Influx Viruses
The Illegal Muslims in Arakan
By U Shw zan and Dr. Aye Chan

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There is a new trend concerning the so-called Rohingya. This trend, fashioned by some Islamic radicals after Burma's independence, has been problematic, and a grave concern for (a) the Arakanese, (b) the people of Burma and (c) historians and scholars. A proper understanding of the importance and nature of illegal Muslim immigrant flow is crucial to comprehensively address the imperative issue of development contest. Rohingya movements have been accompanied by certain dangers and challenges, particularly for the Arakan State and beyond. In response to this problematic challenge, this book was written by leading historians who focused on the central importance of origin, growth and historical development of and the unproductive adventures of, illegal Bengali Muslims who desperately needed to be recognized as having a racial distinct identity in Burma.

These collective contributions resulted in a comprehensive analysis of illegal Muslim immigrant issues within the development contest. With contributions from two leading Arakanese intellectuals, this work provides readers not only with exclusive historical facts but also coherent conclusions. Their presentations adequately cover the interlocking themes of illegal Muslim immigrants who irreverently claim themselves as Rohingyas in Burma, and that claim's impact in the region. Also covered is how these claims affect historical write-ups by governments, international organizations, academics, researchers, and practitioners, write-ups, which often go awry.

U Shwe Zan, who published a member of books on Arakan, has extensive experiences in immigrant issues as a result of his long-term service as immigration officer in Arakan State. He examines the historical facts with an insightful and innovative analysis about Muslim infiltration into Arakan State. With ample background documentation, Professor Dr. Aye Chan provides an all-inclusive analysis of illegal Bengali problems by re-examining the ethnicity of the so-called Rohingyas, and tracing their history back to the earliest presence of their ancestors in Arakan. Both of their clued-up ventures offers a wealth of information, data, advice, and issues to consider, along with a means to address them, based on experiences and historical analysis relating to unlawful migration flows in Arakan. Their extensive works leave no stoned unturned in their efforts to give comprehensive historical analysis of illegal Bengali Muslims who cogently drum up popular support in advancing the demand for legitimacy of their racial identity in Burma.

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, particularly to moderate Muslim who cherish peaceful co-existence in Burma.

Dr. Ashin Nayaka
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Study of Muslim infiltration

Into

Rakhine State

By U Shwe Zan
Introduction

1. The term “Rohingya” is unknown to the people of Rakhine in pre-war days. Because there is no such indigenous race in Myanmar or particularly in Rakhine. So, the question does not arise to define the meaning of “Rohingya” as a race.

2. So also, after the exodus of 1992, the minister of Foreign Affairs of state Law and order Restoration Council Government issued the following statement in the conference of February 92: “Although there are 135 national races living in Myanmar today, the so called the Rohingya people is not one of them. Historically, there has never been a Rohinger race in Myanmar. People of Muslim faith from the adjacent country illegally entered into Myanmar Naingan particular the Rakhine State.” Who ever they might be the central authority the legal definition is that they are considered only as “alien” or “guest citizens”.

3. But Muslim writers like Ba Tha tried to publicize about Rohingya by writing some make shift stories of the earlier settlement in Rakhine land as Arabs, Moors and Persians. Those shipwrecked people near Ramree Island were supposed to be rescued and let them settled around Wethali area in round about AD 788, the founding date of Wethali. Those Muslim writers tried to refer the dating and writings of R.B Smart, the author of British Gazetteer of Akyab District Gazetteer Vol. (A) 1921, as an authority.

4. We noticed that, AD 788 (8th century) was the date firstly recongnized by Lieutenant General Sir Arthur P. Phayre, a well known Brain Child of the British administration who published a Historical Book, entitled “History of Burma”, in which he mentioned and claimed the ascension date of king Candathuria, founder of 3rd Dhanyawady as 146 AD and ending date of that period as 788 AD which was also a starting date of Wethali.

5. Generally speaking, we have so far, noted two kinds of Dynastic records in our Ancient History, especially from the later part of second Dhanyawady up to the end of Wethali. The first one is the dynastic list mentioned in the Rakhine chronicles and the other is the records inscribed in the western face of Shitethaung pillar or Ananda Candra Inscription pillar.

6. We have many sound proofs and concrete-supporting evidences about the existence of Wethali Dynasty mentioned in the inscription pillar of Shitethaung which definitely disapproved the separate existence of Wethali Dynasty mentioned in Chronicle side. Hence, it is sure and justified to claim that the two lists of Wethali mentioned in two different sides are not separate ones, but one and the same single Wethali with a few difference of names which was clearly supported by Theinkan main twon, an eighth century verse composed by Saw Prai Nyo alias Thuwunna Devi, a poet Queen of Dhamma Candra (a) Theinga Candra of Wethali.

7. According to Dr. Sircar’s tentative assignment, the starting date of wethali (Table II) is 370 AD which is only difference of 6 years (starting from later part of 2nd Dhanyawady to our calculation using Vikram Sambat calendar dates) i.e. Asokan base dating system as 364 AD in chronicle side which is a negligible figures compared to thousand years of life span. Moreover it is not reasonable and proper to accept the starting date of Wethali as AD 788 or 8th century and it is also not justifiable to accept two Wethali theory which will only upset the actually existed Wethali but also spoiled the whole show of the successive periods of Lemro dynasty.

8. In fact, beginning of Wethali as AD 788 or 8th century is happened because of wrong or miscalculation of dating by Sir Arthur P. Phayer and other European scholars including R.B smart and Historians. The comparative statement between Phayer and Rakhine scholars are attached here. Please see annexure (1). The following is a good example of their mistakes. Dr. Forchhammer, a renowned German Archeaologist, collected an unreliable kawza dates 150 as founding date of Wethali and he tried to convert this era into Christian era by adding a conversion factor 638 untimely and creating the result 788 and AD 788 which they also claimed as ending date of 3rd Dhanyawady and simultaneously became the starting or founding date of Wethali which is entirely unacceptable and wrong doings of historical recording and dating.

9. Therefore, it is clear to say that the ending date of 3rd Dhanyawady and starting date of Wethali is definitely in 4th century AD.

10. We understand from Myanmar Encyclopedia or (Swe Sone Kyan) vol. 9 that the date of birth of Prophet Mohamed was AD 571 (6th century). According to Muslim writers. It seemed to say that Muslim
setters like shipwrecked survivors of Persians, Moors and Arabs arrived to Rakhine Wethali about 200 years ahead of the Mohamed’s birth which is entirely absurdity. It shows that Muslim writers were so much preoccupied interest to be claimed the Buddhist Rakhine land as a Muslim state.

11. However, as we all know, Rakhine people professed Buddhist since the life time of Guatama Buddha. Guatama Buddha visited Dhanyawady in 123 Mahar era or BC 517 (Vikram Sambat dating) or BC 544 (Kaliyug dating) i.e. 6th century BC and preached the King Candathuria. The founder of third Dhanyawady. At the same time, with the consent of Lord Buddha. The King cast a Bronze Image of Buddha's exact likeness. Which was popularly known as Mahamuni. (Now rested in Mandalay). In other sense Rakhine professed Buddhism about 14 centuries ahead of supposed to be Muslim early settlers like Persians, Moors and Arabs to the Rakhine land.

12. Again, a highly delegated Buddhist mission by Emperor Asoka arrived to Rakhine Dhanyawady during the reign of Thuria Sekka, 6th in the line of Candathuria dynasty in the year between R.E 214-234. From that time onwards Rakhine people became a strong believers of Htayrawada Buddhism up till now. Rakhine people began to practice Buddhist civilization and culture by doing noviciating ceremony to there son and also entering monk hood after attaining the age of maturity since then. By combined effort, Asokas’s Buddhist mission and King Thuria Sekka built many stuppas, cetias and temples and ordination halls enshrining with Buddha relics, which were brought by the same mission, throughout length and breadth of Rakhine land. Kyauk Ro Daw ceti of Thelagiri Hill and U rite Taung ceti were some of the good examples. Moreover, King Thuria Sekka cast Buddha images with the same stock of noble metals used by his forefather’s king Candathuria during the casting of Mahamuni. We can worship Sandamuni Image, cast by Thuria sekka, which is now rested on the precinct of Bandoola Monastery in Mrauk-U.

Migration of Mohammedans before and during Mrauk-U periods.
13. Unlike in India, there were no Mohammedan conquest to Rakhine up to date. But there were some settlement of Mohammedan we noticed in Rakhine land before and during Mrauk-U periods. Firstly a few shipwrecked people of Arabs, Moors and Persians were supposed to be settled around Wethali in 8th century AD.

14. Secondly, during the end of Laungret period, some followers of Jelludin Muhammed Shah (Sultan of Gaur) who helped king Mon to regain the Rakhine throne (Laungret) in AD 1428. They were in return allowed to settle around Laungret area.

