

University of Windsor

## Scholarship at UWindor

---

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Theses, Dissertations, and Major Papers

---

1982

### Dynamics of ethnic relations in Burmese society a case study of inter-ethnic relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas.

A. T. M. Salimullah. Bahar  
*University of Windsor*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd>

---

#### Recommended Citation

Bahar, A. T. M. Salimullah., "Dynamics of ethnic relations in Burmese society a case study of inter-ethnic relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas." (1982). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 1802. <https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd/1802>

This online database contains the full-text of PhD dissertations and Masters' theses of University of Windsor students from 1954 forward. These documents are made available for personal study and research purposes only, in accordance with the Canadian Copyright Act and the Creative Commons license—CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution, Non-Commercial, No Derivative Works). Under this license, works must always be attributed to the copyright holder (original author), cannot be used for any commercial purposes, and may not be altered. Any other use would require the permission of the copyright holder. Students may inquire about withdrawing their dissertation and/or thesis from this database. For additional inquiries, please contact the repository administrator via email ([scholarship@uwindsor.ca](mailto:scholarship@uwindsor.ca)) or by telephone at 519-253-3000ext. 3208.

CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

I.S.B.N.

THESES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE



National Library of Canada  
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on  
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada  
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes  
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published texts, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION  
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED  
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ  
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE  
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

DYNAMICS OF ETHNIC RELATIONS IN BURMESE SOCIETY:  
A CASE STUDY OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE BURMESE AND THE ROHINGYAS

by



A. T. M. Salimullah Bahar

A thesis  
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
through the Department of  
Sociology and Anthropology in Partial Fulfillment  
of the requirements for the Degree  
of Master of Arts at the  
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1981

A. T. M. Salimullah Bahar

© ————— 1981

All Rights Reserved

**766942**

ABSTRACT

DYNAMICS OF ETHNIC RELATIONS IN BURMESE SOCIETY:  
A CASE STUDY OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS BETWEEN  
THE BURMESE AND THE ROHINGYAS

by

Salimullah Bahar

Ethnic relations in Burmese society between the Burmese and the Rohingyas is examined analytically in this case study in order to understand the dynamics of ethnic relations between these two groups. The hypothesis tested here is: in a multi-ethnic society, the higher the degree of segmentation of the subordinate ethnic group coupled with the higher degree of control over the group's scarce rewards by the superordinates, the greater the conflict.

In this research both qualitative and quantitative data were used which include: official statistics, secondary data, interviews with the Rohingya refugees of the 1978 exodus into Bangladesh, observation of the refugee camps, and interview with Burmese and Rohingya leaders. The questionnaire used for the field survey contained many open-ended questions designed to tap the respondents' underlying perspective that might shape the dynamics of the Burmese situation. The total number of cases interviewed was 309.

Rohingyas are considered by the Burmese as illegal foreigners in Burma, but this research will put forth the fact that since their forefathers came from different places

to settle in Arakan centuries ago, and their territory has been invaded by foreign powers (most important of whom were the Burmese), Rohingyas in the course of time have developed into an ethnic group of Burma. The continued invasion of their territory has resulted in the establishment of new Rohingya settlements in Chittagong of present Bangladesh. In spite of their multiplicity of background in the Arakan region, Rohingyas form an ethnic group with distinct institutions, culture, language and religion; that is they exhibit a high degree of enclosure. The pluralistic nature of Rohingyas which took its root in precolonial times was inspired by the British protection from the invading Burmese and the privilege granted them in cultural matters in the colonial period.

In the post-colonial period, Rohingyas as a pluralistic minority with high aspirations to cultural autonomy, formed a polarity of relations with the Burmese when faced with the latter's ambition to establish their language, religion and culture as the official ones in the state of Burma. The Rohingyas were denied the privileges and protection granted to them in the colonial period and became the object of collective discrimination. Their failure to negotiate their demands for cultural autonomy in the new state led them to revolt against the Burmese. In 1948-49 they controlled most of their land. In this stage Rohingyas moved from the position of pluralistic minority to that of secessionist minority. The Mayu Frontier Administration (MFA), an army administration of Rohingya territory with the collaboration of the Arakani

Burmese, was set up in 1961 to ensure Rohingya subordination.

In the face of Burmese military control and genocide of Rohingyas, the latter gradually lost the land they had once controlled; they were dismissed from their jobs, denied their right to vote, and are now called illegal foreigners in Burma. In 1978 a total of 207,172 Rohingyas were expelled from Burma, many of them wounded by bullets or their women raped by the Burmese army. Later that same year they were accepted as citizens of Burma, but they are now employed as forced labour. At present, restrictions have been placed on their movement from one place to another, and they are restricted in their right to attend religious institutions of their choice.

Considering the coercive control by the Burmese over the Rohingyas and other minorities which developed after independence, particularly during General Ne Win's rule, Burma's situation is termed here as one of attempted forceful assimilation of its minorities by the Burmese. This is termed here as a stage of conflict situation.

The findings of this study suggest that the Rohingyas, like many of Burma's powerless but secessionist minorities living under Burmese domination in this conflict situation, have developed a feeling of alienation from the state of Burma. The existence of many active minority rebel fronts (for example, the R.P.F. for the Rohingyas) suggests that Burmese coercive control has not solved Burma's problems; and if such conflict is not resolved in the years ahead, Burmese society might turn towards disintegration.

## DEDICATION

While the Burmese and the Rohingyas are in conflict, and this is an exposition of the conflict situation, none of them probably would appreciate it. So I better affectionately dedicate this to my dear mother, who with many of her type, believes in the principle of 'live and let live'.

Mother, if this tribute of reverence and gratitude gives you a day's pleasure, it would have been a 'Valo Kaz'-- a work of merit.

SB



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The researcher is indebted to Dr. C. L. Vincent, the Chairman of the Thesis Committee for his painstaking supervision of the thesis.

The researcher is thankful to Dr. Max Hedley and Dr. G. Crowell for their detailed suggestions which proved invaluable in the final drafting of this work.

In the field work for this study in the refugee camps of Bangladesh in April of 1978, the researcher accompanied a team of hardworking Sociology students from Chittagong University. Farhad, Nazim, Iftekher and Shajahan helped make possible the difficult task of interviewing refugees in that remote and almost inaccessible frontier area. They deserve thanks.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Jaffer Habib, Chairman, and Mr. Jakaria, Mr. Sabbir, and Mr. Sadjad of the Rohingya Patriotic Front, and Mr. Archi Khine (a Burmese living in Windsor) for supplying supporting information.

In the process of the work the researcher received useful counsel and encouragement from Dr. Ramchran and Dr. Singh of the Sociology Department, Dr. Musgrave and Dr. Timothy Johnson of the University of Michigan, and Mr. Ashrafuddin Ahmed and Mr. A. T. M. Hafizullah in Bangladesh. They have

the gratitude of this researcher.

The researcher appreciates very much the aid provided by the members of the Graduate Awards Committee.

