criterion to justify citizenship, that they should speak good Burmese, is also not helpful to Rohingyas since most inhabit the border regions where Burmese is rarely spoken. This situation is not peculiar to Rohingyas, Burma is a vast country of peasants and fisherman of multi ethnic and racial backgrounds. Like the Rohingyas, not all of its people situated in fringe areas speak Burmese. To qualify for citizenship, one also needs to be educated. Rohingyas, however, are mostly peasants, and even worse, no schooling is now allowed for Rohingyas. They are poor and mostly uneducated; which alone disqualifies them from Burmese citizenship. Another criterion for gaining citizenship is to be of good character and of sound mind. It is scarcely surprising that underprivileged Rohingya, who are largely stateless and unemployed, will have difficulty satisfying this criterion in the eyes of the Burmese elite. To remove the traces of Rohingya existence in Arakan, Burma's Arakan state has even been renamed the Rakine state. All these gradual tightening measures finally led to the new 1982 Constitutional Act that declared Rohingyas to be stateless people.

Rohingyas have distinct racial features that set them apart from Burmese and Rakhines, and discrimination against them is simply racist. The military's policy in dealing with Rohingyas is termed by scholars and human rights groups as "genocide through intimidation." (5) The military government's policy has been assimilation, also known as "Burmanization" for minorities that are racially and religiously similar to the Burmans, and extermination for groups like the Rohingyas. As a result of the intimidation policy, close to a million Rohingyas are stateless today. (6)

The Rohingya-Rakhine-Burman Triangle

What is more difficult for the Rohingyas is that they are caught in a triangle between the Burmese military and the Rakhine population of Arakan. The Rakhine population in general sees Rohingyas as a threat to their exclusive claim to Arakan, and therefore supports the military's extermination policy. Likewise, since 1962, the Burmese military has oppressed the Rohingyas in an attempt to gain the support of the local Rakhine population. Surprisingly, in this scenario, self-styled pro-democracy writers such as Aye Chan, Aye Kyaw or the monk Ashin Nayaka, spread xenophobia at home in Arakan but preach democracy abroad. In spite of such flagrant contradictions, they continue to be counted among the heroes of Burma's high-flying democracy movement. Not surprisingly, on the question of the military's grave human rights violations against stateless Rohingya people, the democracy movement leaders have no clear plan. For the military, the human rights issue is a purely domestic question. However, the Nazi Holocaust against the Jews during World War II has made this interpretation of sovereignty untenable. As a result of the prosecution of Nazi leaders as war criminals, the newly defined legal category of "crimes against humanity," and the creation of the United Nations, human rights practices within states came to be defined as "legitimate sources of international concern." ((7)

Rohingya Genocide

Rohingyas who don't want to leave Burma are being used as forced labor to build highways or to carry loads for the military. Under the circumstances, Rohingyas leave Arakan for other countries in the region. Historically speaking, what triggered the Rohingyas' statelessness is not that Rohingyas are foreigners in Burma. In fact, Rohingyas have a history in Burma dating back to the 8th century. Their status was even recognized by Burma's democratically elected U Nu government in 1954. (8)

Arakan, situated between South Asia and South East Asia, is both an extension of Burma and of Bengal and the Rakhines and the Rohingyas are the expressions of this historic reality. But in the Burman-Rakhine general definition, Rohingyas are categorized as noncitizens, even "influx Viruses" according to a phrase coined by Rakhine intellectuals. So instead of recognizing the historic fact of chronic Burmese invasion and occupation of Arakan, resulting in the rise of the many non-Bengali settlements in

Chittagong, Rohingyas are now being labelled by Rakhine intelligentsia as foreigners who deserve to be exterminated.

Leafing through the pages of the infamous xenophobic book: Influx Viruses written by Arakani intellectuals, one of Voltaire's sayings naturally comes to mind: "Those who can make you believe absurdities can make you commit atrocities." These writings provide the Arakani hoodlums with pseudo-intellectual justification for their genocidal acts in Arakan. The Military leaders are even more convinced by these writings. In reply to a question about the Rohingyas' citizenship in Burma, the Burmese Ambassador to Bangladesh, Thane Myint, lately said, chuckling: "Many people are claiming they lived in Rakhine [Arakan] state a long, long time ago. Some of them are, or have been, living in Myanmar [Burma]. Some of them may not be [from Burma]."(9) What is frustrating to human rights groups is that to avoid controversy neither the military nor the democracy movement leaders will say no outright to the Rohingya's claims of Burmese citizenship in one-on-one encounters. But they will do nothing about it. Indeed, this is a typical manifestation of Burmese "democracy," which in reality is a blatant case of xenophobia in action.

Buddha visited Burma

Burmese people are as devoted to Buddhism as a national identity that most people believe that Buddha actually visited Burma; an Arakanese would say he only got as far as Arakan. In the present hopeless situation, if Buddha actually visited Burma, he would doubtless have a great impact and might succeed in bringing about some radical changes. Unfortunately, Buddha never visited Burma, not even Arakan. Burmese Buddhists, unfortunately, have not yet learned to be compassionate toward minorities. In this book we have seen Buddhist monks led by the military government vandalizing Mosques in Mandalay. Here, Christian and Chinese minorities occasionally become targets of ultra-nationalist forces, some of which were led by the monks themselves. Due to the nationalist strain in Burmese Buddhism, Burma's Buddhist monks have a history of involvement in ethnic violence. (10) Buddha would be mortified at such behavior.

It seems Buddhism in Burma is inextricably interwoven with the political ideology of domination by the Burman majority. Thus, it is evident that both the military and the democracy movement leaders use religion to

their own advantage. This is also true because unlike classical Tibetan Buddhism, Burma's Theraveda Buddhism has a history of involvement in secular affairs. It is interesting to note that Burmese nationalism first began with the formation of the Young Men's Buddhist Association.

Under the present circumstances in Burma, both the democratic leadership and the military remain hugely uncommitted to minority rights. What is needed by the democracy movement leaders is to be open to sincere debate, defending human rights, and uniting the many ethnic minorities. It seems that the leadership needed to bring about democratic change in Burma is practically nonexistent. There are several reasons why this is so; one is Aung San Suu Ki is in jail and is unable to lead the nation. In addition, the peaceful demonstrations staged by Buddhists have tended to achieve no practical results. All that has happened in this very confused "Burmese way to democracy," or what the Burmese military calls its "way to disciplined democracy.

Ideally, Buddhism should help to promote human rights and the dignity of human beings. Indeed, according to Buddhism, "each human being has unique value, which should be protected and cultivated." This emphasis on the uniqueness and intrinsic importance of individuals is, in turn, directly compatible with, and conducive to, a universalistic concept of human rights that seeks to guarantee the security and integrity of every human being."(11) It appears that long years of military rule created authoritarian institutions and a deeply ingrained tradition of intolerance toward minorities. In such a context, the leaders of the opposition democratic movement could not develop an effective, parallel model to challenge the military. Demonstrating the recent growing confidence of the army, a poem, entitled "Armed Forces Day resolve" states "With secure Road Map, March we in unity" and "Skilful of lies and slanders, Low-breeds overseas, And foreign-relied traitors." (12)

Conclusion

In contemporary Burma, people tend to look for enemies. They normally pick on Muslims as easy targets and the public enemy number one. But in our search for the greatest public menace in Burma, we found that Swindlers were the most dangerous enemy of the Burmese people. Thes latters are the civilian collaborators of the military and are the hidden enemy

of the democracy movement. What is the nature of the collaboration? The swindler fights only with the mask of the devil. He sees democracy as only applicable to his own group and for the other he provides excuses for the military to even commit genocide. Under the circumstances, what is needed in Burma is not so much a democracy movement but of human rights education because a full understanding of human rights entails both rights and obligations. In the case of Rakhines-Rohingya relations for example, while Burman-Rakhines are entitled to have human rights, they fail to respect the human rights of other-the Rohingya. In Burma's present state of affairs that promotes racism, Burma doesn't allow the crossbreeding of identities and the minoritie's were deprived of enjoying their rights and "democracy as a formal framework for debate" doesn't take place.

Finally, what are the conditions that keep the military in power in Burma? This study shows that on one hand, it is the military leaders' deep commitment to keeping "true Burma" together by force and driving "radical" elements out, on the other the democracy movement leaders's model of Burman democracy, is hardly committed to protecting minority rights. Thus, before the democracy movement can truly progress in Burma, these are the central contradictions that need to be understood and resolved.

Suffice it to say, the history of Burma is the history of its ethnic groups' struggle against the Burman majority's attempt to keep them a subject people. From our vantage point, Burma's missing dots are not to be found in the differences between the military regime and the democracy movement, but in the deeply rooted question of ethnic intolerance that lies at the heart of self-identity of all Burmese, authoritarian and "democratic" alike. When the radically ethnic nature of this dilemma is properly brought to light, only then will we be able to connect the dots and discern the emerging face of genocide that has underlined Burmese internal policy for so long.