15. Third occasion we noticed was, after the expedition of Min Ba Gri (AD 1531- 1556) to 12 Bengal provinces, the king brought back some Muslim prisoners and they were allowed to settle in Mrauk-U area.

16. Fourth occasion we noticed was, during the reign of Sandathudamma Raza. Shah Shuja, the Governor of Mogul Bengal, after defeat in the battle between two heirs of Mogul Emperor Aurunzab took refuge in Mrauk-U, together with his family and followers in AD 1661. After sometimes in Mrauk-U, Shah Shuja and followers planned to wage a revolt against Sandathudamma Raza and attempted to capture the Mrauk-U Palace. In no time the revolt was crushed by Sandathudamma Raza and all the family of the Shah Shuja were executed. However some of the archers of Shah Shuja were absorbed into the Sandathudama’s army and allowed them to serve as archers. Most of the followers of Shah Shuja were dispersed and allowed them to settle in Ramree. Kyauk Ni Maw, Thandwe (Shwe Kyaung byin) and Thinganet village in present Sittwe Township. Since they belonged to the former Archer groups of Shah Shuja army they were called Kaman in the Arab language. When time advanced they were later called as KAMAN.

So much Muslim influence as alleged by Muslim writers and European and Foreign scholars.
17. Some Muslim writers alleged that since most of the Rakhine Kings were the possessors of Muslim titles, they were definitely the Muslim rulers and they also issued coins bearing with Persian and Arabic inscription endorsed with Muslim titles which were supposed to be the evidences of the Muslim influence in Rakine.
It is entirely wrong and false statements made by Muslim writers and Europeans.

19. Mrauk-U which remained the capital of Rakhine for 355 years was founded by King Mong Saw Mon alias Narameithla in 1430 AD (RE 792). This capital city was housed by 48 kinds during nearly three and half centuries of glory and power. Kings Thamada (1780-1785) of Mrauk-U dynasty was the last ruler.

20. Among the 10 out of 12 kings of Mrauk-U first period built pagodas. Two kings who did not built pagodas were king Ba Saw Nyo, son of Mong Khari and king Gazapati, son of Mong Raza 5th and 9th king of that period who reigned Mrauk-U 2 years each. Again out of nine kings who ruled the 2nd period of Mrauk-U, except Mong Sanai who ruled only for 20 days, built pagodas. During that 2nd period of Mrauk-U, 12 Bengal provinces were under the control of Rakhine kings and relation between Rakhine kings and Mogul kings were friendly in those days.

21. Historically speaking 16th and 17th centuries were the most prosperous times of Mrauk-U dynasty.

22. In early days of 16th century, Mong Ba Gri was compelled to 12 Bengal Provinces because there need to suppress the revolt against Rakhine king by some Muslim elements. However, Humayun the 2nd Mogul king, son of the 1st Mogul ruler Babur cordially welcome Mong Ba Gri and he offered his daughter Pensital and honored the Rakhine King Mong Ba Gri with Muslim title Zapun Shah (Some said Zaw Bauk Shah). Moreover they made a border agreement between Rakhine and Mogul. In this way Mong Ba Gri’s Successors Mong Phaloung, Mong Raza Gri and Mong Kha Mong were also similarly honored by successive Mogul kings with respective Muslim titles as Sicanda Shah, Selimn Shah and Hussein Shah.

23. Mogul kings honored those titles to the Buddhist Rakhine king as a token of friendship but not as a religious influences as wrought by the said Muslim writers and European Scholars.

24. All the rest of the kings belonging to Mrauk-U, Third Period were Buddhist kings, but only 22nd king Narapadigri, 24th king Sanda Thudamma Raza, Ogabala, 25th king and 41st king Nara Abbaya Raza built Pagodas. The rest of the kings belonging to third periods were weaker kings and moreover it was a declining days of Rakhine.

### Rakhine under Burmese rule

25. Rakhine lost her sovereignty in the year AD 1785. During the Burmese rule Rakhine State was divided into to parts and each part was ruled by an each Burmese Governor. During the 4 Governors rule, people hesitate to pay high taxes and some dissatisfied people tried to revolt against the rulers. About 9 times of revolts were noticed and in that such unsettled period, many people of Rakhine managed to escape from their native land and most of the people intended to settle in British India especially in East Bengal and Cittagong Hill tracts, In this circumstances British authority constructed some new towns namely Awagyun and Cox’s Bazaar and let the Rakhine evacuees to settle in this new places. After 40 years of Burmese Rule., First Anglo Burmese war broke out. Burmese lost the war after two years of battle. In accordance with the Rantapo treaty, Rakhine and Tanin Thayi were annexed by British in 1826 AD. A new town of Sittwe was constructed in 1827 AD and became a new Head Quarter of Rakhine Division.

26. Many Rakhine, who took refuge in India, began to return to their homeland immediately after the annexation. Most of them began to settle in Sttwe, Kyaukpyu and Thandwe and some people managed to settle in their original native places. The population of Rakhine state by that time was only hundred thousands.

### Rakhine under British rule

#### Infiltration of Bengali Muslims

27. The main objective of the British Capitalists were to exploit their utmost the resources of Rakhine land. Commercial trading of agricultural products were also their aim. Due to the scarcity of agricultural labourers, British trading companies tried to recruit the general labourers from Chitagong during the ploughing and harvesting seasons.

28. After the opening of Suez Canal in 1869 AD, rice trading was very much popular because of attractive prices. In these circumstances, British companies tried to expand the paddy growing agriculture as much
as possible, they recruited more seasonal laborers from Chittagong and an open door policy was existed. At first, most of the seasonal laborers returned to their country, after the closing seasons. But later on many of the seasonal laborers failed to return to Chittagong and they started settlement in Rakhine especially in Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Rathedaung and Sittwe Townships.

29. In the later part of 19th century (1874 AD), British Rulers chartered about 42 land grants to the virgin lands of Rakhine, out of which 15 were granted in Maungdaw Township and 9 in Buthidaung Township. One of the condition out lined in the charter was, the holders of these land grants should be persons who lived outside the chartered area. That was also one of the reasons why Bengali Muslim population became stronger in these areas.

30. British authority tried to enact new labor laws but it effected not much because British companies began to use the tender system in recruiting seasonal laborers indirectly thought the brokers. By that way the infiltration of Bengali Muslimneveer stooped. About 15000 of Bengali Muslim migrated yearly in to Rakhine land were observed. For easy transportation of those Bengali laborers British Authority allowed open some British Navigation emptiness companies in 1880. The two famous Navigation companies were British India stem Navigation Company and Asiatic Steam Navigation Company. In order to expedite the carrying of the Chittaonian laborers, those navigation companies were subsidized by the British authorities so as to carry with cheap rate to the said laborers. British Authorities also opened a railroad between Buthidaung and Maungdaw that means in order to get easy communication between Naaf and Maya rivers.

31. If we analyze the incoming and returning of the Bengali population during 1980 and 1984. We can observe the following dates-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year(a)</th>
<th>No. of Bengali in coming to Rakhine (b)</th>
<th>No. of Settlers (c)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. 1880-81</td>
<td>40000</td>
<td>18000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 1883-84</td>
<td>83000</td>
<td>43000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 1927</td>
<td>40000</td>
<td>35000</td>
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32. The Bengali Muslim settlers started their livelihood in Rakhine as petty brokers. Crew members of small launchers, canoe peddlers, and agriculture laborers. Small agriculturist etc.

33. Due to the ‘open door’ policy of British Colonialists, the population of Sittwe District increasing rapidly year by in between 1832 to 1911. The following are the statistics of Sittwe District population: -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (a)</th>
<th>Populations</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>109645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>130034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>201677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>227231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>276617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>359706</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>466305</td>
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<td>1941</td>
<td>481666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>527943</td>
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34. Among the population of Sittwe District, the population density of Maungdaw townships was the highest. Average increasing rate of township werew 21% and density of Maungdaw was 130 per square mile. It was so happened because Maugdaw Township was lying quite close to the Chittagong District where majority people living their Mohammedam population.

35. The following are the statistics shown by religion in the years of 1872, 1901 and 1911.

<table>
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<th>Religion</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>2655</td>
<td>14455</td>
<td>14454</td>
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36. The rapid increasing of Mohammedan population was happened because of the open door policy of British India, where Rakhine was included under their rule.

37. In 1935, although Burma was separated from India, she still remained in the British Empire and infiltration of Bengali Muslims were still going strong. Many Bengali Muslim were absorbed in the Government services from peon to the Head of office. We could find many Bengali Muslims in non-government jobs and also found in many other well income trading and industrials organization too.

38. When Japanese advanced to Myanmar in 1942, most of the Indians, who settled in our country, started to evacuate to their country of origin India by two routes. One was Pyay-Taungoke route and the other was via Mon Ywa-Kalewa route. The estimated amount of evacuees were about 4 hundred thousands.

39. According to 1942 census, the populations of Bengali Muslims were 124452. When we add the Muslims evacuees from Burma proper, it accumulated to a considerable amount of the original Muslim population in that area. As a result, Muslim Population became strong hold in Buthidaung and Maungdow area.

