

Background Paper on Rakhine State: Prepared for the Workshop on “Strategies for Peace, Harmony, and Development”

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Note: For clarity and cohesion, the name ‘**Arakan**’ is used to refer to the historical region under the suzerainty of various centers of power located in the Kaladan – Lémro valley. The term ‘**Arakan Division**’ is used to refer to the administrative region that existed between 1826 and 1974, and ‘**Rakhine State**’ to the same region after 1974. The word ‘**Rakhine**’ is used to refer to the Rakhine people, who are also known as ‘**Arakanese**’. In quoting primary / historical documents, the terminology used in those documents are used, for historical accuracy.

RAKHINE STATE

Background



Figure 1: Map of Northwestern Rakhine State. Adapted from "Township Map of Rakhine State", Myanmar Information Management Unit.

Rakhine State is a coastal region in western Myanmar, located on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. It has an area of 36,778 square kilometers (between the sizes of Belgium and Switzerland) and comprises five districts made up of 17 townships in total. According to the 2014 census, the state has a population of around 3.2 million, of which over 2 million (63.3%) are Buddhists and around 1.12 million (35.1%) are Muslims. The state has the highest number and percentage of Muslims among Myanmar's states and regions, accounting for half of Myanmar's entire Muslim population. Of the 1.12 million Muslims in Rakhine State, two-thirds (around 740,600) live in northwestern Maungdaw district which borders Bangladesh.

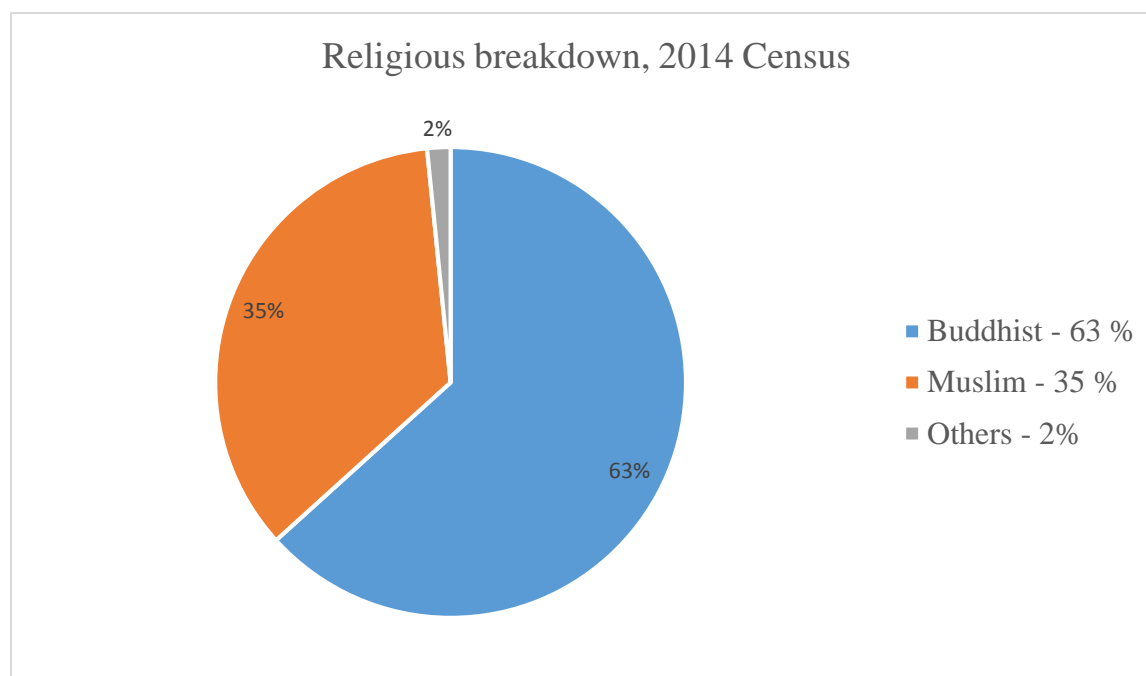


Figure 2: Religious Breakdown of Rakhine State population according to the 2014 Census (Source: Ministry of Immigration and Population)

Maungdaw District

Maungdaw District comprises Maungdaw and Buthidaung townships and is the westernmost district in Rakhine State. With an area over 3,500 square kilometers (slightly larger than Rhode Island), the district had a population of 817,500 in July 2017 (Rakhine State Government 2017). Over 740,600 residents (90.6% of the population of the district) were Muslims, while around 40,000 (4.8%) were Rakhine, over 5,100 (0.63%) were Hindus, and the remainder (approximately 32,000) comprised other ethnic minority groups such as the Daingnet, Khamee, Mro, Thet and Mramagyi. It is one of the most densely populated districts in the country outside of Yangon and Mandalay cities.

Buthidaung township consists of the upper part of the Mayu river valley and surrounding hills, and Maungdaw township consists of the lower Nat (Naf) river valley with a coastal strip running south from the river estuary. Agriculture, fishing and cross-border trade are the main economic activities of most of the inhabitants.

	1921	1983	2017
Population of Maungdaw and Buthidaung townships	196,700	438,000	817,500

Table 1. Population of Maungdaw and Buthidaung Townships 1921-2017

Etymology of Arakan / Rakhine

The state and historical region is called 'Rakhine' in the local Rakhine language and Burmese. One theory is that the word 'Rakhine' is a corruption of the Pali word 'Yakkho' or 'Raksha', a term

often applied to ogres. This label was also used by Indo-Aryans to describe non-Buddhists across the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia. The Rakhine people retained the label which became 'Rakhine' (Phayre 1883, 41; Stilson 1847, 221).

Another theory is that the Rakhine believe their ancestors had to chase out rakshas before consolidating their first kingdom, and assumed the Pali title '*Rakkhita*' which means "one who protects his own race" (Khin Maung Saw 2009).

In the first century AD, Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy referred to the region in general as '*Argyre*', the land of silver, while seventh century Chinese Buddhist pilgrims called it '*A-li-ki-lo*' or '*Harikela*'. 12th to 15th century Burmese language inscriptions from Bagan and Innwa refer to it as '*Rakhaing*', while Tibetan historians used '*Rakhan*' and Sri Lankan chronicles termed it '*Rakhanga*'. '*Arakan*' is a corruption of the Portuguese '*Arracão*' (Danvers 1988, 528) which was then called '*Aracan*' by later Dutch and English merchants (Gutman 2001, 4).

BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAKAN

The history of the Rakhine area can generally be divided into three main parts:

- i) the four independent kingdoms that existed from 4th to 18th centuries AD;
- ii) Konbaung and British rule (1784 – 1948); and
- iii) the post-Independence period since 1948.

1. Independent Kingdoms (4th to 18th century AD)

According to legends and oral tradition, *Marayu* – the hero-ancestor of the Rakhines – married the daughter of a local Mro chief, and cleared the region of ogres in 2666 BC (Phayre 1883, 43; Gutman 2001, 5). Western historians state that the Rakhine are Tibeto-Burmans who came into the area around the 9th century AD. The 3 meter-tall Shitthaung pillar, commissioned by Wethali king Anandracandra in the 8th century, provides insight into the political history of Arakan, especially a list of kings who rule during the 7th and 8th centuries AD. The Candra dynasty ruled during both the Dhanyawaddy and Wethali periods and claimed to have descended from the Hindu god Shiva, although they professed Buddhism (Gutman 2001, 11).

1.1. Dhanyawaddy (Mid-4th – early 6th centuries AD)

The first historical polity in Arakan was centered on the enclosed city of Dhanyawaddy (from Pali *Dhannavati*, meaning 'grain-blessed') located about 290 kilometers north of Sittwe on a tributary of the Kaladan river. The kingdom was able to benefit from access to the expansion of maritime trade routes from Asia to the Mediterranean (Gutman 2001, 7). The **Shitthaung pillar** (circa AD 729) gives the names and reign periods of 18 kings, the earlier ones possibly ruling from Dhanyawaddy from the end of the 4th century (Gutman and Hudson 2004, 161). The **Mahamuni Buddha shrine** on a hill northeast of the palace site in Dhanyawaddy, contains sculptures influenced by Mahayana Buddhism (Gutman 2001, 9-10). Rakhine oral tradition claims that the Mahamuni Buddha image was cast in the sixth century BC when the Buddha was said to have visited Dhanyawaddy.

1.2. Wethali (circa 6th-11th centuries AD)

Wethali (named after the Indian city of Vaishali) is the second historical Rakhine kingdom and was based in the eponymous enclosed city of Wethali, located about nine kilometers south of

Dhanyawaddy. Similar to its predecessor, Wethali had trade links with India, central Myanmar and pre-Angkorian cultures further east (Gutman 2001, 10-11). King **Anandracandra** is described in the Shittaung pillar, which he commissioned around AD 729, as a Buddhist who established monasteries and welcomed Buddhist monks from other lands including the Buddhist clergy of Sri Lanka to whom he donated an elephant and robes (Gutman 2001, 11-12). Excavations in the 1980s uncovered a Buddhist ordination hall, a monastery and a building with a stone image of a bull on a pedestal, possibly used for religious purposes (Gutman and Hudson 2004, 163).

From the middle of the 8th century, Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples from Nanzhao (in present-day Yunnan) made major migrations into the Ayeyarwaddy valley and Rakhine region. By the 10th century, the Bamar had consolidated power in the Ayeyarwaddy valley around Bagan, while the Rakhine became the dominant ethno-linguistic group in Arakan.

1.3. Lé-mro (1018-1406)

Lé-mro refers to the period during which Arakan's centre of power shifted through four towns (**Sambawak, Parein, Hkrit** and **Launggret**) within the eponymous Lé-mro river valley. The Lé-mro period saw greater political influence and involvement from Bagan, and the art of the period shows strong Theravada influence from both Bagan and Sri Lanka (Gutman 2001, 15). The first capital, Sambawak, was believed to have been founded by a descendant of a Wethali king in 1018. Parein served as the capital from 1118-1167, Hkrit from 1167-1180, and then returning to Sambawak from 1180-1237 (Harvey 1967, 137). Launggret was founded in 1237 and the kingdom was able to reassert independence owing to Bagan's decline. Between 1374 and 1430, the inland Bamar and coastal Mon kingdoms exerted influence onto Arakan. Launggret was sacked between 1404 and 1406, leading to the last king **Narameikhla Min Saw Mon** to flee to "Suratan" (i.e. the dominion of the Sultan) (Forchhammer 1891, 15). This is widely interpreted as Bengal. (Harvey 1967, 139; Gutman 2001, 15).

1.4. Mrauk U (1430-1784)

Mrauk U was the last but also the most powerful and prosperous of Rakhine kingdoms. Fleeing invading Bamar forces, Min Saw Mon sought refuge in Gaur, the capital of the Sultanate of Bengal. After some years in exile, the Sultan of Bengal – Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah – provided military assistance to aid Min Saw Mon to reconquer Arakan in exchange for vassalage. Min Saw Mon was reinstated in 1430, and he moved the capital from Launggyet to Mrauk U (also known as Mrohaung) in 1433 (Phayre 1883, 78).

Mrauk U became prosperous and influential during the 16th and 17th centuries, reflected in the large number of Buddhist temples and ruins dotting the former royal capital. It occupied Chittagong from 1459 till 1666 (Harvey 1967, 140). The Mrauk U period marks the beginning of Muslim influence in Arakan (Yegar 1972, 18). For example, Min Saw Mon, despite being a Buddhist, assumed the title of *Suleiman Shah* to acknowledge Mrauk U's vassalage to the Sultanate of Bengal (Phayre 1883, 78). His successors continued this 'tradition' until Mrauk U was able to assert its sovereignty in 1531 (Yegar 1972, 19). Min Saw Mon also introduced a coinage system heavily influenced by that in Bengal. Trilingual coins bore Buddhist epithets in Arakanese on one side, and the Shahada (the Islamic declaration of faith) in Bengali and Persian on the other side (Leider 2012). The first historical mosque in Arakan - the Santikan mosque - was built in the

eastern outskirts of Mrauk U in the 1430s by Muslim soldiers from Bengal who came over with Min Saw Mon (Yegar 1972, 18).

Portuguese friar Sebastien Manrique traveled to Bengal and Arakan from 1629 to 1637 and offered important insight into early 17th century Rakhine. During that time, Portuguese mercenaries and slave traders based in Dianga (opposite Chittagong) operated around the Ganges delta and alternated between competition and service to Mrauk U. The Portuguese raided villages on the Sundarbans delta, and sold the kidnapped Bengalis at ports in India, or to the Arakanese who used the slaves for agriculture (Collis 1942, 107). Later, the Dutch East India Company replaced the Portuguese, and established a trading post in Arakan (Dijk 2006, 17-18) and had even facilitated the sending of Arakanese monks to Sri Lanka to revive the Buddhist ordination rites which had declined under Portuguese rule (Gutman 2001, 21).

In 1660, the Mughal prince Shah Shuja and his supporters fled to Arakan after losing the civil war for Mughal succession. King Sandathudamma consented to Shuja's request for asylum but tensions soon escalated between Sandathudamma and Shuja. When the king asked for Shuja's eldest daughter, Shuja plotted to seize the throne (Yegar 1972, 21-23). The attempt was foiled and Shuja was ultimately executed, his treasures seized and daughters taken into the king's harem (Harvey 1967, 146-147). Shuja's followers – mainly Afghan archers - were pressed into Arakanese service, but would become king makers (Gutman 2001, 21-24; Harvey 1967, 148). They were ultimately exiled to Ramree (Yanbyé) in the early 18th century and their descendants became the Kaman people ("bow" in Persian) (Yegar 1972, 24).

The fall of Chittagong in 1666, and then civil war and natural disasters eventually led to Mrauk U's downfall (Phayre 1883, 181-182; 212-213). Arakanese lords discontent with the last king, Thamada, sought assistance from King Bodawpaya of the Konbaung dynasty to install a contender. Konbaung forces invaded and subsequently annexed Arakan in late 1784 (Phayre 1883, 213-214; Harvey 1967, 149, 267).

2. Konbaung and British Rule (1784-1948)

2.1. Konbaung rule (1784-1826)

After the Konbaung conquest, a governor with a garrison of several thousand men was installed at Mrohaung. The Mahamuni Buddha image along with the deposed royal family and 20,000 inhabitants were brought back to the Konbaung capital (Harvey 1967, 267-268). Over 200,000 Arakanese are also said to have fled to Chittagong and the Sundarbans (Gutman 2001, 24; Stilson 1847, 255).

Levies were raised in Arakan in 1790 and 1795 to support construction projects, notably for the Meiktila irrigation system and the Mingun pagoda (James 2004, 172). In 1811, a local revolt killed nearly the entire Bamar population garrisoned at Mrauk U (Ricklefs et al. 2010, 137). The Konbaung kingdom sent forces to pacify the rebellion and cross-border raids caused friction with the East India Company that had conquered Bengal. The first Anglo-Burmese war erupted in March 1824 and Arakan was occupied by the British in 1825 (Aung-Thwin and Aung-Thwin 2012, 178-180).

2.2. British Rule (1826-1941)

The Yandabo Treaty, signed in February 1826 to end the First Anglo-Burmese War, ceded Arakan to the East India Company, along with other territories such as Tanintharyi and Manipur (Ricklefs et al. 2010, 137). Arakan was incorporated into British India as part of the Bengal Presidency, and then as part British Burma which was formed in 1862 (Dodwell 1932, 441; Taylor 2009, 75). When all of Myanmar was finally colonized in 1885, the entire country including Arakan became a province of India. Local rebellions broke out in 1827, 1836, 1870 and 1888 but had little impact on colonial rule (Smart 1917, 34-35).