In the words of Benedict Anderson, a nation is an "imagined community" with shared identities. True, democracy is about citizenship and the military's exclusionist model of defining the indigenousness of ethnic groups negates the notion of citizenship. The democracy movement leadership in Burma in general and in the provinces like Arakan in particular is very weak; this is definitely due to their racially prejudiced outlook. Similar manifestations of xenophobia aimed at exterminating the Christian minorities persist in

Kachine and Karanni states. In Arakan state, no measures have yet been taken even to condemn the racist anti-Rohingya stances of the spurious democracy movement leaders such as Ashin Nayaka, Aye Kyaw and their organization, the ANC which promotes racism. In consequence, the genocide in Burma and in Arakan in particular against minorities continues.

As the years slip by, Burma faces a growing demand for change. The findings of the present research suggest that to fight a winning war, the democracy movement as a whole should undergo dramatic internal changes in outlook. In a country with a large ethnic population such as Burma, nationalism ought to seek a compromise with pluralism. It should not look for enemies. What is needed is to replace some of the spurious leaders who in the name of spirituality and democracy preach xenophobia, ethnocentrism and ultra nationalism. True revolutionaries like Dr. Shwe Lu Maung, U Kyaw Min, the latter a prisoners of conscience are not shy people. They know the difference between democracy-lovers and the reactionaries. As a matter of duty and also to discourage the reactionaries and their pretensions the actors of these crimes against humanity should be brought to public attention. Thus, what Burmese revolutionaries need is to look not for the "enemies" in ethnic groups but only friends. In not having this mindset, the democracy movement leadership, in the name of its fight for democracy while gain both financial and virtual inspirations from the West but unfortunately many of them promote xenophobic nationalism and obstruct democracy, the "unfolding of reason in history." (13)

Endnotes

(1) G.E. Harvey. *History of Burma: From the Earliest Times to 10 March 1824 The Beginning of the English Conquest*. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1967, p. 153.

(2) Chris Lewa. "Conflict, discrimination and humanitarian challenges in Northern Arakan State" *Forum Asia*, Bangkok, livered at the EU—Burma Day 2003 Conference, Brussels, 8 October 2003.

(3) The international covenant of civil and political rights (ICCPR) Article 24 (A)

(4) Ibid

(5) BBC Videohttp://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9kIP-tU89QA&feature=related

(6) The figure was disclosed to the author by Chris Lewa in Geneva. Lewa works closely with the Rohingyas in Chittagong and in the Arakan province, estimates that about 200,000 undocumented Rohingya refugees now live in Bangladesh and another 500,000 Rohingyas now live in all over the world.

(6) Chris Lewa, Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development (FORUM-ASIA) Bangkok, Thailand, copyright @ 2003, rum Asia, biblio. org/obl/docs/KICKEDTOBURMA-Final-3.htm

(7) Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu and his democratic government recognized the Rohingyas as an indigenous ethnic community of Burma. On 25th Sept. 1954 at 8:00 p. m., the Prime minister, in his radio speech to the nation declared Rohingya as an indigenous ethnic community of Burma.

(8) James Smith, quoted in "What is Genocide?" http://efchr.mcgill.ca/WhatIsGenocide_en.php?menu=2

(9) Clive Parker, "The Rohingya Riddle." June, 2006. http://www.rohingya.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=34&Itemid=32

(10) Photos of Pegu riot shows monks even entered inside Mosques to carry out destruction.

(11) Reeta Chowdhari Tremblay, James Kelly, Michael Lipson and Jean F. Mayer (2008) *Human Rights: Origins, Concepts, and Critiques.* Toronto; Thomson-Nelson Publishers, **P.11,** 93.

(12) Junta reaffirms noble history of military
http://www.mizzimab urmese.com/ content/view/ 838/1/

(13) Jocelyn Maclure. Narratives and Counter-Narratives of Identity in Quebec. (Translated into English by Edouard Vo-Quang. Also see Benedict Anderson> Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism. Londo: Verso, 1991.

APPENDIX 1

TIMELINE WESTERN BURMA AND BANGLADESH

Chandra Rule of Arakan

There are Arakani folk tales say that the Royal capitals of Arakan dates back to 3000 B. C. Arakani researcher San Shwe Bu thinks the Chandras were from Hindu dynasty but followed Mohayana Buddhism. According to him the king and the people both were of Indian origin. The coins of Wasali had the image of Siva engraved on it. M.S. Collins says, "The coins of Wasali were in pure Brahminical tradition."

788 During the reign of Arakani Indian Chandra King Mahat Sing Daya's time recorded in the royal chronicle that several Arab ships wracked on Ramree Island. "Survivors were sent to Arakan proper and settled in villages." Similar Arab settlements were recorded in the other parts of southern part of Chittagong.

785-957 Arab traders began to settle both in Arakan and Chittagong. Intermixture with the local Dravadian population led to the first Chandra-Rohingyas of Arakan.In Arakan and Chittagong, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persi, Portuguage eventually combined together formed the Chandra-Rohingya dialect in Arakan and in a similar trend developed in Chittagong called Chittagonian dialect with their slight variations spoken by the Chakmas, and the Tanchaingyas of Chittagong Hill Tracts, and the Rohingyas of Arakan.

9th Century Chandra invasion of Chittagong; Hindus of Chittagong believe that Muslims have changed the original Sanskrit name of Chittagong from "Chatta gram" into "Chaitigaon." However, the Arakani historians claim that the name Chittagong was originally given by an Arakanese king. It says, an Arakani king erected a pillar at Chittagong in the ninth century A. D. with a remark "to make war is improper." It is true during this time a Chandra king (not a Mogh king) ruled Arakan. There was no Mogh Rakine kingdom in Arakan yet. Arakan was ruled by Chanda king Shoe Ratan. The language of the king was not the Burmese Moghhi "Tsit-ta-gungin", "to make war is improper" as was made up later on. To make war improper seem an unlikely slogan by a fighter king. The original statement "to make war is improper" seems more like the declaration of a peace treaty between two parties than as it is presented as the declaration of a victory by an Arakani king. Under the circumstance of the nonexistence of Burmese language in Arakan, instead of the Burmese "Tsit-ta-gungin", it would seem that the Chandras used Sanskrit language "Shoukeet Thakom" (in English meaning "We live in peace") The latter expression in Chittagonian or in Chandra-Rohingya language seems historically more consistent. But one might wonder how this misinterpretation of a huge magnitude "Tsit-ta-gungin", "to make war is improper" remained as truth for so long? Many of the contemporary research on Arakan show that after the event of 1784, Burmese invasion of Arakan, Burmese king took the Arakani chronicles to Burma proper. The Arakani Sanskrit chronicles were rewritten in Burmese along with a tendentious interpretation of events entered into Arakani history.

957-1430 MONGOLOID MOGH RULE OF ARAKAN

Mongoloid invasion and the beginning of "Kula" (Chandra) exodus to North Arakan and Chittagong.

957 Mongolian (Burmese) invasion and fall of the Chandras and the beginning of Tabaung Mongoloid dynasty and also the beginning of "Kula" (Chandra Indians, ancient Rohingya) exodus to eastern India (Chittagong) Martin Smith says " . . . hidden by undergrowth in the forests of Arakan, local Rakhines also found a great golden Buddha image, known as the Mahamuni statue, which belongs to the Mahayana Buddhist tradition and must have predated the Rakhine arrival by some centuries." Martin Smith. Smith says further in his 'The Muslim "Rohingya" of Burma': "What is

interesting here is the unusual history of Buddhism in Arakan, which some observers believe helps explain the particular importance of the religious issue in Arakan and the apparent chauvinism by some—though not, of course, all—of the later Rakhine nationalist movements."

1044-77 Rise of Burmese pagan king Anwardhta in Burma proper with Teraveda political Buddhism and "reduces North Arakan" into a province of Burma. This was also the beginning of the Burmese Mongoloid settlement in Arakan known now as the Moghs. The religion changes from Mohayana into Hinayana or Theraveda Buddhism.

Beginning of Chakma exodus from Arakan

1044-77 Rohingyas (Arakani Hindus and Muslims) left Arakan for Chittagong. Chakma Royal history says that in this war against the Burmese, they sided with the Bengalis (the Chandras) but were defeated.

1287—Mongols under Kublai Khan conquer Pagan.

1406 Burmese King Min Khaung Yaza invades Arakan and Noromi-kala the king of Arakan along with his followers took asylum at Gaur the court of Bengal sultan Gaisuddin Azam Shah. The Sultan welcomed Noromi kla to serve as an officer in the army.

1430-1784 MRAUK U DYNASTY: CONTACT WITH INDIAN SEMATIC CIVILIZATION

1430 After 24 years Sultan Jalal uddin Khan sent "Wali Khan as the head of 20 thousand Pathan army" to restore Noromikla to his throne. Noromikla takes the name Sulauman Shah and becomes the king.

1431 General Wali Khan removes Noromikla and rules Arakan as an independent Muslim ruler for couple of years. He introduced Persian as the official language of Arakan. Noromikla escapes to Bengal again.

1433 Nadir Shah sent General Sindhi Khan with 30,000 solders helped restore Noromikla as the king. This time Arakan becomes a province of Bengal. Wali Khan was killed in the battle and his followers were allowed to settle near Kalander River. In return for the help, the Arakani king

promised to return the twelve towns of Bengal, which most likely be the whole of southern Chittagong with perhaps twelve small feuds then under Mogh rule. Arakan began to pay annual taxes and Persian began to be used as the court language.