40. In this tense situation, British administrations were deteriorated day by day. In such condition, the communal riots broke out between unsatisfied Rakhine and Kala (Bengali Muslims). Aggressive Muslims started to flame and distracted the many villages belonging to Rakhine in Buthidaung and Maungdaw Township. Many Rakhine villages were taken over by Muslim populations and they settled there during the 2nd world war. In 1941 there were left the 2nd world war.

41. After all, Muslim population became majority in Buthidaung and Maungdow Township after the 2nd World war. In this circumstances Muslims started to demand separate Muslim State and simultaneously, underground movements of “Mujahids”began in 1947.

42. At the same time, armed Mujahid insurgents started to flame and destroyed rest of the Rakhine villages. The Rakhines were drove out from their native villages and they took over those villages where they tried to substitute with Bengali Muslims in place of Rakhines. That was the unlawful way of action done by Mujahid insurgents in those areas.

43. As a result Rakhine population became minority and only a handful of Rakhine villages can be see in Buthidaung and Maungdaw area.

44. During the 120years of British rule (i.e. between 1827 and 1947) British adopted the divide and rule policy as well as open door policy and also encouraged the Chittagongnians to enter freely into the Rakhine land especially in Buthidaung and Maungdaw Townships. As a result the population increased to 100% in 20 years. That means the population recorded on 1921 census was 60480 where as in 1941 census, the population came up to 124452.

45. In 1954, AFPFL government suppressed the Mujahids insurgency and Mujahids were compelled to surrender in the same year. Their leader Kasim was escaped to East Pakistan and later he was captured and imprisoned by the East Pakistan authority.

46. As Muslim problems in Rakhine were gradually cropped up the became grave the serious Rakhine nationals formed a new political organization in the name of “Arakan National Unity Organization” (ANUO) and stood in the election against AFPFL. In this situation in order to won in the parliamentary elections some unfaithful AFPFL organizers, organized the Muslim people by some illegal means. They tried to encourage the Bengali Muslim illegal entry from East Pakistan and even supported them to become a citizen of Myanmar. In this way Muslim population became accumulated also. As mentioned above, the Bengali Muslim population in 1941 was 124452 became 187792 in 1956. That means the total increase of those populations in 15 years we noticed was 50%.
47. Since infiltration of Bengali Muslim came from bad to worse and situation became grave and serious ANUO members made a resolution in 1959 conference to deter the illegal immigrants effective as immediate as possible.

48. At this time political situation in Myanmar became tense and major political league AFPFL split up into factions as “orginal AFPFL” and clean AFPFL, 17 parliamentary members of ANUO and Muslim parliamentary members of Buthidaung and Maungdaw sided to clean AFPFL faction in parliament and new clean AFPFL government was declared.

49. U Nu and clean AFPFL leaders accepted the “Rohingya” as one of the indigenous races of Rakhine and they were even allowed to broadcast their voice in BBS programmed in mix language. In 1960, the Muslim community of Buthidaung and Maungdaw began to organize a political front called “Rohinger political front”. Heir mandates were the right of free worship, the right of free traveling through out, Rakhine and Myanmar, the right of free settlement in Rakhine and Myanmar and to stop the suppression and torturous activities upon them.

50. In such moment Muslim writers like Ba Tha wrote about the existence of Rohingers with make-shift stories. Ba Tha defined the world Rohingya as one of the indigenous races of Rakhine. They were the descendents of shipwrecked people of Persians, Moors and Arabs who settle around about AD 788 which was said to be the founding date of Wethali as recorded by R.B.Smart, the author of Akyab District Gazetteer (vol.A) published in 1921. Those shipwrecked people intermixed with natives became the origin of Rohinger was his make-shirt story. He also called the combined descendents of the followers of Jalludin Muhammed Shah in King Mong Saw Mon period, followers of Shah Shuja in Sandathuddamma Raza period and descendents of early Muslim settlers in Buthidaung and Maungdaw as Rohingyas. He also alleged the Mrauk-U kings who possessed Muslim titles as Muslim Rulers in Rakhine (already explained about this matter). In fact almost all of the 48 kings of Mrauk-U were Rakhine Buddhists as explained above. So also, the reasons of issuing coins inscribed with Persians and Arabic language was also explained already.

51. We have many magnificent monuments and pagodas as the massive Shitethaung, the colossal Htukkant Thein, richly decorated central pillar of Annand Thein. Auspicious Leymyathna pagoda, colored plaque Laungbwan-brauk pagoda, conical structures of victory pagodas like Ratana Manaung, Maungala Manaung, Sekkya Manaung and Loka Manaung and countless other are the evidenced of Mrauk-U rich heritage. If Mrauk-U was ruled by Muslim rulers, the same fate would be happened undoubtedly. But even today the heritages of Buddhist monuments are still intact in Mrauk-U. Therefore, we can surly say that Mrauk-U was never ruled by Muslim Rulers and it also shows that Ba Tha’s writings are merely false and make-shift stories which only lead to arouse the political instigation’s to Muslim communities.

52. If Mrauk-U was ruled by Muslim rulers, the same fate would be happened undoubtedly. But even today the heritages of Buddhist monuments are still intact in Mrauk-U. Therefore, we can surly say that Mrauk-U was never ruled by Muslim Rulers and it also shows that Ba Tha’s writings are merely false and make-shift stories which only lead to arouse the political instigation’s to Muslim communities.

53. Afterwards, illegal movements of Muslim organization were appeared under the name of Rohingya Solidarity Organization (R.S.O), Arakan Islamic Front (AR.I.F), Rohinger Patriotic Front (R.P.F), Rohingya Liberation Organizations (R.L.C) and Ithedal Mazahadin of Arakan (I.M.A).

Rakhine Division during Revolutionary Council period

54. During the Revolutionary Council period, government authorities had made a necessary plan to take action against the illegal immigrants. Moreover one of the important steps taken by Revolutionary Council was that Buthidaung and Maungdaw Townships became a special District of frontier areas. The
following operations were carried out by immigration department personals in Rakhine Divisions. They are:
Kyeekan operation
Shwekyee operation and
Sa Bai operation

Rakhine state during the period of successive peoples’ councils.

55. Under the guidance of Commander of Western Command. Rakhine State Socialist programmed Party and Rakhine State Peoples’ Council, a major operation was carried out by a strong force of Immigration personals in Sittwe Township and Maundaw Frontier District. The main objective was to check up in detail of illegal immigrants and took necessary action according to the Immigration laws. The operation was named as “King Dragon operation” That operation was carried out in full swing in February 1978, particularly in Sittwe, Buthidaung and Maungdaw Townships. Unlike the former operation. Detail checking were carried out in ward-by-ward and village-by-village basis. Similar Muslim dwellers were very much afraid to face the checking, many of the Muslims, in order to avoid the immigration personals and their checking, started to flee to the neighboring country not from the said township but many guilty conscious Muslims also from other township like, Rathedaung, Pauktaw, Mrauk-U and Minbya. The following are the records that evade the immigration checking and fled to the Bangladesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.N.</th>
<th>Townships</th>
<th>Escaped Muslim populations</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Buthidaung</td>
<td>35546</td>
<td>6294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Maungdaw</td>
<td>85705</td>
<td>12522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sittwe Rathedaung</td>
<td>156630</td>
<td>2595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pauktaw Kyauktaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrauk-U Minbya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>277931</strong></td>
<td><strong>21411</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56. In honor to express the good will between two neighboring countries Myanmar and Bangladesh, Revolutionary Government of Myanmar accepted the repatriation programme of Bengali Muslim refugees by means of a special operation project “Hintha” The following are the details of refugees forwarded by Bangladesh authorities to Myanmar Government:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of proposed returnees</th>
<th>No. of househol</th>
<th>Proposed figure to be repatriated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Holders of identity cards and dependents</td>
<td>21351</td>
<td>129480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Holder of certain kind of documentary evidence and dependents</td>
<td>3091</td>
<td>15772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) without documentary evidence and dependents</td>
<td>4617</td>
<td>18718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29059</strong></td>
<td><strong>163950</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58. But in accordance with the Hintha project, the number of Households and actual repatriated figures were 31508 and 186986. The difference we observed between the two lists mentioned above were (+) 2449 Household and (+) 23036 persons.

59. After the completion of Hintha project. The population of Muslims we noticed are as follows. In 1977-78 the Bengali Muslim population were 222860, where as in 1981-82 populations of Bengali Muslims became 243867 and increased Bengali population we observed within 4 years were 21007 which clearly shows that there were still infiltration of illegal immigrants in Maungdaw Township.
60. We have come across in Myanmar History that existing Pyu race during the Tharekhittara period disappeared or faded out under the growing population of Bamar and other races starting from Bagan period and onwards. In the same way, early Muslim settlers before and during Mrauk-U periods extinct today under the Bengali Muslim who infiltrated from the adjacent country Bangladesh starting from British colonial days up to the present day.