The capital was shifted from Mrohaung to Sittwe (Akyab) in 1826, and the region was incorporated into Arakan Division with four districts – Akyab¹, Kyaukphyu, Sandoway and the Arakan Hill District (now part of Chin state). A commissioner was seated at the newly created coastal town of Akyab, with four Senior Assistants in charge of the districts (Stilson 1847, 248). With the development of the colonial economy – particularly agriculture - Akyab became an important port town in British Burma. In 1872, the town had a population of 19,230 of which 60% (11,519) were Buddhists, 26% Muslim (5,018) and 10% (1,911) Hindus (Aye Chan 2005, 416).

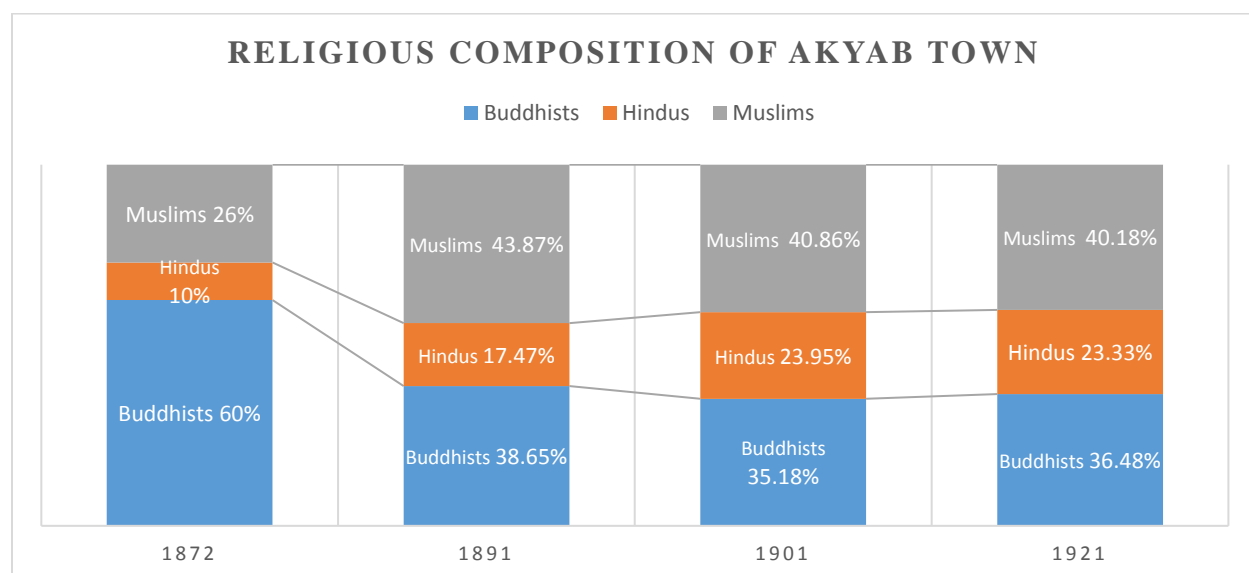


Figure 3. Religious Composition of Akyab Town from 1872 to 1921 (Sources: Aye Chan 2005; 1901 Census of British Burma; 1921 Burma Gazetteer)

	1872	1891	1901	1921
Buddhist	11,519	14,291	12,249	12,939
Muslim	5,018	16,223	14,225	14,250
Hindu	1,911	6,460	8,340	8,277
Total	19,230	36,974	34,814	35,466

Table 2. Population breakdown of Akyab Town from 1872 to 1921 (Sources: Aye Chan 2005, 1901 Census of British Burma, 1921 Burma Gazetteer Akyab District)

¹ The colonial-era Akyab district is now divided into three districts – Maungdaw, Sittwe and Mrauk-U districts. Sandoway district is now called Thandwe District.

A large scale immigration of various people from British India – especially Bengal and southern India - came to Rakhine and other parts of Myanmar for economic reasons such as seasonal labour and merchants (United Kingdom Foreign Office 1952, 2; Yegar 2002, 27; Taylor 2009, 107-108). As a province of British India, the movement of these people was as residents moving from one district to another within one ‘land’ (Yegar 1972, 29-30). The seasonal migration from Chittagong to Akyab districts was the only overland migration between British Burma and British India. There is an annual periodic migration of coolies from Chittagong to assist in the agricultural operations. The migration was through three main routes: 1) entirely by sea by the steamers of the British India Company; 2) partly by land to Maungdaw and thence by steamers of the Arakan Flotilla Company; and 3) entirely by land (Webb 1912, 80).

In 1872, Akyab District had 171,600 Arakanese and 58,200 Muslims while in 1911, there were 209,000 Arakanese and 178,650 Muslims (Smart 1917, 83). According to the 1911 Burma Gazette for Akyab District, most of the Muslims in Akyab district were male seasonal workers from Chittagong. There were also some who were descendants of the Bengali slaves that were captured and brought by the Arakanese during the Mrauk U period. Most of these descendants lived in Kyauktaw and Mrohaung (Mrauk U) townships, while Maungdaw and Buthidaung hosted the large, recent immigrants from Chittagong (Smart 1917, 86-87).

The sex ratios noted in British censuses point to the immigrant nature of a large segment of the Muslim and Hindu inhabitants in northwestern Arakan, particularly Akyab Township. For example, in 1922, there were 15,319 Muslim men compared to 4,212 Muslim women (a ratio of 3.64 to 1) and 8,087 Hindu men to 440 Hindu women (a ratio of 18.38 to 1) (Grantham 1922, 39-40). Of these, around 8,500 Muslims and 3,400 Hindus were noted to be either temporary migrants or travelers. By 1931, Arakan Division had around 216,000 people classified by the colonial government as “Indians” (in contrast to “Burmese” and “Other Indigenous Races”) of which 197,500 (91.5%) were Muslims, representing half the total “Indian Muslim” population of British Burma (Bennison 1933b, 274). These immigrant communities gradually expanded southward, pushing the Buddhist communities such that by 1941, only a handful of Buddhist villages remained in northwestern Arakan (Yegar 2002, 28). The Indian population in British Burma – including Arakan Division – grew in both absolute and relative terms into the 1930s, but the effects of the Great Depression on the colonial economy, along with anti-Indian riots and legislation later saw a decline in the Indian populace (Taylor 2009, 127).

Districts	1827	1832	1842	1852	1862	1872*	1881	1891*	1901	1911	1921	1931
Akyab						276,700	276,877	415,044	481,666	529,943	576,430	637,580
Kyaukpyu						146,586	158,667	164,354	168,827	184,916	199,873	220,292
Sandoway						56,760	54,773	79,464	90,927	102,803	112,029	129,245
Total	121,288	195,107	246,766	352,348	381,985	480,042	490,317	658,862	741,268	817,662	888,332	978,117

* Extrapolations from density per square mile provided in 1901 census

Table 3. Population of Arakan during the colonial era. (Note: The Arakan Hill Tracks District is not included in the calculation, as it is now part of Chin State.)

Townships	Total			Buddhist		Muslim		Hindu	
	All	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Akyab	48,188	33,894	14,294	9,682	9,340	15,319	4,212	8,087	440
Buthidaung	78,497	40,835	37,662	15,120	14,474	22,299	20,595	972	273
Kyauktaw	58,274	31,642	26,632	15,025	14,100	12,147	8,768	626	828
Maungdaw	118,205	59,461	58,744	11,171	11,592	45,540	45,174	1077	471
Minbya	51,388	27,729	23,659	18,413	17,214	408	2,245	657	7
Mrohaung	61,089	33,446	27,643	23,796	22,014	6,210	3,265	908	9
Pauktaw	45,615	23,902	21,713	20,355	19,644	2,891	1,676	196	17
Ponnagyun	53,581	27,327	26,254	22,842	22,951	11,50	541	462	1
Rathedaung	61,593	31,328	30,265	23,317	24,089	7,092	5,749	416	12
Total	576,430	309,564	266,866	159,721	155,418	111,906	92,225	13,401	2,058
Population in 1921:		576,430		315,139		204,131		15,459	
		100%		54.67%		35.41%		2.68%	

Table 4. Religious breakdown of the townships in Akyab District, 1921. (Source: Burma Gazetteer Akyab District, 1924)

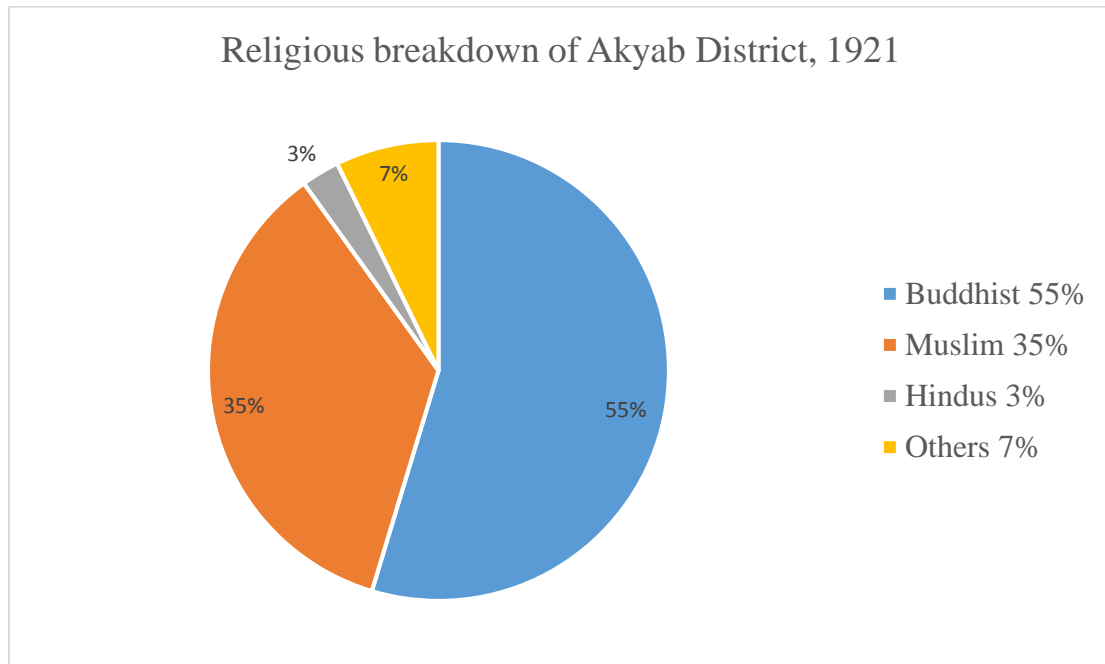


Figure 4. Religious breakdown of Akyab District, 1921 (Source: Burma Gazetteer Akyab District, 1924)

Arakanese monk U Ottama (1879-1939) was one of the major figures in the nascent nationalist anti-colonial movement. He attracted a large following among Buddhist monks and his activities from 1920 till dying of a hunger strike in 1939 led to the emergence of political and anti-colonial activism by the Buddhist sangha (Taylor 2009, 181-184). In 1937, Burma became a separate colony from British India and Arakan Division became part of “Ministerial Burma”. Large-scale, predominantly Muslim immigration from India contributed to the emergence of a nationalist movement (Yegar 2002, 29-30). In 1938, Maungdaw district saw riots that were part of a wider wave of anti-Muslim riots across British Burma.

2.3. Second World War (1941-1945)

During the Second World War, British Burma – including Arakan – was invaded and occupied by the Japanese from 1942 to 1945, and was an active frontline for much of the war. The Japanese enjoyed support among Buddhist communities such as the Bamar and Rakhines (who joined the Burma Independence Army, BIA) while non-Buddhists were more sympathetic towards the retreating British (Yegar, 1972, 96). Colonial officials, Europeans and over half a million Indians fled overland to India, and a colonial government-in-exile was established in Simla, India.

The British retreated from Arakan in late March 1942 and armed Chittagonian Muslims to form a guerrilla force called the ‘V Force’ to harass the Japanese forces (United Kingdom Foreign Office 1952, 4; Aye Chan 2005, 406). Some British officials also promised a “Muslim National Area” in northern Arakan to encourage Muslim loyalty during the war (Yegar 1972, 96). However, the V Force, bandits and Buddhist guerrillas loosely affiliated with the BIA committed wanton communal violence and massacres that led to Buddhists fleeing south and Muslims to the north (Yegar 1972, 95; Bayly and Harper 2004, 383-384; Aye Chan 2005, 405-408).

The violence and anarchy partly subsided when the Japanese invaded Arakan in end 1942. However, Buddhists and Muslims continued to flee to areas dominated by their respective co-religionists. In August 1943, the Japanese established the “State of Burma” as a client state and reorganized the BIA into the Burma National Army. Scorched earth policies employed by the retreating British forces and aerial bombings – first from the Japanese and then the Allies – destroyed most of the colonial era resources and facilities that had been vital in Burma’s economic development. As the tide of the war turned against the Japanese, the Buddhist guerrillas and later the BNA turned against the Japanese under the banner of the “Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League” with British assistance. The British recaptured Maungdaw in January 1944, Buthidaung and Akyab in December 1944 and most of Arakan by January 1945 (Yegar 2002, 34).

2.4. Lead-up to Independence (1945-1947)

The British initially established a military administration and the colonial government-in-exile returned from Simla in October 1945. The British appointed Muslims to administrative positions, which enabled them to retaliate against Buddhists who had collaborated with the Japanese during the war (Yegar 2002, 34). More Muslim immigrants from Chittagong also came in the wake of the returning British and returning refugees, and the tensions from communal violence and massacres from 1942 continued to simmer (Yegar 1972, 96).

Even before Myanmar achieved independence, armed groups that operated in Arakan during the Japanese occupation soon engaged in rebellions using the large leftover stock of arms and ammunitions. A Buddhist secessionist movement emerged under the leadership of monk U Seinda that was supported by communists, while some Rakhine leaders demanded for the formation of a specific Arakan State (like the Kachins and Shans) within the union (Aye Chan 2005, 409-410, Ware 2015).

Muslims in northwestern Arakan supported for either the annexation of Arakan into the future state of Pakistan or for the establishment of an independent Muslim state. A Muslim group named the Muslim Liberation Organization – later calling themselves the ‘*Mujahids*’ or ‘*Mujahideens*’ meaning “Soldiers of the Holy War” – began a separatist rebellion in March 1946 (Aye Chan 2005, 411; Ware 2015). An irredentist movement called the North Arakan Muslim League was formed in July 1946 (Yegar 2002, 35). A Muslim delegation also went to Karachi in May 1946 to lobby the future Pakistani leader Muhammed Ali Jinnah to annex northern Arakan into Pakistan (Yegar 1972, 96) and another group went again in July 1947 (Murry 1949). Muslim gangs in Akyab district also went about trying to evict Buddhist refugees and returnees (Yegar 1972, 96; Aye Chan 2005, 410-411).

In January 1947, General Aung San met with Jinnah in Karachi to begin settling border issues between the two soon-to-be independent neighbors Myanmar and East Pakistan (Egreteau and Jagan 2013, 132). The Pinlon (Panglong) Conference was held in February 1947 for British Burma to achieve independence as a single country. Arakan Division did not have its own specific representatives as it was part of “Ministerial Burma”. Elections for the constituent assembly to draft the new constitution were held in April 1947, which the AFPFL won by a landslide. General Aung San – architect of Myanmar’s independence – was assassinated on 19 July 1947 by political

rivals. The country – including Arakan Division – achieved independence six months later on 4 January 1948 under the premiership of U Nu.

3. Post-Independence (1948 - present)

3.1. 1948 – 1962

Even before independence, armed conflict had erupted in Rakhine among competing armed groups. U Seinda's rebellion was mainly active in Myebon and Minbya townships in north-central Rakhine since mid-1947 (Aye Chan 2005, 409). The Muslim Liberation Organization – later known as the Mujahids or Mujahadeen - had begun fighting since mid-1946 (United Kingdom Foreign Office 1952, 5; Yegar 1972, 97-98; Aye Chan 2005, 411). The return of Buddhist refugees and the removal of British-appointed Muslim officials with Buddhists stoked communal tensions further.