1433 Foundation of the Mrauk U dynasty in the city of Mrohaung near Lamro River. Mrohaung became a populous sea port, "built on hillocks amid the rice plain and intersected by canals which served as streets." "Sindi Khan's followers settled in Mrohaung and its suburban areas. It was the beginning of a large Rohingya community and culture in Arakan. During this time the neighborhood of Mruak—U city's South Eastern region named as Kalapanzan and a trading port named "Bandar" a Persian name meaning port were populated by the Rohingyas. Some scholars believe that the name Rohingya derived from "Mrohaung" the name of the city, and "gya" Chittagonian means natives was known to have been given by Chittagonian Bengalis to the people who arrived to Chittagong from the direction of the "Mrohaung" city. This can't be true because, the name was a Burmese given to the Mruak—U city and the name Rohingya, has its independent development.

1575-1666 MOGH—PORTUGUESE ANARCHY IN LOWER BENGAL

1538 Sher Shah defeated the Sulltan of Gaur which led to the fall of the kingdom of Bengal and the beginning of the Mogh—Portuguese piracy in the Bay.

14th century A. D., to escape Mogh capture, Chakmas left southern Chittagong for Raojan in northern Chittagong and finally moves to the north East of Chittagong Hill Tracts where they live today.

26th August 1660 Shah Suja, the Mogul prince started from Dhaka arrived in Lakhipur of Comilla then to Monipur, then to Raujan and then to Diang of Chittagong. From Diang he travelled by land to Ramu, to Eidgah and traveled to the Naff River and from there by boat to Mrohaung city. Sandathudamma, the king of Arakan welcomed him but later in the same year the prince and his family were brutally murdered by the use of axe and their valuables were looted." Everyday the gold and silver, which the Arakanese have taken, are

brought into the king's treasury to be melted down." 7th February 1661 Shah Suja was killed, reported by Garret Von Bergo.

1665 To avenge the death of the prince and to stop Mogh-Portuguese piracy in the Bay, Shaista Khan launched the conquest of Chittagong. General Hossain Beg and General Umed Khan led the forces. The end of Mogh control of Chittagong and piracy in lower Bengal led an "incredible rejoicing of Bengal." Moghs left behind their Bengali wives and concubines and children now called the Baruas. Baruas also call themselves as the Rajbanshis meaning the offsprings of the Moghs." There are two large Barua settlements in Satbaria and another one in Chokroshala of southern Chittagong.

Shah Suja's death, Mogh-Muslim discontent in Arakan and the Rohingya refugees in Chittagong.

1666 The return of the defeated Mogh pirates to Arakan led to the beginning of anti Bengali, anti Rohingya discontent in Arakan. Many Rohingyas left Arakan to escape death. Poet Alaol was put in jail in Arakan for a while but escaped to Chittagong with his famous manuscript" Padmaboti". The Children of Maghan Thakur (the Muslim Chief Minister of Arakan) among others also escaped Arakan but empty handed and settled in northern Chittagong) Habibullah records that from 1670, the Mogh pirates were reported to have been involved in an anti Muslim riot.

1684 Sandathudamma the king of Arakan died.

1685-1783 Anarchy in Arakan, there were ten kings during this time. The last one being Tamada Raja ruled upto 1783.

1760 Possession of Chittagong from the Moghuls by the East India Company. Burmese attempt to invade Chittagong was foiled by the British with enthusiastic support from the Bengali people of Chittagong.

1784-1824 Burmese rule of Arakan:

MOGH-ROHINGYA MIGRATION TO CHITTAGONG AND CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS OF BANGLADESH

BURMESE INVASION OF ARAKAN 1784-85.

1784-85 Burmese king Bodapawpaya's conquest of Arakan led to the mass migration of Mogh and the Rohingya to Chittagong. Moghs settles in Bandarbon, and Cox's Bazar. Rohingyas settled in southern Chittagong. Pierre Bessaignet says "By the end of the eightieth century, as a result of Burmese invasions, two-thirds of the population of Arakan have fled to Chittagong . . ." Habibullah says, "Muslims escaped by the sea and amalgamated with the locals and the Moghs went to settle in the forest."

1797 Both Buddhists and Muslims were equally tortured and mass migration of Arakanese to Chittagong took place. Habibullah estimates "About 1000,000 Mogh and 30,000 Rohingyas entered Chittagong. Rohingyas settled in southern Chittagong in localities were called "Roai Para." During this time the term "Moghur Mulluk" to refer Arakan as a lawless society came into use.

Harvey says "The reasoning on which Bodawpaya acted was not peculiar to him. It was the regular policy of most Burmese kings . . . It was not unlike the policy of European countries in former times, but they outgrew it. Hervey says Arakan had never been populous, and now it became a desert; the towns were deserted and overgrown with jungle, and there was nothing to be seen but "utter desolation . . . morass, pestilence and death." Harvey says "And here most of the fugitives were not even political refugees, but simply harmless people fleeing from death. And the years went by there came to be 50,000 of them-it was sort of racial migration" Harvey seems to refer to the widespread Rohingya migration to Chittagong. Burmese practice of oppression was such that "To break the spirit of the people, they would drive men, women, and children into bamboo enclosures and burn them alive in hundreds. The depopulation was such that there are valleys where even today the people have scarcely recovered their original numbers and men still speak with a shudder of Manar Upadrab "the oppression of the Burmese" Harvey says the above is a tragic story. But it is the story of the kings, not of the people. The Burmese had never used coins and hence he had no model of his own. He copied therefore the Moslem design. Habibullah says, "To introduce the same justice system, coinage he by the use of force took three thousand seven hundred Muslims from Arakan to Burma. They are called in Burmese *Thum Htaung Khunya* (three tousand seven hundred)

1826-1948 BRITISH COLONIAL RULE: MOGH-ROHINGYA RETURNEES TO ARAKAN

1824 First Anglo-Burmese war and the British occupation of Arakan andTenasserim. Habibullah says, Driven out of Arakan some of these Rohingyas went back to Arakan and others settled in Southern Chittagong. However, these Arakanese Muslims were later branded in the British record as "Chittagonian".

1824-26—First Anglo-Burmese war and the Treaty of Yandabo. Burma lost the Arakan coastal strip, between Chittagong and Cape Negrais.

1852 Second Anglo-Burmese war and the annexation of Pegu.

1885 Third Anglo-Burmese war and the annexation of upper Burma.

1917-18 Revival of Burmese Nationalist movements in the formation of Young man's Buddhist Association (YMBA).

1930 Burmese—Indian Riot

1935 Burma was separated from British India.

1938 Buddhist-Muslim riot

1942 Japanese occupation of Burma and Burmese ultranationalists massacre minorities such as Karens, Shans, Chins, and Rohingyas.

1942 The ultranationalist Arakani group taking a leaf from the Burmese anti—Indian slogan branded the Rohingyas as the Chittagonians. The Rohingya genocide of 1942 in which over a 100,000 Rohingyas were massacred. Large scale Rohingya exodus to Chittagong took place.

1942 Rohingya armed resistance movement. Jaffor Kawwal, Mohammed Abbas, and Kassim gave leadership. Rohingyas were branded by the government as separatists.

1945 British reoccupation of Burma and Japanese were driven out. Some Rohingyas returned to Arakan.

1947 Panglong minority conference held in Panglong, Shan region.

1947 Aung San (1915-1947) before he could become the first prime minister of the independent Burma, he and his six colleagues including U Razzak were assassinated on July 19, 1947.

1948-1962 PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

1948 Independence of Burma.

1948 Like the other discontented minorities such as Karen, Mon and the others, Rohingya's open revolt in Mujahid movement

1949 Karen and Mon revolt

1949 Rohingyas occupy most of north Arakan.

1950 Memorandum by the pubic of Maungdaw demanding fundamental rights and the unconditional repatriation of Rohingya refugees left Arakan in 1942 to Chittagong.

1951 Rohingya demand for immediate cessation of genocide of Rohingyas in Arakan. Rohingya properties were confiscated, and the nationalists began dismissing Rohingyas from government jobs.

1954 Memorandum of appeal by Rohingyas demanding fundamental rights and freedom.

1958 U Nu formed a care taker peace restoration council with General Ne Win's leadership. Ne Win began his Rohingya extermination program. 20,000 Rohingyas took shelter in Chittagong. Habibullah reports, "The Burmese government assured that it was the work of an extremist group of Akyab and took back the refugees."

1958 Shan and Kachin revolt.

1959a Kayah revolt.

1959 Burma agreed with East Pakistan Governor Zakir Hossain to take back Rohingya refugees who have taken shelter in Chittagong in 1958.

1960 Rohingya memorandum of appeal to chairman of constitution Revision Committee by Public of North Arakan through Mr. Sultan Mahmud, ex-M.P. and parliamentary secretary) to keep in view the difficulties to be remedied on grant of Arakan state.

1960 U Nu formed Mayu Frontier Administration and kept it under direct central government control. The Moghs branded it as the central government's divide and rule policy.

1960 Rohingya broadcasting centre was allowed.

1960 Memorandum by Rohingya M.P.'s demanding autonomous state or direct government rule or Rohingya parity in services on grant of Arakan state.

