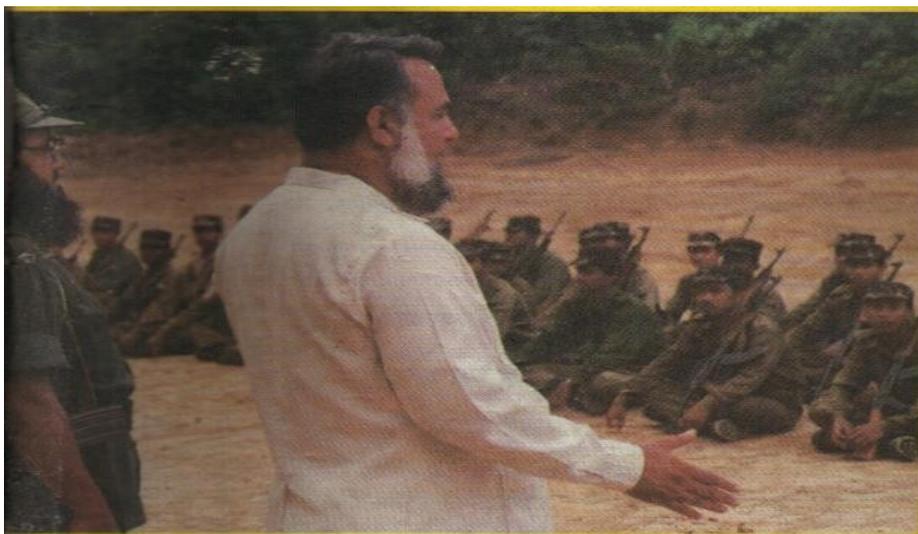


# Islamization of Burma Through Chittagonian Bengalis as “Rohingya Refugees“

BY  
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## Prologue

When we were young, our elderly people told us a fable about an Arab and an ungrateful camel. The fable is as follows:

### *The Camel's Nose In The Tent*

One cold night, as an Arab sat in his tent, a camel gently thrust his nose under the flap and looked in. "Master," he said, "let me put my nose in your tent. It's cold and stormy out here." "By all means," said the Arab, "and welcome" as he turned over and went to sleep.

A little later the Arab awoke to find that the camel had not only put his nose in the tent but his head and neck also. The camel, who had been turning his head from side to side, said, "I will take but little more room if I place my forelegs within the tent. It is difficult standing out here." "Yes, you may put your forelegs within," said the Arab, moving a little to make room, for the tent was small.

Finally, the camel said, "May I not stand wholly inside? I keep the tent open by standing as I do." "Yes, yes," said the Arab. "Come wholly inside. Perhaps it will be better for both of us." So the camel crowded in. The Arab with difficulty in the crowded quarters again went to sleep. When he woke up the next time, he was outside in the cold and the camel had the tent to himself.

### *Another version of this story*

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One day an Arab and his camel were crossing the desert. Night came and the temperature became colder. The Arab put up his tent and tied the camel to it. The Arab went to sleep.

The temperature became slightly colder and the camel asked the Arab if he (camel) could just put his nose in the tent to warm up. The Arab agreed that the camel could just put his nose in, because the tent was small and there was no room for 2. So the camel's nose became warm and after a while the temperature went down even more.

The camel asked the Arab again, if he (camel) could just put his fore legs in because they were very cold. The Arab reluctantly agreed that the camel could only put his fore legs in and no more. So the camel moved in his fore legs and they became warm. After sometime the camel asked the Arab again that he had to put in his hind legs or else he won't be able to make the journey the next morning with frozen legs. So the Arab agreed and once the camel moved his hind legs in, there was no more room in the tent for the Arab and the Arab was kicked out.

Maybe, this fable is the predicted warning for the Arakanese (Rakhaings) against the Chittagonian Bengalis, „the Guest who want to kick out the Host from his own House“!

## 1. The Arakan Land or Rakhaing Pree

### 1.1. Burmese Invasion and Lose of Sovereignty

Arakan (Rakhaing Pree) used to be a separate kingdom until the Burmese king Bodaw U Waing annexed Arakan (Rakhaing Pree) into the Burmese Empire in 1784. The Burmese king's main reason in invading Arakan was to snatch the Holy Maha Muni Image and to claim that Burma and not Arakan is the centre of Buddhism. Maha Muni Image is a colossal image cast in bronze and inlaid with gold. Hence, this statue became the envy of almost all of the kings of Burma. Whenever they expanded their empire, they tried to rob this holy image. The attempts of Burmese kings Anawrahta, Tabin Shwe Htee and Bayint Naung of the First and the Second Burmese Empires respectively failed but Bodaw U Waing of their Third Empire succeeded. The Burmese Chronicles were cunning enough by writing that it was their king's duty to liberate Arakan from the incompetent rulers because he considered Arakan and the Arakanese as same kin. Their king too was using very polite Buddhist terms that the Holy Image accepted his 'invitation' through his son, the crown prince then, to come and stay in the better temple in Burma and left Arakan.

### 1.2. Abolition of the Arakanese Kingdom

After conquering Arakan, the Arakanese Kingdom was abolished forever, the Arakanese (Rakhaings/Rakhines) in Arakan were tortured. The Burmese used the Arakanese prisoners of war, about thirty thousand including the last King of Arakan Maha Thamada, as slave labour for the transport of the Colossal Statue across the mountain range and for other slave works. These prisoners of war were used in the reconstruction of Meikhtila Lake, the building of the Mingun Pagoda, and the aborted war against Siam. Most Arakanese sent to Siam for the invasion died in that war. The Burmese interest in Arakan was more or less to bring in Buddhists Reforms to the Monks similar to Burma as directly ordered by their king rather than the development of Arakan. Hence, the Burmese viceroy's<sup>1</sup> and the governors'<sup>2</sup> main duties were to restore and rebuild the ruins of Buddhists temples, monasteries and ponds; as well as the forced re-ordination of senior Arakanese monks under the junior Burmese monks. The monks who did not follow the orders were defrocked. For those works they needed slave or forced labourers again and they became very cruel to the natives. About 50,000 Rakhaings/Rakhines fled to British occupied Bengal.

Finally, U Than De and U Tun Zan (U Tuan Zan) who 'had invited' the Burmese invasion<sup>3</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, he was the "Myowun" of Dhanyawaddy appointed by the Burmese king. Myowun is the ruler of a town or a province on behalf of the king, hence, equivalent to a governor or a viceroy. The meaning of viceroy given by the Oxford Dictionary is: "A person governing as the deputy of a sovereign". The meaning given by the Webster Dictionary is: "The governor of a country or province who rules as a representative of his king or sovereign". Dr. A. Judson too, translated Myowun of Rangoon as 'The Viceroy of Rangoon'. Since Dr. Judson was an American, that means a native speaker of the English language, I took the liberty of using his translation though the meaning of viceroy as well as governor general given in modern English-Burmese Dictionaries is ဘုရင်ခံချုပ် . This term is a later development. Maurice Collis, on the other hand, used the term 'the Burmese Governor of Arakan'. The meaning of governor given in modern English-Burmese Dictionaries is ဘုရင်ခံ .

<sup>2</sup> The deputies of the "Myowun" of Dhanyawaddy stationed in Rambree Island (Rambree Wun), Thandwe (Thandwe Wun) and Manaung Island (Man aung Wun).

<sup>3</sup> Some Arakanese, headed by U Htun Zan (U Htuan Zan) and U Thande went to Ava to request the Burmese king to liberate Mrauk U from the incompetent King Maha Thamada of Arakan. It cannot be ruled out that it was a conflict between the Arakanese from the North and those from the South because Maha Thamada and

became fed up with the Burmese rulers and revolted against them. The armed Arakanese (Rakhaings/Rakhines) tried to invade Arakan from Bengal but their attempts failed and the Burmese army marched into British territories to crush them. There were a lot of border conflicts between the British and the Burmese and these were the main reasons for the first Anglo-Burmese war, which broke out in 1824 and led to the fall of the Burmese Empire.

### **1.3. Three Anglo-Burmese Wars**

The first Anglo-Burmese war broke out in 1824 and according to the Yandabo treaty signed in 1826 Burma had to accept an agreement giving up her influences in Assam and Manipur and had to agree to surrender the Arakan (Rakhine) and Tenassarim (Taninthayi) provinces to the British. After the second Anglo-Burmese war which broke out without any declaration of war in 1852 and ended without a peace treaty, the British declared one-sidedly that Lower Burma below the latitude line crossing the town Thayet became British territory. The last war in November 1885 also broke out without any declaration of war, but the British captured King Thibaw, the last king of the Konbaung Dynasty and Queen Suphaya Latt. They banished both to exile at Ratanagiri near Bombay and proclaimed that entire Burma would become a British Colony starting from January the 1st, 1886.<sup>4</sup> As some parts of Burma (Arakan and Tenassarim) became part of British India since 1826 people from the Subcontinent could come to Burma freely and unconditionally and some were brought by the British for many reasons.

In this paper, the present author intends to write on Bengali Immigration Waves to Arakan, the attempts and their intentions to Islamize Arakan in three chapters: (1) during the Colonial Era starting from 1826 to 1947 (2) during the Post Independent Era 1948 – 70 (3) after the Bangladesh Liberation War 1970 to the present day.

## **2. Indian immigration Waves**

### **2.1. The Birth of Immigration Waves**

As mentioned earlier, some parts of Burma (Arakan and Tenassarim) became part of British India since 1826 and people from the Subcontinent could come to Burma freely and unconditionally and some were brought by the British for many reasons. In comparison, the volume of Indian immigration before the middle of the nineteenth century, though continuous, was never on a very large scale compared to what it came to be from 1852 onwards. A new chapter in the history of Indian immigration into Burma began after the British annexation of Lower Burma after the Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852), and the whole of Burma after the Third War in 1886.

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his predecessor were not from Mrauk U but from Rambree Island.

<sup>4</sup> The last king of Burma, King Thibaw, was taken to India. He died in Ratana Giri near Bombay. His eldest daughter became pregnant by his Indian butler and she became a concubine of this butler. King Thibaw died of a broken heart. Apart from that, the British brought hundreds of thousands of Indians to Burma and some of those Indians behaved as if Burma were their Sub-colony and looked down upon Burmese. Till now, there are still some social and racial tensions between the Burmese and the descendants of those Indians. Many people believe, King Thibaw and the Burmese nowadays had to reap the consequences of the past misdeeds of their ancestors, on what they did to the kingdoms of Mons, Ayuddiya and Arakan.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 marked a turning point in the economic and administrative history of Burma. The British government wanted to export Burmese rice and they extended the rice fields in Lower Burma. As they needed peasants and coolies they imported a lot of Indians. The biggest attraction for the Indians to come and seek their fortune in Burma was the fact that salaries and wages there were much higher than in India. Hence, thousands of Indian labourers, especially from Madras, Bengal and Punjab, began to enter Burma.

There were five types of Indian immigrants: (1) Permanent settlers; (2) Long-term settlers, who came to seek their fortune in the then most prosperous country in Southeast Asia, but for retired life they preferred to stay in India rather than in Burma; (3) Seasonal workers who came for a fixed short period; (4) Government servants and traders who wanted to earn and save money so that they and their offspring could settle permanently in Burma as rich people; and (5) People brought by the British for various reasons .

## **2.2. Immigration Waves during the Colonial Era (1826- 1947)**

### **2.2.1. Bengali settlers after the British annexation of Arakan in 1826**

#### **2.2.1.1. Who destroyed Arakan more? The Burmese or the British?**

Many Arakanese blamed the Burmese for their mismanagements and cruelties after their occupation for about 40 years. It is true that Burmese rulers and soldiers were so cruel like savages, however, the present author, on the other hand, wants to state that the destruction of the Arakanese society by the British, wittingly or unwittingly, was worse than what the Burmese had done.

No one can deny that Burmese rulers and soldiers totally ignored the fact that they and the Arakanese share the same language and religion but committed barbaric war crimes. However, in any case they did not have enough brains and guts like the British to sow the poisonous seeds on Arakanese soil!! Arakan has very fertile soil with sufficient rain falls, hence, British wanted to expand rice fields in Arakan. Arakan was very under-populated at that time. Therefore, the British brought tens of thousands of Chittagonian Bengali Muslims into Arakan. The Arakanese (Rakhaings) have to bear the burdens of these aliens until today. These aliens tried and are still trying to Islamize Arakan (if not the whole of Burma) by all means.