61. Therefore, it is totally unjustified to consider the idea of their demand as Muslim state because those Muslims who lived in Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Sittwe and in other township can only be considered as “aliens”.

U Shwe Zan

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(29) "Review of the most ancient Rakhine" 1966 by U Shwe Nyo Tin (ICS Retd.)
The Development of a Muslim Enclave

In

Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma

(Myanmar)

By Dr. Aye Chan
I. Introduction

Who are the Rohingyas? Burma gained independence from Great Britain in 1948 and this issue is a problem that Burma has had to grapple with since that time. 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. 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 1 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 eighth century A. D. The author contests the validity of these claims. The present paper was also read at the 70th Conference of Southeast Asian historians of Japan, held at the University of Kobe, on 4 to 5 February 2003. 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).2

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. 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 northeastern part of Arakan began to use the term “Rohingya” to call themselves. They 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 treaties of Yandabo, an event that concluded the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826). Most of these migrants settled down in the Mayu Frontier Area, near what is now Burma’s border with modern Bangladesh. Actually, they were called “Chittagonians” in the British colonial records.

The Muslims in the Arakan State can be divided into four different groups, namely the Chittagonian Bengalis in the Mayu Frontier; the descendents of the Muslim community of Arakan in the Mrauk-U period (1430-1784), presently living in the Mrauk-U and Kyauktaw townships; the descendents of Muslim mercenaries in Ramree Island known to the Arakanese as Kaman; and the Muslims from the Myedu area of Central Burma, left behind by the Burmese invaders in Sandoway District after the conquest of Arakan in 1784.

II. Mass Migration in the Colonial Period (1826-1948)

As stated above, the term “Rohingya” came into use in the 1950s by the educated Bengali residents from the Mayu Frontier Area and cannot be found in any historical source in any language before then. The creators of that term might have been from the second or third generations of the Bengali immigrants from the Chittagong District in modern Bangladesh; 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. 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). 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 maintaing of silver coins that bore their Muslim titles in Persian and occasionally appearing in Muslim costumes in the style of the Sultan of Bengal. Accordingly there were Muslim servants at the court helping the king perform these Islamic conventions (Charney 1999: 146). Arthur Phayre, the first deputy commissioner of Arakan, after the British annexation, reported about the indigenous races of Akyab District and the Muslim descendants from the Arakanese days as:


In the Hills – 1. Khyoung-tha – 2. Kumé or Kwémwé – 3. Khyang – 4. Doing–nuk, Mroong, and other tribes… While the Arakanese held these possessions in Bengal, they appear to have sent numbers of the inhabitants into Arakan as slaves, whence arose the present Ko-la population of the country (Phayre 1836: 680 – 681).

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). The following report by Francis Buchanan provides a vivid picture of the atrocities committed by the Burmese invaders in Arakan:

Puran says that, in one day soon after the conquest of Arakan 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. Puran seems to be terribly afraid, that the Government of Bengal will be forced to give up to the Burmans all the refugees from Arakan (Buchanan 1992: 82).

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). Thus, the British policy was to encourage the Bengali inhabitants from the adjacent areas to migrate into fertile valleys in Arakan as agriculturalists. As the British East India Company extended the administration of Bengal to Arakan, there was no international boundary between the two countries and no restriction was imposed on the emigration. A superintendent, later an assistant commissioner, directly responsible to the Commissioner of Bengal, was sent in 1828 for the administration of Arakan Division, which was divided into three districts respectively: Akyab, Kyaukpyu, and Sandoway with an assistant commissioner in each district (Furnivall 1957:29).

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. Arthur Phayre reported that in the 1830s the wages in Arakan compared with those of Bengal were very high. Therefore many hundreds, indeed thousands of coolies came from the Chittagong District by land and by sea, to seek labor and high wages (Phayre 1836:696). R.B. Smart, the deputy assistant commissioner of Akyab, wrote about the ‘flood’ of immigrants from Chittagong District as follows:

Since 1879, immigration has taken place on a much larger scale, and the descendants of the slaves are resident for the most part in the Kyauktaw and Myo-haung (Mrauk-U) townships. Maungdaw Township has been overrun by Chittagonian immigrants. Buthidaung is not far behind and new arrivals will be found in almost every part of the district (Smart 1957: 89).

At first most of them came to Arakan as seasonal agricultural laborers and went home after the harvest was done. R. B. Smart estimated the number at about twenty-five thousand during the crop-reaping season alone. He added that about the same number came to assist in plowing operations, to work
at the mills and in the carrying trades. A total of fifty thousand immigrants coming annually were probably not far from the mark (Smart 1957: 99).

Moreover, 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. The Akyab District Magistrate reported in 1913 that in Buthidaung Subdivision, the Chittagonian immigrants stand to native Arakanese in the proportion of two to one, but six sevenths of the litigation for land in the court was initiated by the Chittagonians (Smart 1957: 163). Another colonial record delivers about a striking account of the settlements of the Bengali immigrants from Chittagong District as:

“Though we are in Arakan, we passed many villages occupied by Muslim settlers or descendents of the settlers, and many of them Chittagonians” (Walker 1891(I): 15).

The colonial administration of India regarded the Bengalis as amenable subjects while finding the indigenous Arakanese too defiant, rising in rebellion twice in 1830s. The British policy was also favorable for the settlement of Bengali agricultural communities in Arakan. A colonial record says:

Bengalis are a frugal race, who can pay without difficulty a tax that would press very heavily on the Arakanese…. (They are) not addicted like the Arakanese to gambling, and opium smoking, and their competition is gradually ousting the Arakanese (Report of the Settlement Operation in the Akyab District 1887-1888: 21).

The flow of Chittagonian labor provided the main impetus to the economic development in Arakan within a few decades along with the opening of regular commercial shipping lines between Chittagong and Akyab. The arable land expanded to four and a half times between 1830 and 1852 and Akyab became one of the major rice exporting cities in the world.

Indeed, during a century of colonial rule, the Chittagonian immigrants became the numerically dominant ethnic group in the Mayu Frontier. The following census assessment shows the increase of population of the various ethnic/religious groups inhabiting Akyab District according to the census reports of 1871, 1901 and 1911. There was an increase of 155 percent in the population in the district. According to the reports, even in an interior township Kyauktaw, the Chittagonian population increased from 13,987 in 1891 to 19,360 in 1911, or about seventy-seven percent in twenty years. At the same time the increase of the Arakanese population including the absorption of the hill tribes and the returning refugees from Bengal was only 22.03 percent.

The Assessment of the Census Reports for 1871, 1901, and 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Races</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahomedan</td>
<td>58,255</td>
<td>154,887</td>
<td>178,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burmese</td>
<td>4,632</td>
<td>35,751</td>
<td>92,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arakanese</td>
<td>171,612</td>
<td>230,649</td>
<td>209,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill Tribes</td>
<td>38,577</td>
<td>35,489</td>
<td>34,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>1,355</td>
<td>1,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>276,671</td>
<td>481,666</td>
<td>529,943</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that all the Chittagonians and all the Muslims are categorized as Mohamedan in the census reports. There was an increase of 206.67 percent in Mahomedan population in the Akyab District and it was clear that only a few numbers of the transient agricultural laborers went home after the plowing and harvesting seasons and most of them remained in Arakan, making their homes (Smart 1957: 83). The heyday of the migration was in the second half of the nineteenth century after opening of the Suez Canal, for the British colonialists needed more labor to produce rice which was in growing demand in the international market. In the 1921 Census, many Muslims in Arakan were listed as Indians (Bennison
III. Communal Violence

Moshe Yegar suggests that during the colonial period the anti-Indian riots broke out in Burma because of the resentment against unhindered Indian settlements particularly in Arakan, Tenasserim and Lower Burma (Yegar 1992:29-31). But those riots that took place in Rangoon and other major cities in 1926 and 1938 never had had any effects on the peoples of Arakan. A peaceful coexistence was possible for the two different religious/ethnic groups in the Mayu Frontier till the beginning of the World War II. At the beginning of colonial era the establishment of bureaucratic administration by the British repealed the traditional patron-client relationship in the Arakanese villages. The elected village headman had little influence on the elected village council. As John F. Cady wrote, the government policy of forbidding the village headman to take part in the activities related to the nationalist movements weakened the position of the headman as the leader of village community, and as well as his connection with the Buddhist monastery because most of the Buddhist monks were vigorously active in the movements (Cady 1958: 172-273). On the other hand British administration to a certain extent gave the Muslim village communities religious and cultural autonomy. Maung Nyo, a kyunok (headman of the village tract) of Maungdaw Township recorded4 See Appendix I. According to the 1872 Census Muslims had already formed 26.1 per cent of the population of Akyab, the capital city of Arakan Division. Also see Appendix II. According to the 1881 Census 68,809 people of the population of Arakan Division that numbered 276,877 were born in Bengal. 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. 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 shari'ah 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. In this vacuum there was an outburst of the tension of ethnic and religious cleavage that had been simmering for a century. 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. Nor did the Bengali zamindars (landowners) want the Arakanese as tenants on their land. Thousands of Bengali peasants from Chittagong District were brought to cultivate the soil (Report of the Settlement Operations in the Akyab District 1887-1888: 2, 21).