1960 Representation to Prime Minister U Nu by Mr. M.A. Subhan demanded unconditional release of detainees (in Akyab Central Jail) arrested under Citizenship Act, the Immigration Emergency Provision Amendment Act, etc.

1961 4th July Rohingya Mujahids surrenders arms. Brigadier Aung Gi termed Rohingyas a "peaceful community"

1961 U Nu's declaration of Buddhism as the state religion of Burma and reaction among the Karen Christians, Chin, Rohingya, and the Mon animists complicating the situation.

1961 Formation of army administration in Rohingya areas.

1962 U Nu opens federal seminar to hear minority problems.

1962-1974 MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NE WIN AND BURMESE GENOCIDE

1962 2nd March General Ne Win (1911-2002) took over power, dissolved federal seminar, arrested minority leaders. The expulsion of Indians from Burma began and many walked on foot and perished on their way to India

and Pakistan. See Chakraverty. In the name of driving out Indians, the destruction of some Rohingya places in Arakan were also done.

1970 Burmese government agreed that Rohingya areas to be ruled by the military with Arakanese Burmese in the administration.

1972 Memorandum to General Ne Win by Rohingya leaders to stop deterioration of Rohingya situation.

1973 Formation of R.P.F. (Rohingya Patriotic Front).

1974 Government's denial of Rohingyas' right to vote. Rohingya demonstration all over Arakan leading to mass arrest.

1975-1988 ONE PARTY SOCIALIST PROGRAM RULE

1978 Rohingya exodus of 207,172 refugees to Bangladesh.

1978 After international agencies investigation of documents carried by the refugees proving them as Burmese citizens, Burmese Government agreed to repatriate the refugees.

1981, 2000 of the 1978 refugees, Rohingya leaders (a total of 5000) still remained in Bangladesh, India, and in other foreign countries.

1982 The Military government passes the Citizenship Act depriving the Rohingya's Burmese citizenship. The military's policy was the removal of Rohingyas "from civil posts, intensified and restrictions on their movement, and confiscation of their property were done."

1988 Sein Lwin: Known as the "butcher" was behind the crackdown of student uprising in 1988.

1989—Daw Aung San Suu Kyi leader of the National League of Democracy Party, an elected leader of the Burmese people remains under house arrest. In 1991, she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

1991-1992 Refugee international report says: "The Rohingya have faced continuing persecution by the military government in Burma, and have

escaped to Bangladesh in large numbers, with the biggest influx in 1991 and 1992, when over 250,000 of them crossed the border. Although many of these refugees have since then been repatriated to Burma, there are still about 21,500 refugees living in two camps in southern Bangladesh. The refugees are completely dependent on UN and aid agencies for food.

In addition, an estimated 200,000 Rohingya are living illegally in Bangladesh without access to protection or humanitarian assistance."

2004 Refugee International, 2004 reports that Rohingyas " . . . need authorization to travel outside of their villages, their land is confiscated by the government for use by Buddhist settlers, their mosques are destroyed by the military and they are routinely subjected to forced labor."

1992 in south-western Bangladesh for the thousands of refugees, only two camps remain and even these are expected to be closed by June 2003. New arrivals from Burma have been denied access to these camps since 1995 and there are an estimated 100,000 to 200,000 Rohingya living outside the camps."

1988-2006 SLORC/SPDC MILITARY RULE.

The Arakan National Council (ANC) in the conference March 1-6, 2004, in New Delhi, India, under the supervision of ALD exile leader U THA NU, a social welfare minister of NCGUB denied the Rohingyas as the Arakanese people. MSK Jilani says, "The ANC called all representatives of ethnic groups of Arakan except Rohingya representation from the Muslim ethnic group. The ANC cannot represent the whole people of Arakan nor be given leadership without any representative from the Rohingya ethnic group although the ANC unanimously decided to lead the Arakan people as declared by the recent ANC conference in Arakan. There are approximately 5 million people, half are Rohingya Muslims. If so, how can the ANC lead the whole Arakan people? It is impossible for the ANC to form any government or any political representation role without Rohingyas in Arakan. Some Rakhine leaders and intellectuals like Dr. Shwe Lu Maung, U Mra Wa, Dr. Khin Maung (NUPA), and Major Tun Kyaw Oo, (president of the Amyothar Party) favor of Rohingya citizenship. "Dr. Than Tun, rector of Mandalay University and former professor of history,

Rangoon University makes strong recommendations on Rohingyas as ethnic group and bonafide citizen of Arakan."

2005 Burma declares that its seat of government is moving to a new site near the central town of Pyinmana.

2005 Arrest of a Rohingya member of the parliament (MP) U Kyaw Min and given life sentence for helping his people. The above elected MP from National Democratic Party for Human Rights (NDPHR) and a member of the Committee Representing People's Parliament (CRPP) was detained on 17 March 2005. He was sentenced to 47 years imprisonment on 29 July 2005. His wife, two daughters and a son were also sentenced to 17 years respectively.

2005 The pro military government's Mogh intellectual Aye Chan's co-authored the book "Influx Viruses" demeaning Rohingyas as deadly enemies needed to be exterminated.

2006 The anti—Muslim riot from a rumor that some Muslim men raped a Burmese women supported by some Buddhist Monks and opposed by other peace-loving Burmese in Rangoon but spread to Arakan causing tension between the Muslims and the Buddhists. The ban on Rohingyas getting married to Rohingyas introduced a genocidal crime against humanity.

2006 ANC (Arakani National Council) a xenophobic Mogh organization declares the Rohingyas as Bangladeshis and in the agenda recommends to the democracy leaders to exclude Rohingyas from any future share of power in Arakan.

2006 Aung San Su Ki, the elected democracy movement leader continues to remain under house arrest in Burma away from her family for years.

2006 Burmese democracy movement continues at home and abroad. However, primarily due to Rohingya's racial differences with the Burmans, secondly, due to the existence of some xenophobic but powerful Mogh leaders now leading the democracy movement in the Arakan province, the Rohingyas issue of statelessness remains largely an unpopular topic among Burma's high level democracy leaders.

According to the Constitution, those ethnic groups that lived within the Burmese territory before 1823 are the natives of Burma and are qualified to be the citizens of Burma. Rohingyas are not included in this definition and branded as foreigners in Burma. Burma has one hundred thrity five recognized ethnic groups but Rohingyas are not included among them.

2006 March—Nay Pyi Taw—the new capital hosts its first official event, an Armed Forces Day parade.

2007 August—Wave of public dissent sparked by fuel price hikes.

2008 Aung San Suu Kyi still remains in jail. UN mission fails to make any breakthrough.

2009 The increased number of Rohingya boat people in the sea: "With the refugee camps in Bangladesh long having stopped taking people, the Rohingya are now seeking to travel to Thailand and then make their way overland to Malaysia, and Indonesia. The Thai military has been accused of seizing hundreds of refugees, towing them out to sea and "leaving them to die" without engines and barely any food or water."

2009 Tension between Burma and Bangladesh on the demarcation of the sea boundary is mounting due to the following bilateral irritants**:** Rohingya refugee issue**,** Maritime boundary demarcation**,** Illegal small arms trade, Illegal drug trade, unfriendly NASAKA, Bangladesh-US defense relations, internationally Burma lingering as a pariah state**.**

The below statistical figures are from *Shah Mohammed Saifuddin* BANGLA-MYANMAR RELATIONS: Strategic partnership through co-op and conflict resolution. Link:

http://www.newagebd.com/2009/oct/19/edit.html

Comparative Bangla-Myanmar economic strength

Economic Indicators	Bangladesh	Myanmar
GDP(PPP)	$224.00 billion	$55.04 billion
GDP(Official Exchange Rate)	$83.04 billion	$13.70 billion
GDP(Per Capita)	$1,500.00	$1,200.00
Exports	$13.97 billion	$6.15 billion
Imports	$20.17 billion	$3.589 billion
Reserves	$5.93 billion	$2.26 billion
Debt	$21.72 billion	$7.17 billion

Source: CIA fact book

Comparative Bangla-Myanmar military strength

Countries	Army				Navy		Air Force	
	Men	Tanks	APC	Artillery	Men	Ships	Men	Aircraft
Bangladesh	150000	200	250	200	15000	83	17000	83
Myanmar	428000	255	325	388	13000	101	12000	125

Source: Official military websites, Jane's Defence weekly, and CSIS.org

APPENDIX 2

WHAT IS GENOCIDE?

(Adopted from McGill University sponsored Global conference on genocide in 2007)

What is Genocide?

http://efchr.mcgill.ca/WhatIsGenocide_en.php?menu=2

The word 'genocide' was coined by Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959), a Jewish Polish lawyer, following the Nazi destruction of the Jews of Europe. He used a combination of Greek and Latin words: *geno* (race or tribe) and *cide* (killing). Lemkin was describing "a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves."