The Mujahids were estimated to have from 2,000 to 5,000 fighters headed by former military personnel and with a training camp in the Mayu hills between Buthidaung and Maungdaw. The Mujahids enjoyed a degree of support among Muslims in Arakan – who numbered around 100-120,000 and beyond the border in East Pakistan (Yegar 2002, 37-38). While the central government in Pakistan did not support the Mujahid rebellion, there were reports of local officials who actively helped the guerrillas (Aye Chan 2011).

Communists – particularly the Red Flag faction – was also active in Rakhine and had supported some of the insurgencies (Thomson 1948). From 1948 to mid-1949, most of Rakhine was in the hands of a patchwork of competing insurgent groups, but government forces (the 5th Burma Rifles) were able to gain advantage by mid-1949. In 1950, Burma and Pakistan reached an agreement to cease Pakistani support for the Mujahid rebels (Nu 1975, 272). By the mid-1950s, both U Seinda's rebellion and the Mujahids had lost steam (Ware 2015).² The last Mujahid rebels surrendered in July 1961 (Yegar 1972, 101.)

Both Buddhist and Muslim politicians played roles in the politics of post-independence Myanmar. One notable Muslim politician was Sultan Mahmud, MP for Buthidaung constituency who also served as union-level Minister of Health from 1960 to 1962 and also pushed for the creation of a special area for Muslims living in Arakan. Some local Muslim politicians began using the word “Rohingya” to refer to Muslim communities in northwestern Arakan, and pushed for a confessional power structure where public offices were to be equally divided and held in check between the majority Buddhists and minority Muslims. Some Muslim leaders also pushed for the creation of a Muslim-majority region in northwestern Arakan.

The ruling AFPFL split into two factions in 1958, leading to a political crisis. General Ne Win was invited by U Nu to lead a caretaker government from October 1958 to April 1960, and elections were held in February 1960 which U Nu party won. In August 1961, the government declared Buddhism as the state religion – a fulfilment of one of U Nu's election promises (Taylor 2009, 292). Although the government subsequently adopted a freedom of religion bill, the move to make Buddhism the state religion alienated non-Buddhists.

² See Annex I for newspaper report of the fall of Mujahideen rebels in 1954.

Mayu Frontier District

During campaigning in the run-up to the 1960 election, U Nu promised to create an Arakan state. The Muslims, led by Sultan Mahmud, also demanded a separate region for themselves. He agreed to create a 'frontier region' along the Mayu River in order to win the vote of Muslims in northwestern Arakan. While the creation of Arakan State was delayed due to legislation, the 'Mayu Frontier District' – comprising Maungdaw district and the northwestern part of Rathedaung Township – was established on 30 May 1961. It was within Arakan Division but was directly administered by the central government based in Yangon. The district headquarters was located in Maungdaw. The Mayu Frontier District had a population of over 400,000 of which 75% were Muslims.



Figure 5. Map of the Mayu Frontier District (1961-1964). The Mayu Frontier District was part of Arakan Division but administered directly by the Central Government from Yangon (Rangoon). Adapted from "Township Map of Rakhine State", Myanmar Information Management Unit.

3.2. 1962-1988

Citing concerns for the unity of the country – including the disgruntlement due to U Nu declaring Buddhism as the state religion, the Tatmadaw under General Ne Win assumed power on 2 March 1962 and established the Union Revolutionary Council government (Taylor 2009, 293). Shortly after, the Revolutionary Council declared the “*Burmese Way to Socialism*” as the national ideology and the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) was formed. In 1964, the government implemented a wide-spread nationalization campaign of businesses and expelled around 300,000 people holding Indian and Pakistani citizenship.

The Mayu Frontier District was dismantled on 1 February 1964, and the area was again administered through Sittwe (Akyab). During the Bangladeshi War of Independence in 1971, Myanmar remained neutral but allowed for the evacuation of some Pakistani citizens and aircrafts through Sittwe. There were also Bengali war refugees who fled into Myanmar –the Bangladeshi ambassador in Yangon K. M. Kaiser told the British ambassador T. J. O’Brien that there were “upward of ½ million Bangalee trespassers in Arakan” that Myanmar had some right to eject but the Bangladeshi embassy had been imploring the Myanmar government not to press the matter (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1975).

In 1974, a new socialist constitution was promulgated that made Myanmar a one-party socialist state (“the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma”), and granted statehood to Arakan Division as “Rakhine State”. Also in 1974, the Emergency Immigration Act was enacted to curtail immigration from India, China and Bangladesh, that required all citizens to carry identity cards (National Registration Certificates). Border regions such as Shan, Kachin and Chin States had seen influxes of illegal immigrants, but the scale in Arakan was of a much larger magnitude (Yegar 2002, 55).

In May 1977, Operation Nagamin was launched in Kachin and Chin States and in Yangon. It comprised immigration and Tatmadaw officials to verify citizenship, register citizens and to screen out non-citizens and non-residents as preparation for the 1978 census (Yegar 2002, 55; Ware 2015). The operation was initiated in Rakhine State in February 1978 and involved military operations targeting suspected illegal immigrants. This resulted in over 200,000 Muslims crossing into Bangladesh (Yegar 2002, 56). The governments of Myanmar and Bangladesh negotiated for the resettlement of the Muslims who had left for Bangladesh. Eventually, most of those who had went to Bangladesh returned but some remained in the camps along the border (Lintner 2012). In 1982, the Citizenship Act was enacted that updated Myanmar’s citizenship laws.

Rakhine State had a population of 1.7 million in 1973 (Maung 1986, 8), and 2.04 million in 1983. The 1983 census reported that 1.38 million or 67.8% of Rakhine State’s population were Rakhine and 24.3% of were “Bangladeshis”. Buddhists constituted 69.7% of the population while Muslims were 28.5%. Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships had a combined population of around 438,000.

Rebellions

Beginning in the 1960s, Muslim rebels began fighting for greater political rights and secession under the banner of various “Rohingya” movements. Often one movement would split and one of

the factions would morph into a newly named armed movement. These groups would establish small camps along remote areas of the Myanmar-Bangladesh border and launch cross-border raids against government outposts and both Buddhist and Muslim villages.

In 1963, the “Rohingya Independence Force” (RIF) began fighting the central government (Ware 2015). The RIF was reorganized as the “Rohingya Patriotic Front” (RPF) in 1974 but the movement soon split into various factions. In 1982, more radical elements of the RPF broke away and founded the “Rohingya Solidarity Organization” (RSO), with bases in remote parts of Bangladesh along the Myanmar border. The RSO enjoyed close ties with militant Islamist organizations, with Afghan trainers – veterans in the war against the Soviet invasion – seen in some RSO camps. Around 100 RSO militants were also reported to have underwent training with Hizb-e-Islami Mujahideen in the Afghan province of Khost (Lintner 2012). The RSO split in 1986 and one of the moderate factions, along with RPF remnants, became the Arakan Rohingya Islamic Front (Lintner 2012, Crisis Group 2016).

With help from the Karen National Union (KNU), some Rakhines founded the Arakan Liberation Party in 1967, and its armed wing the Arakan Liberation Army (ALA) was established in 1968. The ALA was soon defeated by the Tatmadaw, but was re-established in 1973 and again in 1980, with help from the KNU (Gunaratna and Kam 2016, 174).

3.3. 1988-2010

Following widespread pro-democracy demonstrations across the country, the Tatmadaw assumed power in September 1988 and established the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). Elections for a constitutional committee to draft a new constitution to replace the 1974 socialist constitution. Elections for a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution were held in May 1990.

The RSO continued its expansion and operations in the 1990s, including providing training to militants and conducting cross-border raids. In 1992, Operation Pyi Tharyar was launched as a response to RSO activities. The operations also caused around 250,000 Muslims to flee into Bangladesh. An agreement was again reached between Myanmar and Bangladesh, and over 230,000 were repatriated between 1995 and 1997 under the supervision of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

In 1998, the ARIF and RSO merged to become the Arakan Rohingya National Organization (ARNO) that continued to exist mainly in Bangladesh with negligible militancy activities through its armed wing, the Rohingya National Army. The front fell apart a few months after it was formed (Lintner 2001).

3.4. 2010 – present

Myanmar’s first elections since 1990 were held in November 2010. In Rakhine State, the Rakhine Nationalities Development Party (RNDP) became the only ethnic minority party to win majorities in the states and regions contested. It won 7 out of 12 elected seats in the Amyotha Hluttaw (House of Nationalities), 9 out of 17 seats in the Pyithu Hluttaw (House of Representatives), and 18 out of 35 seats in the Rakhine State Assembly. The National Democratic Party for Development (NDPD),

a party with mainly Muslim membership, won two seats in the State Assembly, while Buthdaung and Maungdaw constituencies elected Muslim candidates from the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) to the Pyithu Hluttaw. Another general election was held in November 2015, where the Arakan National Party (ANP) won 12 Pyithu Hluttaw seats, 10 Amyotha Hluttaw seats, and 22 State Hluttaw seats – a total of 45 seats.

According to the 2014 census, Rakhine currently has a population of around 3.2 million, of which over 2 million (63.3%) are Buddhists and around 1.12 million (35.1%) are Muslims.

4. MUSLIMS IN NORTHWESTERN RAKHINE STATE: A BRIEF HISTORY

As a coastal region with trade and political links along with geographical proximity to Bengal and ports along the eastern coast of the Indian subcontinent, Rakhine has had more cultural and religious influences from South Asia. These include earlier exposure to Hinduism, Buddhism and also Islam. While the history and culture of modern Rakhine since the 4th century AD is deeply rooted in Buddhism, Islam exerted a certain level of influence starting from 1430 when the Mrauk U kingdom was established (Yegar 1972, 18).

While Islam had some influence on the communities living in Rakhine, much of the pre-colonial history of the Muslim communities who inhabit northwestern Rakhine State have been heavily based on speculation, contentions and liberal interpretations of facts or revisionism made by activists and political leaders. Archaeological remains, primary documents and historical evidence tend to not support many of the politicized conjectures proffered by “Rohingya” activist-academics.

In an entry in the 1917 Burma Gazette, the British deputy commissioner for Akyab (now Sittwe) wrote that during the reign of Mahataing Sandaya (ruled circa AD788-810), “*several ships were wrecked on Ramree Island and the crews, said to have been Mahomedans, were sent to Arakan proper and settled in villages.*” (Smart, 1917) The report has no further mention of those people. It is believed that the shipwreck survivors were settled in a few villages around the then-capital of Wethali.

Some “Rohingya” activists contend that these shipwreck survivors were Arab men who, through their marriage of local women, were progenitors of the “Rohingyas”. It is also claimed that many local inhabitants converted to Islam and by the 10th century, a Muslim kingdom was already established in northwestern Rakhine area. One version claims that the “Rohingyas’ ” forebears inhabited Arakan, had already embraced Islam long before the arrival of Arakanese Buddhists, and that the name “Arakan” or “Rakhine” comes from Persian or Arabic words (Raham). For example, it is claimed that the Rohingyas’ forebears, having supported Prophet Muhammad’s grandson and leader of Shia Islam Hussain bin Ali, fled the Battle of Karbala (in modern day Iraq) in 680AD, fled the Middle East and landed in Maungdaw (Ba Tha, 1982). These claims are used to support arguments that the “Rohingyas” are indigenous inhabitants of Arakan, and in some versions, even pre-dating the Arakanese people.

These claims cannot be corroborated with archaeological and historical evidence, nor do they conform to the wider trend of history in the region. Classic Arabic texts from 950-1350 provide

no evidence of Arab contact with the northeastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. (Tibbetts, 1979; Leider, 2012) An Arab geographer, Mas'udi (d. 956) did record the earliest known notice of Muslims in Bengal. However, Bengal - including Chittagong - was ruled by the Buddhist Pala and Chandra dynasties from the 8th to 12th century. Turkic General Bakhtiyar Khilji conquered Bengal in 1204 and Shah Jalal, a Sufi saint associated with the spread of Islam in Northeastern Bengal, arrived in only the early 14th century. (Eaton, 1993) And while the followers of Hussain bin Ali were of the Shia branch of Islam, the Muslims of Rakhine State follow Sunni Islam.

That said, Arakan was part of the commercial trade network spanning the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. Unlike the medieval kingdoms that arose in the Ayeyarwaddy valley, Arakan was more open to trade and external influence. Such exposure to maritime communication meant that Buddhism reached Arakan earlier than the interior of Myanmar while Hindu influence led to kings adding the word 'Chandra' between 788 and 957 AD. (Harvey, 137) Many traders from India and maritime Southeast Asia – including many Muslims – also called in Arakanese ports. (Leider, 2012) Interaction with the Portuguese also brought about Catholicism.

4.1 Origin of the Muslim Communities

Five junctures and periods that saw the arrival of Muslims into Arakan have been historically recorded. While Rohingya leaders and activists claim that their forebears purportedly arrived in the 7th to 8th century as shipwreck survivors and gave rise to a Muslim civilization, there is no archaeological record or evidence available to date that supports this claim of a Muslim civilization. That said, given the role of Arabs and Muslims in maritime trade around the Indian Ocean, it is feasible that there were some contacts between Arakan and the Muslim world, and that some Muslim merchants would have called port in Arakan including some shipwrecked Muslims. However, Muslim influence and presence was minimal.

The first significant arrival of Muslims was in 1430, when Muslim soldiers from Bengal fought for Arakanese king Min Saw Mon. The first historical mosque in Arakan - the Santikan mosque - was built in the eastern outskirts of Mrauk U in the 1430s by Muslim soldiers from Bengal who came over with Min Saw Mon (Yegar 1972, 18).

The next wave was in the mid-16th century during Min Ba Gri (c. 1530-1556)'s expedition to Bengal that brought back Muslim prisoners of war. There were also Muslim slaves that were sold to Arakan by Portuguese slavers based in Dianga (modern day Chittagong). Most of them were settled around Mrauk U.

In 1660, Mughal prince Shah Shuja and his supporters fled to Arakan after losing the civil war for Mughal succession to Aurangzeb. They were given asylum by King Sandathudamma but tensions soon escalated. The tensions erupted into violence after Shuja plotted to seize the throne after the Arakanese king asked for Shah Shuja's eldest daughter. Shah Shuja was subsequently executed and his followers – mainly Afghan archers – were pressganged into Arakanese service. They would gain influence to become kingmakers but were ultimately exiled to Yanbyé (Ramree) in the early 18th century. Their descendants became the Kaman people.

The fourth and most significant phase of Muslim arrival was during British colonial rule. Arakan along with Tenasserim (now Tanintharyi Region) became the first parts of Myanmar to be colonized by the British in 1826. The colonial administration proceeded to develop the economy of Arakan, with a focus on agriculture. Due to manpower shortages along with British view of the local populations as indolent, a large number of seasonal laborers were brought in from British India. Arakan saw a large number of seasonal laborers from neighboring Chittagong in Bengal, and over the years some of these migrants settled down in Arakan.

The last influx was in the period immediately following the end of the Second World War. New Muslim immigrants from Chittagong also came in the wake of the returning British and returning refugees (Yegar 1972, 96). And in 1971, there were around half a million war refugees who fled into Myanmar (compared to the nearly ten million who fled to India) to escape the violence of the Bangladeshi war of independence (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1975; Yegar 2002, 55).

4.2. Origins of “Rohingya”

Since the 1990s, the term “Rohingya” has been increasingly used to refer to Muslims living in Rakhine State, especially in the northwestern part of the state. However, despite this increased usage, the people that the term is used to refer to has not been constant by those who use it: at one end, it is used to refer to a specific group of Muslims who mainly live in northwestern Rakhine State, and on the other, some have haphazardly used it to refer to either all Muslims living in Rakhine State, or even all Muslims living in Myanmar.