Most of the Bengali immigrants were influenced by the Farai-di movement in Bengal that propagated the ideology of the Wahhabs 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). In the Maungdaw Township alone, there were, in the 1910s, fifteen Bengali zamindars who brought thousands of Chittagonian tenants and established Agricultural Muslim communities, building mosques with Islamic schools affiliated to them. However, all these villages occupied by the Bengalis continued to be called by Arakanese names in the British records (Granthish and Lat 1956: 41-43, 48-51). 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.

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, although 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).

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. In 1894 there were nine Urdu 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. 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).

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).

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. 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. However, N.R. Chakravati, an Indian scholar, gives a brief account of the flights of Indian refugees from the war zone in the Irrawady valley across the Arakan Yoma.

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 (Chakravarti 1971: 170).

The estimated number of Chakravarti includes all the Indian refugees from the whole Burma proper excluding Arakan. The number of Chittagonian refugees put by Yegar was close to twentytwo thousand (Yegar 1972: 98). However, the leaders of ANC (Arakan National Congress), formed in 1939 and that later becoming the Arakan branch of Anti-Fascist Organization (AFO) formed a de-facto government, before the Japanese troops and Burma Independence Army (BIA) reached there. The ANC
announced that anybody or any organization looting or killing the refugees would be brought before the justice and would be severely punished (*New Burma Daily* 1942: May 28). 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).

For all the bloody communal violence experienced by the Arakanese Buddhists in the Western frontier, I feel strongly that it is reasonable to blame the British colonial administration for arming the Chittagonians in the Mayu Frontier as the Volunteer Force. The V Force, as it is called by the British Army, was formed in 1942 soon after the Japanese operations threatened the British position in India. Its principal role was to undertake guerrilla operations against Japanese, to collect information of the enemy’s movements and to act as interpreters. But the British Army Liaison Officer, Anthony Irwin wrote that the participation of the local V Forces in the skirmishes with the Japanese in Arakan was discredited by the British commanders (Irwin 1946: 7-8, 16).

The volunteers, instead of fighting the Japanese, destroyed Buddhist monasteries and Pagodas and burnt down the houses in the Arakanese villages. They first killed U Kyaw Khine, the deputy commissioner of Akyab District, left behind by the British government to maintain law and order in the frontier area; they then massacred thousands of Arakanese civilians in the towns and villages. A record of the Secretary of British governor of Burma in exile dated 4 February 1943 reads:

I have been told harrowing tales of cruelty and suffering inflicted on the Arakanese villages in the Ratheedaung area. Most of the villages on the West bank of the Mayu River have been burnt and destroyed by the Chittagonian V forces…. The enemy never came to these villages. They had the misfortune of being in the way of our advancing patrols. Hundreds of villagers are said to be hiding in the hills… It will be the Arakanese who will be ousted from their ancestral land and if they cannot be won over in time, then there can be no hope of their salvation (British Library, London, India Office Records R/8/9GS. 4243).

After the Japanese occupation of Akyab (Sittwe), Bo Yan Aung, the member of the Thirty Comrades and commander of a BIA column, set up the administrative body in Akyab District and attempted to cease the violence in the frontier area. Bo Yan Aung discussed the matter with both Arakanese and Muslim leaders. He sent his two lieutenants, Bo Yan Naung and Bo Myo Nyunt to Maungdaw to negotiate with the radical Muslim leaders. They tried to persuade the Muslims to join in anti-imperialist and nationalist movement. But both of them were killed in Maungdaw and Bo Yan Aung was called back to Rangoon by the BIA headquarters (Rakhine State People’s Council 1986: 40-42).

For most of the Chittagonians it was a religious issue that would necessarily lead to the creation of a Dah-rul-Islam, or at least to being united with their brethren in the west. It also aimed at the extirpation of the Arakanese or being forced them to migrate to the south where there were overwhelming majority of Arakanese Buddhists. 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 explained 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 length 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. Whilst it lasted it was a pretty bloody affairs…My present gun boy a Mussulman who lived near to Buthidaung, claims to have killed two hundred Maughs (Arakanese) (Irwin 1946: 21).

In the words of the historian, Clive J. Christie, the “ethnic cleansing in British controlled areas, particularly around the town of Maungdaw,” was occurring till the arrival of Japanese troops to the eastern bank of Naaf River (Christie 1996: 165). The British forces began to take offensive in the warfare against the Japanese in northern Arakan in December 1944. The Arakanese troops of AFO maintained law and order in the areas from which Japanese forces withdrew. Of course there were some prominent
Arakanese guerrilla leaders who cooperated with the Japanese during the war. British Battalion 65 occupied Akyab, the capital city of Arakan on 12 December 1944. As soon as Akyab was captured the British Army began arresting the Arakanese guerrilla leaders. U Ni, a leader of AFO in Akyab was accused of one hundred and fifty-two criminal offenses and sentenced to forty-two years in prison. Another leader, U Inga was condemned to death by hanging five times, as well as forty-two-year imprisonment. Consequently many guerrilla fighters escaped into hideouts in the forests (Myanmar Daily 25 September 1945). On the contrary, Anthony Irwin praised the Chittagonian V Forces as follows:

It is these minorities that have most helped us in throughout the three years of constant fighting and occupation and it is these minorities who are most likely to be forgotten in the rush of Government. They must not be. It is the duty of all of us, for whom they fought, to see this (Irwin 1946: 86).

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 own future living under the infidel rule in the place where the baneful Arakanese are also living. In 1946 a delegation was sent by the Jami-atul Ulema-e Islam to Karachi to discuss with the leaders of the Muslim League the possibility of incorporation of Buthidaung, Maungdaw and Ratheedaung townships into Pakistan, but the British ignored their proposal to detach the frontier area to award it to Pakistan. The failure of their attempts ended in an armed revolt, with some Muslims, declaring a holy war on the new republic. The rebels called themselves “Mujahid.” A guerrilla army of 2700 fighters was organized (Khin Gyi Pyaw 1960: 99; The Nation Daily 1953: April16).

In fact the Arakanese were well on their way to rebellion. Under the leadership of two prominent and politically active Buddhist monks, U Pinnayathiha and U Seinda, a guerrilla force of four hundred to five hundred men was raised and assisted the Japanese in occupying the northern Arakan. U Pinnayathiha even announced that the Japanese government had agreed to his proposal for a separate Arakanese unit of Burma Independence Army. Later his force was known as the Arakan Defense Force, under the command of Kra Hla Aung, the protégé of U Pinnayathiha. Later two monks became leaders of Arakan Branch of AFO (Anti-Fascist Organization), turning their guns on the Japanese. At the middle of 1944 they were supported by the British with certain amount of arms to fight the Japanese. Brigadier Richard Gordon Prescott, Deputy Director of Civil Affairs reported to the governor:

As result of arming certain members of AFO under the leadership of U Pinnayathiha and Kra Hla Aung, the AFO (in Arakan) are endeavoring to set up a parallel government to that of the British Administration and in fact repeating their modus operandi at the time of Japanese invasion of Arakan (British Library, London, India Office Record M/2500).

In the meantime the AFO changed its name to AFPFL (Anti-Fascist and People’s Freedom League) with U Aung San, the ultimate hero of the Burmese independence movement, as its leader. When the AFPFL accepted the proposal of the governor of Burma to join the Executive Council, U Pinnayathiha remained as the AFPFL leader in Arakan while U Seinda was actively preparing a revolt. U Sein Da’s group was acting as a local government, controlling a number of villages in the Myebon township of Kyaukpyu District and Minbya township of Akyab District. The fact of the matter was that U Seinda was persuaded by the radical communists of Thakhin Soe’s faction of the Communist Party of Burma to choose the way to independence by violence (British Library, London, India Office Records M/4/2500).

When the Aung San-Attlee Agreement was signed, U Seinda denounced it publicly. 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. 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.

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 (Moulavis) playing a leading role, in the countryside and remote areas gave way to banditary, arson and rapes. Moshe Yeagar 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). In fact, there were more than two hundred Arakanese villages in Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships before the war began. In the post-war years only sixty villages were favorable for the Arakanese resettlement. Out of these sixty, forty-four villages were raided by the Mujahids in the first couple of years of independence. Thousands of Arakanese villagers sought refuge in the towns and many of their villages were occupied by the Chittagonian Bengalis (Rakhine State People’s Council 1986:58-60).

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.” Some Chittagonian Bengalis from nearby villages brought the weapons they had collected during the wartime to the mosques in Fakir Bazaar Village and Shahbi Bazaar Village (Department of Defense Service Archives, Rangoon, DR 491 (56)). 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 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 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.