On December 9, 1948, in the shadow of the Holocaust, and due in large part to Lemkin's efforts, the United Nations approved the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. This convention establishes "genocide" as an international crime, which signatory nations "undertake to prevent and punish." It says:

Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

a. Killing members of the group;
b. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
c. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
d. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
e. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article 6 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court shares this definition, as do the Statutes of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

The defining characteristic which separates the crime of genocide from other ordinary crimes is the special intent, or dolus specialis, to destroy all or part of a group. As the ICTY stated in 1999 in *Jelisic*, "Genocide is characterised by two legal ingredients according to the terms of Article 4 of the Statute: [1] the material element of the offence, constituted by one or several acts enumerated in paragraph 2 of Article 4; [2] the mens rea of the offence, consisting of the special intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such." Theoretically, then, the murder of a single person could constitute an attempt at genocide if the aggressor's intent was to kill that person as part of larger plan to destroy a group.

The phrase "in whole or in part" has been the subject of much discussion. In the 2001 *Krstic* case, the ICTY found that the mass killing of approximately 8,000 Bosnian Muslims at Srebrenica constituted genocide. Reflecting on the meaning of "in part," the tribunal stated: "[T]he part must be a substantial part of that group. The aim of the Genocide Convention is to prevent the intentional destruction of entire human groups, and the part targeted must be significant enough to have an impact on the group as a whole." They concluded that while the number of individuals targeted is the "necessary and important starting point," one must also consider the

number of victims in relation to the overall size of the entire group, as well as the prominence or importance of the targeted individuals within the entire group. In *Krstic* it was found that even though only Muslim men in one town were targeted, the number of victims was large and their significance was such that, to a certain extent, they represented the wider Bosnian Muslim community.

In 1998, the ICTR in *Akayesu* (the first ever conviction for genocide) found that acts of sexual violence may "constitute genocide in the same way as any other act as long as they were committed with the specific intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a particular group, targeted as such". The systematic rape, humiliation and mutilation that occurred in Rwanda in 1994 "resulted in the physical and psychological destruction of Tutsi women, their families and communities." Subsequent ICTR cases such as *Kayishema*, *Musema* and *Rutaganda* found that sexual violence satisfies the definitional requirements of "causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group," "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part" and "imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group."

The Aegis Trust has collected these other definitions of genocide:

> "a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator."
>
> *Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn,*
> *The History and Sociology of Genocide, 1990*
>
> "the mass killing of substantial numbers of human beings . . . under conditions of the essential defenselessness and helplessness of the victims."
>
> *Israel Charny*
> *in George Andreopoulos (ed), Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions, 1994*
>
> "sustained purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a collectivity directly or indirectly, through interdiction

of the biological and social reproduction of group members, sustained regardless of the surrender or lack of threat offered by the victim."

Helen Fein,
Genocide: A Sociological Perspective, 1993/1990

"the promotion and execution of policies by a state or its agents which result in the deaths of a substantial portion of a group . . . [when] the victimized groups are defined primarily in terms of their communal characteristics, i.e., ethnicity, religion or nationality."

Barbara Harff and Ted Gurr
'Toward empirical theory of genocides and politicides,' International Studies Quarterly, 37:3, 1988

"Genocide is not extreme war or conflict; it is extreme exclusion. Exclusion may start with name-calling, but may end with a group of people being excluded from a society to the point where they are destroyed."

James M. Smith speaking to the London Assembly, January 2006

APPENDIX 3

IMPORTANT ROHINGYA WEBSITES

Kalandan Press Network
RohingyaNet
Burmese Rohingya Group (BRG)
Arakan Today
Rohingya Language
Human Rights Peace & Justice for All (*HRPJ*)
Rohingya Human Rights Review
The Monthly Rohingya Review
MERHROM
National Democratic Party for Human Rights (exile) HQ
Arakan Rohingya Organization-Japan (JARO)
Rohingya Future Generation (RFG)
Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO)
Free Rohingya Campaign (FRC)

Rohingya Organizations and News Groups:

World Rohingya Congress (WRC), USA
Burmese Rohingya Association in United Arab Emirate (BRA-UAE)
National Council for Rohingya (NCR) Malaysia
Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO)
Arakan League for Justice and Freedom (ALJF), Bangladesh
Union of Rohingya Communities in Europe (URCE), Denmark-Norway
Rohingya Community in Norway (RCN), Norway
Burmese Rohingya Community in Australia (BRCA)
Burmese Rohingya Association in Japan (BRJA), Japan

Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) Arakan, Burma
Burmese Rohingya Association in Thailand (BRAT), Thailand
Arakan Rohingya Refugee Committee (ARRC), Malaysia
Ittihad-Tullab Al-Muslimeen (ITM), Arakan, Burma
Rohingya Ulama Council in Malaysia (RUCM)
National Democratic Party for Human Rights (exile) HQ, USA
Arakan Rohingya Organization-Japan (JARO)
Rohingya Youth Development Forum (RYDF), Arakan-Burma
Rohingya Human Rights Council (RHC), Norway

Rohingya News Groups

- RohingyaNet
- Rohingya Yahoogroups
- Kalandan Press Network (KPN)
- Rohingya Information Center (RIC), Malaysia

APPENDIX 4

ROHINGYA GENOCIDE IN WESTERN BURMA

Evidence of Rohingya Genocide in Arakan reported by **Asia Watch,** A **DIVISION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH**

May 7, 1992 Vol. 4, Issue 13

Asia Watch Reports the following:

"Summary Executions

As some of the above accounts indicate, the Burmese military has not hesitated to shoot at departing refugees, even as it presses them to "return" to Bangladesh. On March 10, Anis Ahmed, reporting for Reuters from Dhaka, wrote that on March 4, Burmese troops had captured more than 300 Rohingyas trying to flee across the Naaf River, separated the young women, and shot many of the rest dead. The military seems to be aiming at ridding Burma of Rohingyas by any method, including murder.

Mohammad Shah, 30, from Azarbil, Maungdaw, arrived in Bangladesh on February 13, 1992. He recounted what happened to a group of about 200 Muslims from the Azarbil area who left for Bangladesh about January 3. The group included Mohammad's best friend, his uncle and many neighbors.

His friend returned in a panic later the same day, describing how the group was stopped by Burmese civilians and soldiers, and how he had fled the scene. A day later, a villager reported to Mohammad that his uncle was now in the military post called Napru Camp. He went to the camp but learned nothing. He distinctly recalled the screaming of women from buildings at the camp.

On January 5 Mohammad Shah himself discovered his uncle's body floating on the river near their village. No marks were evident. The following day, Mohammad found more bodies, this time four females, floating near the same place. He recognized them as his neighbors, from the group that had departed for the border.

Mohammad spoke to a few survivors of the January 3 group; some had been detained at the camp, other at Maungdaw jail. They confirmed the murders of his neighbors, but they had been released only on promise of never speaking of the incident and declined to discuss it further.

****Hafez Ahmad,** 32, from Tongbazar village, Buthidaung, arrived in Bangladesh at the end of February. He had owned a small grocery shop in his village. Four or five years ago, Hafez said, he got an identity card that designates him as a foreigner in Burma. His job was illegal because businesses are not allowed without citizenship. The Muslims in his area are not allowed to celebrate Muslim holidays, and his family land has been occupied by soldiers in a camp. Muslim work gangs have been forced to build new construction for non-Muslim residents on the land. After most of Hafez' area voted in favor of Aung San Suu Kyi in the 1990 elections, soldiers started saying publicly, "All Muslims should go to your homeland of Bangladesh. You are not from Burma."

When Hafez left Tongbazar with 1500 villagers about February 20, 1992, soldiers encouraged them to go. There were only a few families left there, and Hafez believes them to be in Bangladesh now. They traveled 40 kilometers to the Ghacharibil Crossing of the Naaf River. At the river, they recruited about 20 boats to take them across.

There were about 20 to 25 soldiers at the river who began taking money, gold and jewelry from the refugees in the boats. They were carrying what Hafez described as Chinese G3 and G1 rifles. The soldiers grew progressively more

hostile, beginning to take even the clothes and then rice supplies, leaving people holding only their children. Finally the soldiers began pulling the smallest children from their parents' arms. They swung the children "like sacks" by their ankles, beating their heads again and again against the bank of the river. Hafez saw approximately ten children killed in this way.

His boat was among the first of the twenty to shove off, and when it had almost reached the middle of the river, the soldiers opened fire on the boats behind his. They continued firing until one boat had capsized and sunk. When the firing started, the boats scattered and landed at many different places on the Bangladesh and Burmese sides, so Hafez was never able to ascertain how many casualties were sustained. But he could see bleeding people in several boats behind him.

****Fatema Khatun,** 30, arrived in Bangladesh on March 5, 1992. She left Goalangi village, Buthidaung, on February 26, together with her son, husband, father, father-in-law, mother-in-law, and two brothers-in-law. They were in a group of 600 to 700 people. Fatema and her son had been having trouble keeping up, as she suffers from high blood pressure and her son had injured his left foot badly on the trail.

On March 3, as the group of refugees neared the river Daijarkhal, they saw soldiers for the first time on the trip. There were 40 to 50 armed soldiers on both sides of the stream, and soon the crowd was completely surrounded. Fatema and her son had fallen behind, and as they were separated from the group on the top of a little hill, were not spotted. Suddenly, the soldiers began firing into the crowd. Everyone tried to flee or drop to the ground as the firing continued. Fatema kept her eyes on her family members in the group as best she could. She clearly saw her father shot in the chest and saw her husband take at least one shot as well. In the ensuing confusion she could not distinguish the others in her family.