While a version of the word “Rohingya” was first recorded by Dr. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton in 1799 while on his mission to the Konbaung dynasty’s capital of Innwa (Ava), it was an isolated reference and the term did not appear in other sources – Arakanese, Burmese or British – until the mid-20th century. Buchanan wrote:

“I shall now add three dialects, spoken in the Burma 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 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.” (Buchanan, 1799)

Subsequent British administrative and census records that studied the ethno-linguistic landscape of British Burma including Arakan and Akyab district did not mention the term “Rohingya”. There is reference to small Muslim communities that have lived in the area since the Mrauk U period, and also to large scale migration and immigration of Chittagonians and other people from Bengal, mainly Muslim.

The term “Rohingya” first arose as a label of identity in the 1950s, as political leaders of Muslim communities living in northwestern Rakhine state adapted to the post-colonial landscape. While the districts of Chittagong and Akyab belonged to a single entity (British India, until Myanmar became a separate colony in 1937) or were administered by the British (1937-1947), an

international border now separated the area, between Myanmar (then Burma) and then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). In May 1946, in the lead-up to the independence of British Burma and the creation of East Pakistan, some Muslim leaders went to Karachi to lobby future Pakistani leader Muhammed Ali Jinnah to incorporate northern Arakan into the new Pakistan.

While the Mujahid rebellion began in 1946 to fight for a separate Muslim state that would either be independent or merge with then-East Pakistan, there were Muslim political leaders who remained loyal to the newly independent Union of Burma. These leaders worked within the existing political structure and some served as elected officials, the most notable being Buthidaung constituency MP Sultan Mahmud who served as the Minister of Health from 1960 to 1962. Some of these political leaders began to use the term “Rohingya” to refer to their communities. However, most of the Muslim leaders – including parliamentarians – used the term “Arakanese Muslims” to refer to themselves (Rahman et al. 1960).

As Rakhine politicians gained momentum for the creation of an Arakan State, Sultan Mahmud and his colleagues pushed for a confessional power structure for Arakan Division, where public offices were to be equally divided and held in check between the majority Buddhists and minority Muslims. They also demanded for a “Arakanese Muslim state” west of the Kaladan river, citing that the Mughals under General Shaista Khan had occupied Arakan right up to the river in 1666 (Rahman et al. 1960)³. During the campaigning in the run-up to the 1960 general elections, Prime Minister U Nu agreed to Muslim demands to create a “frontier region” in order to win the support of the Muslim political leaders.

As previously mentioned, the term “Rohingya” was first mentioned by Buchanan as “Rossawn”, without any subsequent mention in British colonial era administrative and census reports. It is safe to assume that the British colonial administration, with its practice of extensive studying and recording of ethnic groups in its colonies, should not have had any reason to purposefully exclude the “Rohingya” as an ethnic group. With the term only becoming widely used post-independence, i.e. in the 1950s, after a series of failed rebellions and separatist movements, it is safe to conclude that “Rohingya” is in fact a politically constructed identity.

5. Security Concerns and Challenges

5.1. Links to extremist organizations

While most of the Muslim population living in Northwestern Rakhine state have eschewed extremist or terrorist activities, some have sought to cultivate ties with terrorist and extremist organizations operating in Southeast and South Asia. The Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) and the latest militant group – Harakah al-Yaqin / Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) have exhibited links to Islamist terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda, Harakat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HuJI), Hizb-e-Islami Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jemah Islamiyah (JI).

Abdul Qudus al-Burmi founded the “Arakan branch” of Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HuJI-A) in 1988 that operates in collaboration with HuJI-B (Bangladesh). HuJI-B is reported to have operated

³ However, this is not supported by historical evidence. It is likely that the maximum of Mughal conquest of

a number of training camps in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Cox's Bazaar near the Myanmar-Bangladesh border, and recruited and trained "Rohingya" refugees (Gunaratna and Kam 2016, 293). Malaysian military officer Abdul Manaf Kasmuri (aka Kolonel Jihad) who worked for al-Qaeda after being radicalized during his peace keeping deployment to Bosnia and Herzegovina provided military training to cadres from the Arakan Rohingya National Organization for their plans to undertake "jihad" in Myanmar.

In January 2000, a "Rohingya" militant named Salimullah attended a meeting near Kuala Lumpur that was hosted by Riduan Isamuddi, a leader in both al-Qaeda and Jemah Islamiyah better known as Hambali. The meeting was attended by representatives of various jihadist organizations operating in Southeast Asia, and led to the formation of the *Rabitatul Mujahidin*, or Mujahideen League (Conboy 2006, 85). The meeting overlapped with the infamous Kuala Lumpur "al-Qaeda Summit" that was attended by senior al-Qaeda members and also two of the September 11 attack hijackers.

5.2 Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO)

Before the ARSA attacks of 2016 and 2017, the "Rohingya" militants and extremists had ties with international terrorism networks, reports dating as far back as the late 1990s and early 2000s. Al Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden told a Karachi-based newspaper, *Ummat*, on 28 September 2001, that there were "strong jihadi forces" present in Burma – very likely referring to the "Rohingya" militants on the Myanmar-Bangladesh border. (Lintner, 2001)

The RSO has had ties to foreign extremist organizations (including Jamaat e islami in Bangladesh and its youth branch Islami Chatro Shibir) and received training from Afghan Mujahideen, according to Jane's Intelligence Review in July 1993. The RSO also has links to the Aqa Mul Mujahidin (AMM) terror group that had been reportedly active in Maungdaw. (Euro-Burma Office, 2016)

The RSO also has a Pakistan branch and Rohingya communities reported that Nur Hussain Arakani, head of the RSO's Pakistan branch had been collecting funds and relief material from Hafiz Mohammed Sayeed of JuD/ LeT and Maulana Abdu Rauf of JuD-linked Falah-e-Insaaniyat foundation (FIF)⁴ in 2015. (Mizzima, News, 19 October 2016)

In fact, according to senior Bangladeshi intelligence officials, it was JuD/LeT that inaugurated the Difa-e-Musلمان-e-Arakan conference in Pakistan, to bring attention to the "Rohingya" in Rakhine. (Mizzima, News, 19 October 2016)

The RSO has strong ties to HuJI, Bangladesh's main terrorist group, that was founded in 1992 – reportedly with funds from Osama Bin Laden. The U.S. State Department has designated HuJI as a terrorist organization, with ties to Islamic militants in Pakistan. It belongs to the "Jihad Movement in Bangladesh" which was one of the terrorist groups that signed the declaration of 'holy war' against the U.S. in February 1998, Bin Laden included. HuJI's stronghold is in the southeast, including the Myanmar-Bangladesh border area, a volatile region rife with illicit

⁴ This is the humanitarian front of the LeT.

activities such as smuggling, arms trafficking, and drug trafficking. HuJI was infamously involved in the July 2000 assassination attempt on Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina.

In early May 2002, nine terrorist groups including HuJI met near Ukhia (south of Cox's Bazaar) and formed the Bangladesh Islamic Manch (Association). This new umbrella group included a group claiming to represent the "Rohingya". For coordination among the nine member-groups, a "Jihad Council" was formed. (Lintner, 2002)

RSO also sent a delegation to the Forum Umat Islam in Jakarta in June 2013, a gathering of Islamic militant and extremist groups. According to Ar Rahmah Media Network's website the two delegates – Ustadz Abu Arif and Abu Shafiyah (commander of the Rohingya Laskar Mujahideen) – called for personnel, weapons, funds, and medical assistance to fight for the "Rohingya". The website reports that they unequivocally called for an armed struggle and that "there should be no diplomacy whatsoever". (Arramah news, 20 June 2016;)

Currently, there is a HuJI-A or HuJI-Arakan branch, led by its founder Abdul Qadoos Burmi who is a Pakistani national and a Burmese Muslim who fled to Pakistan in the early 1980s. He founded HuJI-A in 1988 with the goal of "liberating" Rakhine State. He has close ties to the well-known global terror group Lashkar-e-Tayyaba/Jamaat ud Dawa (LeT/JuD). (Asia Times, 20 September 2017) He fought with the Taliban in Afghanistan against the Soviets in the 1980s before joining HuJI in Karachi. HuJI-A is based in Korangi Town in Karachi, and had worked closely with Ilyas Kashmiri, head of al-Qaeda's 313 Brigade. (Euro-Burma Office, 2016)

5.3 Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA)

Contrary to its declarations, ARSA is not a freedom fighter group. (The Irrawaddy, 17 February 2018) Its leader Ataullah abu Ammar Junjuni, also known as Hafiz Tohar, was recruited by HuJI-A Chief Abdus Qadoos Burmi in Maungdaw and sent for training in Pakistan. (Euro-Burma Office, 2016) In fact, ARSA was initially known as Harakah al-Yaqin, "the faith movement", without the words "Arakan" or "Rohingya" in its name. Like the RSO, its members also received training from veterans of the Afghan wars, mostly conducted in the Myanmar-Bangladesh border area. Around 150 of its members are also non-Rohingya militants. (Asia Times, 20 September 2017) In August 2012, JuD operatives Shahid Mahmood and Nadeem Awan visited "Rohingya" extremists in camps along the Bangladesh-Myanmar border. Pakistan-linked "Rohingya" terror groups are also present in Mae Sot, on the Thai side of the Thai-Myanmar border. Two terrorists, Maulana Ustad Wazeer@Noor Kabir and Fareed Faizullah, Pakistani nationals of "Rohingya" origin, have been recruiting "Rohingya" migrants who fled from Bangladesh to Thailand or Malaysia and have been unable to procure necessary documentation in those countries for refuge. (Mizzima, News, 19 October 2016)

ARSA is extremely active in disseminating its propaganda on the internet, particularly through social media platforms such as YouTube and Twitter. It is reported to have over 20 YouTube channels and an active Twitter account. This is similar to recruitment and public relations tactics practiced by terror groups such as ISIL.

There have been four attacks by “Rohingya” militants in recent years. An attack was carried out in November 2012, where three Tatmadaw soldiers were abducted on the Bangladesh-Myanmar border, prompting the government to seal the border at the Maungdaw crossing. (The Irrawaddy, 19 May 2014) This was believed by Myanmar authorities to have been carried out by the RSO.

Several RSO attacks took place in May 2014, in Maungdaw Township, one on May 17, where four Border Guard Police officers were killed and one was wounded after a clash. Seven officers from border posts Number 52 and 53 were on patrol when they were ambushed. A separate attack also took place at border post Number 39, where two were killed. Four civilians were also killed in another attack by an unknown armed group, likely the RSO. The victims were Thinbawkwae village administrator Zaw Kawria and three of his family members in Maungdaw. In the same report by The Irrawaddy, locals expressed fears about their security due to the “inadequacy of the border fence’s deterrent capability.” (The Irrawaddy, 19 May 2014)

The third attack occurred on 9 October 2016, launched by at least 250 militants. According to official reports, nine police officers were killed and five were injured during coordinated attacks at night at Kyikanpyin, Kotankauk, and Ngakhuya in Maungdaw and Rathedaung Townships. The attackers were armed with knives and hand-made weapons. They were able to steal more than 50 guns and 10,000 bullets from the border posts. The bodies of eight attackers were found and two attackers were captured alive. Interrogations by police revealed that they were from Aqa Mul Mujahidin (AMM) linked to RSO and that they had planned to attack six separate locations. (Euro-Burma Office, 2016) A report by Mizzima news on 19 October 2016 proved that AMM’s leader then was Ata ullah abu Ammar Junjuni@Hafiz Tohar, current chief of ARSA.

The most recent attack, and the most brutal to date, was carried out by ARSA. The attack came a mere six hours after the Kofi Annan Advisory Commission on Rakhine released its final report. On 25 August 2017, ARSA launched a coordinated attack against 30 police posts and an army base in Maungdaw, Buthidaung and Rathedaung Townships. The attackers were equipped with hand-held explosive devices, machetes, and small arms, and killed ten police officers, a soldier, and an immigration official. Official reports state that 77 insurgents were killed and one captured. (International Crisis Group, August 2017)

5.4 Security Challenges

In recent years, security in Rakhine State has been weak. This can be attributed to two things: 1) the weakening of the government’s intelligence network after the removal of former intelligence chief General Khin Nyunt and the subsequent purge of his military intelligence personnel; and 2) the disbandment of Border and Immigration Control Command (widely known by its Burmese acronym “Na Sa Ka”). (Ye Htut, October 2017)

Before the attacks in recent years – in 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2017 – the RSO was able to carry out only one major attack in 1994, where 300 “Rohingya” militants five army posts including Ale

Than Gyaw and Myin Lut in April 1994. Both the Myanmar army and Bangladeshi authorities attacked RSO camps and arrested its members and the RSO suffered heavy losses.

5.4.1. Keeping Check on Illegal Immigration

Under BSPP rule, at least five crackdowns on illegal immigration were carried out, the most high-profile one being the Nagamin Operation in 1978. Contrary to widespread belief, this was not confined to Rakhine and was in fact a nationwide operation. In Buthidaung Township, 83 village tracts, 17,193 households, and 108,431 people were inspected and scrutinized. Officials found 643 illegal immigrants. Approximately 35,596 people fled across the border into Bangladesh. In Maungdaw Township, 99 village tracts, 19,418 households, and 125,983 people were inspected and scrutinized. Officials found 458 illegal immigrants. Approximately 98,227 people fled across the border into Bangladesh. Additionally, 156,683 people from other townships also fled to Bangladesh. (Ye Htut, October 2017)

5.5 “Na Sa Ka” – Border and Immigration Control Command

It was after the April 1992 MoU for refugee repatriation between the Bangladesh and Myanmar governments that the “Na Sa K” was formed, in June 1992 - the Border and Immigration Control Command (known by its Burmese acronym Na Sa Ka). The Na Sa Ka was led by military intelligence personnel and included military intelligence, law enforcement, and immigration and customs. It started with nine operational areas (later eleven in 2012) and twenty-five stations. Its goals were to check illegal immigration and border trade and maintain border security while operating an intelligence network. To that end, it implemented a mapping, registration, and inspection process where every village in Northern Rakhine was visited on a yearly basis to:

- a. Register households and draw village maps.
- b. Form village administrations.
- c. Photograph family members of each household.
- d. Register the village population.
- e. Create a registration and reporting system for visitors, births, deaths and marriages.
- f. Issue travel documents.
- g. Conduct regular inspections.
- h. Hold regular meetings with village heads.

The Na Sa Ka also began issuing temporary identification cards, called “white cards”, as part of their citizenship verification process.⁵

Under the SLORC/SPDC, Maungdaw – along with all major townships bordering Myanmar’s neighbouring countries except for Laos – was designated a Special Administrative District. Na Sa Ka had authority over immigration and customs these districts. In the 1990s, the SLORC/SPDC government also established 24 villages in Northern Rakhine, populated by ex-convicts from prisons all over the country to increase the number of Buddhists in the area. The villages became known widely by the Myanmar acronym for the Ministry for Development of National Races and

⁵ These would later be handed to self-identifying “Rohingya” in Rakhine during the November 2010 elections held by the SPDC.

Border Affairs (now Ministry of Border Affairs under direct control of the military) – “Na Ta La”. As of 2007, Na Ta La villages had over 1,700 households and over 8,700 inhabitants. (Ye Htut, October 2017)

While Na Sa Ka could be argued to be an effective system for preventing illegal immigration in theory, in practice there was nationwide corruption in the lower levels of the Ministry of Border Affairs. Anecdotal evidence and verbal reports indicate that immigration and customs officers abused their powers and accepted bribes to let illegal immigrants in and in many cases, even issued identification cards.