Apart from that, the British destroyed the whole society, tradition and culture of the Arakanese by opening pubs to sell alcoholic beverages and also opium halls which were traditionally forbidden by the Buddhist monarchs of Arakan and also by their successors, Burmese authorities, who were Buddhists, too<sup>5</sup>.

Here I would like to point out the following evidence. Writing in 1869, one assistant commissioner reported: "Full one half of the male population between the ages of 17 and 35 are opium eaters and/or smokers, and full one half of these principally exist on the earnings of the other portion of the population not by gifts but by thefts." He concluded as: "The natural result of this state of thing is that the population must degenerate year by year, and eventually become useless to themselves and the world around them. The

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<sup>5</sup> As a result, nowadays in Burma, it is well known that most Arakanese consume alcoholic beverages more than any other ethnic minority groups of Burma.

people who were honest, hard working and the truthful people when the British took the place, are now so far as the opium eaters and smokers especially are concerned, the very opposite of their fathers ...”<sup>6</sup>

### 2.2.1.2. Early Immigrants

Because of the above-mentioned reasons and since Arakan has direct land border with Bengal, particularly with Chittagong District, many Chittagonian Bengalis were brought into Arakan as cheap labourers, peasants and coolies by the British. Here I would like to cite Jacques Leider<sup>7</sup> who wrote: “The major interest of the *East India Company* in Arakan lay in the extension of rice cultivation in the Kaladan and Lemro Valleys. This plan succeeded because the scores of Bengal Muslim labourers who had been imported from Chittagong in the middle of the nineteenth century, Akyab, the new capital, had indeed become a major port of export of rice for Europe”.

Some Chittagonian Bengalis were brought to Arakan to construct a railway track between the two towns, Butheedaung and Maungdaw. The construction project (1916-18) was in fact in operation before the whole business was brought down by a devastating cyclone<sup>8</sup>, but those Chittagonian Bengalis never returned back to Bengal. According to the report of the Directorate of Health (1930-31), about 40000 Chittagonian Bengalis came to Maungdaw annually to work in that area, however, it was not recorded how many of them returned to Bengal.

Here I would like to cite R.B. Smart, the deputy assistant commissioner of Akyab: “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 Myohaung (Mrauk-U) townships. Maungdaw Township has been overrun by Chittagonian immigrants. Butheedaung is not far behind and new arrivals will be found in almost every part of the district.

Those Bengali settlers in Arakan were noted by British for their administrative purposes either as Hindus or as Muslims according to their religion. Muslim settlers outnumbered the Hindu settlers.

The Census Reports of Akyab (Sittwe) District for 1871, 1901, and 1911 is as follows:<sup>9</sup>

Races	1871	1901	1911
Mahomedan	58255	154887	178647
Burmese	4632	35751	92185
Arakanese	171612	230649	209432
Shan	334	80	59
Hill Tribes	38577	35489	34020
Others	606	1355	1146
Total	276691	481666	529943

<sup>6</sup> Report on the Progress Made in the Arakan Division from 1826 to 1869 (Rangoon: Government Stationery, 1870, pp 11, 47.

<sup>7</sup> Jacques P. Leider, Forging Buddhist Credentials as a Tool of Legitimacy and Ethnic Identity: A Study of Arakan's Subjection in Nineteenth-Century Burma, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51, 2008, p.424

<sup>8</sup>Maung Tha Hla, *The Rakhaing*, New York 2004, p.58. U Tha Hla's father U Maung Pein was the Station Master of Maungdaw Railway Station then.

<sup>9</sup> Burma Gazetteer, Akyab District, p. 86

This table shows very clearly that Chittagonian Bengalis were 21.05% of the total population in 1871, became 32.1% in 1901 and increased to 33.71% in 1911. Their population growth was 272% within 30 years because of huge immigration waves.

The Arakanese were 62% and the Mountain Tribes were 13.9% of the total population in 1871, that means the 'Bhummi Putras' of Arakan were almost 76% and the majority. In 1901 the Arakanese were 47.89% and the Mountain Tribes were only 7.37%, hence both 'Bhummi Putras' together became 55.26% only, but still a slight majority. However, in 1911 Arakanese became 39.5% of the total population and the Mountain Tribes remained only 6.42% and the 'Bhummi Putras' were only 45.92% of the total population, hence they became minorities in their native land already.

In this way, Arakan was a *colonie d'exploitation* to the British, but to the Chittagonian Bengalis, Arakan became a *colonie de peuplement*. The very similar thing happened in Assam for Tea Plantations.<sup>10</sup>

### **2.2.2. Relations between Settlers and the Natives**

These settlers are called "Khawtaw Kalas" or Sittagaung Kala (Chittagaung Kula), in short only Kala (Kula) in both Burmese and Arakanese.

Some settlers learnt Arakanese and Burmese; hence, some of them were assimilated in the native society. However, these Chittagonian Bengalis differ from the Arakanese in their features, complexion and religion as well as in some customs which their religion directs; in writing they use Burmese but among themselves employ colloquially the language of their ancestors, either Urdu or Bengali. They never named themselves 'Rohingyas' but 'Arakan Muslims'. Since they were assimilated in the native society, Burmese as well as Arakanese (Rakhaings) did not call them Khawtaw Kala any more, but used the term Muslims, just to differentiate them from the natives who are Buddhists. The Kamans and Myaydus too are Muslims but they were already assimilated in the native society. When one hears the name Kaman or Myaydu, one knows automatically that they are Muslims.

Unfortunately, however, many latter settlers never tried to assimilate in the native society and therefore they were and are never welcomed by the natives, neither by the Burmese nor by the Arakanese society. Nor could they join even in the society of "Muslims of Arakan", the "Kamans" and the "Myay Dus".

#### **2.2.2.1. Their First Attempt at Islamization**

In 1937, Burma was separated from British India and became a Crown Colony. Some Islamists from Northern Arakan went to India in 1940 and met leaders of the Muslim League. They requested that the Muslim League should demand the British Government

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<sup>10</sup> See and compare REPORT ON ILLEGAL MIGRATION INTO ASSAM SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA BY THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, 8 November 1998, in Chapter II where it was written: "The British developed the tea industry in Assam. They imported labour from Bihar and other provinces to work in the tea gardens. The Assamese people living mostly in Upper Assam and cultivating one crop per year were not interested in working as labour neither in the tea gardens nor in increasing or expanding land cultivation to meet the additional requirement of food for the large labour population employed in the tea gardens. Therefore, the British encouraged Bengali Muslim peasants from present Bangladesh to move into Lower Assam for putting virgin land under cultivation. This set in motion a movement pattern which despite changed conditions, has been continuing to this day".

for the incorporation of Butheedaung and Maungdaw townships into British India, however, their attempt failed. The Muslim League of India could do nothing. Due to the Diarchy Reforms of Burma in 1923, Arakan was put into 'Burma Proper' and not even under the 'Frontier Areas' by the British. Except in the very early Colonial years from 1826 to 1852, Arakan neither belonged to Bengal nor did the British tried to join Arakan with India. Arakan was always under the administration of British-Burma, although Burma too was under the Umbrella of the British Indian Empire until 1937.

That's why I wonder where and from which informant Ms. Stephanie Hering got the following information: "Ab 1937 wurde Arakan zunächst als zu Indien gehörig geführt, kurz darauf aber aus verwaltungstechnischen Gründen Burma wegen der schwierigen geographischen Lage wiederangegliedert."<sup>11</sup> (From 1937 Arakan at the beginning was joined to India , however, because of the technical administrative reasons and also because of geographical inconveniences, it was rejoined to Burma:).

This kind of misinformation were and are spread out by the Islamists and many Westerners, without doing proper researches but rely only on hear-say stories, were and are trapped by them. These kind of unscholarly writings favour the position of Islamists and these wrong or misleading information is often quoted and disseminated by subsequent authors, leading to a situation whereby it eventually acquires the status of being true and correct. There is a saying: "A lie repeated over and over again becomes indistinguishable from the truth".

#### **2.2.2.2. Racial Riots with Bloodbaths**

Unfortunately, many Chittagonian settlers never tried to assimilate into the native society and therefore they were and are never welcomed by the natives, neither by the Burmese nor by the Arakanese society. Nor could they join even in the society of "Muslims of Arakan", the "Kamans" and the "Myay Dus". Hence, Burmese and Arakanese (Rakhaings) called them either Khawtaw Kala or Sittagaung Kala (Chittagaung Kula), in short only Kala (Kula).

Racial tensions reached the peak when the British Civil Administration collapsed in Arakan in 1942 because of the Second World War. There was blood bath of racial riots. Khawtaw Kalas were helped by the Muslim deserters of the British Indian Army. All 195 Rakhaing villages in Butheedaung and Maungdaw area were wiped out. They vandalized, raped and slew. Many Arakanese including the Deputy Commissioner of that area U Oo Kyaw Khaing, who was on a mission to defuse the communal conflict, were killed. Many Rakhaings had to take refuge inside the Border Town Tet Chaung also well known as Maungdaw. These Khawtaw Kalas wanted to commit ethnic cleansing of the Rakhaings living in that town. The town was blockaded, besieged and attacked by Khawtaw Kalas together with the deserters. An Arakanese Judge called U Aung Tha Kyaw sent a type of S.O.S message to Captain Taylor of the British Army stationed at the other border town Teknaf, the yonder side of the Naaf River in British East Bengal. Though both towns were

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<sup>11</sup>Hering, Stephanie, *Rohingyas in Bangladesch. Anmerkungen zur Flüchtlingshilfe*, 2000 von <http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/tdrc/teaching/lehrforschungen/hering.pdf>.

British Colonies, Teknaf was under the administration of British India and Maungdaw was under the administration of British Burma. Due to this bureaucracy, Captain Taylor could not cross the border without permission from the British Administration in India. However, the Judge U Aung Tha Kyaw could persuade Captain Taylor successfully by asking him to come over to the yonder side of the river to take charge of the government treasury which was being evacuated to India. Before Captain Taylor and his company, mainly recruited by well disciplined Karens and Gurkhas, could enter Maungdaw, they had to crush the Muslim renegades and Khawtaw Kalas. In this way captain Taylor could take care of British government treasury and the judge U Aung Tha Kyaw could save a few thousand lives of the Rakhaings.

The Rakhaing in Butheedaung were not as lucky as their compatriots in Maungdaw. They had to flee from the attacks of the Khawtaw Kalas and the Muslim deserters. They embarked a ship to sail to the yonder side, however, unfortunately, their ship capsized because of overweight and many died.<sup>12</sup>

However, till now, Islamists, Rohingyarists and their lobbyists are writing a fake history by accusing the Rakhaings (Arakanese) being responsible for 'Ethnic Cleansing of Rohingyas'. The facts that there were 41,414 Arakanese (Rakhaings) in Maung Daw in 1941, but, based on the census of 1956, the total population of Arakanese (Rakhaings) reduced to 5,808. On the other hand, the Chittagonian Bengali population in 1941 was 124452 and increased to 187792 in 1956. This is proof as to who did the ethnic cleansing.

At that time in 1942, there were about 1 Million Arakanese only but there were about 20 Million Chittagonian Bengalis. As a simple logic, who could have done the ethnic cleansing?

More than 5,000 Arakanese (Rakhaings) had been relocated to Dinajpur by British Government, during the riots in 1942. U Tha Hla, the former Deputy Chief of the Burmese UN Mission in New York at the late 70's was one of the 'refugees' then<sup>13</sup>. U Sein Tun Aung also mentioned to the audience during the 'Arakanese Religion and History Seminar' in London, 9<sup>th</sup> August 2009, how his grandparents, land owners, were killed by their own workers, Chittagonian Bengalis.