Fatema and her son hid until the firing stopped, and then had no choice but continue their escape on foot, alone. They walked for two more days; by now they had no food. Over the whole nine-day trek, the two of them ate rice only three times. Eventually they met up with small groups of refugees also traveling to the river, but Fatema could find none of her family among them. At Balukhali Crossing, 200 to 250 people had gathered to hire boats to Bangladesh. Fatema could identify just about 100 from her original

group. When interviewed, Fatema was seeking word from newcomers every day about her missing relatives but had heard nothing. Her son had been treated by camp medics for his injured foot. She wept throughout this account.



The author is with Burma's Prime Minister in exile
Dr. Sein Win, the latter is the causin of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

APPENDIX 5

FAREWELL

Ahmedur Rahman Farooq provided a captivating account of his farewell to Arakan

Farewell to Motherland
by Democracy in Burma
2007-07-27 09:42:11
http://www.ovimagazine.com/art/1873?PHPSESSID=5ac59831d7ca12c1ec3fd5f9467a2375

It was 1978. I was a lad of eight years old. The military operation against the Rohingyas "Dragon King" was going on. Rohingyas were fleeing from different parts of Arakan to Bangladesh to save their life from the military crackdown.

The name of my village is Ummadi Rwa and the name of our Ooksoo (Union) is Senthaung under Kyawktaw Mrooney (Township). Everyday, the news of military tortures, arson or rape were spreading from area to area. People also started running from different villages of our Ooksoo. My father also decided to leave the motherland for Bangladesh. My father—Mr Hafizur Rahman—was a ***Rwasugri*** (Headman) and was respected by all in our Ooksoo. As soon as the news of my father's leaving the country spread, people came from different villages to request him not to leave them helpless at the hands of the military brutes. Finally, my father could not turn down the requests of the hundreds of helpless human beings and dropped the idea of leaving the country. But he decided to send me with my aunt and other relatives to Bangladesh to save at least my life.

Immediately, my aunt and all our other relatives that had decided to leave the country were getting preparation with whatever means they could have, but maintained utmost secrecy, lest the army would know, which might push us towards untold sufferings or raze the whole village to the ground.

At last the long awaited moment came to bid farewell to our beloved home and homestead—where we were born, our village—where we were brought up, our nearby river—where we used to sport with our little boats, our cattle—that we used to graze in our meadow ***"Diyakul"***, the trees of mangoes and other fruits that we planted with utmost care and affection. Time came for me to get separated from my friends and my near and dear ones and most pathetically from my parents.

That day in the evening, my father took me before the sunset to our village graveyard "Foirtua" to offer final prayer beside the grave of my grandfather and other deceased relatives and have a last visit. My father was weeping terribly, I was weeping too. Later, bidding them final farewell we returned home.

At about 10 pm., all the families of our migrating caravan began to pour in our house wherefrom we would start our journey for the uncertain destination altogether.

Hundreds of men, women and children gathered around. The light was put off. The eyes of everyone were full of tears. Someone was crying in pressed voice and someone weeping in silence. It was a heart-rending scene that people can hardly witness.

The last moment of bidding farewell came. The ***"Majhee"*** (boatman) came to inform us of the arrival of the boats with which we would make the voyage. My mother was almost senseless in grief. My father and my grandmothers were crying terribly. At last, my father took up my hands and poured them into the hands of my aunt and tried to utter something, but could not.

Finally, we were led to the ***"Ghaat"*** (shore) of the river where the boats were waiting to carry us. A caravan of hundreds of men, women and children were walking to the river crying . . . . weeping . . . . sobbing. At last we reached the bank and got onto the boats. The crowd who came to see us

off was still standing still on the bank and when our boats departed from the bank we raised our hands to the Almighty saying, "Dear Almighty! We are leaving many of our helpless near and dear ones at Your hand. You please save them from the military tyrants with Your heavenly protection." Perhaps, those that were left behind also raised their hands to the sky and said, "Dear Omnipotent God! Protect them from all odds and obstacles and help them reach their destination safe and secure."

After crossing the river and getting down from the boats at Apawa, we started journey along the dreadful ***Apawa mountain pass*** which was, in fact, start of another ordeal. It was so heart-rending and so harrowing experience that I have personally experienced and witnessed which can never be imagined in a free world. While trekking that long arduous Apawa mountain pass I have seen many old and disabled men and women falling down dying while climbing the rugged hazardous mountain and most painful was the scene of the groaning pregnant women while giving birth to their baby in that dense forest. And more painful was the groans of some Rohingya women wailing terribly (as I could understood later on) after being persecuted by the forces en bloc in the ***"Lawadong Army Camp"***. My heart terribly shudders still to visualize those harrowing events.

APPENDIX 6

ACCOUNT OF GENOCIDAL OPERATIONS AGAINST ROHINGYAS

Source: *Democracy in Burma*

As stated earlier, although the slavish history of the Rohingyas begins with the annexation of Arakan in 1784, but the story of their large scale persecution and oppression begins with the beginning of the 20th century. Particularly, since 1937, when Burma was separated from British India, the soil of Arakan has been frequently drenched with the blood of the Rohingyas which caused innumerable exodus of Rohingyas in the wake of innumerable operations led against the Rohingyas out of which the Pogrom of 1942, Dragon King Operation of 1978 and the Operation of 1991/92 are the most horrific genocidal operations of the world. Being deprived of fundamental human rights and being victim of the systematic genocide, extra-judicial persecution and eviction, the Rohingyas have been leading a gypsy life at home and abroad decades after decades.

The reminiscence of the tragic stories of the most heinous Pogrom of 1942 which is popularly known as ***"Biyallisher Khara Khari"*** still shudders the hearts of those who had witnessed the tragedy. At that time, the genocidal operation in "Kyawktaw" (Township) was so fierce that the water of the "Kaladen River" got a crimson color with the blood of Rohingya victims. And for the following 2/3 years, the fish of the river could not be eaten due to the rotten corpse.

Operation Dragon King of 1978 and its aftermath

As a part of the systematic genocidal operation, this operation was led against the Rohingyas in 1978, when innumerable Rohingya men, women and children have been subjected to massacres and eviction. During this operation, which is popularly known as Dragon King (Nagaminh), about 3 hundred thousand Rohingyas fled to Bangladesh. This was, in fact, the first time when the Rohingya refugee problem drew the international attention.

Later, however, the Burmese military government was forced by the international community to take back its citizens. But due to the lack of an all-out guarantee of their security in Arakan, a major portion of the refugees refused to return home and later, many of them got mixed with the local people of Bangladesh and started leading a gypsy life here and there as undocumented refugees and many of them crossed to different countries like India, Pakistan, UAE and Saudi Arabia, etc.

However, out of those 3 hundred thousand refugees, only 180,000 have returned home amidst utter despondency and grief. But since there was no international observation team inside Arakan to look after the returning refuges, those who returned have become victims of double persecutions. They were not returned to their original hearths and homes. The relief commodities given by different international organizations for these returning refugees were not distributed among them and instead were distributed elsewhere. In a punishing act, many food Go-downs of the refugees were burnt down by the army. As a result, one third of the returning refugees died of starvation and malnutrition and the rest of them began to lead a gypsy life here and there inside Arakan.

In 1979, the military rulers led two more operations against the Rohingyas which were called "Galoon" and "Shwe Hinsa". Later with the passage of "The New Citizenship Law" in 1982, the military rulers have virtually declared the Rohingyas as stateless people in their own homeland where they have been living centuries after centuries. In this way, their right to take part in the national affairs and administration has been snatched away.

In fact, during the long military rule since 1962 the army had conducted armed operations against the Rohingyas almost every year under the aegis

of the notorious "Immigration Act". Moreover, as a part of its "divide & rule" policy, it has instigated many communal riots between the Rakhines and Rohingyas. Besides, the army and other law enforcing personnel often enter the Rohingya localities on the pretext of an enquiry. While searching the houses of the Rohingyas, they either assault the Rohingya womenfolk or take away those who look beautiful.

The Rohingyas are often compelled to provide rice, goats, fowls, etc., free of cost for the army or the police outposts. In what is called modern-day slave labor, they are forced to provide free labor for the construction of different roads and accommodation facilities for the government forces. Sometimes, while all the males of a Rohingya village are summoned to an army camp under some pretext, including forced volunteering for the slave labor—the "kooli"—the forces indiscriminately assault and dishonor the Rohingya women. Besides, drastic restrictions are imposed on the Rohingyas on their movement from a police station to another.

Military Operation of 1991/92

In late 1991, the world witnessed another grim showbiz of crackdown of the Burmese military regime when tens of thousands of Rohingya men, women and children streamed into neighboring Bangladesh with stories of rapes, killings, slave labor and destruction of religious sites and other acts of human rights violations. At that time, the Bangladesh government registered over 300,000 refugees. The green foliage and picturesque valleys of the southern parts of Cox's Bazar of Bangladesh which cater celestial delights to the visitors have turned into a place of exile for those hapless Rohingya refugees.