5.6. Military Intelligence

The military intelligence grew powerful under the BSPP and SLORC/SPDC governments. The RSO and other separatist movements in Rakhine, along with their supporters, were closely monitored. The military intelligence was purged twice, with its chiefs removed – once under the BSPP in May 1983 and then under the SPDC in October 2004. The first purge did not effect the country’s intelligence network and security as much as the second purge, as the military intelligence held a lot more power and responsibilities under the SLORC/SPDC government than it did under the BSPP. Intelligence Units 10 and 18 operated in Rakhine State, where Unit 18 operated in Buthidaung-Maungdaw and Yathetaung areas which were predominantly Muslim. Unit 18 worked with local mullahs who had considerable influence over the villagers. This was done in exchange for special favours such as permission to travel freely throughout Rakhine and going to Yangon for medical treatment. Several local villagers were also offered special privileges, such as border-trade with Bangladesh, to be informers as part of the intelligence network. (Ye Htut, October 2017)

The second military intelligence purge in 2004 saw the removal of all high-ranking officers except four, with all commanding officers of intelligence units and the Na Sa Ka given long prison sentences. Members with over two years of service were either dismissed or imprisoned. The military intelligence’s powers and resources were greatly reduced and the entire institution was reorganized into the Military Affairs Security (now Military Security Affairs). The Na Sa Ka was also reorganized but continued its mapping, registration, and inspection process. (Ye Htut, October 2017)

The newly reorganized military intelligence never reached the level of effectiveness that its predecessor had, as its authority and resources were decreased. The Na Sa Ka itself was also disbanded in July 2013 under President U Thein Sein’s administration due to allegations of discrimination against the Muslim population and demands from international organizations, human rights groups, and the NLD, to ease international pressure before his visit to Europe. The Border Police force was formed for border security and the mapping, registration, and inspection process was passed on to the Immigration Department. The respective handovers of authority and responsibility were uncoordinated and resulted in inefficiencies. Consequently, intelligence networks were never able to penetrate the communities and monitor criminal activities as the old military intelligence networks used to and yearly inspections to prevent illegal immigration could not be conducted efficiently. (Ye Htut, October 2017)

6. Socio-Economic Development

6.1. Socio-economic profile of Rakhine

Total Population: 3,188,807 – includes estimation of those not enumerated⁶

Male: 1,526,402 (47.87%)

Female: 1,662,405 (52.13%)

Age Groups: 0-14 at 31.1%; 15-64 at 62.2%; 65+ at 6.7%

Urban: 17% of population

Literacy rate: Age 15+ at 84.7%; 92.2% for males; 78.7% for females

Labour force participation: Age 15-64 at 58.8%

Unemployment rate: Age 15-64 at 10.4%⁷

Per capita income: MMK 42,000 per month/USD 500 per annum⁸

Poverty rate: 78% of state's population (compared to 38% nationally)⁹

Access to safe drinking water: 50-58% of population¹⁰

Access to sanitation: 48-54% of population (around 41% have no access to sanitation)¹¹

Food security: 10% of population identified as “food poor”¹²

Malnutrition levels: 53% of population

(highest levels in Myanmar with 16.3% prevalence of severe malnutrition)¹³

Transportat Infrastructure: 350 miles of road in-state for 14,000 square miles (200 miles interconnecting towns/cities & 150 miles within towns/cities)¹⁴

Electrification rate: 26% of population (2010 data)¹⁵

⁶ Other data excludes those not enumerated. Republic of the Union of Myanmar. Department of Population, Ministry of Immigration and Population. Rakhine State Report, the 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census. Available at: http://www.dop.gov.mm/moip/index.php?route=product/product&product_id=117

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ This is data from mid-2013. Republic of the Union of Myanmar. “Final Report of Inquiry Commission on Sectarian Violence in Rakhine State.” 8 July 2013. Available at: http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs15/Rakhine_Commission_Reporten-red.pdf

⁹ Data from the World Bank, included in UNDP's “The State of Local Governance: Trends in Rakhine” (February 2015). Available at: http://www.mm.undp.org/content/dam/myanmar/docs/Publications/PovRedu/Local%20Governance%20Mapping/UNDP_MM_State_of_Local_Governance_Rakhine_ENG.pdf

¹⁰ Center for Diversity and National Harmony. Rakhine State Needs Assessment, September 2015. Available at: http://themimu.info/sites/themimu.info/files/documents/Report_Rakhine_State_Needs_Assessment.pdf

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² “Food poverty” here is defined as insufficient household income to meet minimum caloric requirements. Center for Diversity and National Harmony. Rakhine State Needs Assessment, September 2015.

¹³ Center for Diversity and National Harmony. Rakhine State Needs Assessment, September 2015.

¹⁴ Republic of the Union of Myanmar. “Final Report of Inquiry Commission on Sectarian Violence in Rakhine State.” 8 July 2013. Available at: http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs15/Rakhine_Commission_Reporten-red.pdf

¹⁵ Center for Diversity and National Harmony. Rakhine State Needs Assessment, September 2015.

6.2. Addressing Challenges in Rakhine

In September 2016, at the request of State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the Kofi Annan Foundation and the Office of the State Counsellor formed the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State chaired by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. The Commission was mandated to examine the complex challenges facing Rakhine State and to propose responses to those challenges. In March 2017, the Commission issued a set of interim recommendations.

On 24 August 2017, the Commission released its final report on Rakhine State.¹⁶ As was recommended by the report, the Myanmar government formed the Committee for Implementation of the Recommendations on Rakhine State, which has begun taking steps for implementation. The Committee has recently published the first report on the progress of implementation of the recommendations.

One of the most significant developments in recent months, was the formation of the 10-member Advisory Board to the Committee for Implementation of the Recommendations on Rakhine State on 14 December headed by Dr. Surakiart Sathirathai, former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand. The primary purpose of the Board is to provide external perspective and advice to the Committee for the implementation of recommendations more effectively and efficiently. The Board has visited Rakhine State, and has already provided a five-point advice to the Implementation Committee as preliminary reflections. The points made by the Board include sustainability of implementation projects, wider participation of the UN agencies in the repatriation and resettlement process, and granting of full humanitarian access, among others.

6.3. Union Enterprise for Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement, and Development in Rakhine (UEHRD)

The Union Enterprise for Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement, and Development in Rakhine (UEHRD) is a public-private Union enterprise launched on 12 October 2017, with three main goals: providing humanitarian assistance, carrying out resettlement and rehabilitation and working for development in Rakhine State. The UEHRD's work has been to spearhead various projects to implement the recommendations of the Advisory Commission. State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi acts as Chairperson and Dr. Win Myat Aye the Union Minister for Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement acts as Vice Chairman. This Union Enterprise brings together the experience and expertise of the public and private sectors and will be funded by public funds and generous donations from UN agencies, friendly countries, international and regional financial institutions as well as by donors inside the country and those who are living abroad all over the world.¹⁷

6.3.1 Task Forces

The UEHRD, with the assistance of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar Federation of Chamber of Commerce and Industry (UMFCCI), has set up nine private sector led Task Forces:

¹⁶ Available at: http://www.rakhinecommission.org/app/uploads/2017/08/FinalReport_Eng.pdf

¹⁷ <http://rakhine.unionenterprise.org/>

1. Construction and Infrastructure Task Force (CITF)
2. Agriculture and Livestock Task Force (ALTF)
3. Development of Industrial Zone Task Force (DIZTF)
4. Communications, Information, and Media Task Force (CIMTF)
5. Job creation, opening and running of Vocational Training Task Force (JVTF)
6. Healthcare Task Force (HTF)
7. Microfinance Support Task Force (MSTF)
8. Crowd Funding Task Force (CFTF)
9. Tourism Promotion Task Force (CPTF)

The nine Task Forces function to coordinate and collect private sector resources for both emergency and humanitarian work and longer term socio-economic development in Rakhine State.

For progress on UEHRD work, please refer to “The Report to the People on the Progress of Implementation of the Recommendations on Rakhine State”, published on 13 February 2018, in the Annex section. The report includes details on the repatriation and resettlement process, humanitarian assistance for IDPs, and socio-economic development projects in Rakhine State.

The Red Cross Movement also continues to play an important role in providing services to address the urgent need of humanitarian assistance in affected areas. The ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre) is also actively participating in the Government-led mechanism to deliver humanitarian assistance.

In early to mid-February, members of the diplomatic corps in Myanmar, representatives of UN agencies including UNHCR, WFP, FAO, and the World Bank were provided with access to the Maungdaw area for observation of the preparations for repatriation and related projects. The Foreign Minister of Japan and the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom have also visited the area, accompanied by their media personnel.¹⁸

7. Repatriation

The last refugee repatriation process was carried out in 1992. Bangladesh and Myanmar signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in April 1992 and formed a Working Group for the repatriation process, in collaboration with the UNHCR. A joint statement was issued, on 28 April 1992, at end of the visit of the 14-member Myanmar delegation to Bangladesh, led by Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw and included Information Minister Brigadier General Myo Thant. The delegation met with Bangladeshi President Abdur Rahman Biswas, Prime Minister Beum Khaleda Zia, Information Minister Nazmul Huda, Minister of State for Relief and Rehabilitation Lutfur Rahman Khan, Chief of Mission of UNHCR in Dhaka Darioush Bayandor.

The agreement included the voluntary return of refugees who had National Registration Cards, other relevant documents issued by Myanmar authorities, or could provide evidence of their prior residence in Myanmar. There were to be no restrictions on the number of refugees repatriated, as long as they could establish “bonafide evidence” of their residence in Myanmar. Additionally, both

¹⁸ Statement by H.E. U Hau Do Suan, Ambassador/ Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar to the United Nations at the Security Council Briefing Session on Myanmar (New York, 13 February 2018)

governments also agreed to cooperate to prevent illegal border crossings from both sides of the border. Over 230,000 refugees were repatriated.

Both governments further agreed to cooperate to ensure security along the border areas, in compliance with the Agreement on Border Arrangements and Cooperation (Border Ground Rules) signed in 1980. Lastly, the two governments agreed to oppose all forms of terrorism, insurgency, and illicit activities such as smuggling, arms trafficking, and drug trafficking directed against each other. It was decided that the respective law enforcement agencies would collaborate on such matters.¹⁹

7.1. Current repatriation process

On 23 November 2017, the governments of Myanmar and Bangladesh signed an MoU on the "Arrangement on Return of Displaced Persons from Rakhine State". The Arrangement includes the formation of a Joint Working Group for the repatriation process. Its terms of reference was signed on 19 December 2017.²⁰

On 15 January 2018, the first Joint Working Group Meeting was held. The Physical Arrangement for Repatriation was signed by the both governments on 16 January 2018.²¹ According to the Physical Arrangement, the repatriation process was to commence on 23 January 2018.²²

The returnees are to be received at two reception centers, i.e. Taung Pyo Letwe and Nga Khu Ya. After one or two nights, the returnees are to be temporarily accommodated at Hla Phoe Kaung transit camp before permanent settlement. Myanmar will initially receive 300 returnees (150 returnees per center) per day to ensure smooth and safe return. The number shall be increased based on the progress of the return and shall be reviewed in three months. The number of transit camps and reception centers may be increased based on requirement, as the repatriation process progresses. In the process of repatriation, Myanmar will draw on the services of the UNHCR as needed. On 5-6 February, the UNHCR has conducted its second workshop on voluntary repatriation. Officers and staff members from nine relevant government ministries including the Ministries of Home Affairs, Immigration, and Foreign Affairs, have been assigned at the reception and transit centers to facilitate the repatriation process.²³

Myanmar has provided to Bangladesh a list of 508 Hindus and 750 Muslims who have been verified as Myanmar residents, to be included in the first batch of repatriation. In addition, on 30 January, the Myanmar Ministry of Foreign Affairs has provided Bangladesh with information related to resettlement plans, provision of livelihoods assistance, access to basic services, and safety arrangements for verified returnees.

¹⁹ Joint Statement by the Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh and Myanmar Issued at the Conclusion of the Official Visit of the Myanmar Foreign Minister to Bangladesh from 23-28 April 1992.

²⁰ Statement by H.E. U Hau Do Suan, Ambassador/ Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar to the United Nations at the Security Council Briefing Session on Myanmar (New York, 13 February 2018)

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² This was pushed back due to a delay in administrative and logistical preparations.

²³ Statement by H.E. U Hau Do Suan, Ambassador/ Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar to the United Nations at the Security Council Briefing Session on Myanmar (New York, 13 February 2018)

On 16 February 2018, Bangladesh Home Minister Asaduzzaman Khan formally handed over to his Myanmar counterpart Lieutenant General Kyaw Swe, a list containing 8,032 people from 1,673 families. Discussions are also underway for a solution to some 6,000 refugees currently on the “Zero Line” of the Bangladesh-Myanmar boundary, where habitation is prohibited according to the boundary agreement. (Channel News Asia, 17 February 2018)

Annex I

Annex II

Annex I

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THE SUNDAY NATION
VOL. VI RANGOON No. 325 SUNDAY REGD. No. 177, JUNE 13, 1954

PEASANTS HARD HIT BY LONG DELAY IN PAYMENTS
Brokers Profit From Farmers' Need For Ready Cash
(By The Editorial Staff of "The Nation")

Inefficiency in the handling of the rice industry in Thailand, Siam and Khyatsan, however, is reflected not only in the delay in payments to these farmers but also in the no payment for their produce.

The other aspect of the situation emerged during the investigation made by The Nation's editorial staff into the situation across the river from Bangkok, in these three areas, the SAMU has not been purchasing publicly, but has appointed as its agent the State Commerce Banking and Marketing Union, The Union and closed the business by the end of April. Paddy was bought as an purchasing-point, free in each of the three townships of Khyatsan, Thongsa and Siam. Some of it was purchased from brokers and traders, but the largest percentage of it came directly from the peasants themselves.

The method of purchase is simply as follows: the peasants have no direct access to the official purchasing-point, in fact, in fact, before they are allowed to enter their grain and pile it in the specified enclosure, they have first to be issued with serial numbers marking their position in the "queue". This stage is the last opportunity for the exercise of corrupt practices on the part of the purchasing agents for it is required that peasants who are willing to pay the small commission of K. 5 per hundred baskets invariably receive their number in return time.

The paddy is then piled in the Union's enclosures, with the assurance that it will be safeguarded. However, several days usually elapse before the actual weighing of the paddy is done, and in this period it is not unusual for some of the stacked paddy to disappear. The peasants get paid only for the amount found on the scales at the time of weighing it.

This however, is not the end

VIETS AT GENEVA: Viet-Minh Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong is greeted as he arrived at the airport in Geneva by Mr. Gromyko, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, in dark coat, and Chou En-lai (extreme right). Also at the airport was General Nam B. of Korea.

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Jeeps Collide In Bham
(From Our Staff Reporter)

Two men and three children were injured in a collision between two jeeps yesterday afternoon at the Bham roadhouse. The accident occurred when a jeep (RC-1173), trying to overtake two buses, ran into another jeep coming from the opposite direction.

U. Nu Pw, of No. 130, Yachit Road, and three children who were in the second jeep, received minor injuries.

The driver of the first jeep, Mr. Nye, was arrested by the Traffic Police for reckless driving.

Still Waiting

In Thongsa township, last payments were made to cultivators who worked in their produce on February 20. Cultivators who received tokens after that date are still waiting to be paid.

As the peasant is in need of ready cash, these delays have brought great hardship on him. In many cases, peasants have been forced, by their need of money, to "sell" their tokens to brokers and traders, who naturally take a percentage off the money which they will eventually receive from the Government or presentation of the token. This percentage varies from 10 to 20, and it is reported that brokers have done a thriving business in the three townships under study.

Some cultivators, who were anxious from the start for quick cash payments, sold their paddy harvest to traders, instead of taking it to the Government purchasing-point. These traders paid the peasant between K. 260 and K. 275 for the grade of rice that the Government is buying at K. 285. At that time it seemed that they were losing on the deal. Yet the cultivators who went straight to the State Commerce purchasing-point.

(Continued page 8, col. 3)

Rebels Take Land Does
(From Our Own Correspondent)

PAU, June 12.—Mekhalin, 30 miles east of Pau, was attacked by insurgents on June 9 night, according to reports reaching here.

The rebels, who had evidently been tipped off that there was a large sum of money in Hsuehsan U Saw Pw's house, made straight for the building when they entered the village. U Saw Pw and his family managed to escape but the rebels got away with K. 450 and 3 rifles from the house.