### **3. Immigration Waves during the Post Independent Era (1948 – 1970)**

#### **3.1 Immigration Waves after the Second World War**

The British Administration restarted in Arakan on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1945. All Bengalis who went back to Bengal during the war came back to Arakan. They brought many new settlers with them. However, the Arakanese 'refugees' in Dinajpur were allowed to return to their homeland only in the month of December 1945. When they came back to their native villages, they could not reintegrate to their original places due to illegal occupation of their

<sup>12</sup> See also: Maung Tha Hla, The Rakhaing, New York 2004, pp 70-71

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

land by the Chittagonian Bengali Muslims, especially in the villages at the southern side of Maungdaw. Similarly it happened also in Butheedaung. Those Arakanese were compelled to leave their villages because their lands were taken by the Chittagonian Bengalis during their absence. Because of their immigration waves many Arakanese left their villages in Northern Arakan and moved southwards.

### **3.2. Evolution of the word 'Rohingya'**

#### **3.2.1. The name 'Rohingya' in Arakanese History**

The fact that there has never been a "Rohingya" ethnic group either in Arakan or in Burma is quite evident. There is no such name as "Rohingya" in all history books and chronicles written by Burmese, Bengalis, Arakanese, British, Dutch and Portuguese.

1. There is no such name as "Rohingya" in the Census of India, 1921 (Burma) compiled by G. G. Grantham, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations Burma, or in the Burma Gazetteer, Akyab District (1924) compiled by R. B. Smart.
2. Even in Hobson-Jobson. "A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive" published by British Colonial Officers of British East India Company, Col. Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell (First Published 1886) the word "Rohingya" was not mentioned. Since this book was published by the Bengal Chamber Edition, Calcutta, India, and is an indispensable dictionary for those who want to study the history of India during the last 300 years and its impact on the East and West, it should be considered as a standard literature.
3. The well known author and scholar, Maurice Collis, who wrote many articles and books about Arakan, also never mentioned the word "Rohingya".
4. None of the British Colonial Officers' contributions about Burma and India mentioned that word "Rohingya", however, they mentioned about 'Zerabadi' the Indo-Burmese Hybrids or "Burmese Muslims", the Muslims in Shwebo and Yamethin Districts in Burma Proper, "Myay Du Muslims", "Kaman Muslims" and Bengali Muslim Settlers of Arakan.
5. In the book „The History of Modern Burma, J. F. Cady, 1965, neither mentioned the name 'Rohingya' nor the Arakanese Muslims.

#### **3.2.2 British contributions about Muslims in Burma**

Akyab District Gazetteer 1906 showed the population of the principle races, tribes and castes as follows:<sup>14</sup>

##### **Indigenous Races:**

Arakanese (239649), Burmese (35751), Kamis (11595), Mros (10074), Chins (9415) Daingnets (3412), Chaungthas (247) and Thets (232).

##### **Non-indigenous Races:**

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<sup>14</sup> Akyab District Gazetteer, 1906, Volume B

British (209), Eurasians (158), Chinese (439), Shaikhs (152074)<sup>15</sup>, Saiyards (1254)<sup>16</sup>, Pathans (126), Zairbadis (108) Other Musulman (1325), Sudras (6016), Kayasths (2888), Uriyas (625), Brahmans (398), Chatris (377), Dhobis (263), Waddars (233), Nats (226), Barua Maghs (165), Chetties (164), Doms (143), Malas (142), Marabans (125), Baniyas (114) and other Hindu Castes (2104).

The present author searched for the ethnic group called 'Rohingyas' in all history books, literature, encyclopaedias and other publications published before 1953 written by foreign scholars. That name was not in any books. None of the British Colonial Officers recorded the name 'Rohingya, neither in the Indian Subcontinent nor in Burma. To be honest, people of Burma had never heard of the word "Rohingya" until the late 1950's.

A Chitagonian Bengali living in Northern Arakan called Mr. Abdul Gaffar<sup>17</sup> started using that name in Guardian Daily Newspaper in 1951. In the Chittagonian Dialect of Bengali Language, the Rakhaing Land is called 'Rohan' and the Rakhaing People or Arakanese are called 'Rohangya (Rohan = Rakhaing, Gya = man). Since the word is of Bengali origin, some of the Muslim secessionists like Mr. Abdul Gaffar used the name to identify themselves to be the natives of Arakan and named themselves as 'Rohingya' by 'hijacking' the name of the real natives of Arakan (Rakhaings) in Bengali language!! Mr. Abdul Gaffar 'invented' the 'Rohingya History' too. Within a few days. U Paw Zan refuted all of his claims in the same newspaper.

### 3.2.2.1. Francis Buchanan's 'Rooingas' and 'Rossawns'

Dr. Francis Buchanan<sup>18</sup>, a Scotsman working as a surgeon at the British East India Company, was **the one and only person who mentioned the names 'Rooingas' and 'Rossawns'** in his book, the closest name to 'Rohingya' as a linguistic survey. However he described those people as both Hindus and Muslims and their languages as dialects of Bengali. Further more, Francis Buchanan wrote very clearly that they are called Kala or Strangers or Foreigners by the real natives of Arakan, i.e. Arakanese or Rakhaings (Francis Buchanan 1801).

I will cite Buchanan: "I shall now add three dialects, spoken in the Burman Empire, but evidently derived from the language of the Hindu nation. The first is that spoken by the Mohammedans, who have long settled in Arakan, and **who call themselves Rooinga**, or natives of Arakan. The second dialect is that spoken by the Hindus of Arakan. I procured it

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<sup>15</sup> Since the Shaikhs were the biggest non-Indigenous group with the population of 152074, it is to be presumed that they were the biggest Muslim Sect of the Chittagonian Bengali Settlers. The closest term to Shaikhs given in Hobson-Jobson page 827 is: Shikaree, Shekarry: "Shecarries are generally Hindoos of low caste, who gain their livelihood entirely by catching birds, hares and all sort of animals". Since many low caste Hindus in East Bengal had converted into Islam they might be called in the same name as before. It is to be presumed that since they were brought to Burma, particularly to Arakan for menial works, they were still called in that name.

<sup>16</sup> Saiyyads: The closest term given in Hobson-Jobson page 886 is: Syud, Ar. *Saiyid*, 'a lord', the designation in India of those who claim to be the descendants of Mohammed. But the usage of *Saiyid* and *Sharif* varies in different parts of Mahomedan Asia.

<sup>17</sup> Abdul Gaffar, "The Sudeten Muslims," The Guardian Daily, 20 August 1951.

<sup>18</sup> Buchanan, Francis, A comparative vocabulary of some of the languages spoken in the Burmese Empire. In: *Asiatick Researchers or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia*. V: 219-240, 1801.

from a Brahmen and his attendants, who had been brought to Amarapura by the king's eldest son, on his return from the conquest of Arakan. **They call themselves Rossawn, and, for what reason I do not know, wanted to persuade me that theirs was the common language of Arakan.** Both these tribes, by the real natives of Arakan, are called Kulaw Yakain, or stranger Arakan."

I would like to give the following explanation why British Colonial Officers never recorded these so-called 'Roingas and Rosswans':

Dr. Francis Buchanan wrote very clearly that **he met those people in Amarapura (ie. the capital of the Burmese Empire then) and NOT in Arakan.** They were taken to Burma as slaves or prisoners. All historical records and chronicles unanimously stated that the Burmese Crown Prince had taken about 30000 Arakanese and some of their slaves as forced labours to Burma. It is very clear that Arakanese (Rakhaings) became slaves of Burmese and these Bengali slaves of the Arakanese became automatically "the Slaves of the Slaves". The population of these 'Slaves of the Slaves' might be very few. Later, most probably these 'Slaves of the Slaves' were assimilated and engulfed into the Muslims and Hindus living in Upper Burma, who were the subjects of the Burmese king. That's why these names disappeared when British annexed Upper Burma in 1885. Apart from that Dr. Buchanan stated very clearly that they were Strangers in Arakan and NOT Natives!

**If these groups who called themselves as 'Roingas' and 'Rossawns' were still in Arakan until 1826 or after that, these names might have been mentioned by the British Colonial Officers in their administrative and research papers!**

**British officers in Bengal recorded that, after the downfall of the Arakanese kingdom many Arakanese, some Hindus and Muslims crossed the border and sought asylum on British soil. They neither mentioned 'Roingas' nor 'Rossawns'!**

In contrast, even Buchanan wrote in his other book<sup>19</sup>: „Puran Bisungri was an officer of the Police Station of Ramoo what is called Panwah by the Arakanese. He was a Hindu, born in Arakan and fled the country after Burmese invasion of 1784”.

“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”.

### **3.2.2.2. Why did they name themselves 'Roingas and Rossawns'?**

In Burma, there are two big ethnic communities of alien origin, namely of the Chinese and of the people from the Subcontinent (British India) who are named 'Tayoke' and 'Kala' respectively by the Burmese. In these two communities, though 'Tayoke' are assimilated into the Burmese and Buddhist community easier and faster, they are still happy to be called 'Tayoke', rather than 'Bama', just to keep their ethnic identity. However, 'Kala',

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<sup>19</sup>Buchanan, Francis. *Francis Buchanan in Southeast Bengal (1798): His Journey to Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali and Comilla.* Dhaka: Dhaka University Press., 1992

regardless of their faith either Hindus or Muslims, are lesser assimilated into the Burmese and Buddhist community. Despite of that fact, they want to call themselves as 'Bama' or 'Mon' or 'Shan' or 'Karen' etc. etc. due to the area where they reside rather than their ethnic identity 'Kala'! It happens most probably because of the term 'Kala'! 'Kala' means black or dark in Indic languages like Hindi, Urdu, Bengali etc. etc.

In any case, the term 'Kala' do not have derogatory meaning in Burmese because the etymology of the word Kala (written Kula) can be traced back from the Pali word Kula meaning "noble race" (this is a short form of Kula Putta which means "son of the noble race"). The word was used for the Indians (People from the subcontinent) by the early Buddhist people of Burma (Mons, Burmese, Arakanese, Karens and Shans etc.) because Lord Buddha himself was an Indian.

Although the word Kala has a harmless meaning, the people from the subcontinent do not like to be called Kala. They feel insulted because the word Kala means "coloured" or "blackie" in their Indic languages such as Hindi, Urdu and Bengali. In particular, Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis living in Burma often complain to foreigners, especially to non-Burmese Burma Scholars that they feel discriminated by the people of Burma, especially by the Bamas (the Burmese), the Rakhines (the Arakanese), Shan and the Mons, calling them Kala ( meaning "blackie" in their own interpretation). Such a misinterpretation was never intended by the people of Burma (the Burmese, Mons, Karens, Shans and Arakanese (Rakhines) etc.), in fact, on reflection some people from Northern India and Pakistan are much fairer in complexion than some people of Burma, especially some Mons, Burmese and Arakanese (Rakhines)!!

For the above-mentioned reason, almost all of the 'Kala' in Burma name themselves either 'Bama' or Karen or Shan or Mon etc. etc. regardless of whether they are assimilated into the native society or not!. In the light of this explanation, as a parallel case, it is very easy to conclude why those two groups met by Dr. Francis Buchanan named themselves 'Rooinga' and 'Rossawn' although they were called 'Kalaw Yakain' (Kala Yakain or Aliens in Rakhaing Land) by the real natives of Arakan (ie. Arakanese or Rakhaings). It is clear that these two groups interviewed by Buchanan too did not want to be named 'Kala' regardless of whether they were assimilated into the native society or not! In Bengali language, the country Arakan is called either 'Rohan' or 'Rosan' and the people, that means the real natives of that land, the Arakanese or the Rakhaings, are called 'Rohanja' or 'Rosawnga' due to the dialects (most probably Roo-in and Rosssawn; Rooinga and Rossawnga in Buchanan's ears!). As mentioned earlier, 'Rohingya' is a name used by the Bengalis to denote a Rakhine – a Buddhist Rakhine or an Arakanese. In other words, 'Rohingya' and 'Magh' are the synonyms in Bengali and it gives the meaning Arakanese or Rakhaingthar. I have to conclude, these two groups 'hijacked' or 'kidnapped' the name of the real natives of Arakan (Rakhaings) in Bengali language!!