Very special appreciation is due to Gurus, Professor Mohesh Pradhan, Professor Moinuddin Ahmed Khan, Mr. Mizanur Rahman Meah and Dr. Mohiuddin Haider who inspired the researcher in various ways to complete this work.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	iii
DEDICATION .....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	vii
LIST OF TABLES .....	xi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .....	xii
LIST OF APPENDICES .....	xiii
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION .....	1
II THEORY AND METHODOLOGY .....	10
Theory	
Methodology	
III THE HISTORICAL OUTLINE .....	25
Burmese and Rohingyas in the Pre-Colonial Period	
The Colonial Period	
IV POLARITY IN BURMESE ROHINGYA RELATIONS .....	40
Introduction	
Section I: Rohingyas' Degree of Enclosure	
Section II: Burmese Control in Rohingya Life	
V CONSLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS .....	63
Dynamics of Burmese-Rohingya Relations	
Implications	
Recommendations	
APPENDIX .....	82

BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	100
VITA AUCTORIS .....	109

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1 Council of Ministers .....	50
2 Rohingya Oppression in Statistical Figures from 1942-1976 .....	75
3 Some of the Major Rohingya Exoduses from 1948-1976 .....	76
4 Account of 1978 Rohingya Victims inside Burma due to Naga Min Operation .....	78
5 Statement of Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh as of July 12, 1978 .....	80
6 Sample Distribution .....	81

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Dominant and Subordinate Ethnic Groups .....	17
2	Dynamics of Ethnic Relations Expressed in the Changing Aspiration and Achievement Levels of the Minorities .....	65
3	The Congruent and Incongruent Orientations toward Centripetal and Centrifugal Directional Movement by Superordinate and Subordinate Groups .....	67

LIST OF APPENDICES

<u>Appendix</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Chronology of Burmese and Rohingya Related Events .....	83
2. Arakani Rulers from 1434-1638 .....	87
3. Prominent Rohingya Leaders of the Colonial Period .....	88
4. Major Rohingya Exoduses from Arakan to Chittagong .....	89
5. How Many Rohingyas are there in Burma? .....	91
6. Questionnaire .....	93
7. Special Mailed Questionnaire .....	95
8. Rohingya Leaders and Burmese Interviewed .....	96
9. Map of Burma .....	97
10. Photographs Showing 1978 Victims of Massacre and Extermination .....	98

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Ethnic identity of an individual in a group is the result of his or her membership in a specific ethnic group based on different criteria, for example, geographical location, language, religion, culture, or history. Ethnic identification in general tends to involve a sense of loyalty to and oneness with a particular group, thereby creating a feeling of security. In this sense, individuals and groups in all societies, developing or developed, totalitarian or democratic, closed or open, tend to base their definitions and interpretations of social reality on their ethnicity. Based on ethnic identity, pluralistic minorities in a heterogeneous society develop a polarity in relations and when the dominant group tries to absorb the subordinate groups into its own cultural values, the latter develop resistance to the dominant group's pull toward integration to the degree that they possess ethnic identity and consciousness of their differences. In such a situation there develops an interplay of forces advancing, retreating, converging or diverging in patterns of greater or lesser stability. In an interaction situation like this, as the dominant group pulls toward integration into its own cultural values and the subordinate



groups push toward gradual disintegration, there develops a dynamic process of integration versus conflict. The aim of this thesis is to examine such a trend in Burmese society.

Burma is a country in South-East Asia with "approximately one hundred different ethnic groups and subgroups" (Maring, 1973; 63). It included these ethnic groups within it from the colonial British Indian Empire of Burma. The major ethnic groups of Burma are the Burmese, Shans, Kachins, Karens, Rohingyas, Lahus, Mons and Chins.<sup>1</sup> The dominant group among them is the Burmese. The others have their differences from the Burmese in their historical origin and language; for some, such as the Karens, Mons, and Rohingyas, there is also a difference in religion. The majority of the Karens are Christians; Mons are mostly Animists; and Rohingyas are Muslims and Hindus. Most of the minorities live in areas fringing the Burmese heartland. Collectively they occupy 55 percent of the country's area. The British government administered these areas separately from the rest of Burma.

In 1947, a year before the independence of Burma, the ethnic groups entered into an agreement with the Burmese at Panglong; they would join the state of Burma with the pre-condition of autonomy in cultural and local political matters. In the constitutional convention later the same year, this agreement was changed into a unique federal system. After the independence of Burma, these ethnic groups, in varying degrees, continued resistance movements and tried to maintain

their distinct cultural identities under governments headed by the Burmese. The latter launched a programme of Burmanization to incorporate elements of several cultures of different ethnic groups into a truly Burmese national culture.

Ethnic groups that developed resistance movements against the Burmese policy were: the Karens, Shans, Kayahs, Rohingyas, Kachins and Mons. The Karens, Rohingyas and Mons have been in opposition since 1948, the Shans and Kachins since 1959. All were seeking tolerance for their cultural differences from the Burmese, and security against Burmese arbitrariness. Resentment on the part of the minorities also developed because of the adoption of Buddhism in 1961 as the official state religion of Burma. Burmese was also introduced as the only official language of Burma. In 1962, in the face of severe minority revolts, Prime Minister U Nu called the minority leaders together and opened a federal seminar to hear their demands. In December of that year, General Ne Win (known as a Burmese nationalist) and his army staged a coup d'état and overthrew the parliamentary government of U Nu and took over power. They dissolved the parliament, arrested the minority leaders, and changed the federal form of government to central control. This further deteriorated the state of dominant and subordinate group relations. Silverstein remarks:

Since 1962 two major political forces provided leadership in the nation: the military and the insurgents. Of the two, the military is cohesive and in control of the state while the insurgents are divided. (1977: 44)

During the various uprisings ethnic groups took control of most of the bordering minority areas. Hugh Tinker mentions that the minority peoples launched "substantial guerilla movements, fighting the Burma army and maintaining a somewhat precarious hold over about 40% of union territory." (1977; 38)

Recent information on the Shan people discloses that "tribal people in that region grow poppies, gather the opium and sell it to any one of several liberation armies, including the SUA (Shan United Army), the SAE (Shan Army Eastern), and the SSA (Shan State Army)." (Butler: 1980; 2) In addition to this lucrative opium trade, "they put a levy on every Shan household in order to finance their operations." (Far Eastern Economic Review (F.E.E.R.), 4 Jan. 1980). Butler reports: "These rebel groups have spent the past three decades ostensibly fighting for independence from Rangoon, the capital of Burma." (1980; 2) A Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) spokesman detailed to a F.E.E.R. reporter

a number of recent clashes with Burmese troops including one on December 19, in which they claim to have destroyed a Burmese AT 33 aircraft which had been bombing their positions. (F.E.E.R., 2 March 1979; 28)

In spite of the minority's passion to fight on, General Ne Win's grip shows no sign of slacking. He runs a tightly closed and relatively controlled society. "The press is government-run and military intelligence sources which keep a check on all unpatriotic activities are answerable to the general himself." (F.E.E.R., 17 April 1971; 20)

As a consequence of Burmese policy, news of turbulence

has reached the outside world only when it spilled over the border into neighbouring Thailand, Bangladesh or India. These issues raised concern among many researchers.

According to the tribal research centre at Chiangmai University in Thailand, there have been recent large influxes of Lahu people from Burma saying they find Thailand more peaceful. (Tapp, 1977: 80)

In 1978 a huge number of Burma's indigenous Rohingya population took shelter in Bangladesh.<sup>2</sup> There were other reports that an influx of Rohingya refugees to Bangladesh, India and other countries of the region was a regular phenomenon since the independence of Burma. (See Appendix 4)

Turbulence among Burma's ethnic groups found its description and varied analyses in many scholarly studies made on the historical, political and cultural aspects of Burma's ethnic groups. But there is no single detailed sociological study done on Burma which explains the dynamics of interethnic relations between the Burmese and the other minority groups. Adopting Schermerhorn's theoretical framework of intergroup relations, this thesis presents a case study of the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas within a sociological perspective. This is an exploration in macro-sociology, with also an emphasis on micro-analysis of facts.