The money, it is reported, was held in a secret place in the cultivators.

Headman As Hostage
(From Our Staff Reporter)

60 Communist insurgents attacked Saitkun village, 7 miles west of Shwebo, on June 9, and got away with 11 rifles issued to the village defence unit.

The rebels struck at 7 a.m. using the defence by surprise. Seizing the unit's rifles, they left the village dragging the headman, U Nyan Win, along as a hostage.

The Shwebo police and a U.S. unit, arriving in answer to an SOS, went after the rebels, and captured them. The Communists, however, escaped, together with their captives, whose fate is still unknown.

Indo-China Issue Causes Fall Of French Govt.
Laniel Resigns After Defeat In Confidence Vote

PARIS, June 12.—The cabinet of Premier Joseph Laniel handed in collective resignation to the President of the Republic today.

The resignation was announced by the Secretary of State at the Premier's office, Pierre July, after calling an National Assembly by President, Audebert Le Troquer.

M. July said that it was not yet known whether President Rene Coty would accept the resignation.

Robert M. La Follette, Laniel's eleven month old Government was defeated in the French National Assembly today.

But there were not sufficient votes to cause automatic resignation.

A total of 306 deputies voted against the Government's Indo-China policy while 283 registered their support.

The opposition fell eight votes short of the 314 votes needed for an absolute majority which would mean the automatic fall of the Government. As under the French constitution, Laniel can remain in office. It was not

(Continued page 8, col. 2)

Mujahids Confirm Demand For Autonomous State
INSURGENT PAMPHLET CLAIMS "CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS"
(From Our Staff Reporter)

An unopposed demand for an autonomous Muslim state in northern Arakan is contained in pamphlets now being distributed openly to the Mujahid insurgents.

Three pamphlets, which contain The Nation story on the Mujahid demand (May 30), are signed by Muhammad Akiba, who styled himself the President of the Jihad Council, Mujahid-Arakan.

The insurgent leader claims that the "hapless Muslim minority" in northern Arakan have a right to a separate state in which they can "enjoy the same privileges and fulfil the same obligations as the other citizens of Burma". They allege that the Government of the Union is well aware of their "able and great object", but has deliberately tried to "misrepresent" the Mujahids as a band of robbers, fighting without any object save looting and robbing.

The argument used by the Mujahid leader is that the Muslim minority has long realized that it has a culture, language and religion different from the rest of the people of Arakan, while the only solution is an autonomous state in which its entity can be preserved. Such a state would allow the Muslims in Arakan to contribute to the general well-being of their "beloved country and its people", the pamphlet goes on to say.

Finally, the President of the Jihad Council concludes with a prayer that "good union will prevail with the rulers of Burma" so that the "constitutional rights" of the Muslim minority may be recognized.

These pamphlets, which bear the seal of the Mujahid insurgent organization, are being widely distributed in Arakan and in Rangoon.

LIMBIN WINS TITLE TO BURMESE EMBASSY BUILDINGS IN TOKYO

TOKYO, June 12.—A Tokyo District court has ruled in favour of the Burmese Prince Limbin against the Burmese Consulate General, as proxy of the Burmese Government in the dispute over the ownership of the Burmese Embassy property in Tokyo, it was learned here today.

The Japanese Foreign Office fears now that the dispute may result in a deterioration of relations between Burma and Japan, local newspapers reported.

Limbin acquired ownership of the said estate through his marriage with the daughter of U Thant Minye, late Burmese Ambassador to Japan who was said to have purchased the property in 1944.

Limbin refused to obey orders compelling him to leave but he was not granted an extension of his visa which expired here in principle on April 12 last.

Japan expects Burma to refer the matter to the International Court of Justice.—APF.

Limbin Meets Tin Let.

Japs Protest Against Rgn. Dock Workers

OSAKA, June 11.—A Japanese shipping company is expected to ask the Foreign Office to protest against an act of violence allegedly committed to its seamen by dock workers in Rangoon last April, it was reported today.

Japan News Agency said the alleged incident occurred on April 27 in Rangoon harbour when Burmese workers attacked two crewmen of the 4,625-ton Nankai Maru owned by the Nippon Shipping Company.

The light started when the Japanese accused the seamen of tampering with the cargo, Akada said.

The report did not say if the Japanese seamen were injured in the attack.—UP (RPS).

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Mujahids Confirm Demand For Autonomous State

INSURGENT PAMPHLET CLAIMS "CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS"

(From Our Staff Reporter)

An unequivocal demand for an autonomous Muslim state in northern Arakan is contained in pamphlets now being distributed openly by the Mujahid insurgents.

These pamphlets, which confirm *The Nation* story on the Mujahid demand (May 30), are signed by Muhammad Abbas, who styles himself the President of the Jihad Council, Mujahid-i-Arakan.

The insurgent leader claims that the "helpless Muslim minority" in northern Arakan have a right to a separate state in which they can "enjoy the same privileges and fulfil the same obligations as the other citizens of Burma". They allege that the Government of the Union is well aware of their "noble and great object", but has deliberately tried to "misrepresent" the Mujahids as a band of robbers, fighting without any object save looting and robbing.

The argument used by the Mujahid leader is that the Muslim minority has long realised that it has a culture, language and religion different from the rest of the people of Arakan, wherefore the only solution is an autonomous state in which its entity can be preserved. Such a state would allow the Muslims in Arakan to contribute to the general well-being of their "beloved country and its people", the pamphlet goes on to say.

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The fight started when the Japanese accused the stevedores of tampering with the cargo, *Kyodo* said.

The report did not say if the Japanese seamen were injured in the attack.—UP (BPS).

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THE NATION

VOL. VI RANGOON No. 327 TUESDAY REGD No. 177. JUNE 15, 1954

CASSIM ARRESTED BY E. BENGAL AUTHORITIES

Mujahid Leader To Face Trial On Several Charges

(From Our Staff Reporter)

Cassim, the notorious Mujahid leader, has been arrested by the East Bengal authorities, and is at present lodged in the Chittagong jail, it can now be confidently stated.

Following on a reliable report from a correspondent in Arakan, while attempting to cross into Pakistan, about ten days ago, *The Nation* last night interviewed a spokesman of the Pakistan Embassy in Rangoon, who confirmed the accuracy of the report.

The spokesman said that Cassim had been arrested on a charge of illegal entry, and that it was probable that other charges would be preferred against him when he is brought to trial.

It is understood that Burma has at the moment no extradition treaty with Pakistan, and that no official approach has been made by the Burmese Government for the handing over to them of the rebel leader.

However, the Pakistan Government is likely to take a favourable view of any suggestion for discussions on the matter.

Cassim, who is said to be an illiterate fisherman, has been a recognised leader of the Mujahids since the middle of 1948. He is a history-sheet criminal, having served a prison sentence for a sedition before he became a Mujahid leader. Released from jail at the end of 1947, he organised a dacoit gang in Arakan. Pursued by the police he took refuge with the Burma Communist Party operating underground in Arakan, and came under the influence of U Seinda and Bo Maung Tu, the rebel leaders of the area.

Politically trained by these leaders, Cassim turned his attention to the organisation of a Mujahid party in southern Maungdaw area. At first he had only about 30 men, but later his force increased when the followers of another Mujahid leader who had surrendered to the Government, joined his ranks.

He received further support from a group of Muslim in-

Members of a Japanese Buddhist Goodwill Mission now on a visit to Burma were entertained by Mayor U Ba Nyunt at lunch yesterday. The mission presented the Mayor with a statuette of a Japanese warrior.

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Rice Shipments

During the month of April 1954 the State Agricultural Marketing Board has shipped a total of 1,57,114 tons of rice, and rice products as detailed below:

Rangoon	85,954 tons.
Bassein	31,836 tons.
Moulmein	19,085 tons.
Akyab	30,259 tons.
Total	1,67,143 tons.

The total shipment, including loadings from January 1, 1954 up to the end of April 1954, amounted to 5,71,997 tons of rice and rice products including 46,400 tons of bran.

Lack Of Timber Throws Workers Out Of Jobs

(From Our Staff Reporter)

An appeal to the Government to either take over sawmills owned by private capital or to give them more timber, was made yesterday by the representatives of the Mun Hen Lone Sawmill Employees' Union, Ahalite.

U Ohn Maung, Vice-President of the Union, accompanied by BWPP's Yebaw Than Ngwe, stated that due to lack of "timber quota", work at Mills No. 4, 6, 9 and 10 has slowed down and 400 workers have been thrown out of employment. He stated that the four mills have been forced to share about 600 tons per day, whereas each mill needed that amount for efficient working.

The main cause of timber shortage, U Ohn Maung conceded, was the insurrection. But, in the early days of the insurrection, when the sawmill owners had been able to procure logs from rebel-held territories, the situation had not been as acute as at present. The Government's embargo on procurement of timber from rebel-held areas amounted to encouragement of the insurgents, he asserted.

To ease the situation, U Ohn Maung urged a more liberal issue of logs to the mills, and the introduction of a system to circumvent the present tendering system which tended to raise prices.

U Ohn Maung stated that if the Government was not able to undertake these measures to aid national sawmill owners, it should nationalise the mills so as to solve the unemployment question.

(Continued page 8, col. 2)

Corpse Floats Down River In Iron Drum

(From Our Staff Reporter)

The body of a man was yesterday found in a GI drum which came floating down the Rangoun River. The discovery was made by workers of No. 2 Sawmill, Ahalite, when the barrel was washed ashore.

Up to a late hour last night, the police had not been able to establish the dead man's identity. The body, which was in a highly decomposed state, was sent to the RGH for examination. It is believed that the dead man had been wounded in the back.

IWT Pay-Roll Robbery Case Brought To Sessions Court

(From Our Staff Reporter)

The Rangoon Police yesterday sent up their case against Bo Htain Win and eleven others, in connection with the IWT pay-roll robbery on May 28. The case was brought before the Court of U Tun Tin, Sessions Judge, Rangoon and Hanthawaddy.

As soon as he was brought into court, accused Htain Myint, who was arrested in Maubin, stated that he wished to retract the confession made by him before the Maubin District Magistrate. He

(Continued page 8, col. 2)

BCP Rebels Overpower Pinya Police Post

9 POLICEMEN AND ARMS SEIZED BY INSURGENTS

(From Our Own Correspondent)

MANDALAY, June 12.—A group of BCP insurgents, masquerading as UMP personnel, overpowered the Police outpost at Pinya, Madaya township, on June 11, and carried off 9 policemen together with their arms.

The insurgents entered Pinya at about 6 a.m. on June 11. Near the entrance to the village, they came upon a policeman on patrol whom they seized, forcing him to show them the shortest way to the Police outpost.

When the rebels arrived at the outpost, the Police took them to be UMP personnel, and allowed them to enter the perimeter without suspicion. Once established inside the post, the rebels dropped their pretence and covering the astonished policemen with automatic weapons, ordered them to surrender their arms.

One of the policemen who reached for his rifle was instantly shot down, and fell, grievously wounded.

In the meantime, PCs Maung Ba Wan and Maung Kun, who had seen the incident from a distance, tried on the rebels, hitting one of them. But being greatly outnumbered and fearing to wound their own men, they were forced to run away after the first burst. They made their way to the Madaya Police Station to ask for help.

Men of the 20th Ba. UMP stationed at Madaya, and the Civil Police immediately left for Pinya, but were too late to apprehend the rebels. They found the body of the insurgent who had been killed by the PCs' fire, and the wounded police constable, Maung Kyone, who had been left behind at the post.

The other 9 members of the outpost's garrison had been taken away as captives by the retreating rebels. Arms seized number 8 rifles and 1 sten-gun.

GENEVA CONFERENCE: Fall Of French Govt. May Mean Suspension Of Talks

Eden & Molotov Try To Break Nine-Nation Deadlock

GENEVA, June 14.—Mr. Eden was believed to have told Mr. Molotov today that the fall of the French Government would probably mean that the Asiatic Conference here would have to be suspended.

Meanwhile, they agreed that there should be a session of the deadlocked nine-nation Indo-China peace talks this afternoon.

Conference sources said that it would be a restricted session. The British and Soviet Foreign Ministers also decided that there should be a plenary session of the 19-nation Korean Conference tomorrow, conference sources said.

Mr. Eden and Mr. Molotov, who share the Indo-China talks chairmanship, met at the British Minister's Lakeside Villa in an attempt to break the impasse laid bare in last week's plenary session. These semi-public sessions held at Soviet request followed 12 secret meetings of the Indo-China Conference now in its sixth week.

Mr. Eden was understood to have sounded Mr. Molotov again today about a possible compromise in the dispute over Laos and Cambodia, the two smaller Indo-China states.

Meanwhile, the sixteen-nation non-Communist "Korean group" (Continued page 8, col. 1)

NEWSPAPER FORMS EVIDENCE IN U KYAW MYINT TRIAL

CASE ADJOURNED FOR HEARING OF ARGUMENTS

(From Our Staff Reporter)

The hearing of evidence in the trial of ex-Minister U Kyaw Myint and ex-Secretary to Government U Kyaw Thien concluded in the Court of the Special Tribunal yesterday with the examination of three defence witnesses: U Ba Saing, Secretary of the Economic and Social Advisory Council; U Tun Sein, Permanent Secretary, Foreign Affairs; and U Ba Pe, Editor, *Hanthawaddy Daily*. U Win Pe, Secretary to the Cabinet, was absent and waived by the defence.

U Ba Saing said he had prepared the Exhibit 83 list of the sittings of the Industrial Development Committee and Economic Council in 1948 and 1949 at which accused U Kyaw Myint presided. The list was prepared after referring to the relevant office records and witness' personal diary.

U Tun Sein said that from October 11 to December 8, 1948, accused U Kyaw Myint was Minister of Foreign Affairs in addition to his duties as Minister of Industry and Mines. Foreign Minister U Kyaw Nyein had during that period gone to India for medical case before the Minister of Agriculture and Forests.

U Ba Pe, Editor, gave his evi-

(Continued page 4, col. 2)

French Settlement In India "Freed" From Colonial Rule

MAYOR LEADS REFUGEES IN HOISTING INDIAN FLAG

MADRAS, June 14.—The tiny settlement of Yanam on the east coast of India has thrown off French rule and hoisted the Indian flag, according to the Indian news agency, Press Trust of India.

The French Embassy in New Delhi said they had no news from Yanam and could neither confirm nor deny their report.

The Indian agency said that about 200 refugees from French India marched into Yanam yesterday from Indian territory and took over the administration. They were headed by the Mayor of Yanam, Mr. Satyanandan.

At a public meeting the Indian flag was hoisted and a resolution passed declaring that Yanam had been "liberated from the French" and asking the Indian Government to integrate the territory with India immediately.—Reuter (BPS).

BBTCL Workers Protest Against Eviction Order

(From Our Staff Reporter)

About 50 ex-employees of the BBTCL Sawmill in Dunaanad have been served with orders to quit the quarters they have been occupying since the Mill was closed down in 1949.

A spokesman of the group yesterday stated that they had applied for re-employment when the State Timber Board began hiring men but for some reasons they had not yet been informed whether they were being accepted or not.

The spokesman added that they were appealing to the authorities to give them back their jobs and also to stay the eviction order till October. He pointed out that they had been allocated the quarters as legitimate workers, before the nationalisation took place and that they should not now be treated as trespassers as implied in the eviction notices served on them on June 12.

An emergency meeting was held by the workers concerned on June 13 evening. A Committee was formed to place the case before the Minister of Agriculture and Forests.

New Soviet Ambassador

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has designated Mr. Alexey Dmitriyevich Schiborin as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Union of Burma, replacing Mr. Peter Parfenovitch Vladimirov, deceased.

Mr. Schiborin, 42, joined the Foreign Service in 1938. He has a Counsellor in the Soviet Embassy in London from 1941 to 1944, and Ambassador to Egypt from 1944 to 1948.