#### **4. Separatist Movement**

##### **4.1. Second Attempt at Islamization, Bengali immigrants' Plan to form an Islamic State 'Arakanistan'**

As mentioned earlier, after the war the Chittagonian Bengalis came back, bringing with them new settlers. After Burma became independent these settlers wanted to turn Northern Arakan into an autonomous Muslim state called 'Arakanistan'. "Some members

of the 'Juniyatu Olamai' religious association went to Karachi on a delegation to discuss the incorporation of Butheedaung, Maungdaw and also Rathedaung townships into East Pakistan". The Burmese leader then, General Aung San, gave his clear position to Mohamad Ali Jinnah that he would not tolerate, if Pakistan would interfere in Burmese affairs<sup>20</sup>. The very similar incident had happened in Assam when British India was separated into two dominions called India and Pakistan.<sup>21</sup> After his aborted attempt of incorporation of Assam into East Pakistan, Jinnah had learnt a good lesson and did not interfere directly. However, some of the Chittagonian Bengalis went underground and called themselves "Mujahid" rebels fighting U Nu's government.

#### **4.1.1. Islamists Mujahids' connection with Pakistan (East):**

The main objective of the rebellion was to absorb the western frontier of Burma into East Pakistan. The Mujahids carried Pakistani Flag and their slogan was: "Pakistan Zindabad, Allah Mujahid" (Long Live Vitorious Pakistan under the Guidance of Allah)! Whenever Burma Armed forces chased them, they retreated to their bases on the other side of the border.

Here I would like to cite "The Hindustan Standard Newspaper, May 18, 1949" where it was written on the Mujahids: "A dangerous aspect of this fighting is its international aspect: the Moslem insurgents have been carrying the Pakistani flag, and many of them clamor for the incorporation of this end of Arakan with Pakistan. It was suspected that they drew arms from across the border; the Government, however, is now satisfied that their rifles and ammunition are old stocks, left behind by the Japanese and British.... The great majority of Arakan Moslems are said to be really Pakistanis from Chittagong, even if they have been settled here for a generation. Out of the 130,000 here, 80,000 are still Pakistani citizens."

The leader of the "Mujahids rebels was Mir Cassim, an uneducated fisherman. It was only an illusion of an uneducated man like Cassim who wanted to turn a traditionally Buddhist land like Arakan into a Muslim state. As a result, in the 1950's these rebels were totally crushed by the Burma Armed Forces. Some surrendered while some fled to East Pakistan. Cassim fled to East Pakistan and he was shot dead in Cox Bazaar by an unknown person in 1966.

#### **4.1.2. Demanding undeserved Rights**

While U Nu's government had lots of trouble both in politics as well as in armed confrontation with all possible kinds of rebels, the Chittagonian Bengalis wanted to squeeze the neck of the Burmese Government. 90% of the population of Burma are

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<sup>20</sup>In May 1947 U Rashid, a Muslim member of AFPFL and a close friend of Gen. Aung San and U Nu, sermoned the Indo-Pakistani Muslim community in Rangoon, how they should behave properly and accordingly due to the Constutution of the Union of Burma in the future.

<sup>21</sup> See and compare REPORT ON ILLEGAL MIGRATION INTO ASSAM SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA BY THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, 8 November 1998, in Chapter II where it was written: "When the demand for Partition was raised, it was visualized that Pakistan would comprise Muslim majority provinces in the West and Bang-e-Islam comprising Bengal and Assam, in the East. Mr. Moinul Haque Chowdhary the Private Secretary of Jinnah, who after independence became a Minister in Assam and later at Delhi, told Jinnah that he would "present Assam to him on a silver platter". Jinnah confidently declared at Guwahati that Assam was in his pocket. The Cabinet Mission Plan placed Assam in Group C with Bengal. Both the Congress High Command and the Muslim League accepted the grouping plan but Lokapriya Gopinath Borodoloi vehemently opposed it. He was supported by Mahatma Gandhi. The grouping plan was foiled and Assam was saved from becoming a part of Pakistan".

Buddhists. There are 4% Christians from all sects and 4 % Muslims too from all sects. However, the Islamists in Northern Arakan held a meeting in Alethankyaw Village in Maungdaw Township in June 1951 and they sent the following undeserved demands to the central government:<sup>22</sup>

- To establish immediately a free Muslim State in the status of condominium, for the Muslim Minority in Northern Arakan, separated from the Buddhist Arakanese (Rakhaing) Majority of the South, with its own defence force, police, and security unit;
- To extend Rights so as to share with the Rakhaings (Arakanese) on a 50:50 basis in representation and management of the defence of Arakan (Rakhaing State) as well as in the administration of Sittwe (Akyab), the metropolis and the port city, which would be divided into the Muslims and Rakhaings zones, priority being given to the Muslims co-administrator holding higher rank over the alternate Arakanese (Rakhaing) counterpart in rotation of the term of office;
- To accord the Muslim state the same status as extended to the Chins, the Kachins, the Shans, and the Karen State, with the right of proportionate representation on the constituent assembly and Upper Chamber of legislature;
- To appoint a Muslim representative from Northern Arakan as the Muslim Affairs Minister in the Government of the Union of Burma;
- To guarantee fair and adequate representation of the Muslims in the Civil Service, Judiciary, and Armed Forces of the Union of Burma;
- To provide complete freedom and equality in the field of religion, culture, communal education, and economy;
- To protect Muslim properties and businesses, and to compensate in case of destruction;
- To promote the welfare of the Muslim Community;
- To establish quasi courts, each to be presided over by grand mufti (a judge who interprets Islamic Laws), with the power to decide cases concerning the social and personal life of the Muslim according to the laws and principles of the Holy Sharia;
- To accord rights to form a statutory Muslim Council ( Majlis Islamia), with the approval of the Muslim conference, for the management of the religious, social, educational, and culutural affairs, and also the administration of the Muslim Institutions in order to promote welfare of the Muslims in the Union of Burma according to the Islamic Laws;
- To establish, with the financial aid of the Government of the Union of Burma, Islamic schools and colleges whose medium of teaching being Arabic ( the canonical tongue of Islam);
- To facilitate teaching of Urdu, Arabic, and Diniyat (Islamic religious instructions) in all the public schools throughout the country where the Muslim students represent the considerable number;
- To further extend and develop the Urdu schools;
- To give complete freedom to the Muslims to found and run their own educational, religious, and culutural institutions;
- To make Urdu the medium of instruction for the Muslims in the primary and secondary schools;
- To refrain from imposing other languages on the Muslims against their will or to the detriment of the Muslim culture and integrity;

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<sup>22</sup>See and compare: Maung Tha Hla, *The Rakhaing*, New York 2004, pp 73-74

Furthermore, they sent an oral 'Request' to the Government of the Union of Burma through two Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet, U Rashid and U Latiff;

1. Pork and pork products should not be sold in Burmese markets because there are shops owned by Muslims in the markets;
2. Pork and pork products should be sold only in special shops in separate areas;
3. Pork and pork products must be wrapped properly so that these cannot be seen by Muslims;

Which kind of government of a non-Muslim country on the earth could tolerate such kinds of undeserved demands? Of course, their one-sided demands were turned down by the Burmese government on the spot.

#### **4.2. Superstitious U Nu**

U Nu was a very religious but also a very superstitious man. He was a Saturday-born son. There is a saying in Burma that Saturday-born rulers cannot rule more than 7 years. The last king of Burma, King Thibaw, was a Saturday-born son and he was captured by the British after 7 years in throne. Gen. Aung San too was a Saturday-born son. He escaped from Burma in 1940, became military leader of the Thirty Comrades and in 1947 he was assassinated, so again 7 years. U Nu became Premier in 1947, so in 1954 he was already 7 years in power. Just to change something in his horoscope, he often let his deputy U Ba Swe work as acting prime minister whenever he was on leave or on tours. Sometimes, he declared that he would resign from the post of prime minister and remained only as the AFPFL Party Chairman.

Thakin Kodaw Hmaing was the teacher of almost all Thakins and all people in Burma considered him as the 'Guru of all Gurus'. Most of the cabinet ministers as well as rebel leaders were his former students. In one occasion, Thakin Kodaw Hmaing said openly that he was already very old and he wanted to see peace in Burma before he would die. U Ba Swe, however, had a sharp tongue. In one public speech he insulted Thakin Kodaw Hmaing that the old man should meditate in his last days before dying, rather than involving in politics. The anger of the populace turned against the AFPFL and their popularity went down. The winning of election in 1956 was endangered.

In the mean time in March 1956, 7<sup>th</sup> Grade pupils demonstrated against the government because the examination was cancelled. In the riots a pupil called Harry Tan from St. Paul's High School was shot dead by the police. U Nu became chaotic just before the election and declared that all pupils would be promoted without any examination.

#### **4.3. Expecting Muslims' votes**

AFPFL lost face towards many Burmese because of U Ba Swe's rude attitude towards his former teacher. As they cannot expect too much from the majority Buddhists, they have to make friends with Muslims.

In the 1952 elections, the Arakanese voted against the ruling AFPFL Party and they voted for the "Arakanese National Union Party" which was the allied party of the opposition. The Government of U Nu allowed the Bengali Muslim leaders to stand for election, as a

punishment for the Rakhaings (Arakanese). In fact, U Nu, U Ba Swe and the AFPFL government started destroying the destiny of the Rakhaings and selling the future of Arakan to the hands of the Bengali settlers. The then Prime Minister U Nu and his deputy U Ba Swe also wanted to please their two Muslim ministers, Mr. Rashid and Mr. Latiff, *alias* U Khin Maung Latt, who expected support from the Bengali settlers. Minister of Judicial Affairs, U Latiff *alias*<sup>23</sup> U Khin Maung Latt went to Arakan for election campaign. Later about one hundred and fifty thousand Chittagong Bengalis<sup>24</sup>, regardless of they or their ancestors had lived in the Arakan Division of Burma before the Second World War or not, became Burmese citizens. As a result, the Party of the Arakani Muslims, the allied party of the AFPFL won all four constituencies in Northern Arakan. Then, Mr. Abu Bawshaw became MP in Bootheetaung Constituency, Mr. Sultan Mahmud and Mr. Abdul Gaffer in Maungdaw and Mr. Abul Kai in Rathedaung. Their rival candidates U San Tun Aung, an Arakanese (Rakhaing) and even a "Kaman" Muslim advocate called U Po Khine lost in the elections because they could not speak Bengali language Chittagonian dialect.

Since that time, the word "Rohingyas" occasionally appeared in some Burmese Newspapers. Premier U Nu and his deputy U Ba Swe occasionally used this term in their speeches. It cannot be ruled out that U Nu and U Ba Swe wanted to please those voters for their party as well as their two Muslim ministers. The Muslim Minister U Rashid was a strong supporter of U Nu and the other Muslim Minister Mr. Latiff *alias* U Khin Maung Latt was a protégé of U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyein, the other Deputy Prime Minister. Since the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister started using the term 'Rohingya' others too started using this term. Even the famous history professor, Prof. G. C. Luce started using the term "Rohingyas" in his lectures for the Bengali settlers living in Northern Arakan, although he has had never mentioned this terminology in his lectures in the pre-war days, and also in his books published before 1955.

#### **4.4. Political Turmoil in Burma:**

After winning the election in 1956 U Nu declared that he would resign from the post of prime minister and remained only as the AFPFL Party Chairman. U Ba Swe became Prime minister for 6 months. U Nu, after staying as party chairman for 6 months, thought it was the best time for him to come back as prime minister because he was already 'removed' from his post after 7 years in power. Apart from that he had noticed that AFPFL was splitting and some 'rebellious' cliques inside the AFPFL wanted him to be removed from duties. Then, he came back into politics as prime minister of Burma again. However, he could not prevent the splitting of the ruling party. The Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League (AFPFL) split into two factions, the Clean AFPFL headed by U Nu and the Stable AFPFL led by U Ba Swe. U Ba Swe's fraction (the Stable) was supported by the majority of the AFPFL members of parliament (i.e. the ruling party). Seeing his danger by a vote of no-confidence by his own party members and former comrades, U Nu promised to grant States for the Arakanese and the Mons, and he also promised to the "Arakan Muslims" leaders that he won't forget their gratitude if they could help him during that political crisis. U Nu's fraction tried to organize the former First Lady of Burma, a Shan Duchess Maha Devi Sao Hearn Kham, however, she declared that she wanted to be neutral.