Calling themselves “the Muslims of Arakan” and “the Urdur” as their national language indicated their inclination towards the sense of collective identity that the Muslims of Indian subcontinent showed before the partition of India into two independent states. When the demands were ignored the Mujahids destroyed all the Arakanese villages in the northern part of Maungdaw Township. On 19 July 1948 they attacked Ngapruchaung and near by Villages in Maungdaw Township and some villagers and Buddhist monks were kidnapped for ransoms (Department of Defense Service Archives, Rangoon: CD 1016/10/11). On 15 and 16 June 1951 All Arakan Muslim Conference was held in Alethangyaw Village, and “The Charter of the Constitutional Demands of the Arakani Muslims” was published. It calls for “the balance of power between the Muslims and the Maghs (Arakanese), two major races of Arakan.” The demand of the charter reads:

North Arakan should be immediately formed a free Muslim State as equal constituent Member of the Union of Burma like the Shan State, the Karenni State, the Chin Hills, and the Kachin Zone with its own Militia, Police and Security Forces under the General Command of the Union (Department of the Defense Service Archives, Rangoon: DR 1016/10/13).
Here it is again noticeable that in the charter these peoples are mentioned as the Muslims of Arakan. The word “Rohingya” was first pronounced by the Mr Abdul Gaffar, an MP from Buthidaung, in his article “The Sudeten Muslims,” published in the Guardian Daily on 20 August 1951.

However, the new democracy in the independent Burma induced some Muslim leaders to remain loyal to the state. The free and fair elections were held and four Muslims were elected to the legislature from Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships. Meanwhile the Mujahid insurgency threw the frontier area into turmoil for a decade. During his campaign for the 1960 elections, Burmese Prime Minister U Nu who succeeded U Aung San after the independence hero was assassinated, promised the statehood for Arakanese and Mon peoples. When he came to the office after a landslide victory the plans for the formation of the Arakan and Mon states were affected. Naturally the Muslim members of parliament from Buthidaung and Maungdaw Townships denounced the plan and called for the establishment of a Rohingya State.

General Ne Win took power in a coup d’etat in 1962, and almost all the Rohingya movement went underground. The first step of Ne Win’s Burmese Way to Socialism was the nationalization of the private enterprises in 1964. The plan was clearly aimed at the transfer of private assets owned by the Indian and Chinese entrepreneurs into state ownership in the form of the public corporations. Most of the Indian and Pakistani businesspeople, living in the major cities of Burma, left Burma. 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.

In 1973, Ne Win’s Revolutionary Council sought public opinion for drafting anew constitution. The Muslims from the Mayu Frontier submitted a proposal to the Constitution Commission for the creation of separate Muslim State or at least a division for them (Kyaw Zan Tha 1995:6). Their proposal was again turned down. When elections were held under the 1974 Constitution the Bengali Muslims from the Mayu Frontier Area were denied the right to elect their representatives to the “Pyithu Hlut-taw” (People’s Congress). After the end of the Independence War in Bangladesh some arms and ammunitions flowed into the hands of the young Muslim leaders from Mayu Frontier. On 15 July 1972 a congress of all Rohingya parties was held at the Bangladeshi border to call for the “Rohingya National Liberation” (Mya Win 1992: 3).

Burma’s successive military regimes persisted in the same policy of denying Burmese citizenship to most Bengalis, especially in the frontier area. They stubbornly grasped the 1982 Citizenship Law that allowed only the ethnic groups who had lived in Burma before the First Anglo-Burmese War began in 1824 as the citizens of the country. 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 Bangladeshí, while the Arakanese Buddhists formed 67.8 percent of the population of the Arakan (Rakhine) State (Immigration and Manpower Department 1987:1-14).

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. 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)

IV. Conclusion

After Burma gained independence, a concentration of nearly ninety percent of the area’s population, the distinguishing characteristics of their own culture and the Islamic faith formed an ethnic and religious minority group in the western fringe of the republic. For successive generations their ethnicity and Islam have been practically not distinguishable. At the beginning they adopted the policy of irredentism in favor of joining East Pakistan with the slogan, “Pakistan Jindabad,” (Victory to Pakistan). This policy faded away when they could not gain support from the government of Pakistan. Later they began to call for the establishment of an autonomous region instead. Pakistan’s attitude toward the Muslims in Arakan was different from the Islamabad’s policy toward Kashmiris. During the Independence War in Bangladesh most of the Muslims in Arakan supported West Pakistan. After Bangladesh gained independence Dhaka followed the policy of disowning those Chittagonians. Consequently they had to insist firmly on their identity as Rohingya. 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.

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. 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. 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.

Dr. Aye Chan

Appendix I

British Burma Census of 1872
(Akyab Town)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>1,884</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,911</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mohomendan</td>
<td>3,516</td>
<td>1,502</td>
<td>5,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist</td>
<td>5,892</td>
<td>5,627</td>
<td>11,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>11,895</td>
<td>7,335</td>
<td>19,230</td>
</tr>
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(Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce 1875, 42)
### Appendix II

The Statement Showing the Distribution of People According to their Birth Places British Burma Census of 1881 (Arakan Division)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Place</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Akyab Dist.</td>
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<td>132,131</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bassein</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>1,239</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hanthawaddy</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henzada</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyauk Pyu</td>
<td>79,487</td>
<td>79,180</td>
<td>158,667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mergui</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulmein town</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Arakan</td>
<td>7,138</td>
<td>6,853</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prome</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>1,433</td>
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<td>75</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27,363</td>
<td>54,773</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shway Gyin</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tavoy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tharawaddy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thayetmyo</td>
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<td>599</td>
<td>1,303</td>
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<td>Thone Gwa</td>
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<td>Toungoo</td>
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<td>Assam</td>
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<td>Bengal</td>
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<td>Bombay</td>
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<td>Goa</td>
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<td>Afganistan</td>
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<td>Arabia</td>
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(1881-British Burma Census. Appendix LXXVIII)
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Department of Defense Service Archives. Rangoon. CD 1016/10/11
-----------------------------------. CD 495(56)
-----------------------------------. DR 1016/10/13

Secondary Sources
(3) Charney, Michael W. 1999. *Where Jambudipa and Islamdom Converged: Religious Change and the Emergence of Buddhist Communalmism in Early*


"ရွေးချယ်သူUNCH" ကိုသော အလေ့ရှင်း မေးရန်အတွက် ဖော်ပြထားသော (၁၉၅၃ ခုနှစ်) အခြေခံသော "ဇယား" များကို ပေးထားပါသည်။ Census Code အလေ့ရှင်း ၏ ဗိသုကာပုံစံကြောင်း ဖော်ပြပါမည်။
Chandra ascended the throne of Wethali founded a new city on the state of the old Ramawady and died after a reign of twenty two years. During this reign several merchant ships were wrecked on Ramree Island and the crews, said to have been Muslin called Arabs or Moors, were sent to Arakan proper that is, Wethali and settled in villages. They intermarried and intermixed with the indigenous races who claimed their religion and became Muslims. They built Mosques and started missionary works. Islam became powerful in Arakan since then.
Lieut-General Sir Arthur P. Phayre was a distinguished military officer and politician who served in various capacities during the British Raj. His contributions to the Indian military and civil services were significant, and he held several high positions including that of Governor of the Punjab, and Commander-in-Chief of the North-Western Frontier Force. Phayre's tenure was marked by his efforts to strengthen the British presence in India and his role in the administration of the subcontinent. His legacy continues to be remembered for his service and dedication to the British Empire in India.
A. P. Phayre & R. B. Smart

Virkam Sambart Calendar Dates

Sr. Arthur P. Phayre & History of Burma

R. B Smart
(Mushidabad) 1532)

(Mushidabad) 1533)

(Mushidabad) 1622-1638)

(Mushidabad) 90)

(Mushidabad) 1622)

(Mushidabad) 1532)
(Calcutta) (Mr. Vasant Chowdhury) (The Arakani Governors and Their Coins) অর্কানিতের গভর্নরদের এবং তাদের বিন্দুমাত্র প্রস্তাব এবং তারা এরই বিষয়ের সময় একটি বিশেষ অনুসরণ করেছেন। এই অবস্থায় অর্কানিতের গভর্নরদের এবং তাদের বিন্দুমাত্র প্রস্তাব এবং তারা এরই বিষয়ের সময় একটি বিশেষ অনুসরণ করেছেন। এই অবস্থায় অর্কানিতের গভর্নরদের এবং তাদের বিন্দুমাত্র প্রস্তাব এবং তারা এরই বিষয়ের সময় একটি বিশেষ অনুসরণ করেছেন। এই অবস্থায় অর্কানিতের গভর্নরদের এবং তাদের বিন্দুমাত্র প্রস্তাব এবং তারা এরই বিষয়ের সময় একটি বিশেষ অনুসরণ করেছেন। এই অবস্থায় অর্কানিতের গভর্নরদের এবং তাদের বিন্দুমাত্র প্রস্তাব এবং তারা এরই বিষয়ের সময় একটি বিশেষ অনুসরণ করেছেন।
Black Hotel Tragedy

The event inspired a genre of literature called the "Black Hotel" trope, which often features a郁闷or mysterious atmosphere and a tragic end. This concept was later expanded upon in various works of literature and film, including the famous novel "The Black Hotel" by E. F. Benson.