For the next five years he served in the Soviet Foreign Office at Moscow, and was then appointed as Counsellor to the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi, where he enjoyed the same rank as Ambassador.

Mr. Schiborin has held that appointment until his designation as Ambassador Extraordinary to Burma.

CASSIM ARRESTED BY E. BENGAL AUTHORITIES

Mujahid Leader To Face Trial On Several Charges

(From Our Staff Reporter)

Cassim, the notorious Mujahid leader, has been arrested by the East Bengal authorities, and is at present lodged in the Chittagong jail, it can now be confidently stated.

Following on a reliable report from a correspondent in Arakan, that Cassim had been arrested while attempting to cross into Pakistan, about ten days ago, *The Nation* last night interviewed a spokesman of the Pakistan Embassy in Rangoon, who confirmed the accuracy of the report.

The spokesman said that Cassim had been arrested on a charge of illegal entry, and that it was probable that other charges would be preferred against him when he is brought to trial.

It is understood that Burma has at the moment no extradition treaty with Pakistan, and that no official approach has been made by the Burmese Government for the handing over to them of the rebel leader.

However, the Pakistan Government is likely to take a favourable view of any suggestion for discussions on the matter.

Cassim, who is said to be an illiterate fisherman, has been a recognised leader of the Mujahids since the middle of 1948. He is a history-sheet criminal, having served a prison sentence for a sea-dacoity before he became a Mujahid leader. Released from jail at the end of 1947, he organised a dacoit gang in Arakan. Pursued by the police he took refuge with the Burma Communist Party operating underground in Arakan, and came under the influence of U Seinda and Bo Maung Tu, the rebel leaders of the area.

Politically trained by these leaders Cassim turned his attention to the organisation of a Mujahid party in southern Maungdaw area. At first he had only about 30 men, but later his force increased when the followers of another Mujahid leader who had surrendered to the Government, joined his ranks.

He received further support from a group of Muslim insur-

Lack Of Timber Throws Workers Out Of Jobs

(From Our Staff Reporter)

An appeal to the Government to either take over sawmills owned by private capital or to give them more timber, was made yesterday by the representatives of the Mun Hein Lone Sawmill Employees' Union, Ahlone.

U Ohn Maung, Vice-President of the Union, accompanied by BWPP's Yebaw Than Ngwe, stated that due to lack of "timber quota", work at Mills No. 4, 6, 9 and 10 has slowed down and 400 workers have been thrown out of employment. He stated that the four mills have been forced to share about 600 tons per day, whereas each mill needed that amount for efficient working.

The main cause of timber shortage, U Ohn Maung conceded, was the insurrection. But, in the early days of the insurrection, when the sawmill owners had been able to procure logs from rebel-held territories, the situation had not been as acute as at present. The Government's embargo on procurement of timber from rebel-held areas amounted to encouragement of the insurgents, he asserted.

To ease the situation, U Ohn Maung urged a more liberal issue of logs to the mills, and the introduction of a system to circumvent the present tender-system which tended to raise prices.

U Ohn Maung stated that if the Government was not able to undertake these measures to aid national sawmill owners, it should nationalise the mills so as to solve the unemployment question.

(Continued page 8, col. 2)

Cassim Arrested:

(Continued from page 1)

gents who broke out of the Maungdaw lock-up in April 1948, bringing with them a large number of arms. By the middle of 1948 his movement was going strong and he was formally recognised as a leader of the Mujahid party.

By 1950 he had grown so strong that he attacked Maungdaw town itself, on two occasions. As executor of the Mujahid plan to drive out the Arakanese population and make way for Muslim immigration into the districts of northern Arakan, Cassim has committed innumerable excesses. He has burned villages, abducted women, stolen money and other valuables, and created a reign of terror in the area in which he operated.

In 1951, when he suffered reverses at the hands of the Government, he even took reprisals on the Muslim population, whom he suspected of having gone over to the Government side. At that time, he was condemned publicly by the Muslim Organisation of Maungdaw, the Jamiat-Ulema, who urged the Union Government to crush him as quickly as possible.

Cassim is also believed to have made a vast fortune for himself out of rice smuggling.

His arrest should be a telling blow against the cause of the Muslim insurgents in Arakan.

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THE NATION

VOL. VII RANGOON No. 116 TUESDAY REGD. No. 177 NOVEMBER 9, 1954

'OPERATION MONSOON' SMASHES MUJAHID HQ ON MAYU RANGE

REBEL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF KILLED IN FIERCE BATTLE

(From Our Staff Reporter)

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Colonel Shihai Rashid, who was formerly one of the Mujahid's Regional Commanders, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier in the Government Army. He was arrested in Chittagong. "Operation Monsoon" began on November 1, when Army units started a two-pronged drive along the eastern and western slopes of the Mayu Range, one column taking off from Buthidaung and the other from Maungdaw.

First objective of the Maungdaw column was Point 1440 which

Bogus BSI Men Caught

(From Our Staff Reporter)

Two men, posing as BSI officers, were detained by the Ward Headman of St. John's Kwerthit, and handed over to the Police on Sunday night.

The men had accosted Maung Kyi, a peon of the Port Commissioner's Department, and demanded that he establish his identity. When they told him that he was wanted at the BSI headquarters for interrogation in connection with a certain case, he became suspicious.

Delaying them in his house, on the pretext that he would have to inform his relatives who were living nearby, he went out and returned with the Ward Headman, who promptly detained the two men.

Handed over to the Police, the impersonators were identified as Aung Sein and Kala, of no fixed abode.



Daw Mya Sein, Lecturer in History at the University of Rangoon, left Rangoon Thursday (November 4) to visit the United States on a three-month Educational Exchange Programme.

During her three months tour of America, she will study the educational system of the United States, as well as visit Social Welfare centres and meet with various women's groups.



BURMESE MILITARY MISSION IN INDIA: A Burmese Military Mission arrived in New Delhi on November 3. Picture shows the delegates led by U Maung Maung, Permanent Secretary, War Office, placing a wreath at the Rajghat, Mahatma Gandhi's Samadhi, where they went to pay their respects.

Dismantling Of Huts Near Lakes

(From Our Staff Reporter)

The Corporation yesterday began the removal of huts on Park Road, beside the Royal Lakes, as the commencement of its programme to clear structures which disfigure the landscape in the area. About 40 huts were dismantled by the end of the day, with hundreds more still to go. Each evicted family was compensated with K 50, and with new accommodation at Thangayun. Transport facilities were also provided to convey their belongings to the camps prepared there.

Due to shortage of petrol, some of the squatters were stranded for the night.

UN Social Affairs Director Arrives

(From Our Staff Reporter)

Miss Julia Henderson, Director of UN Social Affairs, accompanied by Miss Raul, Assistant Director, arrived at Rangoon at 5:30 a.m. yesterday. The visitors were met at the Munglodon airport by Mr. S. F. Smith, Assistant UN Representative in Burma; Dr. J. F. Bulera, UN Consultant to the Government of Burma; U Khin Maung, Assistant Secretary of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation; and U Ba Set, Deputy Chief of the Protocol Division of the Foreign Office. Miss Henderson, who is on an observation tour of social welfare centres, came from New York via India.

Rebels Attack Minzu Station

(From Our Own Correspondent)

MANDALAY, November 6—Residents of Minzu, a station about two miles south of Kyaukse, were shaken out of their beds on November 4, by a loud explosion which split the silence of the night.

In a few moments, a glare lit the sky, as the railway station went up in flames.

It was another attack by Communist insurgents, who have made Minzu, in the troubled Kyaukse triangle, a favourite target of theirs for several months.

At about 11 o'clock on the night of November 4, a rebel force crept up to the station, and opened up with their weapons to drive off anyone who happened to be around. Then they tossed grenades at the boiler of the station water-pump, which is used to supply passing trains.

The boiler exploded with a loud roar, and started a fire which quickly consumed the railway offices, now housed in an old wagon.

The offices had not yet been reconstructed after the last insurgent attack some months ago, which burned down the buildings.

ROBBERY IN DALHOUSIE STREET

SMART POLICE WORK RESULTS IN RECOVERY OF K 15,000

(From Our Staff Reporter)

An unemployed youth, who staged a hold-up to enable him to go on a honeymoon, was successful in making a haul of nearly K 15,000 but was caught within an hour of the crime, before he had time to dispose of the property.

Tin Nyunt, 21, of Settan, Pazundaung, had recently married, and was short of cash. So was a friend, Khin Maung, recently come from Syria.

The pair conceived the idea of robbing Tin Nyunt's former employer, U Ba Pho alias Babu, who ran a drugstore in Thainpyi bazaar.

At 11:30 a.m. yesterday, they knocked at No. 530, Dalhousie Street, and were admitted by Daw Ohn Kyi, wife of U Ba Pho, when Tin Nyunt said he had come to return K 20 which he owed his master.

Once inside the house, Daw Ohn Kyi was threatened with a dagger and gagged, the robbers then ransacking the place and making off with K 4,500 in cash and over K 10,000 worth of jewellery from the safe.

Within a few minutes of their departure, Daw Ohn Kyi managed to free herself and raised the alarm.

PSO U Than Maung of Pabedan police station at once got Tin Nyunt's address from his sister in 24th Street, and traced the culprits to Settan. The two men were having a chat, waiting for Tin Nyunt's bride, Ma Tin Hsing, to come home from the market, when the police pounced. The money and the jewellery were recovered intact.

HOWKONG, November 8—The Viet-Minh cabinet, meeting under the chairmanship of Dr. Ho Chi-minh had decided to re-employ all public servants of the former French and Bao Dai administrations at same scales of pay they were receiving. Viet-Minh Radio reported today.—Reuter (BPS).



Tin Nyunt: A honeymoon interrupted.

ASA Survey Mission To Arrive In Burma

(From Our Staff Reporter)

TOKYO, November 7—The Ammonium Sulphate Association of Japan has decided to send a mission to Burma to survey possibilities of organizing a chemical fertilizer plant there under joint Burmese-Japanese ownership.

Jiji Press said, the Association headed by Aichiro Fuyama, President of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, acted along the lines discussed recently between Japanese chemical fertilizer makers and U Kyaw Nyin, head of the Burmese Mission, which visited Japan, and concluded a Reparations Agreement with Foreign Minister Katsuo Okazaki.

Representatives of Japanese fertilizer producers are expected to meet here on Monday to select members of the projected Survey Mission.—UP (BPS).

SATISFACTORY COMPROMISE REACHED IN BOC DISPUTE

DISTRIBUTION OF PETROL WILL RETURN TO NORMAL TODAY

(From Our Staff Reporter)

Rangoon residents who were harassed by the petrol shortage in the city yesterday can breathe a sigh of relief this morning. A compromise decision reached late yesterday evening has settled the grievance of the BOC Damedaw Workers' Union, and averted the possibility of a prolonged work-stoppage.

Throughout the day the city was still feeling the effects of the four hour work-stoppage at the BOC Distribution Section in Damedaw on Saturday.

Pumps which had been closed all Sunday were dry yesterday morning, and could not be replenished as supplies were not coming through.

This caused widespread disruption of traffic, mainly the curtailment of passenger bus services.

The Tamwee Bus Union, which normally maintains about 160 vehicles on three different routes, yesterday ran only 90 buses, of which 30 were off the road by 2:45 p.m. when their gas ran low.

The Insein Motor-Bus Union put out only 45 vehicles instead of their usual 75.

A few pumps which had a small stock in hand, dished out 4 gallons per car, and long queues of vehicles waited for this ration, causing traffic jams.

Late in the afternoon, supplies began to come in and those who were still in town were able to fill their thirty tanks.

Meanwhile, at 4 p.m. conciliation negotiations had begun in

(Continued page 8, col. 1)

TENNENT'S
T LAGER
Beer at its Best

PRICE: 25 PYAS (THROUGHOUT THE UNION)

KNDO Raid Leads To Murder, Suicide

(From Our Own Correspondent)

PREG, November 8—KNDOs who attacked Mokpalin town on the night of October 29, were directly responsible for a murder, and indirectly for a suicide.

When the rebels raided the town that night, looting and plundering, they took away with them some of the townspeople as hostages.

Among these some one identified U Paw Lar, one-time chief of Kawthoolei Railway, who had surrendered to the Government, and was living quietly in Mokpalin.

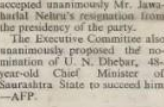
In revenge for his "treachery" to the cause, the KNDOs summarily executed him, to make an example to others who might be tempted to follow his lead.

Back in Mokpalin town, there had been another death. Daw Lon Tin, an old lady, who was robbed of all her possessions, lost with them, K 500, which she had laboriously saved for an act of merit, the offering of a Kahtin to the monks.

Hears-broken that her wish could not be fulfilled, the old lady hanged herself, leaving behind a note with a prayer that in her next existence she should be spared such sorrow.

NEW DELHI, November 8—The Executive Committee of the ruling Congress Party today accepted unanimously Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's resignation from the presidency of the party.

The Executive Committee also unanimously proposed the nomination of U. N. Dhebar, 48-year-old Chief Minister of Saurashtra State to succeed him.—AFP.



U Maung Maung Aye, BA, B.L., honorary editor of The Burman who was admitted as an Advocate before Chief Justice U Tun Hla and Justice U Aung Khine of the High Court yesterday.

KARACHI, November 8—The Minister of Sind Province, Abdul Sattar Pirzada, has been dominated for alleged maladministration, it was announced here today.—Reuter (BPS).

RANGOON

TUESDAY

REGD. NO. 177
NOVEMBER 9, 1954

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REBEL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF KILLED IN FIERCE BATTLE

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Colonel Shibal Rashid, who was formerly one of the Mujahid's Regional Commanders, was promoted to succeed the notorious Bo Cassim, when the latter was arrested in Chittagong.

"Operation Monsoon" began on November 1, when Army units started a two-pronged drive along the eastern and western slopes of the Mayu range, one column taking off from Buthidaung and the other from Maungdaw.

First objective of the Maungdaw column was Point 1440 which

was attacked at 7 a.m. on November 1. The Mujahids put up fierce resistance here. Despite heavy shelling from the Government side, the troops could make little headway against the rebel who were well dug-in in bunkers. The strong-point finally fell at 2-53 p.m. after an eight-hour battle.

When the troops entered the mountain hide-out they found six well-constructed barracks, heavy fortifications, plentiful food supplies and five new cases of rifle and tommy-gun ammunition containing some 7,000 rounds.

Meanwhile the Buthidaung column were attacking Point 309 in the Rathedaung area. The place was garrisoned by a small force of about 50 rebels, who soon fled after a brief resistance.

The following day, November 2, saw dawn attacks on Mujahid camps along the eastern slope of the Mayu Range. Points 714, 308 and 385 fell to the advancing Army units in quick succession.

15 enemy dead were found after these skirmishes.

The Government units then continued their advance along the mountain range, encountering no more resistance for the next five days. Entering the village of Htaindaw on November 5, they surprised Mujahid Lieut-Col. Dusalala and two of his aides, and made them prisoners.

The final blow of the offensive was struck on November 7 when the eastern and western columns converged on the Mujahid headquarters near the northern end of the Mayu Range.

In this stronghold about 150 of the rebels were holding out, behind a battery of heavy machine-guns which from the height of the encampment, commanded all approaches. "Operation Monsoon" troops had to call in the aid of mortars to silence the guns before they could take the position.

Launching their assault at 7-30 a.m. they hoisted the Union

Bogus BSI Men Caught

(From Our Staff Reporter)

Two men, posing as BSI officers, were detained by the Ward Headman of St. John's Kweththit, and handed over to the Police on Sunday night.

The men had accosted Maung Kyi, a peon of the Port Commissioner's Department, and demanded that he establish his identity. When they told him that he was wanted at the BSI headquarters for interrogation in connection with a certain case, he became suspicious.

Delaying them in his house, on the pretext that he would have to inform his relatives who were living nearby, he went out and returned with the Ward Headman, who promptly detained the two men.