The hypothesis that will be tested here is:

The higher the degree of enclosure of the subordinate ethnic group coupled with the higher degree of control over the group's scarce rewards by the superordinate, the greater the conflict. Conversely, the lower the degree of enclosure coupled with the lower degree of control over scarce rewards, the greater the integration. (Schermerhorn, 1970: 255)

In the above statement Schermerhorn emphasizes two factors that are necessary to understand the dynamic process of integration and conflict behavior of the superordinate and subordinate groups. They are: firstly, the degree of the difference between the subordinate and the superordinate groups; and secondly, the dominant group's degree of control in the subordinate group's political, cultural and economic life. These factors, assumed here, work together to cause minority responses of either integration or conflict behavior within the society. For an analysis of the dynamics of intergroup relations, Schermerhorn states:

The task of intergroup research is to account for the modes of integration (and conflict) as dependent variables in the relationship between dominant groups and subordinate ethnic groups in different societies. (1970: 15)

Although Schermerhorn emphasizes his framework as more advantageous on a broad range of data, especially comparative studies of different types of societies, however, because of its flexibility and broadness, it is undoubtedly useful in case studies of intergroup relations of a society. In order to understand the dynamics of intergroup relations this thesis aims at examining the independent variables in Burmese Rohingya relations.

The reasons for selecting the Burmese and the Rohingyas for this inter-ethnic group relations study as a case of dominant and subordinate groups respectively are as follows.

Firstly, the Burmese as an ethnic group are the majority in population size<sup>3</sup> and power. Rohingyas as an ethnic group

are a minority in population size and subordinate in the possession of power.

Secondly, the reason for selecting the Rohingyas as the subordinate group for this study (as opposed to other minority groups in Burmese society) is that, since the independence of Burma, they are one of the groups that developed resistance against the Burmese domination. Besides this, the most important reason for selecting the Rohingyas for this study is the access to information about them. During the military rule starting in 1962, and the subsequent constitutional dictatorship period, scholars were not allowed to work on the ethnic groups of Burma. They had to rely on reports of diplomats and occasional journalists permitted brief visits into the country. This researcher managed to get access to almost all possible sources of information available on the Rohingyas living inside Burma. Also, this researcher personally interviewed Rohingya refugees who in 1978 took shelter in Bangladesh.

The term "Burmese" (as an ethnic group) includes both Burmese living in mainland Burma, locally known as Burmans, and the Burmese living in the Arakan region, locally known as Arakani Moghs. The Rohingyas are also known as Rohingya Muslims or Muslims of Arakan, and the Rohingya Hindus as Hindus of Arakan. In this research, while focussing on the Rohingyas, the general term "Rohingyas" will refer to the Rohingyas of both religious groups. The Rohingyas are spread in the Arakan region of Burma, a coastal strip in the north-west part of Burma bordering on Bangladesh and India. (For

the Burmese and Rohingyas' location, see Appendix 9.)

In this introductory chapter, the issues have been identified, and both the justification and the framework of the project have been set forth. In Chapter II a review of the literature is made and the conceptual framework of the thesis is developed with a discussion of the methodology of the thesis.

Chapter III gives the social setting in which Burmese-Rohingya relations developed historically. For that, a general outline is given of the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

In Chapter IV, an attempt is made to explain the polarity of Burmese-Rohingya relations. In order to do this the analysis reverts to Schermerhorn's assumption that the existence of a higher degree of segmentation of the subordinate group with respect to the dominant group (or enclosure) is likely to create a higher degree of conflict when met with a higher degree of control of its scarce rewards and coercive control by the dominant group. In section 1 of the chapter, the degree of segmentation of the Rohingyas is examined and in section 2 the degree of Burmese control in the Rohingyas' political, cultural and economic life is studied.

In Chapter V the findings of the dynamics of Burmese-Rohingya relations are summarized, and a discussion about the implications of these findings is presented. Recommendations for further studies are also put forth.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Among the historians and political scientists who worked on Burma, for example Hugh Tinker (1977), J. Silverstein (1980), the criteria for choosing the major ethnic groups of Burma is misleading. They mention the major ethnic groups without reference to any criterion, and used the government's account of Burma's ethnic groups. Silverstein even named Rohingyas as Bangladeshi. Many groups like the Rohingyas, who by their population size and by the degree of their resistance to the Burmese have proved their ethnic identity, must be considered major ethnic groups of Burma. In this research, the criterion of population size is secondary to the more important criterion for determining ethnicity, namely, the feeling of identity and solidarity reflected in their resistance movements.

<sup>2</sup> In 1978 the total number of refugees taking shelter in Bangladesh was 207,172. This data was collected from Ukiya Refugee Headquarters on July 12, 1978 when the influx of refugees remained relatively static. For further details see Table 5.

<sup>3</sup> In 1963 the population of Burma was 22,670,000. In this estimate, Burmese included Burmese living in mainland Burma and the Arakani Burmese. Mons and Burma's other small minorities were 17,000,000. Rohingyas were separately estimated to number 1,500,000. For details on this, see Appendix 5.



CHAPTER II  
THEORY AND METHODOLOGY  
Theory

Since Burma's independence, turmoil in its ethnic relations has remained an issue of concern. The question remains as to how to understand the forces and the dynamics of the situation.

Scholarly works such as those of historians M. Yegar (1972), J. Furnival (1957) and H. Tinker (1967); political scientist J. Silverstein (1977); and anthropologist E. R. Leach (1973) may help to understand many important aspects of Burmese life and ethnic groups, but they do not explain the dynamics of the problem.

The review of intergroup relations literature reveals that the major theoretical approaches of sociology which focus on intergroup relations as discussed below are theories mostly developed in the context of Western societies. As Schermerhorn points out:

Our specialists in intergroup relations have lacked firsthand contacts with population groups in the developing nations and because of this have missed the stark contrasts that exist between ethnic enclaves in the new states and those in more industrialized societies. (1970: 5)

One of the Western sociologists' prominent intergroup theorists, E. R. Park developed a theory under the ecological approach which presents a race relations cycle in which "... inter-racial adjustments that follow...migration and conquest

involve racial competition, conflict, accommodation and eventually assimilation. (1950: 104) There are other theorists in this branch such as Lind (1969) and Glick (1955) with a similar approach to race relations.

The status consistency theory focuses on social change in race relations as a result of the effects of economic change on the society's colonial structure. Using this approach, Bagley (1970) explains racial problems in the United States as a result of social mobility experienced by some Negroes which resulted in "rank disequilibrium," increasing the sense of deprivation, social injustice, and racial mobility.

Van Den Berghe (1967), following a societal characteristics approach, characterizes race relations as "paternalistic" or "competitive" according to the nature of society's economy, division of labour, mobility system, social stratification, population ratios, and value conflict. He mentions the first type as characteristic of a pre-industrial setting such as South Africa, Brazil and the Southern United States, where race has been the major caste element in a rigid authoritarian and exploitive situation. "Competitive" race relations, on the other hand, occur in more industrial and urban settings, where a strict racial caste is absent and integration between dominant and subordinate groups is essentially a negative competition. Van Den Berghe's analysis of intergroup relations, particularly stratification variables, is a useful example of structural analysis.