On 9<sup>th</sup> June 1958, U Nu's fraction narrowly escaped the vote of no-confidence submitted

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<sup>23</sup> Maung Tha Hla, The Rakhaing, New York 2004, p.75

<sup>24</sup> According to BSPP and Burma Military sources there were three hundred thousand illegal immigrants who gained Burmese Citizenship.

by U Ba Swe's fraction in the Burmese Lower House because the "Arakanese National Union Party", the party of the Mons and "Arakan Muslims" MPs together with the MPs of the main opposition party then, the leftist National United Front (NUF) party, voted for U Nu's fraction. On the other hand, the ones who earlier had declared to be neutral, the former First Lady of Burma, a Shan Duchess Maha Devi Sao Hearn Kham and a leftist National United Front (NUF) party MP from the Myinmu constituency, U Pe Tin, voted for U Ba Swe's fraction. After that U Pe Tin was disowned or 'excommunicated' by the leftist NUF Party. Maha Devi Sao Hearn Kham became very popular in U Ba Swe's fraction (the Stable), however, she was given the nick-name 'Suphaya Latt<sup>25</sup> of the Shan State' by the followers of Thakin Tin, the second man of U Nu's fraction.

There was political turmoil in Burma under U Nu and he was totally trapped in his own promises which he could not solve easily. It became the 'Golden opportunity' for the Usurper General Ne Win and his army 'to make hay while the sun shines' and took the 'Lion's Share' to become the 'Ruling Class' in Burma. First time from October 1958 to March 1960 they ruled the country as 'The Care Taker Government' and later 'carried out the Army coup d'état on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1962. The Burmese Army ruled the country even after the Post-Ne Win's Era till nowadays.

#### **4.5. Mistakes unwittingly made by Burmese leaders**

As mentioned earlier, U Nu and U Ba Swe, without thinking about the real meaning of that term, occasionally used the term 'Rohingya' for the Chittagonian Bengali Muslims. At the surrendering ceremony of the Mujahid Rebels in 1960, Vice Chief of Staff (Army) then, Brigadier General Aung Gyi accidentally used the term 'Rohingya' although his boss General Ne Win, despite of the fact that his favourite *Chef Raju* was a Bengali Muslim, considered that term as a taboo. Nowadays, Rohingyarist took advantage on those events and abused U Nu, U Ba Swe and Brigadier Aung Gyi's words as if those leaders recognized them as an ethnic group of Burma.

#### **4.6. 'Rohingya Language in Burma Broadcasting Service**

When the Burma Broadcasting Service BBS was established, Burma was still under the umbrella of the British Indian Empire. At that time, English was the official language and Hindustani was the *lingua franca* of the subcontinent. Burmese is *lingua franca* in Burma and Karens were the second largest ethnic group in Burma next to Burmese<sup>26</sup>. That's why four languages namely Burmese, Karen, English and Hindustani programs were broadcasted. When Burma became an independent nation in 1948 the government still allowed to broadcast these four languages, however, the situation had been changed. Only Burmese and Karen had become the National Languages but English and Hindustani automatically became Foreign Languages. Burmese became official language as well as

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<sup>25</sup> Suphaya Latt was the last queen of Burma, well known to have a sharp tongue and very dominant in the Court of Mandalay. Her husband, King Thibaw, was only a henpecked husband. Thakin Tin and followers wanted to say indirectly that the Lord of Ywngmwe Sao Shwe Thaik, the former President of Burma too was under the thumb of his wife!

<sup>26</sup>Nowadays, the Karens are the third largest (if not the second largest claimed by themselves) ethnic group in Burma while the Burmese are the largest. But the ratio between the Burmese (Burman) and the Karens is approximately 8:1. The last census of Burma stated that the total population of Burma is nearly 55 millions and among them about 40 millions are Burman (Burmese) and about 5 millions Karens live in Burma.

*lingua franca!* In 1960, after winning the election, U Nu wanted to show his gratefulness to Chittagonian Bengali voters and allowed them to broadcast their language as 'Rohingya' after English and Hindustani programs, that means their language too was a foreign language. However, Rohingayrists nowadays abused that fact with their own interpretation and claimed that U Nu allowed them to broadcast their language under the National Languages Programs and therefore they were de facto recognized by U Nu as an ethnic group of Burma. If it was the case, similarly to 'Rohingyar', English and Hindustani languages too have a right to claim that they were national languages of Burma!!

When General Ne Win came to power, he allowed only the English language to be broadcasted from BBS as a foreign language. Both Hindustani and 'Rohingyar' programs were abolished, but the national language programs increased. Shan, Kachin, Chin, Kayah, Mon and Arakanese (Rakhaing) language programs were introduced in addition to Burmese and Karen. Only then, the real national languages program came into being. These programs did not exist under the U Nu Era. Hence, it is no longer to be discussed whether the so-called Rohingya language was recognized by U Nu as a national language or not!

## 5. Immigration Waves after 1970

### 5.1. Never Ending Bengali Immigration Waves

Illegal Bengali immigration waves increased whenever there was a natural catastrophe, wars and any shortage in Former East Pakistan, later Bangladesh. The following table is the evidence.

The population in the Arakanese town called Tet Chaung, now known as Maungdaw:

Year	Arakanese	Bengali	Total	Remark
1921	22679	68035	90714	
1931	34700	104408	139108	Burma gazetteer
1941	41484	124452	165936	
1956	5808	187792	193600	
1973	11908	211394	223302	(Akyab District of ACB)
1976	13379	212070	225449	
1981	14328	249571	263899	
1986	19139	264507	283646	

This table shows very clearly that Arakanese population in 1941 was 41484 and in 1956 the population decreased to 5808 only. In 1941 the Arakanese were 25% of the total population, however in 1956 they became only 3% of the total population. In contrast, the Bengali population in 1941 was 124452 but increased to 187792 in 1956.

It happened due to the following facts:

- (a) Many Arakanese were killed by the Bengali Muslims during the racial riots in 1941-42. It proved who committed 'ethnic cleansing'.
- (b) As mentioned before, when the British Administration restarted in Arakan on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1945, all Bengalis who went back to Bengal during the war came back to Arakan together with many new settlers. However, the Arakanese 'refugees' in

Dinajpur were allowed to return to their homeland only in the month of December 1945 and they could not reintegrate to their original places due to the illegal occupation of their land by the Chittagonian Bengali Muslims.

- (c) Those Arakanese were compelled to leave their villages because their lands were taken by the Chittagonian Bengalis during their absence. Because of these Chittagonian Bengali immigration waves many Arakanese left their villages in Northern Arakan and moved southwards.

## 5.2. East Pakistani war refugees

In 1970 the Independence War in East Pakistan broke out. At that time there were about one and a half million to two million "war refugees" in Arakan Division of Burma. In the mean time, there were more than ten million "war refugees" on Indian soil. India was open and immediately called International Organizations such as ICRC, FAO, WFP and UNHCR and others for help.

On the other hand, the Revolutionary Council of Burma headed by Ne Win was too much afraid of International Organizations coming inside Burma. They wanted to stay as an isolated state and they wanted to deal "under the table" with the newly formed Bangladeshi Government. They recognized Bangladesh immediately and because of that there were tensions between Pakistan and Burma. Ne Win had to send a special envoy to explain the situation.

If the then Burmese Government was wise and open like India, the international organisations might have accepted these war refugees since then as "East Pakistani or Bangladeshi Refugees inside Burma", and not the other way round like now. **In fact, most of the people who claim to be the 'Rohingya People' nowadays crossed the border and settled down inside Burma in 1970 during the Bangladesh Liberation War and later.**

At that time the living conditions inside Burma were much better than that of East Pakistan, later Bangladesh. Hence, although Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh willingly accepted all of the war refugees coming back to his country, many of them crossed the border back into Burma and settled down in Northern Arakan illegally. Then, they were helped by the former settlers who already became Burmese citizens since U Nu's Era. Then, the population growth of 'Rohingyas' inside Burma became a miracle.

In 1976, the present author witnessed in Sittwe many Bengalis living on the roads and could speak only very few Arakanese/Burmese words such as: "Please give me some food! Please give me some work!" etc. etc.

## 5.3. The first 'aborted' Naga Min (King Dragon) Operation in 1978

In the year 1978 the Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP) government made "routine immigrant check" with the Naga Min (King Dragon) Operation at the whole Arakan, especially at the Bangladesh border. Most people fled to Bangladesh claiming that they were "Rohingyas" and the issue of military abuses of the Burmese Army was raised. This was denied by the Burmese government and declared these people were new settlers coming from overpopulated Bangladesh because of a cyclone which hit the neighbouring country recently, which was vehemently rejected by Bangladesh. The Bangladeshi

government requested the UN and some powers like China and U.S.A. for help. **In fact, the BSPP government should have called International Organizations immediately and given shelters for those cyclone refugees and issued them temporary settling certificates as foreigners.** Instead of that, Ne Win's Regime (BSPP at that time) unwisely started the Naga Min (King Dragon) Operation and chased out those Bangladeshi Settlers who named themselves 'Rohingyas'.

Unfortunately for the Burmese government but fortunately for the "Rohingyas", many of these "refugees" had Burmese identity cards. However, it was found out later that some of the Burmese identity cards were faked ones printed in Bangladesh, and some of them though genuine were issued illegally due to the corruption of Burmese immigration officers in the Arakan (Rakhine State). Their salaries were too low, so, they took bribes and issued those people identity cards. Some powers like United States of America and China pressured the BSPP government of Burma.<sup>27</sup>

The BSPP government, after its difficulties in internal problems, such as riots during former UN Secretary General U Thant's funeral and the semi-annual demonstrations of workers and students since 1974, wanted to avoid creating an international problem. Those "Rohingyas" were allowed to return after a bilateral agreement between the Burmese and Bangladeshi governments. These people were accepted to come back to Burma from 1<sup>st</sup> August 1978 to January 5, 1979. But the number of returnees was about 30000 more than the official "refugees" declared by the Bangladeshi authorities. Some claimed to be from a village either in Butheedaung or Maung Daw area, however, they could not show the place where they used to stay nor did they knew how to go back to their 'native villages'. In fact, they were the new settlers from Bangladesh. The following table shows the details:<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The founder of Bangladesh, Sheik Mujibur Rahman was very close to the East Bloc and therefore USA and China were not so happy with him. In 1975 there was an Army Coup in Bangladesh and Mujibur Rahman was killed. The new military leader Gen. Zia Rahman was close to China and USA. In 1977, Bangladeshi Military Attaché in Rangoon, Col. Amin was accused of helping anti-government groups, he was declared *persona non grata* and had to leave Burma. In the mean time Sino-Burmese Relation was not good because of the Chinese backed Communists at their border. Five Burma Air Force dive bombers were shot down by the Chinese at the border.

In a sub-editorial (Parbattya oncholay oshanti sristir janok marhum rashtrapati ziaur rahman) published in the daily Sangbad from Dhaka, Fakir Abdur Razzak, a renowned journalist and columnist, said that the late president Ziaur Rahman was an agent of Pakistan's ISI. During pre-independence (before 1971) period, Ziaur received training as a junior officer in the Pakistani military intelligence department, ISI, and earned fame as a smart officer. He earned a special 'selection' of the ISI during the 1971 liberation war of Bangladesh. Because of his dubious role that raised many questions during the liberation struggle, General M A G Osmani removed him from the command of a sector, the article added.

After the assassination of Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, with all members of his family, he reinstated the banned Islamist organization Jamat-e-Islami and rehabilitated big anti-liberation war elements in his cabinet, which only shows his deeper connection with Pakistan. Working as an agent of ISI, imitating Pakistan in his administrative moves, statecraft and policies only proves that the late Zia took every step to transform the independent Bangladesh into a mini Pakistan, it said.

<sup>28</sup> Report on the conditions and sufferings of the Arakanese in Maung Daw, Published by: Arakanese Security Association, Maung Daw, Arakan (Rakhine State) dated 9 October 1988 (in Burmese language), p.4.