At that time, the refugees interviewed by different international organizations and the world media reported appalling atrocities at the hands of the Burmese army. Rape of women after their husbands of fathers had been taken for forced labor was common. Sometimes, the rape occurred in the homes of the victims with children and relatives left to watch. Sometimes, the women were taken to a nearby military camp where they were sorted out by beauty. In some cases, the women were killed, in other cases they allowed to return home. Democracy in Burma *2007-08-09 08:57:32*

http://www.ovimagazine.com/art/1871

APPENDIX 7

XENOPHOBIC ADVERTISEMENT ON ARAKAN INFORMATION WEBSITE DEHUMANIZING ROHINGYAS BEING *INFLUX VIRUSES*

(next page)

http://www.rakhapura.com/

✓ Bengladeshi Immigrants in Arakan called Rohingya are raping Arakanese Women with the help of SPDC.

English | မြန်

News | Arakan | Magazine | Library | Community | F

Arakan Information Website
Rakhapura.com

SEARCH

Members Login

User

Pass

SUBMIT

Register | Forgot Pass

Generate revenue from your site with Google AdSense

Arakan Music Station Updated

Our music page, the world's first Arakanese online music station has updated with new songs and new looks.

Rakhapura Internet Magazine — Religion Life Poem View
rakhapura.com/magazine

Poll

What is your favourite service in our website?

- News
- Music
- Video
- Article
- Scholars' Column
- Forum
- Magazine

Submit Vote

Total Votes: 109

Rakhapura is the former name of Arakan, meaning the state owned and inhabited by **Rakhaingthars** (Arakanese) since the time immemorial. Rakhapura is now internationally known as Arakan but it is still called Rakhaingpray by its own peoples, Rakhaingthars. It can not be denied by anyone that Rakhapura had gone through its glorious past in various dynasties such as; Danyawady, Vesali, Laemro and Mrauk-U. All about magnificence of these Arakanese dynasties can be fully sought and found out in this website. The golden days of Mrauk-U, those of 16th and 17th centuries, were contemporary to the days of Tudor kings and the Moguls from India, the Ayudya kings of Thailand and Inwa, Taungoo and Hanthawaddy kings of Myanmar. Along with Arakanese, the 11 ethnic groups of Arakan add up to a population of more than 7 millions. With over 5000-years old language and rich culture, **Arakan has no less great fame and good record as a genuine Buddhist Nation than the neighbouring Burma and India in its throughout history....**

News

- Young Arakanese saved from Bay of Phuket
- Compulsory purchase of rice puts Arakan farmers out of pocket
- Junta forces Arakanese farmers to cultivate onion
- Burma aims to export Arakanese natural gas to China
- ALP denies the Bangladesh's claim of arresting three of its members
- Burmese Navy deserter still at large, six arrested
- Burma offers Bangladeshi Buddhists to settle in northern Arakan
- Burmese settlers 105 families arrive at Akyab from Rangoon
- Jellyfish business is restricted by the Military Junta at Arakan State this season
- Arakanese observes the Day of the Downfall of Arakan Kingdom

Scholars' Column

Who are Arakanese? What's happened in their centuries long history? All of your questions will be solved. Visit this column and read papers and articles on Arakanese history written by various prominent Scholars around the world. **[Go]**

Statements, Memorandums, Declarations...

Statements, declarations and other documents of Arakanese political, social and women's organizations are collectively presented in this section. **[Go]**



The Speech delivered by N

Special Articles

လံကြွင်အမျိုး အဟုတ်ထုတ်

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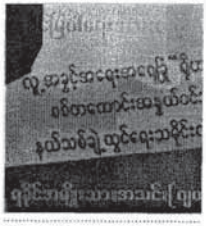
သမိုင်းသုတေသနအဖြစ်နှင့်

Featured e-Book

Review on Fake History
by Arakanese in Japan
Articles that will show you identity of Chittagonian Be Kula (or) so-called Rohing

Download [528 KB]





Entertainment

APPENDIX 8

UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT

UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS Oral intervention by Anti-Slavery International delivered on 7 April 2003

Fifty-ninth session
17th March-25th April 2003

Item 10—Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: *Policies of food deprivation in Myanmar*

Madame Chair,

Anti-Slavery International would like to inform the Commission that deprivation of civil and political rights in Myanmar also results in denial of economic, social and cultural rights.

The Rohingya Muslims in Northern Arakan State are the worst affected. They are discriminated against on the basis of race and religion and are denied citizenship rights. A policy of severe restrictions of their movement aims at containing them, and food insecurity is deliberately created to induce flight to Bangladesh. Policies of exclusion become policies of expulsion through food deprivation.

Madame Chair,

This past year, a new refugee influx of more than 10,000 Rohingya has been reported in Bangladesh. The high price of rice, caused by shortage but also by a ban on transportation of this essential food, has led already impoverished families into starvation.

Food insecurity is used as a tool to target and compel the most vulnerable Muslim population into leaving the country and once they flee; their names are deleted from their family lists, preventing them from ever returning home.

Food security is affected by several major human rights violations:

1) **Compulsory labor** deprives villagers of their daily income. In 2002, it again increased with more frequent sentry duty and the building of a new army camp [in Kha Moung Seik] and two "model villages" for Buddhist settlers in Maungdaw Township. Other forced labor such as brick baking, shrimp farm maintenance, bamboo and woodcutting produces commercial benefits for the army and the Nasik. This was a particular issue of concern to the ILO on its field visit in Northern Abakan State in January 2003.
2) There have been many complaints of a significant increase in **illegal taxation and extortion**. Forced contribution in material, provisions and cash is widespread, and the rare payment for compulsory labor is usually cancelled out by increase of arbitrary taxation, or arrests for minor offences and demands for high bribes in exchange for release. Since 2002, Muslim couples had to pay exorbitant fees to get permission to marry.
3) **Restriction of movement** is a major constraint on decent livelihoods for Muslims. It curtails their economic activities by blocking access to markets and employment in other areas.
4) The **system of license** and **brokerage,** whereby exorbitantly-priced business licenses are sold for monopolies for trading in specific commodities, prevents villagers from gaining a fair income for their produce.
5) **Confiscation of land** to build villages for new Buddhist settlers and expansion of military facilities continues. Local authorities have also begun to implement land policies very strictly, leading to

a number of **evictions**. Families who had built their houses on land registered as paddy fields decades ago were suddenly issued with expulsion orders and forced to dismantle their homes.

Madame Chair,

The right to food lies at the core of human rights ensuring physical and mental well being. Access to food should not be used as a tool of oppression and expulsion, and we would therefore urge the Commission to pursue all possible measures to guarantee this right to the Rohingya Muslims of Arakan State as well as to all people in Myanmar.

Thank you.

APPENDIX 9

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

(*other language versions*)

Adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."

PREAMBLE

> Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,
>
> Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience

of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2.

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3.

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6.

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7.

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10.

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11.

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.
(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, or to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14.

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15.

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.
(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16.

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17.

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18.

> Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19.

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21.

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22.

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23.

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24.

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25.

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26.

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27.

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28.

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

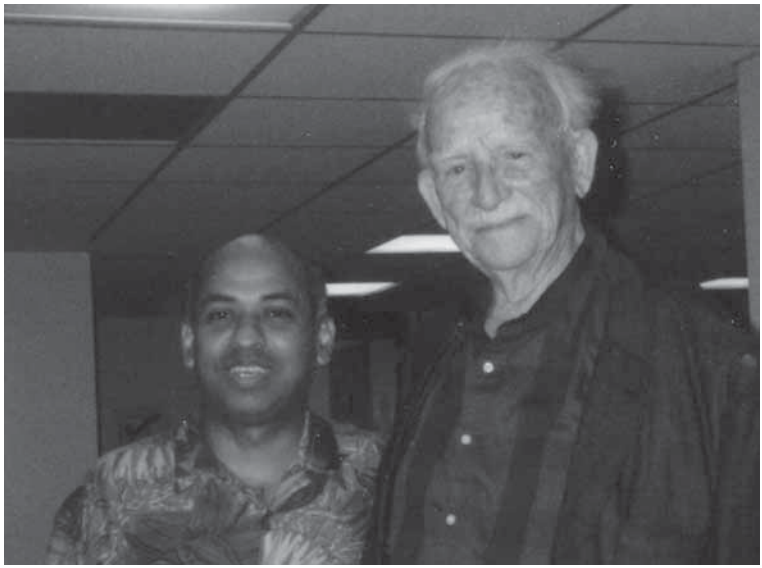
Article 29.

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30.

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.



The author in 1991 in Prince Edward Island with his teacher Dr. John Humphray. The latter drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

APPENDIX 10

UNITED NATIONS PRESS RELEASE ON ROHINGYAS

Tuesday, 03 April 2007

Press Release

UN HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS CALL ON MYANMAR TO ADDRESS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MEMBERS OF MUSLIM MINORITY IN NORTH RAKHINE STATE

2 April 2007

*The following statement was issued today by the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, Paulo Sergio Pinheiro; the Independent Expert on minority issues, Gay McDougall; the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of recism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, Doudou Dièn*e*; the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, Miloon Kothari; the Special Rapporteur on the right to food, Jean Ziegler; and the Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health,PaulHunt:*

Under the 1982 Citizenship Law, the members of the Muslim minority in North Rakhine State, generally known as the Rohingyas, have been

denied Myanmar citizenship, which has seriously curtailed the full exercise of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and led to various discriminatory practices. This includes severe restrictions on freedom of movement; various forms of extortion and arbitrary taxation; land confiscation and forced evictions; restricted access to medical care, food and adequate housing; forced labor; and restrictions on marriages. As a consequence, thousands have fled to neighbouring countries, in turn creating complex humanitarian situations in the region. We call on the Government of Myanmar to take urgent measures to eliminate discriminatory practices against the Muslim minority in North Rakhine State, and to ensure that no further discrimination is carried out against persons belonging to this community. We remind the Government of its obligation to protect all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction from any form of discrimination.