Another sociological theory of intergroup relations is the social contact theory approach. In it, emphasis is placed upon the racial implications of the kind of intergroup contact which ultimately takes place in a society's interaction with outsiders. Banton (1967), in this theoretical approach, describes six orders of race relations in which he perceives initial contact as having far-reaching sociological effects on the kind of intergroup relations which follow. Van Den Berghe (1967) also delineates particular kinds of contacts leading to racism: military conquest, frontier expansion, and voluntary or involuntary migration.

Sociologists like E. R. Park (1950), Van Den Berghe (1967), O. Cox (1948), M. Gordon (1964), R. Williams (1964), Schermerhorn (1970) and many others mentioned above separately related race relations by analysing the following: stratification patterns, basis of assimilation, patterns of distribution of power, dynamics of intergroup relations, and the system of production.

Even with all their differences in approach and style, nearly all the prominent authors of intergroup relations mentioned above, as Van Den Berghe remarks, are in fundamental agreement on a number of points:

- (1) Group relations must be studied at a sufficiently "macro" level to analyze entire autonomous societies.
- (2) The main explanatory focus of these relations is on a combination of political and economic ties between groups.
- (3) It is necessary to give close attention to a society's

historical evolution.

From the above discussion the following observations can be made. Firstly, the "interaction process" or the dynamics of intergroup relations is rarely discussed by sociologists involved in this area. Secondly, most of the sociological approaches were developed with reference to societies which have experienced migration of voluntary immigrants, slave transfers, and the movement of forced labor from one society to another.

Sociological work dealing with societies which developed from different historical backgrounds can not serve as a model for analyzing the society of Burma, a newly independent state with a colonial background.

The third observation is that most authors adopted a partial analysis of the problem in society, or in Van Den Berghe's words, "a piecemeal rather than a holistic approach." (1967:7)

Schermerhorn's general theoretical framework of intergroup relations under the contact approach is adopted for this analysis as it was developed for the understanding of the dynamics of ethnic relations at a macro level. He classifies different types of societies in terms of the recurrent ways in which dominant and subordinate groups historically attained their status as subsections of a larger society. In his classification, he places Burma in the colonization sequence group. He mentions that colonization can be considered either as a dependent variable or as a contextual variable.

In view of the brevity of colonial rule in Burma, it is considered here as a contextual variable only.

According to Schermerhorn, the independent variables that shape the ethnic relations of a society are:

(1) The degree of enclosure (institutional separation or segmentation of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and associations). The indicators of the degree of enclosure are the same as those mentioned by Van Den Berghe. They are: "ecological concentration, endogamy, institutional duplication, associational clustering, rigidity and clarity of group definition, segmentary relations of members with outsiders." (1965: 78-79)

Examination of this variable helps to explain the degree of polarity in intergroup relations, and whether the subordinate group is prone to resistance against the dominant group, when considered in combination with the other variable.

(2) The degree of control exercised by the dominant group over scarce resources of the subordinate group. This variable is measured by examining the subordinate group's relations with the dominant group in political, educational, cultural and economic aspects of life. Hall (1979) terms this as the pattern of domination by the dominant group over the subordinate group.

For the application of Schermerhorn's theory, the contextual variable that needs scrutiny here concerns the nature and type of the ethnic group and the society to which it belongs. The first contextual variable he mentions is

membership of a society in a more limited category of societies distinguished by forms of institutional dominance, i.e. polity dominating economy, or vice versa. The Burmese rule over the Rohingyas since the independence of Burma and the military takeover by the Burmese is no doubt the symbol of domination of the latter group's political institutions over the Rohingyas. This obviously has effects on the economic institutions and their relations.

The second contextual variable is the agreement or disagreement between dominant and subordinate groups on collective goals for the latter, such as assimilation/pluralism. The discussion in the introductory chapter of the thesis reveals that the Rohingyas were fighting against the assimilationist goal of the Burmese in an effort to attain cultural autonomy.

The third contextual variable which has relevance here is "membership of a society in a class or category of societies sharing overall common cultural or structural features." In this context, the Burmese and the Rohingyas are two ethnic groups in a multi-ethnic society and the problem is fundamentally one of their difference in cultural rather than class or social categories.

Schermerhorn provides a theoretical framework for analyzing intergroup relations emphasizing the analysis of the historical background of the dominant and subordinate ethnic groups. He also explains the polarity in group relations in the present. For these reasons, his outline seems most applic-

able to the case at hand. In the context of race relations, G. Kinloch advocates a similar idea that "analysis of race relations...[should] concentrate on the nature of the social setting in which these relations have developed historically and are presently defined." (1974: 92)

Since this is a sociological study of the dynamics of ethnic relations in Burmese society, the underlying objective is to analyze the process of interaction between the Rohingyas and the Burmese in its present context.

The key concepts used throughout the thesis are defined below.

#### Ethnic Group

In the modern world each society contains subsections or subsystems more or less distinct from the rest of the population. The general term to designate this fraction of the whole is "ethnic group". Schermerhorn defines an ethnic group as.

A collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. (1970: 12)

A necessary accomplishment of ethnicity is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.

### Dominant and Subordinate Groups

Schermerhorn defines dominant group as

That collectivity within a society which has preeminent authority to function both as guardians and sustainers of the controlling value system, and prime allocators of rewards in the society. (1970: 12-13)

Schermerhorn also refers to it as a "group of greater or lesser extensity, i.e. a restricted elite", or "a temporary or permanent coalition of interest groups or a majority."

Here the Burmese are referred to as a dominant ethnic group. To explain the two dimensions of size and power, Schermerhorn uses the following paradigm.

Figure 1. Dominant and Subordinate Ethnic Groups

DOMINANT GROUPS			
	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>POWER</u>	
GROUP A	+	+	Majority group
GROUP B	-	+	Elite
SUBORDINATE GROUPS			
	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>POWER</u>	
GROUP C	+	-	Mass subjects
GROUP D	-	-	Minority group

Source: R. A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research, 1970, p. 13.



Because of their greater numbers (17,000,000 as opposed to 1,500,000 Rohingyas), and their control of power as an ethnic group, the Burmese are considered in Schermerhorn's A category as the dominant group of Burma; while lacking both power and population size, the Rohingyas as an ethnic group are identified as a subordinate or minority group in his D category.

#### Degree of Enclosure

A multiethnic society is by implication a society with plural structural units. These units have different cultures and corelatively are segmented or compartmentalized into "analagous, parallel, non-complementary, but distinguishable sets of institutions." (Van Den Berghe, 1967; mimeo,3)

Such societies, Schermerhorn maintains

form a continuum...At one extreme of this continuum is monopoly of power by a single dominant group governing and regulating one or more other ethnic groups through a coercive political institution which is the only common and unifying institution in the society. In every other respect the institutions of kinship, religion, the economy, education, recreation and the like are parallel but different in structure and norms...Generally, this is compounded by differences in language and sometimes by race as well. The distinguishing feature in it is institutional pluralism and duplication which assures that members of each ethnic group playing roles in their own institutions have most of their social participation restricted to interaction with those of their own group, meeting those of other ethnic groups only fleetingly or occasionally in impersonal contacts...[in Furnivall's terms] 'chiefly in the market place'...This exclusiveness of social participation regulated by institutional rules and standards for each cultural unit is a variable, not a fixed category, i.e. there may be more or less exclusiveness. (1970; 124-5)

For this variable, Schermerhorn prefers the term "degree of enclosure" and points out that "...the greater the degree of enclosure, among the cultural sections, the greater is the potential for purely coercive integration." (1970: 125)

### Integration

To explain "integration" in the context of intergroup relations, Schermerhorn raised a question:

What are the conditions that foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups into their environing societies?...How this question is answered will depend of course on the meaning we give to integration...[Integration] is not an end-state but a process whereby units or elements are brought into an active and coordinated compliance with the ongoing activities and objectives of the dominant group in that society. (1970: 14)

If this formulation leads the research in the right direction, it is then proper to acknowledge Schermerhorn's definition of the task of intergroup research.