Dist. Of Maung Daw	No of family	No. of family		
		Male	Female	Total
Outgoing	12496	unknown	unknown	79823
Incoming	17674	54935	54732	109667

The truth is, this aborted Naga Min (King Dragon) Operation put 'the Rohingya Issue' to the attention of the international community. Because of that many foreign media were trapped by 'the tragic history of the Rohingyas'.

#### **5.4. The Second 'aborted' Naga Min (King Dragon) Operation<sup>29</sup> in 1991**

In 1991, a deadly cyclone hit Bangladesh and many people crossed the border. As usual, the new Military Junta of Burma called SLORC too did not want international observers inside Burma, but stupidly started the 'aborted' Second Naga Min Operation in 1991. Consequently, the issue of military abuses against the "Rohingyas" in Arakan was raised and it was vehemently rejected by the Burmese Junta.

This time, the international pressure was even harsher than in 1978, the First Naga Min Operation, because the reputation of the then Military Junta called SLORC was worse than the reputation of Ne Win's regime. This time the propaganda of the 'Rohingyas' were more effective than in 1978 because they got support from the rich Muslim countries and some international media. The SLORC had to accept 'the Rohingyas' repatriated back to Burma and as usual more people than they chased out.

#### **5.5. Human trafficking**

##### **5.5.1. Bangladeshi Illegal immigrants in other Southeast Asians Countries**

The latest news revealed that even in Thailand and Islamic countries of Southeast Asia, Malaysia and Indonesia, whenever they checked the strangers looked different from their natives in features and complexions are found to be Bangladeshis, although these three countries do not have borders with Bangladesh. Sometimes these settlers claimed to be "Burmese Muslims, however, since these people could not speak a single word Burmese but asking for a Bengali interpreter and they don't look like Burmese who have very similar features and complexion like Thais, Indonesian and Malays, these illegal settlers were arrested and deported back to Bangladesh.

It is human nature for the people of a poor country to seek their fortune in a more prosperous country. Nowadays, there are about two million Burmese and other ethnic minorities working in Thailand and Malaysia either as legal or illegal immigrant workers. Many Mexicans entered into USA illegally, African Boat People wanted to enter one of the soils of EU, many Afghans, Chinese and Subcontinent people were taken by human traffickers as illegal immigrants to Western Europe, USA, Canada and Australia.

Bangladesh is a poor country and very overpopulated. Malaysia is the nearest rich Muslim country. Hence, no wonder, most of the poor Bangladeshis wanted to go to Malaysia to seek their luck. If they said the truth that they were from Bangladesh, they would be

<sup>29</sup> This operation was officially named as Pyi Thar Yar Operation and also known as Hintha Plan

considered only as illegal immigrants and turned back. Since 'Rohingyas' speak the same language and have the same culture as the Chittagonian Bengalis, it is 'the golden opportunity' for them to 'make hay while the sun shines' and claimed to be 'Rohingyas' as they were taught by either the Islamists or the human traffickers.

## 6. Islamists Rohingyas

### 6.1. Armed Wings of Rohingyas

The following are the Rohingya Armed Wings

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).

#### 6.1.2. Rohingya-Taliban Connections

Most of the 'Rohingyas' were and are the supporters of Pakistan and some Bangladeshi sources claimed that Rohingyas have connection with the terrorist group such as Taliban of Afghanistan. Here I would like to cite William Gomes<sup>30</sup>, who wrote: "In 1990s, 70,000 to 120,000 Muslim youth trained to fight in Asia, Africa, and in Middle East in different Al-Qaeda and Taliban camps in Afghanistan. Al-Qaeda highly trained a notable number of Islamic groups and indoctrinated them with the mission of "Jihad" that influx all over the world the message of fear and violence.

Arakan Rohingya Nationalist Organization (ARNO) and Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO) were among the groups who were trained in Afghanistan camps and were and are active in Myanmar and Bangladesh“.

Dr. Rohan Gunaratna<sup>31</sup> also wrote: „ In Southeast Asia, al Qaeda's leaders also did the same. Hambali was al Qaeda's point man, convened the Rabitatul Mujahidin meeting, which was partly participated by representatives from MILF and ASG in the Philippines, Laskar Jundullah from Indonesia, JI, and Jemaah Salafia.

Also, JI leaders from Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore and the Philippines participated in that meeting. Other than that, we saw representatives from the RSO and the ARNO from Myanmar, participating in that meeting.”

Salah Uddin Shoaib Choudhury<sup>32</sup> too reported: "In January 2001, Bangladesh clamped down on Rohingya activists and offices in Chittagong and Cox's Bazar. Hundreds were rounded up, and the local press was full of reports of their alleged involvement in gun- and drug-running. Local Rohingya leaders vehemently deny such accusations, and refute claims that they are connected with Islamic fundamentalist groups in and outside

<sup>30</sup> William Gomes, *Rohingyas trained in different Al-Qaeda and Taliban camps in Afghanistan*, <http://www.asiantribune.com/?q=node/16449>

<sup>31</sup> Dr. Rohan Gunaratna, *Al Qaeda's Network in Southeast Asia*, p.

<sup>32</sup> Salah Uddin Shoaib Choudhury, *Rise of Islamist extremism in Bangladesh*, <http://www.globalpolitician.com/24508-bangladesh>,

Bangladesh: "These are pure fabrications to discredit us," said Nurul Islam, president of the Arakan Rohingya National Organization, a moderate Rohingya group active in the border areas. Another Rohingya spokesman blamed local Bangladeshi gangs with high-level connections for the violence, smuggling and lawlessness in the area. The paramilitary Bangladesh Rifles have also been accused of involvement in smuggling activities around Cox's Bazar.

There is little doubt that extremist groups have taken advantage of the disenfranchised Rohingyas, including recruiting them as cannon fodder for Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. In an interview with the Karachi-based newspaper, Ummat on 28 September 2001, Bin Laden said: "There are areas in all parts of the world where strong Jihadist forces are present, from Indonesia to Algeria, from Kabul to Chechnya, from Bosnia to Sudan, and from Myanmar to Kashmir." He was most probably referring to a small group of Rohingyas on the Bangladesh-Myanmar border."

Bertil Lintner<sup>33</sup> also wrote: "Many of the Rohingya recruits were given the most dangerous tasks in the battlefield, clearing mines and portering. According to Asian intelligence sources, Rohingya recruits were paid 30,000 Bangladeshi taka (\$525) on joining and then 10,000 taka (\$175) per month. The families of recruits killed in action were offered 100,000 taka (\$1,750). Recruits were taken mostly via Nepal to Pakistan, where they were trained and sent on further to military camps in Afghanistan. It is not known how many people from this part of Bangladesh — Rohingyas and others — fought in Afghanistan, but the number is believed to be quite substantial. Others went to Kashmir and even Chechnya to join forces with Islamist militants there.

In an interview with the CNN in December 2001, American 'Taliban' fighter, John Walker Lindh, related that the Al Qaeda-directed *ansar* (companions of the Prophet) brigades, to which he had belonged in Afghanistan, were divided along linguistic lines: "Bengali, Pakistani (Urdu) and Arabic," which suggests that the Bengali-speaking component — Bangladeshi and Rohingya — must have been significant. In early 2002, Afghanistan's Foreign Minister, Dr. Abdullah, told a Western journalist that "we have captured one Malaysian and one or two supporters from Burma.

## **6. 2. Formation of ARNO (Arakan Rohingya National Organisation)<sup>34</sup>**

Muslim Terrorist-Insurrection groups such as the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO), Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front (ARIF) and Hak Kavt group combined and established the Rohingya National Council (RNC) on 28 October, 1998. The RNC was then reorganized as the Arakan Rohingya National Council (ARNC). The Rohingya Liberation Army (RLA) was also formed by combining all the armed insurgents of the groups. The Arakan Rohingya National Organization was formed to organize all the different Rohingya insurgents into one group under pressure from Muslim groups outside Burma.

### **6.2.1. Organization of ARNO**

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<sup>33</sup> Bertil Lintner, *Religious Extremism and Nationalism in Bangladesh*, The paper was presented in an international workshop on Religion and Security in South Asia at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, Hawaii. August 19-22, 2002.

<sup>34</sup> See details in: <http://www.wikileaks.ch/cable/2002/10/02RANGOON1310.html>

The headquarters of ARNO was opened at No. (30 Ju-ma-khar street, Ju-ma-khar ward, Chittagong in Bangladesh. Their camps are based at Zai-Lar-Saw-Ri HQ camp--map reference (PG-2916), Daw-Maw-Sri camp--map reference (P6-0537) and Kyar-Laung-Taik camp--map reference (PG-2026). ARNO group had an estimated strength of about 200 insurgents, of whom about 170 are equipped with a variety of arms. A Central Committee of ARNO is organized as follows:

- (a) Chairman
- (b) Military Commander
- (c) Secretary
- (d) Asst Secretary (Chittagong Office-in-Charge)
- (e) Central Committee Member (Asst Military-in-Charge)
- (f) do
- (g) Central Committee Member
- (h) do
- (i) do
- (j) Foreign Liaison-in-Charge
- (k) Foreign Fund Raiser
- (l) Representative for Malaysia
- (m) Cox's Bazaar District Organizer
- (n) Finance Officer
- (o) Liaison Officer
- (p) Advisor
- (q) Camp Commander (Zai-La-Saw-Ri Camp)
- (r) Deputy Camp Commander
- (s) Camp Commander (Daw-Maw-Sri Camp)
- (t) Camp Commander (Kya-Long-Taik Camp)

#### **6.2.1.1. Meeting of Five Members of ARNO with Taliban leader Osama Bin Laden<sup>35</sup>**

Five members of ARNO attended a high-ranking officers' course with Al Qaeda representatives on 15 May, 2000 and arrived back in Bangladesh on 22 June. During the course, they discussed matters relating to political and military affairs, arms and ammunition, and financing with Osama Bin Laden. Mohamed Arju Taida and Mohamed Rau-Sheik Ar-Mar Darsi from the Taliban were present with them at the meeting. Ninety members of ARNO were selected to attend a guerrilla warfare course, a variety of explosives courses and heavy-weapons courses held in Libya and Afghanistan in August, 2001. Thirteen out of these selected members participated in the explosives and heavy-weapons training.

#### **6.2.1.2. Arrival of Two Taliban at ARNO Headquarters<sup>36</sup>**

Al Ha-Saud and Al Ja-hid, two members of the Taliban group, arrived at ARNO's headquarters in Zai-La-Saw-Ri Camp on 2 November, 2001 from the Rohingya Solidarity Organization's (RSO) Kann-Grat-Chaung camp. They met with Nur Islam (Chairman), ZaFaur-Ahmed (Secretary) and Fayos Ahmed (acting Chief-of-Staff Army), ARNO, and discussed the reorganization of RSO and ARNO. It was learned that ARNO/RSO and Taliban groups planned to hold a meeting on 15 November, 2001. Nur Islam, Chairman of

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

ARNO, also declared that the Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front (ARIF) and the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) had agreed to reorganize as integrated members of ARNO. However, Mullah Dil-Mar from RSO did not agree with this re-organization and resigned with his entourage of insurgents.

#### **6.2.1.3. ARNO connections with Islamist Terrorists in U.S.A<sup>37</sup>**

According to Fayos Ahmed, ARNO Military-in-Charge, Salem Ulah, had contacts with Al-Qaeda and some members of ARNO forces were arrested when they were sent to join the Taliban in Afghanistan and attacked the Americans. These ARNO forces were sent to Afghanistan along with Rohingya groups in Karachi, Pakistan. Rohingya groups are in many countries like Pakistan, India, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, UAE, Palestine and Australia. Chairman Nurul Islam has received an American visa and departed for Saudi Arabia from Bangladesh, with an intent to reside in Saudi Arabia for a short period and then depart for the United States. Fayos Ahmed, during his short stay in Thailand, met with Dr. Allen from NCGUB Foreign Affairs Department, David Htaw from KNU and David Smile from Burma Lawyer Council (BLC). He went to Thailand as an editor of a news media and returned to Bangladesh on 12 September.