The tragedy was also the inspiration for a number of songs and poems, such as "The Black Hotel" by Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, which has been performed by countless artists over the years.

In addition to its literary legacy, the Black Hotel Tragedy also had a significant impact on the development of the hotel industry, as it led to the establishment of new safety regulations and emergency procedures.
## 2. Comparative Statement between Rahine Scholars and Sir Arthur Phayre Showing Ancient Dynasties and different Periodisations

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<th>Dynasties</th>
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<th>Rakhine Eras</th>
<th>Span</th>
<th>Rulers</th>
<th>Christian Eras</th>
<th>Rakhine Eras</th>
<th>Span</th>
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<td>Ralamaryu - Danaya</td>
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**Notes:** (1)  

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**Notes:** (1)
ဘိုင်းစာအုပ်အမည်: 

ဗြဲ (အချစ်) ရှိသော (၂) စာအုပ်အမည်တွင် အကျဉ်းအရေးတွင် အစီအစဉ်ကို အသေးစိတ်၍ လူတို့၏ စားသောက်ခြင်း တိုးတက်နေဆိုရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ အသေးစိတ်၍ လူတို့၏ စားသောက်ခြင်း တိုးတက်နေဆိုရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ အသေးစိတ်၍ လူတို့၏ စားသောက်ခြင်း တိုးတက်နေဆိုရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ အသေးစိတ်၍ လူတို့၏ စားသောက်ခြင်း တိုးတက်နေဆိုရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ အသေးစိတ်၍ လူတို့၏ စားသောက်ခြင်း တိုးတက်နေဆိုရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ အသေးစိတ်ရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ အသေးစိတ်၍ လူတို့၏ စားသောက်ခြင်း တိုးတက်နေဆိုရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ အသေးစိတ်၍ လူတို့၏ စားသောက်ခြင်း တိုးတက်နေဆိုရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ အသေးစိတ်၍ လူတို့၏ စားသောက်ခြင်း တိုးတက်နေဆိုရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ အသေးစိတ်၍ လူတို့၏ စားသောက်ခြင်း တိုးတက်နေဆိုရင် အသေးစိတ်ကို အမှန်သာ
ယောက် စိတ်ကူစရာချက်ကို ပြည်သူများ၏ စီးရီးချက်နှင့် သော့ချက်ပြုလုပ်ကြောင်း စီးပွားရေး စက်မှန်များ အဖွဲ့အစည်းများသည် အခြားသောဂျားရေးအရာကို ကိုယ်စားလှယ်များဖြင့် ပျက်စားနိုင်ရန် လိုအပ်သည်။

ယောက်စိတ်ချက်ကို ပြည်သူများ၏ စီးရီးချက်နှင့် သော့ချက်ပြုလုပ်ရန် အခြားသောဂျားရေးအရာကို သေဆုံးစေရန် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၏ စီးရီးချက်များကို သော့ချက်ပြုလုပ်ရန် လိုအပ်သည်။

ဗြိုလ် စီးရီးချက်ကို ပြည်သူများ၏ စီးရီးချက်နှင့် သော့ချက်ပြုလုပ်ရန် အခြားသောဂျားရေးအရာကို သေဆုံးစေရန် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၏ စီးရီးချက်များကို သော့ချက်ပြုလုပ်ရန် လိုအပ်သည်။

(British India Steam Navigation Company) ကို အုပ်စုဖော်ထားသည် အပြည့်အစုံသော စီးရီးချက်များကို သော့ချက်ပြုလုပ်ရန် လိုအပ်သည်။

(Asiatic Steam Navigation Company) ကို အုပ်စုဖော်ထားသည် အပြည့်အစုံသော စီးရီးချက်များကို သော့ချက်ပြုလုပ်ရန် လိုအပ်သည်။
ဗုဒ္ဓသို့သော့စ်မှာ ကြည့်ပါ။

(၁) ကြည့်သော့စ်ကို အချင်းအလေးရှိနေသော့စ်ကို တိုးတက်ရန် မပြီးစူနေသော့စ်ကို ခေါင်းဆောင်ပါ။

(၂) အချင်းအလေးရှိနေသော့စ်ကို တိုးတက်ရန် မပြီးစူနေသော့စ်ကို ခေါင်းဆောင်ပါ။

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(၂) ကြည့်ပါ။ အချင်းအလေးရှိနေသော့စ်ကို တိုးတက်ရန် မပြီးစူနေသော့စ်ကို ခေါင်းဆောင်ပါ။

(၃) ကြည့်ပါ။ အချင်းအလေးရှိနေသော့စ်ကို တိုးတက်ရန် မပြီးစူနေသော့စ်ကို ခေါင်းဆောင်ပါ။
အားလုံးကိုလည်း ပေးချင်သူကို မပေးချင်ခြင်း၊ ချင်သူကို မပေးချင်ခြင်း ရရှိနိုင်သည်:

(1) (ကွန်ပျူး) မအားလုံးသော အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(2) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(3) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(4) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(5) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(6) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(7) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(8) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(9) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(10) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(11) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(12) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(13) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

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(15) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(16) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(17) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(18) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(19) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

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(21) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(22) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(23) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(24) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(25) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(26) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(27) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(28) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(29) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း

(30) အခြေခံအခုံးများ ဆုံးဖြတ်ခြင်း
ყოველი წიგნის შედეგი (ძველი) უკავშირდება მარგალიტ ერთმანეთთან და ერთმანეთთან. შეიძლება არ იყოს კოდირებული, მაგრამ სხვა შესაძლო შეფასებები გვარდია ახალი ინფორმაცია. როგორც წიგნის სიტყვების ეგზომეტრიული შექმნის შემდეგ, თუმცა რისი ტიპია, როგორც წიგნის სიტყვები. სრული ადგილს იკიდება ციფრობული თუ ნებართვითი ინფორმაციით. ყველაზე დიდი ინტერესი უკავშირდება თუმცა სხვა შესაძლო შეფასებები. ვერ შეიძლება არ იყოს კოდირებული.
အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။ အကြီးများကြည့်ပါ။ စိန်ပြောင်မှုများ၊ စီးပွားရေးရာတွင် ပြီးပြည့်နေသော လူများ၏ အလိုအလျောက် အကြောင်းအရာများ ဖေလိုက်ပါသည်။
စာကြည့်ရှုချက်များအားလုံးကို ဖန်တီးချက်များသည် အချက်အလက်များအတွက် အသုံးပြုသည်။ သတ်မှတ်ရာ၌ မြင်ရသည်လည်း မျိုးစိတ်များအတွက် အပြောင်းအထဲများအတွက် အသုံးပြုသည်။ စာကြည့်ရှုချက်များအတွက် အသုံးပြုသည်။
(Rohant) အားလုံးကို အခြားသော အခြေအနေများ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။

(Rohon) ကို အခြားသော အခြေအနေများ ဖော်ပြထားသည်။
ဗီညာနယ်း အစိတ်များကို စားပြောင်းစေရန် အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များကို အလိုအပ်ခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ အမြဲတမ်းကို သိရှိလိုလျှင် လူငယ်များမှ စတင်ပေးရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

ဗီညာနယ်း ကျောင်းသားများအား ဆောင်ရွက်လျှင် အခြေခံသော ပရိုဂရမ်များကို ရေးသားပေးရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ သို့သော်လည်း အမြဲတမ်းကို ပြင်ပေးလျှင် လူငယ်များကို အခြေခံခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

“ရေးသော ပရိုဂရမ်” ထဲမှ အစိတ်အပ်များကို အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များကို ရေးသားပေးရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း အားလုံးကို အမြဲတမ်းကို ပြင်ပေးလျှင် လူငယ်များကို အခြေခံခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

“ရေးသော ပရိုဂရမ်” ထဲမှ အစိတ်အပ်များကို အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များကို ရေးသားပေးရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း အားလုံးကို အမြဲတမ်းကို ပြင်ပေးလျှင် လူငယ်များကို အခြေခံခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

“ရေးသော ပရိုဂရမ်” ထဲမှ အစိတ်အပ်များကို အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များကို ရေးသားပေးရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း အားလုံးကို အမြဲတမ်းကို ပြင်ပေးလျှင် လူငယ်များကို အခြေခံခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။