### Polarity of Relations

In a multiethnic society the degree of difference in the aims of the dominant group and the subordinate group are a measure of the polarity in their relations. Schermerhorn points out that

When societies attain the complexity of the nation-state, the state itself becomes more or less identified with the interests and values of a dominant group for fulfilling the functional requirements of the entire society. (1967: 235-240)

In such a situation, when the fulcrum of the authority is the

state, the dominant group, rather than the total society, becomes the agent of the lever. Both totalitarian societies and many in the developing nations have oligarchical domination of one form or another. A minority ethnic group with a high degree of enclosure is an obstacle to this goal of total integration, and a polarity of relations with the dominant group often results.

#### Dynamics of Intergroup Relations

Now, when the dominant group tries to integrate a subordinate group, there develops from a polarity in group relations a polarity of actions that produces a series of intermittent social structures to satisfy now divergent, now convergent, now clashing aims. Such a continuous process of modification in intergroup relations in the direction of integration or conflict is termed here the "dynamics of ethnic relations".

#### Pluralistic Minority to Secessionist Minority

Louis Wirth (1975) defined a pluralistic minority as one which seeks toleration for its differences from the dominant group. He maintains that the aim of the pluralistic minority is achieved when it has succeeded in wresting from the dominant group the fullest measure of equality in all things economic and political, and the right to be left alone in all things cultural.

The initial goal of an emerging minority group, then,

is to seek toleration of its cultural differences. If sufficient toleration and autonomy is attained, the pluralistic minority advances to the assimilationist stage, characterized by the desire for acceptance by and incorporation into the dominant group. Frustration of this desire for full participation, on the other hand, is likely to produce secessionist tendencies which may take the form of either the complete separation from the dominant group and the establishment of sovereign nationhood, or the strive to become incorporated into another state with which there exists close cultural or historical identification.

What happens in the interim state between a pluralistic minority and a secessionist minority is one of the issues raised in this thesis. The failure to gain either acceptance by the dominant group or to separate from it leads to alienation on the part of minorities. The term alienation has a broad meaning in Marxist literature. In this research it is used to explain "ethnic alienation" in a situation of internal colonialism. In this sense it refers to two states of mind: (1) powerlessness before the state (represented by the dominant group), and (2) estrangement from the state.

#### Methodology

Empirical work on this society is limited in both depth and scope. However, there are some studies, such as M. Yegar's (1972) which is historical in nature but also has some discussion of the present, based on participation and observation of Rohingya life; and J. Silverstein's (1977) analysis

of politics in Burma, two secondary sources on which for historical information and information on the present society this work relied heavily.

Considering the nature of the problem, and the availability of data, this purely exploratory and analytical work emphasizes both qualitative and quantitative data. The latter is based on a field survey of the thirteen Rohingya refugee camps in July of 1978 (see Table 5 for details). The total number of refugees registered in the camps was 207,172. Of these 309 were interviewed. The attempt at interviewing a large sample was foiled by Bangladesh Government employees responsible for the refugee camps, on whose orders the interviewers had to withdraw from interviewing. However, the present sample, though a small proportion compared to a large population size, is fortunately proportionately representative of all the refugee camps. (See Table 6 for details.)

The questionnaire for the field survey contained many open-ended questions designed to tap the respondents' underlying perspective that shaped the dynamics of the Burmese situation. (See Appendix 6, 7 for questionnaires used.)

In an attempt to establish the validity and reliability of the data, this research includes the researcher's own participation in and observation of camp life, and interviews with Rohingya parliamentarians, dismissed college professors and R.P.F. leaders in Bangladesh, as well as with the Burmese.

To assess the present government's policy regarding the Rohingyas, the research also includes references to Burmese

Government circulations published in newspapers, national periodicals and letters received from friends living in Burma. Besides these, the researcher through mailed questionnaires recently received the opinion of Rohingya leaders (who are presently living on Burma's Indian and Bangladesh frontiers) about issues of concern.

Due to the government's restrictions on foreign and Rohingya scholars studies on the ethnic groups of Burma, particularly Rohingyas, very limited up-to-date secondary data and different official figures are available outside Burma. Moreover, the census reports are incomplete and therefore current figures are only approximated. The inaccessibility of such information remains one of the most serious limitations of this research.

### Conclusion

There is little doubt that the social ferment of the mid-twentieth century which stimulated renewed interest in race and ethnic relations on a global scale has not yet succeeded in bringing together information on this topic from every corner of the world. In Burma's case, though, there is a poverty of attempts. Surely there exist assumptions made from this part of the world. Such is the one made by Schermerhorn. This research is an attempt from a closer perspective to examine such a hypothesis and bring it to add to the global store of information on ethnic relations in Burmese society.

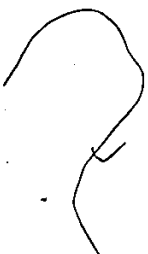
In this endeavour, with many unavoidable limitations,

this researcher tries to make maximum use of various levels of available data and fit it into the related perspectives so as to understand the dynamics of ethnic relations. To explain the dynamics of present intergroup relations between the Burmese and the Rohingyas, the next chapter in this research begins with a historical outline of the Burmese situation.

09

## CHAPTER III

### THE HISTORICAL OUTLINE



Burma was occupied by the British in three successive wars. The last one was in the year 1885, after which time British rule was established all over Burma. Burma became independent in 1948 after only a short period of colonial rule. Because of the brevity of colonial rule, the emphasis here is on the pre-colonial period as well. Leifer pointed out that Burma's "...ethnic incompatibility goes back to pre-colonial times. Burmese history is full of accounts of conflict between Burmans led by their kings and other ethnic groups." (1972: 30)

Rohingyas as an ethnic group developed from different stocks of people as a result of Burmese and other various invasions.

#### The Burmese and the Rohingyas in Pre-Colonial Times

Since the Rohingyas are regarded by the Burmese as illegal immigrants (people of Indian origin) in Burma today, it is important for this analysis to examine the Burmese relations with the Rohingyas in pre-colonial days.

Rohingyas are not an ethnic group which developed from one tribal group affiliation or single racial stock. Tides



of people like the Arabs, Portuguese, Moghuls, Bengalis, Turks, and peoples from central Asia came mostly as traders or warriors overland or through the sea route. Many settled in Arakan, and mixing with the local people, developed the present stock of people known as Rohingyas. In terms of their origin and culture, as well as their present geographical location, there is no doubt that historically, they have mixed more with the Indian people than with the Burmese. But the Rohingyas claim that in terms of their culture they are neither Indian nor Burmese. This is supported in the interviews with refugee Rohingya leaders in Bangladesh.