#### **6.2.1.4. Investigation of Members of Rohingya Jihad Caught in Singapore:<sup>38</sup>**

Hanbali and Baasyia are leaders of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI)-organized Rabitatul Mujahideen group which was involved in the whole region as a Muslim organization. Through contacts with Muslim groups in the region, active cooperation was achieved in matters of training, weapons-buying, financing, exchange of information and terrorist military operations. The other organizations which cooperated were Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), two organizations in Southern Thailand and Rakhine and Rohingya terrorist-insurgents in Myanmar. ARNO has established a contact with Al-Qaeda and five Central Committee members of ARNO paid a visit to Afghanistan in April, 2001. Besides, ARNO has also cooperated with Republic of Islam Aceh (RIA) and Egyptian Jammah Jihad Mesir (JJM). It is believed that there exists a small community of Rohingya's in Patuwat, Malaysia.

### **6.3. 'Rohingyas' in Jammu and Kashmir**

Narinjara News agency reported on 8<sup>th</sup> September 2011: „According to local refugee sources, many refugees in the Burmese refugee camps located at Cox's Bazaar in Bangladesh are leaving for Jammu Kashmir, a Muslim state in Western India, near the Pakistani border, in order to pursue better living standards“.

But the real reason is: Jammu and Kashmir the places to link them up with terrorist groups. Of course, it will be „in order to pursue better living standards“ because they will get good salaries!!

## **7. Analysis:**

### **7.1. Who immigrate to where**

If we compare Burma and Bangladesh by means of population density, we will see that

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid

<sup>38</sup> Ibid

Bangladesh has one of the highest in the world while Burma has a very low one.<sup>39</sup> Natural catastrophes, like storms, cyclones and floods hit Bangladesh every year, but rarely Burma. Soil fertility in the Rakhine State is much better than that of Bangladesh. Burma was a very rich country compared to East Pakistan (later Bangladesh). Even now, although Burma has become a poor country, the way of life in Burma is much easier than that in Bangladesh. Besides, Burma has more space, so logically who immigrates where does not need to be explained.

Here I would like to cite Milton W. Meyer<sup>40</sup> who wrote: "A common boundary existed with East Pakistan, and with a Muslim minority in adjoining Arakan, there was some illegal immigration from the over populated neighbour".

Every time illegal immigrants were checked, many of the new Bengali settlers were arrested because the only language they could speak was Chittagonian Bengali! Almost all of them had to learn the Burmese language in the jails because they could not speak Burmese as well as any other language of Burma, although Burmese language is the official language of Burma as well as the *Lingua Franca* or 'the Language of Communication' between one ethnic minority groups to the other group. Since the border of Burma was neither properly controlled nor well guarded with barbed wires and walls, nobody can say when they came over to Burma or since when they have lived there. Both "Rohingyas" problems, 1978 and 1991, came about a few months after a cyclone hit Bangladesh. Bangladesh's population explosion cannot be controlled by their government anymore. Even India, the world's largest democracy, whose people are of the same historical and racial background as those people from Bangladesh, raised barbed wires along their borders with Bangladesh to prevent illegal immigration towards their side.<sup>41</sup>

Nowadays, there are about 15 millions illegal immigrants from Bangladesh living in neighboring Indian States. The Governor of Assam wrote an official letter to the President of India about that problem<sup>42</sup>.

Apart from that, the border between Bangladesh and Burma is not a border between two countries instead it is the border between two regions as well as the border between Indo-Aryan and Mongoloid stocks, both of whom are totally different either in language and culture or in race and religion. So, no wonder, the one who do not look like natives of Burma and especially who cannot speak either Burmese or the indigenous minority language of that area, instead speaking only Bengali Chittagong Dialect will be accused as illegal immigrants or new settlers from Bangladesh because the early settlers, though they too, are Chittagonian Bengalis but could speak Burmese and Arakanese already.

Unfortunately, international media spread out the news only about the poor 'Rohingya Refugees' neither wanted by Burma nor Bangladesh. The real fact that most of them were

<sup>39</sup>Bangladesh has a population density of 969 per square kilometre. The growth rate of population in that country is 2.2 per cent and its population is growing at the rate of 2.8 million per year. Each year nearly one third of Bangladesh gets inundated by floods, displacing 19 million people. 70 million people constituting 60 per cent of the population live below the poverty line. The per capita income in Bangladesh is 170 dollars per year (1998).

<sup>40</sup> Milton W. Meyer, *Southeast Asia (A Brief History)*, A Littlefield, Adams & Co., New Jersey, 1966, P. 121

<sup>41</sup> Only in 2009 Burmese authorities started to guard the border with barbed wires, which Bangladesh vehemently protested. In fact, the Bangladeshi Government should be happy and welcome this, if these people were REAL ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS FROM BURMA!

<sup>42</sup> Report On Illegal Migration to Assam Submitted to the President of India by the Governor of Assam, 8th November, 1998

illegal immigrants was not reported.

This happens only because the military government of Burma has a very bad image and reputation either in the internal or international politics, and is named Pariah State by some Western Countries; the Islamists, the Rohingyars and their lobbyists know very well that many Western Nations as well as UN could and would not believe the statement of the Burmese Government even if the Burmese Government was in the correct side!

The human rights abuses of Burmese armed forces against the poor 'Rohingyas' were preferred to be reported. Brutalities and human right abuses of Burmese armed forces were and are well known in all areas of Burma, including against their own clergy, the Buddhists monks!!

**In any case, I would like to emphasize that human rights violations, military abuses and brutal crimes committed against the "Rohingyas" by the various Burmese Military Juntas must be strongly condemned, although the "Rohingyas" are illegal immigrants.**

## **7.2. Illusions of some fanatic Muslims**

In the 1970's, after they were given a "Rosy Picture" by Gaddafi of Libya, some fanatic Muslims from the overpopulated Subcontinent and Muslim fundamentalists in Southeast Asia dreamed of a Muslim-dominated Southeast Asian Coast. They noticed that the whole of Southeast Asian Coasts except the Burmese Coastal Lines are populated with Muslim majority. Malaysia, Brunei, and Indonesia are Muslim countries. The Island of Mindanao of the Catholic dominated country, the Philippines, has many Muslims. Even the Kra Peninsula of the Buddhist country, Thailand, has Muslim majority. So, they wanted to use the following methods:<sup>43</sup>

### **7.2.1. Change the religion of the natives through marriage to a Muslim**

In the late 1970's until 1980's there were lots of slogans and campaigns made by fanatic Muslims groups in Burma that Muslim men to marry Buddhist women, especially either influential women or the daughters of "Big Shots" with special rewards offered to those who could do so. The Muslim youth called Hlwan Moe, a pop singer, who courted and married the daughter of U Maung Maung Kha, the then Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, was rewarded with a lot of money, however, named as "Wedding Present" by some Muslims. Almost everybody in Burma knew that story.

### **7.2.2. Transfer of people from overpopulated Muslim countries**

Since Bangladesh is too over populated some of its citizens should be transferred to under-populated non-Muslim countries such as Burma, so that Muslims will be everywhere. However, Irrawaddy Delta Coast and Tenessarim Coast of Burma can be reached only by sea route from Bangladesh and it would be difficult. Thus, the transfer of people from Bangladesh to under-populated Arakan by land route, just to cross the uncontrolled border, so that it would become a Muslim majority state, and later to declare the area as a separate state of Arakanistan or Arakandesh. If the declaration and separation can not be done easily, the religious war "Jihad" should be declared if

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<sup>43</sup> See also: Maung Tha Hla, The Rakhaing, pp. 65-80

necessary, financial and military aid from all Muslim countries should be requested.

**It can not be ruled out that some Muslim countries can easily be persuaded. Here I like to cite Bertil Lintner, Chronology of The Events, in du, Sonderbeilage, Heft 11, 1993, where it was written: "Prince Khaled Sultan Abdul Aziz, commander of the Saudi contingent in the 1991 Gulf War, visited Dhaka, Bangladesh, in Mid-April 1992 and recommended a Desert Storm-like action against Burma; "just what [the UN] did to liberate Kuwait".**

### **7.3. Are Islamists a threat to the Union of Myanmar?**

Definitely sure they are. It is already proven that they are terrorists. One should remember the following Islamists' attacks: On the World Trade Center in New York and also the attack on US Defence Ministry 'Pentagon' on 9th September 2001, on London tube station on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2005, on Spanish Train in Madrid, on tourists on Bali Island in Indonesia, Moscow Theatre, Mumbai (Bombay) Hotel, Dehli Highcourt on 7<sup>th</sup> September 2011 etc. etc. After these events, the Westerners became serious on Islamists.

Especially for the country like Burma where the government had a very bad reputation and image, and named Pariah State by some Western Countries; the Islamists know very well that many Western Nations as well as UN could and would not believe the statement of the Burmese Government even if the Burmese Government was in the correct side! Hence, they have a big advantage and they would dare to do all for Islamization.

On 13<sup>th</sup> May 1988, seizing the opportunity arising from the unstable situation in the country due to the political disturbances starting from the bloodshed demonstrations of the students since March, a sea of about 50000 (fifty thousand) Chittagonian Bengalis, some of them came from the other side of the border, converged upon Maungdaw from all sides around town coming on foot and shouted: „Kill all Rakhaings! Your land will be our own due to Allah's will“!<sup>44</sup>

However, the Islamists diverted the story later and boasted that the 'Rohingyas' were the first people demonstrated against BSPP government and were brutally killed by the army, even earlier than students in Rangoon on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1988!!

On 20<sup>th</sup> March 2011, both Irrawaddy and Narinjara News Agencies reported that Burmese authorities had arrested about 80 Taliban suspects together with arms and explosives at the border town Maungdaw. In June this year 12 of them were sentenced from 3 to 8 years imprisonment. It is very mild imprisonment in Burma because student leaders and political prisoners were sentenced 20 years to 90 years imprisonment by the Burmese Regime!

The present author, on the other hand, believes the Islamists would use another method of Islamization in Burma, namely “Engulfing of a lesser ethnic group by a more populated group” rather than terrorist attacks, taking advantage on living conditions in Burma.

Before Ne Win came to power until 1962, Burma was one of Asia's rich and very prosperous countries. Unfortunately, after 26 years of his rule, Burma became one of the poorest countries in the world and had to ask for the Least Developed Countries (LDC)

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<sup>44</sup> See also Maung Tha Hla, *The Rakhaing*, New York, 2004 p.80

Status in the United Nations and it was granted in 1987 which led the nation wide anti-government demonstrations with bloodbaths and the eventual downfall of BSPP government. As mentioned before, since 1988, the Burmese Military Junta had very bad image and reputations. Burma was regarded as the second most corrupt country on the earth by Transparency International. The Burmese Military has one of the highest number of Child-Soldiers.

Although Burmese government restricted the movement of these so-called 'Rohingyas' on paper because of corruption in all levels, they could go everywhere in Burma. Sometimes, army convoys were their carrier to Chinese, Laotian and Thai borders. Taking advantage on the economic situation of the Burmese and other ethnic minorities, many of these 'Rohingya Muslim men' took poor women from Burmese and other ethnic minorities as their wives. According to Islamic tradition those women and their offsprings must become Muslims. For that reason, Islamists received financial support from rich Muslim countries. Since a Muslim man can marry up to four wives officially, this method should be the fastest and safest for Islamization of a non-Muslim country.

That will be the biggest danger for Burma's and Buddhists' future!!

Muslim Sharia Law dictated the Muslim community to convert all 'infidels', i.e., all who supported any other religions except Islam. A Muslim who converts to another religion can be punishable with a death penalty. There was and is no Muslim ruler who undertook or undertakes to promote Buddhism or Christianity or any other religion. The Crusade Wars had proven this in history. In 2000, the Talibans of Afghanistan destroyed two 2000 years old gigantic Buddha Statues despite of protests from the whole world. They could not keep those statues even as historical monuments. For them, those statues were the "Idols of the Infidels"!

## **8. The Policy of 'Make Hay While The Sun Shines'**

The truth is all sides, the 'Rohingyarists', the Burmese Junta, the Bangladesh Government and some Muslim Groups inside Bangladesh, wanted to take advantage of this 'Rohingya' Problem.