Handed over to the Police, the impersonators were identified as Aung Sein and Kala, of no fixed abode.



(Continued page 4, col. 2)

'Operation Monsoon':

(Continued from page 1)

flag over the place four hours later.

Within the enemy headquarters they found 8 of the enemy who had fallen at their positions. Amongst them were the Commander of all the Mujahid forces in the Arakan, Colonel Shibal Rashid and his Regional Commander for Buthidaung, Colonel Abad. The rebels had fled in such disorder that they had left their headquarters intact, together with an ammunition dump containing over 20,000 rounds of .303.

The Mujahids are reported to have retreated towards Satoubauk in the north.

"Operation Monsoon", which is still continuing, has dealt a smashing blow against the Mujahid rebels who have been terrorising the inhabitants of the Maungdaw - Buthidaung area, victimising innocent people and masquerading in the name of religious liberators.

ANNEX II

The Report to the People on the Progress of Implementation of the Recommendations on Rakhine State

13 February 2018

Introduction

1. The current issues in Rakhine State are not only the concern of Rakhine State alone but also the concern of the country as a whole. The stability, peace and development of Rakhine State are absolutely critical for the whole country to become stable, peaceful and developed.

2. While there is so much work to be done for rule of law and development across the country including Rakhine State, the Government is putting a great deal of determined efforts into promoting rule of law and enhancing development. In doing so, the national level development projects and plans as well as those for Rakhine State have been implemented. The implementation of those plans and projects is found to be highly relevant to and in line with the recommendations put forward by the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State. The Advisory Commission on Rakhine State submitted its interim report in March, 2017. The implementation of the recommendations of the interim report started from 1 April, 2018 and in order to increase the momentum, the Government established the Committee for Implementation of Recommendations on Rakhine State with 19 members on 9 October, 2017. The Committee has to release its Report to the People on the progress of its implementation every four months. This report covers the period from 1 April, 2017 when the implementation of the recommendations started before the formation of the Committee up to 31 December, 2017.

The Economic and Social Development of Rakhine State

3. Since both domestic and foreign investments play an important role in the state's economy, the Rakhine State Investment Commission was established on 7 July 2017 and the Directorate of Investment and Company Administration opened its state office on 30 October 2017. Till now, they have verified and granted concessions to a total of 48 investment projects, including 6 livestock and fishery projects, 2 construction projects, 11 hotel and tourism projects in accordance with the Myanmar Citizen Investment Law, as well as 1 mining project, 27 energy projects and 1 service business in accordance with the Foreign Investment Law, with an aim to create job opportunities for local people.

4. Whenever expropriation of private land is unavoidable to execute investment projects, the owners are entitled to compensations for their land and losses. To date, compensations have been provided to 1,001 local people who lost their land and crops due to land expropriation for

investment and development projects. The fund to compensate another 7 local people has also been requested in 2018-2019 FY Budget.

5. As a form of Corporate Social Responsibility, the contributions made by the investors to the socioeconomic development of Kyaukpyu are as follows: 50 villages are supported MMK 30 million each to use as revolving funds for village development activities; and heavy equipment operator training was conducted in cooperation with Caterpillar Company. In education and infrastructure sectors, Shwe Gas Project and Southeast Asia Oil and Gas Pipeline Project have contributed MMK 7.62907 billion and USD 876257.65 respectively.

6. Previous experience has shown that large-scale projects, including SEZs, can have negative consequences on the environment, other economic sectors and local people; therefore, the Environmental Conservation Department and the Management Committee of Kyaukpyu Special Economic Zone have been discussing and coordinating to conduct the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) in a comprehensive approach.

7. Also, the coordination and cooperation with ILO are taking place to conduct labour market assessment – LMA. While preparing for LMA, trainings have been delivered to local people to enhance their vocational skills. There have been 22 types of vocational training including those for women provided to a total of 2,160 trainees. With the support of GIZ, dress-making training course was provided in Yangon for the local women from Kyaukpyu, and other vocational training on ironwork, welding, and electrician training and the training on modern agricultural techniques were also conducted. During the reporting period, 250 jobs can be created in Smart garment factory, Khine Pyi Soe garment factory and Shwe Kyar hand weaving workshop. Likewise, Shwe Project and Southeast Asia Oil and Gas Pipeline Project also offer jobs to 520 local people.

8. As transportation is an important component of socioeconomic development, high priority is given to improving transportation in Rakhine State. Starting from April up to December 2017, roads and bridges damaged after the attacks in Maungdaw were repaired and earthen roads, gravel roads, concrete roads and concrete bridges were built. Heliports were also constructed. Currently, twenty bridges and two new mountain roads on May Yu Mountain are under construction.

9. **In the land transport** sector, 6 more bus lines have been expanded in addition to the 42 existing bus lines. For **water transport**, transportation along the Rakhine coastline and rivers is improved with Kispandadi (1) and (2) vessels running along the Sittway-Kyaukphe route and Aung Takhon vessels running along the Sittway-Buthidaung route. As a part of the Kalatan Multi Modal Transit Transport Project supported by the Indian Government, six cargo vessels of 300-ton capacity started running on 26 June, 2017. **In the air transport**, approval has been obtained to build the new Mrauk U airport through public private partnership (PPP). At Munaung Airport, construction of 200 feet over-run to the south to the existing runway (4,500'x100') and RESA earth levelling work has been started. Also in Sittway Airport, construction of the expanded terminal building (180'x60') has been completed;

10. In the Communications sector, mobile phone penetration is now over 85% and there have been more than 1 million internet users.

11. The efforts made in the electricity sector, starting from 1 April 2017 up to 31 December 2017, have resulted in the increases of electricity supply in terms of the number of hours a day, which is illustrated in the following diagram.

12. **For drinking water supply**, building and repairing 26 earthen ponds were completed in the villages in Rakhine State. Thinechaung Earthen Dam (with capacity 249 million gallons) and Dotantaung (1) Check Dam (with capacity 20.39 million gallons) were constructed. Construction of concrete reservoirs, repair of earthen ponds, installation of pipes connecting reservoirs to water collecting tanks were also carried out. Additionally, 234 rural drinking water supply projects were implemented in 233 villages, sourcing water from hand-dug wells, ponds, springs and other sources. A variety of comprehensive rural development activities were also undertaken in 7 villages through Village Development Project, in 235 villages through CDD Project and in 97 villages through Emerald Green Project.

13. In support of agricultural production, mechanization was promoted by giving out loans of MMK 447.953 million to farmers to buy 233 machines and equipment for farming and fishery, and by selling 2 tractors and 575 hand-operated tractors in instalments. Moreover, 23,332 baskets of seeds of pure paddy variety, 30 baskets of seeds of winter peanuts, 4 baskets of seeds of green gram, 796 packets of vegetable seeds were distributed to 4,553 households. The training on agricultural techniques was provided to 90 farmers with the support of KOPIA project. The farming equipment operator training was conducted for four times and benefitted 110 trainees. Besides, 1,261 farmer trainings were delivered in all townships of Rakhine State.

14. Small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are important drivers of the development of the regional economy. Loans are given out to SMEs with the repayment terms from 3 to 5 years at an interest rate of 9%. Cooperating with JICA, Myanmar Agricultural Development Bank provides two step loans, with 3 to 5 year repayment terms, at an interest rate of 8% to farmers all over the country including Rakhine State. As agricultural loans have been provided to farmers in Rakhine State, loans of MMK 86181.15 million were given out for monsoon crops to the farmers in 17 townships and loans of MMK 2408.55 million were given out for winter crops to the farmers in 7 townships in 2017-2018 Financial Year.

15. In the tourism sector, the new Myanmar Hotel and Tourism Law have been drafted and submitted to the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw through the President's Office. Once that law is approved and enacted, there will be more opportunities for small scale family hotel businesses.

16. Encouraging investments and development of businesses, the **company registration process** has been streamlined by reducing the procedures up to 4 steps from previous 13 steps, and also reducing the registration fee from MMK 1 million to MMK 500,000. Additionally, a telephone

hot line (1887) has been set up to provide information needed for incorporating a company or making an investment.

17. As efforts to mitigate the negative impacts of climate change, the following activities have also been implemented: 11,764 acres of community forests have been established; 1,644 acres of Gwa Chaung mangrove forest is planned to designate as protected area; and 390,000 trees were grown through community tree planting movements in 2017-2018. Regarding production and distribution of climate resilient seeds, 441 acres of monsoon paddy seed nursery was established, 415,687 acres was planned and grown for crop diversification during 2017-2018 Financial Year. Improving irrigation systems is another important effort for agricultural development. As such, 100% of 75 projects were completed, including construction, upgrade and repairs of irrigation systems, embankments, spillways, concrete water gate, check dams, and reservoir dams. In Rakhine State, 26 environmental education programs were organized during the period from June to November 2017 and 5,174 people attended those programs.

Citizenship

18. Since the time the current Government took office, the Muslim people who applied for going through the national verification process were verified in accordance with the Law and the numbers of people who benefitted from those processes are listed below.

19. If the people who want go through the verification process do not hold any forms of identification documents, they need to hold a NV Card first in accordance with the Law. As a form of advocacy for acquiring and holding NV cards, the members of the Committee for Implementation of the Recommendations on Rakhine State have been briefing the rights and responsibilities, associated with holding NV cards, to Muslim village administrators, 100-household heads, local people and fishermen working on fishing boats on every visit of theirs to Rakhine State. During the NV processes, the necessary forms and documents for application of citizenship are also provided.

20. The Government seeks to actively engage the Islamic religious groups in the country to mobilize more participation and cooperation of Muslim people in the verification processes. This active engagement did result in discussions and negotiations between the Islamic religious groups and the members of the Committee for Implementation of the Recommendations on Rakhine State as well as the statements issued by those Islamic religious groups, urging all the Muslim people in Rakhine State to cooperate with the authorities in the national verification process.

Freedom of Movement

21. With regards to the freedom of movement for people holding NVC Card or any forms of identification document, a road map has been developed with time-frames and milestones for removing restrictions. According to the road map, the initial steps have taken in the Maungtaung District, including intensifying security and raising awareness widely among the communities of both sides that actions will be taken against any acts by any side which harm, disturb or block the people from the other side moving around, in accordance with the existing laws, rules and regulations.

Internationally Displaced Persons (IDPS)

22. Work has been started for the closure of the Thetkelpyin IDP Camp and Aung Mingalar Ward in Sittway Township, and the Taungpaw IDP Camp in Myepon Township in line with the international standards.

23. The repair and construction work carried out to improve the shelters in the IDP camps is as follows:

- (a) 50 shelters in the Say-tha-margyi IDP camp, Sittway were refurbished;
- (b) 12 individual houses were constructed in place of the shelters in the camp in Ramree;
- (c) At the IDP camps in Sittway Township, 176 new shelters, 281 new units of shelters, 482 tube-well pumps and 508 toilets were constructed.

Humanitarian Assistance

24. Humanitarian assistance has been provided by the Union Government, the public, UEHRD Youth Volunteer Program, Red Cross Movement, ASEAN countries, partner countries and various national and international organizations as follows:

- (a) Food and non food items in a total value of MMK 479.60 million by the Union Government;
- (b) Food and non food items in a total value of Swiss Franc 17 million by Red Cross Movement;
- (c) Food and non food items in a total value of USD 730,000 by ASEAN countries;
- (d) Assistance in a total value of MMK 443.75 million by UEHRD Youth Volunteers;
- (e) Assistance in a total value of MMK 79.05 million by MA UK Myanmar.

Source: GNLM (Global New Light of Myanmar). Accessed at UEHRD website: <http://rakhine.unionenterprise.org/latest-news-en/309-the-report-to-the-people-on-the-progress-of-implementation-of-the-recommendations-on-rakhine-state>

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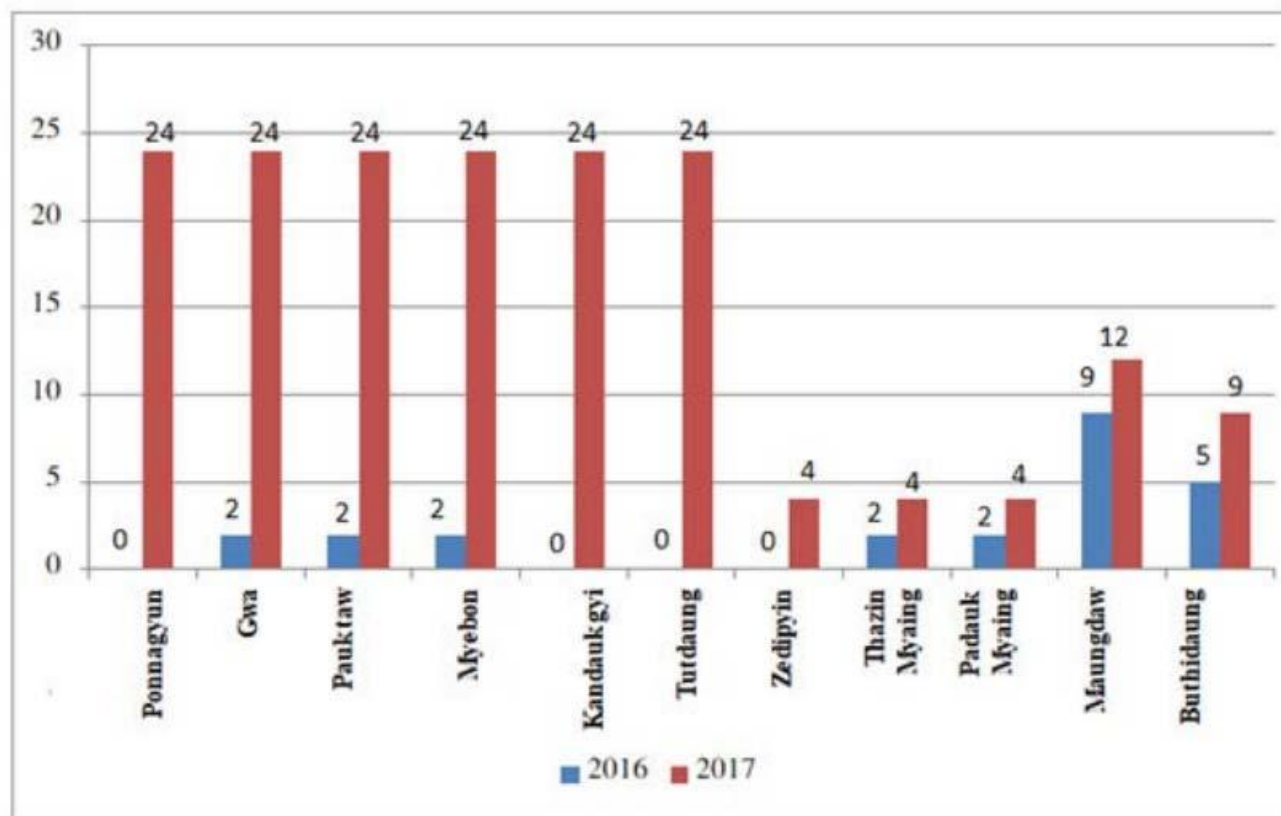


Figure: Increase in electricity supply (in hours). (Note: 2017 figures much higher.)

Sr.	Description	From 01/04/2010 to 31/12/2016	From 01/04/2017 to 31/12/2017
1.	Citizens	40	118
2.	Naturalized citizens	24	105
3.	Children under 18 of naturalized citizens entered into the list of eligible applicants for naturalized citizenship	22	129
4.	Children above 18 of naturalized citizens entered into the list of eligible applicants for naturalized citizenship	-	15
5.	Children of citizens and naturalized citizens to whom 10 year old citizenship scrutiny cards are issued	-	148
6.	Children of citizens and naturalized citizens to whom 18 year old citizenship scrutiny cards are issued	-	480
7.	People to whom NV cards are issued	2,457	5,162
8.	Biometric data collection	-	8,501
9.	Kaman people to whom the national ID cards are issued	-	3,336