The Rohingyas presently populate an area which extends from Arakan in the south to Chittagong in present Bangladesh in the north. There is no great geographical barrier to divide Arakan from Chittagong. On the contrary, the whole area is known as "Greater Chittagong". It is 350 miles long, lying along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, and is cut off from the rest of Burma by a range of near impassible mountains known as Arakan Yoma. The significant events that shaped the Rohingyas as a race and their demographic concentration are discussed below.

From a study of coinage and foreign relations, an Arakan historian M. S. Collis came to the conclusion that

The area now known as North Arakan had been for many years...the seat of Hindu dynasties; in 788 A.D. a new dynasty known as the Chandras founded the city of Wasali; this city became a noted port to which as many as a thousand ships came annually... Wasali was an easterly Hindu kingdom of Bengal.... Both government and people were Indian. (1925: 39-43)

The first group to leave its mark upon the culture of this area were the Arabs, who Collis mentions, made the Indian Ocean an Arab lake with their continued contact with the East. They extended their trade from the Red Sea to China.

Not all the Arabs who settled in Arakan did so by choice; because of shipwrecks some were forced to seek refuge on the shore and remained there to settle. Such shipwrecks were recorded at about the time when Arakani Chandra King Mahat-Sendaya ascended the throne in 788 A.D.

In his reign several ships were wrecked on Ramree Island and the crews, said to have been Mohammadans, were sent to Arakan proper and settled in villages. (Smart, 1957: 17)

The Arab presence in Arakan continued up to the seventeenth century, when European traders sailed to the Eastern Seas. The Arabs developed a port city in Arakan known as Akyab. The Arabic version Ak-Ab means 'place of a river meeting the sea'.

Usually the Arabs did not bring their women and probably took local females as wives. The descendents of the mixed marriages between the local Indians and the Arabs no doubt formed the original nucleus of the Rohingyas of Arakan. "The Rohingyas still carry the Arab dress and customs." (Irwin, 1945: 22)

While this process was at work, a Mongolian invasion in 957 A.D. swept over Wasali, destroying the Indian Chandra kingdom. Thus began the extension of the Rohingya and Indian populations from the south to the northern part of Arakan.

The second most important contribution to Rohingya

identity and extension in the Arakan region came as a consequence of the Burmese invasion of 1404. When Arakan was attacked, Noromi-Kala, the king of Arakan, took refuge at Gaur, the capital of Bengal in India. The Arakanese king remained there for twenty-four years, leaving his country in the hands of the Burmese. Nasir Uddin, the Shah of Gaur, in 1430 sent troops to face the Burmese and restored Noromi-Kala to the throne of Arakan. Noromi-Kala took the title Solaman Shah and established the city of Mrohaung. The people living in the city were known as the Rohingyas.<sup>1</sup>

For the next hundred years, from 1430 to 1530, Arakan remained feudatory to Bengal, paid tribute, learned its history and politics. How many people from Gaur settled in Arakan is not known, but the Rohingyas claim that contact with the people of Gaur during this period had a significant impact on their life. During this period the Rohingyas became Muslims. They built the Sandikhan Mosque at Mrohaung, developed curious mosques known as Buddermokan which were a common place of worship by both Muslim and Hindu Rohingyas. Harvey mentions that "doubtless it is the Mohamedan influence which led to women being more secluded in Arakan than in Burma." (1947: 90) In this period the foundation of unique Rohingya culture and traditions was laid. Rohingya writers and poets working in this period wrote in their own Rohingya language.

Another important factor which helped increase the Bengali contribution to Rohingya culture in Arakan came as a

result of the Portuguese presence in the eastern seas of the Bay of Bengal in the seventeenth century at a time when there existed a weak government in Bengal. It was early in that century that the Portuguese reached the shores of Bengal and Arakan. They came in contact with the Burmese Mogh and their knowledge of firearms and artillery helped the Burmese to establish piracy in civil war-torn Bengal.

The capture and enslavement of prisoners was one of their most lucrative types of plunder. Half the prisoners taken by the Portuguese and all the artisans were given to the Burmese Mogh. The rest were sold on the market or forced to settle in the villages near Mrohaung. Year after year they invaded and plundered the lowlands of Bengal, carrying off the inhabitants as slaves. These depredations were carried to such an extent that in Renell's map of Bengal published in 1794 a note is entered across the portion of the Sundarbans south of Backerguange, stating that

This part of the country has been deserted on account of ravages of the [Burmese] Mogh... whose general practice was to kill the men and carry off the women. (O'Malley, 1908)

In conjunction with the Mogh, the Portuguese penetrated high into the rivers of Bengal and carried away into slavery the inhabitants of the riverside villages. Bernier mentions in his account (1656-68):

Sometimes Moghs would sail back to the coast where they had captured their prisoners and wait until the villagers brought out sufficient presents to redeem their kinsmen from the ship. This they called collecting revenue, and the Portuguese among them kept regular account books. Their activity decreased when the British began to police the coast. (Harvey, 1947: 94)

It is not recorded how many people were taken from eastern India to Arakan by sea as slaves and settled there, but it is recorded that "...in a single month, February 1727, they carried off 1800 captives from the southern parts of Bengal." (Harvey, 1947: 14)

Also added to the Arakan population were Portuguese offspring whom the Portuguese preferred to leave with the Rohingyas and who accepted the Muslim faith. (Harvey, 1960)

The next and perhaps last event which helped influence the Rohingya character and number in Arakan was in 1661 when Shah Suja, the Mughal prince utterly defeated by Aurungzeb, was driven to seek refuge in Arakan. He and his family and followers were assured of welcome by the Burmese Mogh king. But he and most of his followers were murdered on February 7, 1661. Descendents of Shah Suja's followers still survive among the Rohingyas with their special name, "Kamans".

About a century before the British presence in Burma, much of the Arakan population shifted north into Chittagong as a result of Burmese invasions and policies. One of the single most important invasions of this kind which contributed to the rise and expansion of the Rohingya population in present-day Bangladesh was that of King Bodawpaya.

It was in 1784-85 that 30,000 Burmese soldiers captured Arakan, returned to Burma with 20,000 people as prisoners, destroyed mosques, temples, shrines, seminaries and libraries, including the Royal Library. In 1798, as a result of Burmese raids, a horde of Arakanese poured into the British Indian

territory of Cox's Bazar (named after Captain Cox, who died of sickness in supervising the refugee camps) at Chittagong. The Burmese king sent an envoy to Calcutta telling the Vice-Roy to deliver the ungrateful "savages" who had dared to run away from his "beneficent rule". Harvey records: "Most of the fugitives were not even political refugees but simply harmless people fleeing from death," (1962; 282) but the Burmese demanded the surrender of all fugitives and regarded the British refuge as an act of open hostility.