### **8. 1. The 'Rohingyarists' (both inside and outside Burma)**

The 'Rohingyarists' wanted to use political turmoil in Burma as well as the bad reputation and image of the Burmese Military Junta as their Golden Opportunity and wanted and still want to turn the traditional Buddhist Land of Arakan into an Islam-majority State by bringing hundreds of thousands (if not millions) of Chittagonian Bengali Muslims as 'Rohingyas'. When these Chittagonian Bengalis are inside Burma, they automatically named themselves 'Rohingyas'. With the help of local Muslims, they can bribe the corrupt authorities to get temporary residential permit and later they can try to go anywhere in Burma. The Islamists, Rohingyarists and their lobbyists are financed by rich Muslim countries for that.

On one hand, the Rohingyarists claim that they, the 'Rohingyas', are the Second Largest Ethnic Group (next to Rakhaings) in the Rakhine State of Burma (Arakan), on the other hand, if one counts their lists of refugees abroad, the population of 'Rohingyas' abroad will outnumber the Arakanese (Rakhaings)!! It is a real contradiction and it proves that they

want to bring or 'import' Chittagonian Bengalis to Burma as 'Rohingyas'.

**Apart from that, they are now trying to invent a new definition as 'All Muslims in Burma are called Rohingyas' because earlier they had only 'Arakan Rohingya Organization' but nowadays they already had established 'Burma Rohingya Organizations' in many countries which had proven their aim is to Islamize the whole of Burma.**

## **8.2. The Burmese Military Junta:**

The Military Regime wanted to use the dishonest claims of the 'Rohingyas' as the 'Threat of Islamists' to the whole nation and wanted to make 'face lift up' of their reputation. They succeeded to a certain extent. Many Buddhists in Burma noticed that almost all of the 'Rohingyas' were the illegal immigrants from Bangladesh who crossed the border for various reasons and if Burma was forced to accept them as citizens, it would be the great danger for their nation, race and the Buddhist Religion in the future. That's why many opposition groups, except some extremists who followed the saying 'the enemy of my foe is my friend', did not and do not give any comments on this 'Rohingya' issue<sup>45</sup>.

The Ethnic National Council (ENC) formed in 'the liberated areas' too does not recognize the so-called Rohingyas as an ethnic group of Burma despite of strong lobbying by the Euro-Burma Bureau for 'Rohingyas'.

On 16<sup>th</sup> July 2011, Burma Ethnic Nationalities Cultural Event (BENC) was successfully held. No 'Rohingyas' were invited!

It is proven that, not only the Rakhaings (Arakanese) but also other ethnic nationals of Burma do not consider the so-called Rohingya as their compatriots.

## **8.3. The Bangladeshi Government and some Islamists inside Bangladesh**

The Bangladeshi Government would profit in any case. They cannot control the population explosion of the country anymore and wanted to 'export' their people into neighboring countries. As mentioned before, there are about 15 million illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in India and the Governor of Assam wrote an official letter to Indian President.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup>The NLD in Burma never gave their position about the "Rohingyas", so does the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma headed by Dr. Sein Win. The present author and Dr. Sein Win were classmates in the St. John's Diocesan Boys' High School then, and graduated together from the University of Rangoon. Again, in the late 60's, we were together in Germany for further studies. So, we are good friends and could discuss this problem openly. Dr. Sein Win personally shares the present author's view, however, he admitted that as the 'Prime Minister of the NCGUB' he could not make any statements which will favour the SLORC's position.

On the other hand, the late *Kyemon U Thaung*, famous through his pen-name *Aung Bala*, a well known opposition in exile, told the present author that though he belonged to the opposition he could not support the "Rohingya Movement" because most of the "Rohingyas" were real illegal immigrants and supporting their movement would be the biggest danger for the nation, the religion and all indigenous ethnic groups of Burma.

<sup>46</sup> The Governor of the Indian State of Assam reported in 1998: "There is no evidence of Bangladesh authorities organising the movement of population but they certainly have made no attempt to prevent it and indeed, may be welcoming it, to ease their problem of bursting population. Thus, there is now even an attempt to cover up this movement. Prime Minister Sheikh Haseena has recently asserted that no Bangladeshi is illegally living in India.

Although they knew that the majority of the 'Rohingyas' were in fact Chittagonian Bengalis from Bangladesh, they insisted that these people were not Bangladeshis but they came from Burma as refugees to Bangladesh. In that way they can get money and helps from international aid agencies and organizations. Apart from that they can solve the population explosion partially by transferring some of their people into neighboring countries.

However, in 1975 the Bangladeshi ambassador in Burma, K.N. Kaiser, admitted to the then British ambassador to Burma, Mr. T. J. O'Brien that there were still about five hundred thousand illegal Bangladeshi immigrants inside Burma. That report can be seen in British Archives in London. Dr. Aye Chan, a Rakhaing working as a professor at the Kanda University in Japan wrote an article on that case.

For Islamists inside Bangladesh, they could get Lion's Share by using 'Rohingya Problem' because they can get petrol dollars from Arab Islamists for Islamization of Burma as well as they could do Human Trafficking of poor Bangladeshis as 'Rohingya Refugees from Burma', who either wanted to seek jobs in well-paid countries or who wanted to settle in a rich country!

## **9. Conclusion**

„Rohingya Refugees“ Problem is not a common refugees problem as known to international media. It is much deeper in the political sense. It is an undercover Project of the Islamization of Arakan at first and then step by step of the whole of Burma by the Islamists and Rohingyarists. Under the 'Mask' of the 'Poor Rohingya Refugees' there is a Crooked Smile' of Islamists.

This kind of Projects started since Burma was separated from the British Indian Empire in 1937 and enlarged after Burma regained her Independence. Some extremist Islamists wanted to 'export' millions of Chittagonian Bengalis as 'Rohingyas' to Arakan and in this way they could turn the traditional Buddhist land of Arakan and then later the whole of Burma into an Islamic state. These Rohingyarists invented a fake history and they hired lobbyist and propagandists.

They can use 'Make Hay While The sun Shines Policy' especially for the country like Burma where the government had a very bad reputation and image, and named Pariah State by some Western Countries; because many Western Nations as well as UN could not and would not believe the statement of the Burmese Government even if the Burmese Government was in the correct side!

Hence, many misinformation were and are spread out by the Rohingyarists and many Westerners, without doing proper researches but rely only on hear-say stories, were and are trapped by them. These kind of unscholarly writings favour the position of Islamists and these wrong or misleading information is often quoted and disseminated by subsequent authors, leading to a situation whereby it eventually acquires the status of being true and correct.

The Islamists and Rohingyarists have enough money supported by rich Islamic Nations for Islamization of non-Islamic countries. They don't need to find a scholar, instead they can even buy some lobbyists and propagandists for them cheaply. That's why their propaganda can be more effective than the true statements of the poor Rakhaings who

cannot hire propagandists.

Again, I would like to emphasize that human rights violations, military abuses and brutal crimes committed against the "Rohingyas" by the various Burmese Military Juntas must be strongly condemned, whoever the "Rohingyas" are.

In the mean time, I would like to appeal to Human Rights Lobbyists to please consider also the Human Rights of the Arakanese (Rakhaings)! Is that not the Violation of Human Rights that firstly, the Name of their Ethnic Group and Country was already hijacked by the Islamists and now secondly, the Intruders are now trying to rob their nativelyland with "the Mask of the Refugee!

## Epilogue



Julia Gillard Photo by NZPA

It took a lot of courage for this woman to speak, what she had to say for the world to hear. The retribution could be phenomenal, but at least she was willing to take a stand on her and Australia 's beliefs.

Prime Minister Julia Gillard said: Australia Muslims who want to live under Islamic Sharia law, were told on Wednesday to get out of Australia, as the government targeted radicals in a bid to head off potential terror attacks.

Separately, Gillard angered some Australian Muslims on Wednesday by saying she supported spy agencies monitoring the nation's mosques.

Quote: 'IMMIGRANTS, NOT AUSTRALIANS, MUST ADAPT.. Take It Or Leave It.

I am tired of this nation worrying about whether we are offending some individual or their culture. Since the terrorist attacks on Bali, we have experienced a surge in patriotism by the majority of Australians. '

'This culture has been developed over two centuries of struggles, trials and victories by millions of men and women who have sought freedom'.

'We speak mainly ENGLISH, not Spanish, Lebanese, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Russian, or any other language. Therefore, if you wish to become part of our society. Learn the language!'

'Most Australians believe in God. This is not some Christian, right wing, political push, but a fact, because Christian men and women, on Christian principles, founded this nation, and this is clearly documented. It is certainly appropriate to display it on the walls of our schools. If God offends you, then I suggest you consider another part of the world as your new home, because God is part of our culture.'

'We will accept your beliefs, and will not question why. All we ask is that you accept ours, and live in harmony and peaceful enjoyment with us.'

'This is OUR COUNTRY, OUR LAND, and OUR LIFESTYLE, and we will allow you every opportunity to enjoy all this. But once you are done complaining, whining, and griping

about Our Flag, Our Pledge, Our Christian beliefs, or Our Way of Life, I highly encourage you take advantage of one other great Australian freedom, 'THE RIGHT TO LEAVE'. 'If you aren't happy here then LEAVE. We didn't force you to come here. You asked to be here. So accept the country YOU accepted.'

## GLOSSARY

- Arakan** The land in the West Coast of Burma known to the West. It is also called Rakhaing Pree or Yakhaing Pyay.
- Arakanese** The natives of Arakan or Rakhaing Pree as known to the West, who are Buddhists and ethnically Mongoloid. However, The Rakhaings (Arakanese) traditionally believe that they are the descendants of the "Sakya Sakis" the race from which Lord Gautama Buddha came.
- Burma** A country in Southeast Asia and a member of ASEAN. Same as Myanmar.
- Burman** A Burmese. The people of the most dominant ethnic group in Burma/Myanmar, who are Buddhists and ethnically Mongoloid. The Burmese/Burman too traditionally believe that they are the descendants of the "Sakya Sakis" the race from which Lord Gautama Buddha came.
- Burmese** 1. Same as Burman. 2. The people and the language of the most dominant ethnic group in Burma/Myanmar; it is also known as Bama/Myanmar in the native tradition.
- Rakhaing Pree** Same as Arakan. It is called Rohan or Rosan in Bengali Chittagong dialect
- Rakhaing** An Arakanese. Named as Magh or Mogg or Mugg and also Rohangya by the Bengalis.
- Rohingyas** The self-proclaimed name of Chittagonian Bengali Muslims in Northern Arakan . No historical background on that name. In the Chittagonian Dialect of Bengali Language, the Rakhaing Land or Arakan is called 'Rohan' and the Rakhaing People or Arakanese are called 'Rohangya (Rohan = Rakhaing (Arakan), Gya = man). Since the word is of Bengali origin, some of the Muslim secessionists used the name to identify themselves as if they were natives of Arakan and named themselves as 'Rohingya' by 'hijacking' the name of the real natives of Arakan (Rakhaings) in Bengali language!!
- Rohingyarists** Islamists, Lobbyists and Propagandists of the Rohingya Movement who want to Islamize Arakan first, then the whole of Burma.

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Appendix

Photos



Border fence destroyed at the Bangladeshi side



A Scene of an Arakanese Town

Buddha Statues In Afghanistan destroyed by the Talibans



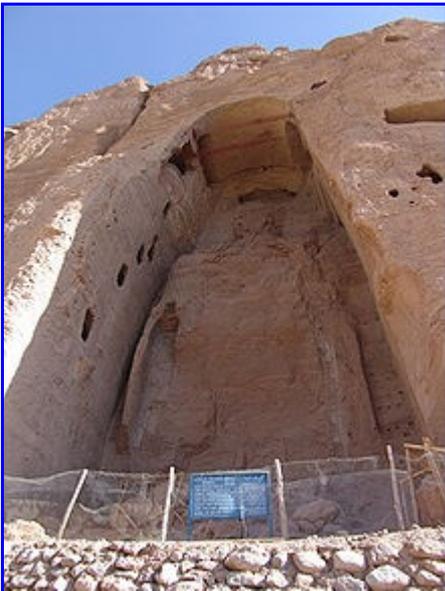
Taller Buddha in 1963 and in 2008 after destruction

Islamization of Burma

Saw September 2011



 Smaller Buddha in 1977



 Site of the smaller statue in 2005 after it was destroyed