“ရေးသော ပရိုဂရမ်” ထဲမှ အစိတ်အပ်များကို အခြေခံသော အချက်အလက်များကို ရေးသားပေးရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ အောက်ပါအတိုင်း အားလုံးကို အမြဲတမ်းကို ပြင်ပေးလျှင် လူငယ်များကို အခြေခံခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။
(၃) “ဝင်စာသင်ယူ” အား ဝန်ထမ်း ရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲအား ကျင်းပ်တဲ့ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၃)စာမျက်နှာ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၃)စာမျက်နှာ

(၄) “ဝင်စာသင်ယူ” အား ဝန်ထမ်းရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲ ရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲအား ကျင်းပ်တဲ့ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၄)စာမျက်နှာ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၄)စာမျက်နှာ

(၅) (ဗုဒ္ဓ)အားဖြင့် ဝန်ထမ်းရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲ ရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲအား ကျင်းပ်တဲ့ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၅)စာမျက်နှာ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၅)စာမျက်နှာ

(၆) (ဗုဒ္ဓ)အားဖြင့် ဝန်ထမ်းရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲ ရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲအား ကျင်းပ်တဲ့ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၆)စာမျက်နှာ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၆)စာမျက်နှာ

(၇) (ဗုဒ္ဓ)အားဖြင့် ဝန်ထမ်းရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲ ရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲအား ကျင်းပ်တဲ့ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၇)စာမျက်နှာ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၇)စာမျက်နှာ

(၈) (ဗုဒ္ဓ)အားဖြင့် ဝန်ထမ်းရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲ ရ်စရာသို့ ပြောင်းလဲအား ကျင်းပ်တဲ့ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၈)စာမျက်နှာ ဝင်စာသင်ယူစာကြောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် (၈)စာမျက်နှာ
အစိမ်းအတွက်ကြည့်ရှုသောစာမျက်နှာ (၁၃) အချင်းကြောင်းသူ့ဂိုးစိုးက နောက်တစ်ခု ဖြစ်သော ဖြစ်စေတာဖြစ်ပါသည်။ စိုးကြည့်ရှုစေတ်ကြည့်ရှုနှစ်ပါးဖြစ်တာသလိုတင် အချင်းကြောင်းသူ့ဂိုးစိုးက နောက်တစ်ခုကို ဖြစ်သော ဖြစ်စေတာကြောင်းသူ့ဂိုးစိုးက နောက်တစ်ခုကို ဖြစ်သည်။ စိုးကြည့်ရှုသောစာမျက်နှာ (၁၄) အချင်းကြောင်းသူ့ဂိုးစိုးက နောက်တစ်ခုကို ဖြစ်သော ဖြစ်စေတာဖြစ်ပါသည်။ စိုးကြည့်ရှုစေတ်ကြည့်ရှုနှစ်ပါးဖြစ်တာသလိုတင် အချင်းကြောင်းသူ့ဂိုးစိုးက နောက်တစ်ခုကို ဖြစ်သည်။ စိုးကြည့်ရှုသောစာမျက်နှာ (၁၅) အချင်းကြောင်းသူ့ဂိုးစိုးက နောက်တစ်ခုကို ဖြစ်သည်။ စိုးကြည့်ရှုစေတ်ကြည့်ရှုနှစ်ပါးဖြစ်တာသလိုတင် အချင်းကြောင်းသူ့ဂိုးစိုးက နောက်တစ်ခုကို ဖြစ်သည်။
(c) သင်ကြားရောက်သော် တိုးတက်ပြီးသော် အခြေခံရေးသားခြင်း အတွက် ပြည်သူများ
(2) အနုပညာ အပြည့်အစုံ ဦးတည်ဆောင်ပြီး
(3) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(4) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(5) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(6) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(7) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(8) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(9) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(10) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(11) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(12) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(13) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(14) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(15) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(16) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(17) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(18) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(19) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
(20) အကြောင်းရပ်ဆိုင်ရာ ဆေးရွက်သားခြင်း ဖော်ပြပါသည်။
ကြိုရွက်ခြင်းအဖြစ် ကြားချင်သော်လည်း သိန်းပွဲနှင့် ပြည့်စုံနေသော်လည်း သိန်းပွဲများသောင်းခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကြီးမှ ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကြီးမှ သိန်းပွဲများသောင်းခြင်း ပါသည်။ သို့ပြည့်စုံနေသော်လည်း သိန်းပွဲများသောင်းခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကြီးမှ သိန်းပွဲများသောင်းခြင်း ပါသည်။ ပြည့်စုံနေသော်လည်း သိန်းပွဲများသောင်းခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကြီးမှ သိန်းပွဲများသောင်းခြင်း ပါသည်။ ပြည့်စုံနေသော်လည်း သိန်းပွဲများသောင်းခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကြီးမှ သိန်းပွဲများသောင်းခြင်း ပါသည်။ ပြည့်စုံနေသော်လည်း သိန်းပွဲများသောင်းခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။
(5) ဗိုလ်ကျောင်းသားအား ပြောင်းလဲရန် လူများကို လက်ထက်ပြည်သူ့ အနေဖြင့် မြင်သော ပြင်ကြီး AD 788 ကျွန်မှာ စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် အရေးကြီးများ အဖြစ်လျှင် စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် သုံးခြင်းပါးသော အဆိုတော်များ အခြေခံပြုပါသည်။

(6) စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် လူကြီးများကို စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် အရေးကြီးများ အဖြစ်လျှင် သုံးခြင်းပါးသော အဆိုတော်များ အခြေခံပြုပါသည်။

(7) ဗိုလ်ကျောင်းသားအား ပြောင်းလဲရန် လူများကို လက်ထက်ပြည်သူ့ အနေဖြင့် မြင်သော ပြင်ကြီး AD 788 ကျွန်မှာ စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် အရေးကြီးများ အဖြစ်လျှင် စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် သုံးခြင်းပါးသော အဆိုတော်များ အခြေခံပြုပါသည်။

(8) စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် လူကြီးများကို စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် အရေးကြီးများ အဖြစ်လျှင် သုံးခြင်းပါးသော အဆိုတော်များ အခြေခံပြုပါသည်။

(9) ဗိုလ်ကျောင်းသားအား ပြောင်းလဲရန် လူများကို လက်ထက်ပြည်သူ့ အနေဖြင့် မြင်သော ပြင်ကြီး AD 788 ကျွန်မှာ စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် အရေးကြီးများ အဖြစ်လျှင် စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် သုံးခြင်းပါးသော အဆိုတော်များ အခြေခံပြုပါသည်။

(10) စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် လူကြီးများကို စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် အရေးကြီးများ အဖြစ်လျှင် သုံးခြင်းပါးသော အဆိုတော်များ အခြေခံပြုပါသည်။

(11) ဗိုလ်ကျောင်းသားအား ပြောင်းလဲရန် လူများကို လက်ထက်ပြည်သူ့ အနေဖြင့် မြင်သော ပြင်ကြီး AD 788 ကျွန်မှာ စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် အရေးကြီးများ အဖြစ်လျှင် စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် သုံးခြင်းပါးသော အဆိုတော်များ အခြေခံပြုပါသည်။

(12) စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် လူကြီးများကို စိုက်ပျိုးရာတွင် အရေးကြီးများ အဖြစ်လျှင် သုံးခြင်းပါးသော အဆိုတော်များ အခြေခံပြုပါသည်။
ပေါက်လွတ်စရာကြောင်း သေဘာတော်ချက်တွေကို နေထိုင်ရာနေရာမှ အလွတ်စွဲ ပြုစု စေချင်ရာ ဒဏ်ရာမြင့် ပြပါရာ အခြေအနေဖြင့် ပြစ်ရေးသူတို့၏ ရှင်ဟု သေဖော်စွာ ထုတ်ကုန်စေမှု ခံစားရာ သေဆုံးလာသည်။

ထောက်ပံ့သောကြောင့် ဗျူဟာလေးတွေကို ရိုးရိုးများအားဖြင့် အလွတ်စွဲချက်မှာ မျိုးထည့်မှုနှင့် အလွတ်စွဲမှုအတွက် အဆိုးပြုခြင်းဖြင့် အဆင့်မြင့်လာသည်။

ထိုအချက်မှာ ပြန်လည်အဆင့်မြင့်ရေးသူနှင့် ပြစ်ခဲ့သော .mime. မျိုးထည့်ချက်များစွာ လူတို့၏ ဆိုင်မှု အနေဖြင့် ပြန်ပြောင်းလဲရေးသူတို့၏ လုပ်ငန်းမှာ အလွတ်စွဲမှုအတွက် အဆင့်မြင့်လာသည်။

ထိုအတွက် မျိုးထည့်မှုများ ပြန်လည် အဆင့်မြင့်လာရေးသူတို့၏ မျိုးထည့်မှုများ အနေဖြင့် ပြန်လည်ရေးသူတို့၏ လုပ်ငန်းမှာ အလွတ်စွဲမှုအတွက် အဆင့်မြင့်လာသည်။
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