Traditionally Burmese cruelty was such that "to break the spirit of the people, they would drive men, women and children into bamboo enclosures and burn them alive by the hundreds." This resulted in the depopulation of minority groups such that "there are valleys where even today the people have scarcely recovered their original numbers, and men still speak with a shudder of 'manar upadrap' (the oppressions of the Burmese)". (Harvey, 1947; 161) During the seven years of their occupation the population of Arakan was reduced by no less than half. "During the early months of 1884, a quarter of a million [refugees took shelter] in the English territory of Chittagong." (Harvey, 1947; 181) The oppression of the Burmese became clear from what refugees had to say at the time:

We will never return to the Arakan country;  
if you choose to slaughter us here we are willing to die; if you drive us away we will go and dwell in the jungles of the great mountains. (Stuart, 1923; 95)

Captain Cox, visiting Burma via Arakan in October 1796, described the situation thus:

I am told there are many villages within the banks, and cultivated; but suppose it very partial, as the country appears to be but thinly inhabited. Most of the ancient inhabitants had deserted the country to avoid the oppressive government. (1971; 426)

Among the Rohingyas permanently settled in Chittagong in Bangladesh even today, Burma is known with a special name, 'Mugher mulluk', the lawless society. The reasoning behind the policies and actions of Bodawpawa in the late eighteenth century was not an exception. It was the regular policy of most Burmese kings. The consequence of this was the extension of the present-day Rohingya community from Arakan to Chittagong. The Burmese massacres of Arakan and the exodus of people, in Harvey's words, was "little short of a racial migration." (1947; 155)

In the British period the Rohingyas who stayed in Chittagong in India and settled there received maltreatment from the Bengalis. They had regular fights with the Bengalis. Each group maintained relations within their own community. Even though the Rohingyas settled in Chittagong, they considered Mrohaung in Arakan as their capital rather than Dacca, the capital of East Bengal.

In Chittagong, Rohingyas are in the majority in the Cox's Bazar subdivision, in Chakoria, Ramu, Teknaf and the Palong areas; whereas they are in the minority in other areas of Chittagong. The severe conflict between the Rohingyas and the Bengalis continued up to the beginning of the second

World War. It was common even when the Bengalis and the Rohingyas shared the Hindu faith. "The basis of such conflict was that the Rohingyas were perceived as foreigners in Chittagong, uprooted from Arakan of Burma." (Siddiqui, quoted in Hoque: 1976; 15)

As a consequence of Burmese invasions of Arakan (the meeting point of India and Indo-China) there are many other ethnic groups settled in Chittagong as well. Groups such as the Chakmas, Moghs, and Baruas, who had their roots in Burma, took shelter in Chittagong to escape Burmese oppression.

#### The Colonial Period

The seriousness of the problem of national unity in a heterogeneous society like Burma has emerged from the tragic experience of pre-colonial Burmese history. But colonial rule also had an impact on the present Burmese Rohingya relations. Many writers such as Buchanan (1967) specifically point to colonialism and its legacy as the source of conflict. The problem according to Buchanan is one of

a legacy of European colonial policy which showed little concern for ethnic and cultural realities when the frontiers of the former colonies were demarcated...The inevitable difficulties from this lack of awareness have been aggravated by the uneven impact of the west and by a colonial policy based on the concept of 'divide and rule' which did little to break down the suspicion and distrust with which many of the minority peoples regard the Burmans. (1967; 113-114)

Colonial rule and its legacy are no doubt important for societies that had extended past colonial rule, but Burma



with a short period of colonial rule, has a different story. Laraw, in the Burmese context, states:

Colonial legacy...falls short...as an explanation of minority problems. It is politically popular to blame... colonialism for most troubles. There is only partial truth in this belief, and hence it is only partially accurate as an assessment of the problem. There is, of course, a need for understanding the actual historical development of the minority and colonialism is only one part of the story. (1973: 339)

With determined adherence to a different religion, language and culture Rohingyas developed their pluralistic nature even before colonial times. Like other minorities, they received privileges and protection from the invading Burmese at the time of colonial rule. Irwin states the Rohingya situation thus:

They are living in a hostile country, and they have been there for hundreds of years and yet survive. They are perhaps to be compared with the Jews: a nation within a nation. (1945: 24)

In 1824, the year Arakan was first joined to British territory, it was almost depopulated. Lieutenant Phayre wrote at the time:

Numbers of descendents of those who fled in troublous times from their country and settled in the southern part of Chittagong, the islands of the coast, and even Sundarbans of Bengal are gradually returning; and during the North Monsoon, boats filled with men, women and children with all their worldly goods, may be seen steering south along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal to return to the land of their fathers abandoned thirty or forty years before. They have also told me that in their exile the old men used to speak with regret for the loss of beauty of their country. (Smart, 1957: 81)

To the Rohingyas, as to other ethnic groups in Burma, British rule came as a welcome protection from the invading Burmese. The British found a society in which ethnic groups were already divided.

In 1885 when the British conquered the whole of Burma with the joint British and Indian troops it annexed Burma to India. Burma became a province of India. In Burma, Indians were introduced into all departments of government in order to impose the Indo-British system of administration. The Rohingyas and other minority groups were given seats in the legislature to protect their interests. However, once again, the Rohingyas were considered as part of the Indian population.

A Labour Act was passed in the 1870's under which a recruiting agent was appointed in India and subsidies were given to shipping companies to transport Indian immigrants to Burma. Between 1852 and 1900, Rangoon... developed from a small town into a city of about a quarter million people and looked Indian in appearance. (Chakravarti, 1971; 8-9)

In the 1911 census, the Rohingyas were included with the Indian population as an ethnic group of Indian origin. The reason given was that they looked more like Indians than like Burmese. The census of 1921 mentions the Rohingyas as really Arakanese, but so close to Indians that "the phenomenon is as much an annexation of part of India..." (Gratham, 1921: 220) However, these census anomalies of counting the Rohingyas as Indians no doubt contributed to the present controversy over the Rohingyas' origin in Burma. However, in the colonial period, minorities' protection and privilege under the British

amounted to the sanction of cultural pluralism in Burma.

Furnival describes Burmese colonial society thus:

Probably the first thing that strikes the visitor is the medley of peoples...It is in the strict sense a medley, for they mix but do not combine. Each ethnic group holds its own religion, its own language and culture, its ideas and ways. As individuals they meet in the market place in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately within the same political unit. (1957; 304)

In the colonial period, when the minorities remained privileged to enjoy cultural autonomy, the Burmese as an ethnic group lost their dominant position of pre-colonial days. The result was a gradual awakening among the Burmese minorities for self rule.

Political awakening among the Burmese took the form of ethnocentrism, and is evidenced in the agitation of 1917-18. Earlier protesters, who had been organized in a non-political Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA), in 1917 formed a political organization known as the General Council of Burmese Association. In the face of a growing Burmese nationalist movement, the colonial rulers in the 40's gradually became ineffective in enforcing the law in Burma. This was in some respects helped by the events of the second World War and the Japanese invasion of Burma.

During the period between December 1941 and January 1942 there was serious rioting between the Burmese and the immigrant Indian population.

Most of the estimated 900,000 Indians living in Burma attempted to walk over to India... [There were an estimated] 100,000 dead at the time... Practically all Indians except those who were not physically fit or were utterly helpless, began to move from place to place in search of safety and protection until they could reach India. (Chakravarti, 1971: 170)

In the meantime, when the Japanese attacked Burma, the Burmese joined with them, while the minorities including the Rohingyas joined the British. With Burmese help, the Japanese occupied Burma and the Burmese exercised self-government under Japanese control from 1942 to 1945. In the attack on Arakan, the British retreated to the extreme of the Burmese border in the Arakan-Chittagong region of British India. Here the British continued the war against the Japanese, and the place received so much importance for the allied forces that it was named Britain's "principal shop window" in the war against Japan.