We reiterate the important role of minority rights in promoting equitable development, peace and stability, as enshrined in the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.

We urge the Government of Myanmar to repeal or amend the 1982 Citizenship Law to ensure compliance of its legislation with the country's international human rights obligations, including article 7 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child and article 9 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; and to guarantee that the right to nationality as enunciated in article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 5 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination finds meaningful expression within Myanmar's borders.

Link: *Source*
http://www.freerohingyacampaign.org/cms/index.
php?option=com_content&task=view&id=41&Itemid=65

UNITED NATIONS

Press Release
3 April 2007

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Links : http://www.unhchr.ch/huricane/huricane.nsf/view01/

F0ED9448671A73E6C12572B100553470?opendocument

Source: Rohingya League for democracy (Burma)
http://www.rldb.org/v1/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=18&Itemid=1

APPENDIX 11

REPORT OF CONTINUED GENOCIDE IN ARAKAN: WHO WILL STOP AND WHEN?

Kaladan News
April 9, 2009

Rohingya people in panic in northern Arakan

Maungdaw, Arakan State: Rohingya people in northern Arakan have been passing days and nights in panic because of SPDC authorities have been seizing lethal weapons from Rohingya villages while the Rakhine and Natala villagers have been equipped with lethal weapons and even with guns since 15 days ago, said a local politician requesting not to be named.

The concerned authorities have been seizing lethal weapons such as—knives (Dah), choppers, swords, daggers, hoes, adzes, spades from Rohingya villages, meanwhile, the authorities have equipped—swords, catapults, hmya sue (Chin kali) and even guns—to the Natala (model) villagers and Rakhines. Besides, Rohingya villagers are not allowed to go to another village to do works, so the local poor people have been facing many difficulties to support their family members, he more added.

Moreover, military commandos are being deployed in northern Buthidaung and Maungdaw Townships. On April 8, at about 6:00 pm, about 40 trucks and buses loading with military were going to Maungdaw north from Maungdaw town. After unloading the military to the targeted places,

the trucks and buses returned to their destination quickly, according to a school teacher from the locality.

After the failure of a flag meeting between Bangladesh and Burma on April 8, regarding the border fencing, the tension is prevailed at the border areas. As a result, Burmese military commandos with red flag tying their necks were deployed at the northern side of Maungdaw, the teacher more said.

At present, about 120 to 200 soldiers are placed nearby every Rohingya villages. They are living at Natala villages or Rakhine villages at night, said another local villager.

On April 7, at night, the Rakhine villagers tried to attempt to attack the *Sonbonia* and *Nan Tha Daung* villages of Maungdaw Township. But, this information had already been known to the Rohingya villagers so that the villagers were on red alert for resistance if they were attacked at night. As a result, the Rakhine villagers nearby Rohingya villages were not able to attack the Rohingya villages. The Rakhine villages were strengthened by Rakhine youths inviting from other Rakhine villages. The youths were carried by boats at night from other villages and unloading them to their destinations, said a village elder of Nan Tha Daung village on condition of anonymity.

After the attempt was failure, two hours later, the army of engineering battalion who are duty for fencing at Burma-Bangladesh border entering the Nan Tha Daung village seizing all the said lethal weapons from the said villagers. There were clashes between villagers and army and some of the villagers were wounded, said a trader from the village on condition of anonymity.

Besides, on April 8, a boat with loading lethal weapons such as—swords, knife and other weapons was berthed at Rakhine Khayan Khali village of Maungdaw Township and unloaded all the weapons at the village. At night, some boats came to Maungdaw town and other areas from Sittwe (Akyab), the capital of Arakan State and went to their destinations and returned back after**,** said a local trader from the village.

In addition, Rohingya people were ordered by the authorities not to perform next Juma Prayer or (Friday prayer) in mosques. Regarding this, Rohingya

people are yet to be taken decision whether they will go to mosques or not defying the order, said sources**.**

On April 7, Lt. General Khin Zaw visited Taungbro left (Daibonia), a sub-town of Maungdaw Township, accompanied by Western Command Commander, Director of Nasaka, the commander of MOC-15 of Buthidaung Township, Tactical Operation Commander of (TOC) of Buthidaung Township. They arrived at Taungbro left with 15 cars, at about 9:30 am and returned 11:30 am. After General visit, the events were happened, said a businessman from Maungdaw town.

In Phone Nyo Hlake Natala and Rakhine villagers of Buthidaung Township were equipped with said lethal weapons by authority saying that "This is your region, and you have to defense it from outsider," said local schoolteacher.

On March 22, at night, 8 houses were put on fire by police throwing bottle with petrol after putting on fire at the Rait Chaung village under the Sann Yin Way Village tract of Buthidaung Township and the Nasaka (Border security force) have seized aforesaid lethal weapons from this village and also police stopped the villagers who went to the village to put off the fire. The police also extorted 5.3 million kyat from the fire victims, said a village elder from the village**.**

In these such situations, the Rohingya people of northern Arakan State have been passing their days and nights in panic. Since the beginning of this month, some of the local Rakhine leaders of Sittwe, Mrauk U, Pauktaw, Rathedaung, Myin Bya, and Maybon etc have been discussed about the Rohingya matter how will they drive or finish the Rohingya community from northern Arakan, said a local politician from Buthidaung town.

These problems are created by State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) authorities as like as 1942 riots between Rohingya and Rakhine communities to divert the attention of the world community or for their secret agenda after arising "Rohingya boat-people crisis" in Southeast Asia. Whenever, the SPDC authorities falls into a political problem, to divert the public opinion by creating riots between Buddhist and Muslim community, this is the characteristic of SPDC, said a businessman from Buthidaung Township.

By the discrimination of Burma's authorities, Rohingya community is not able to bear such persecution, hence, the Rohingya people have been taken preparation to cross Burma-Bangladesh border. Therefore, Rohingya exodus to be occurred soon, said a Rohingya observer from Bangladesh. ##

APPENDIX 12

A POEM

Tears are not for Fears

(A Poem Dedicated to Aung San Suu Kyi by the author)

Suu Kyi the cloud carries water and showers the garden
It breeds forces in hundreds of men and women not a burden
To feed her starving children, she is not worried to invest
She spreads seeds wisely all around for a future havest

A Chin woman says, "I am suffering in silence, how long? I can't anymore bear"
A Rohingya woman, a Wa says, "We have so many rape to fear Suu, do you hear?"
Suu says in tears, "You are a women like me, bear with me, my tears are not for fears."
"Tears are to chase the xenophobes, me, do you hear?"

Monks, Mullahs, and the Priests pleased and gather round in golden image
All see in her tears, not any fear but the sign of imminent change
Suu's tears now washes away discrimination and the rotten maze
Suu assures Burma will shine again and gain its lost glorious image

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The book is a compilation of Dr. Bahar's numerous articles and research papers on Burma in general and Arakan's volatile Rakhine-Rohingya relations in particular. The author demonstrates that ever since the military plotted its coup and illegally seized power in 1962, the military government has successfully identified its enemy #1. To counter this oppressive trend, the democracy movement leadership has been searching for both friends and enemies but has failed to find either. The aim of this book is to fill in the blanks (the missing dots) that could enable the sluggish democracy movement leadership to move forward. This is a fascinating book replete with both sociological and historical insights. The response to these issues alone qualifies *Burma's Missing Dots* as a must-read book for both historians and Burma's policy makers.

About the author: *Professor Abid Bahar, Ph.D. (Concordia University, Montreal, Canada,) presently teaches at Dawson College (Montreal). He has contributed numerous papers to international seminars and conferences and published numerous papers on Burma. He has attended several international conferences, most recently in Japan on Problems of Democratic Development in Burma. As a specialist in Ethnic Relations in Burma, he was recently invited to speak at the United Nation's expert consultation on citizenship and minorities held in Geneva, Switzerland. Dr. Bahar continues to write on ethnicity and race relations in Burma, Bangladesh and India. In 1982, he completed his thesis entitled: The Dynamics of Ethnic Relations in Burmese Society: A Case Study of Ethnic Relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas.*

The contemporary history of Western Burma was written mostly by xenophobic and tendentious writers. Dr. Bahar makes a genuine contribution by filling the missing dots with knowledge, which qualifies this priceless effort a handbook for Burma readers. Nurul Islam ARNO, UK

Professor Abid Bahar is not a Rohingya, but he has worked meticulously to unearth the history of Arakan and relate his research to contemporary developments in Burmese society. His example as a researcher is one I personally aspire to follow and I am sure many students of Arakan and modern Burma feel similarly.

Maung Sein, USA