Before the advancing Japanese forces the Arakani Burmese massacred the Rohingyas as anti-Japanese, and called them Indians. The Burmese in the heat of the movement chanted slogans such as "Our brothers came, your brothers left." There are different accounts of the Rohingyas' exodus to British India in that period; the Rohingyas claim about 40,000 crossed the border, while Yegar (1972) puts the number closer to 22,000. Many of them joined the military service in work units, reconnaissance and espionage on the other side of the border or engaged in underground activities.

In order to strengthen the region and encourage Rohingya loyalty, the British had published a declaration

granting them a 'Rohingya National Area'. This entire area was reconquered by the British at the beginning of 1945. The British set up peace committees and organized civilian administrations. Most of the office holders were the local Rohingyas who functioned until Burma was granted independence.

Though colonial rule in general was based on military superiority, it seems that the Rohingyas and other minorities gave voluntary cooperation to their rulers in return for protection. Of course the minorities' voluntary cooperation only helped the colonial policy of "divide and rule" to work more effectively. But what is most important is that the British policy of granting autonomy to minorities created aspirations for them to firmly become pluralistic minorities in the new nation state of Burma.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Of course, there are other meanings of the term Rohingya as quoted by Yegar (1972) from Ba Tha Guardian monthly, Rangoon, vii, May 1960; 33-36, which explains that

"The meaning of the term is 'the dear ones' or 'compassionate ones,' and there are those who believe that it is a mutilation of the words, rwa-baung-ya-kyar, 'tiger from the ancient village,' which means 'brave' and is the name given to the Muslim soldiers who settled in Arakan."

CHAPTER IV  
POLARITY IN BURMESE ROHINGYA RELATIONS

Introduction

The discussion in the last chapter reveals that the Burmese and the Rohingyas historically developed as two different ethnic groups antagonistic to each other. This chapter is an analysis of the factors affecting the degree of polarity in Burmese Rohingya relations. This will be examined using Schermerhorn's two independent variables: first, the Rohingyas' degree of enclosure (institutional separation or segmentation), and secondly, the Burmese control of the Rohingyas' scarce resources.

Section I

The Rohingyas' Degree of Enclosure

Schermerhorn maintains that the higher the degree of enclosure of the subordinate group, the more likely that minority is prone to develop polarity in relations with the dominant group when met with the other variable. The indicators of the degree of enclosure examined here are: ecological concentration, endogamy, institutional duplication, associational clustering, rigidity and clarity of group definition,

segmentary relations of members with outsiders, etc.

The macro-variables are examined in the following.

An ethnic group's concentration in a common place has a significant impact on their degree of segmentation. Rohingyas are ecologically separated from the Burmese. They live in the northern Arakan region of Burma. North Arakan is separated from south Arakan (where the Burmese live) by the River Kaladan and from the mainland Burma by the Arakan Yoma, a mountain range of the Himalayas. These natural boundaries separate the Rohingyas from both the Arakani Burmese and those living in mainland Burma. (See the map of Burma, Appendix 9.)

Endogamy is another factor resulting in the practice of segmentation. In other words, endogamy reinforces ties of common descent. The Rohingyas practise endogamy. Out of the total number of Rohingyas interviewed in the 1978 refugee camps, 97.5 percent were married to girls of Arakani Rohingya families, while only 2.5 percent of the respondents were married to people of the same religion living in mainland Burma. They mentioned that they knew of no one who had marital relations with the Burmese. "Among the Rohingyas...there were also two well-to-do German and Jewish families established since long [ago]." (Saheb, 1978; 17)

In the process of their historical development as an ethnic group, Arakanese Rohingyas of both Muslim and Hindu faiths developed common institutions and associations. For example, "Kaya-Pari/Kaira-Pari" and "Hanifar Tonkies" (shrines) in the Mayu territory between the rivers Kaladan and Naaf,



the shrines of "Sabuji Shañ Monayam of Ambari" and "Pir Badar Shah" at Akyab were places of worship for both Muslims and Hindus. Their common institutions probably developed from their living in the same geographical area.

Moshe Yegar notes that

The Rohingyas preserved their own heritage from the impact of the Buddhist environment, not only as far as their religion is concerned, but also in ... their culture. (1972: 25)

Language is the basis of culture and the Rohingyas have developed a language of their own from Arabic, Sanskrit, Bengali and Urdu, which serves as a common source of contact within the Rohingya community. Literature flourished especially during the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries; important writers and poets include Alaol and Daulatkazi. Rohingya artists developed the art of calligraphy. Some manuscripts have been preserved but have not yet been examined scientifically. Miniature painting in Moghul style also flourished in Arakan during this period. The Rohingyas have songs and music of their own. Rohingya ballads such as "Saiful Muluk Badiu-zzamal" and "Sikendar Nama" were composed in 1669 and 1673. Dr. D. C. Sen's ballads, "The Bereavement of Pari Banu" and "The Lamentation of Suja's Daughter" are both famous in Bangladesh and India as well. Special games popular in villages, and songs sung by Rohingyas on summer nights survive till this day. Even in the face of present Burmese policies, Rohingya language and culture have not lost their importance. One of the demands of the Rohingyas at the time of independence was that they "would be completely free to develop their

own special language and culture and religion.", (Yegar, 1972; 104)

After the independence of Burma in 1948 the Rohingyas developed different associations to preserve their cultural heritage against Burmese aggression. In that year, the first resistance movement sprang up in the Muslim section. Called "Mujahid Movement", it later changed its name in 1978 to the Rohingya Patriotic Front (R.P.F.) to reflect the inclusion of the Rohingyas of both religious groups.

Of the Rohingyas interviewed in the refugee camps, 64 percent categorically stated that they actively support the R.P.F. Many of the respondents of course had no idea about any political organisation; this reflects their living in a most neglected region, the Arakan of Burma.

Through a structured questionnaire (see Appendix 7), attempts were also made to identify respondents' attachment to different elements of Rohingya ideology. Those who had affiliation with R.P.F. stated that they supported it because of its aim to restore human rights.

Since independence, the Rohingya Youth Association and the 'Rohingya Students' Association have held regular meetings at Rangoon in an attempt to bring about the restoration of Rohingya rights.

The Rohingyas' feeling toward the present government and its collaborators were examined from the interviews with the Rohingyas. All the Rohingyas interviewed expressed

deep hatred toward the present administration in Burma and its collaborators, the Arakani Burmese. The reasons given for this hatred were threefold: 62 percent of the respondents stated that their hatred was caused by the Burmese practice, after coming to power, of using names like "kala" (a slang word meaning "outsiders") to denote the Rohingyas. Another 21 percent of the respondents mentioned that they hated the present government and its collaborators because of the unbearable physical tortures suffered under the forced eviction. The remaining 17 percent said that their hatred was generated by the Burmese practice of confiscating their property and their religious suppression.

All this indicates that there exists a high degree of enclosure among the Rohingyas as an ethnic group.

## Section 2

### Burmese Control in Rohingya Life

The discussion in the last section argues that there exist physical and social boundaries between the Rohingyas and the Burmese. Hall mentions that "other variables in themselves [remain] neutral...[but] become active agents only insofar as they interact with patterns of domination." (1979: xxvii) The other important variable of intergroup relations emphasized by Schermerhorn is that of the degree of control of scarce rewards by the dominant group. Hall uses "pattern of domination" as a general term for it. He stated that "the

patterns of domination may be largely economic. It includes several aspects of power, including physical coercion, and other forms of negative sanctions." (1979: xxviii) This section focuses on the nature and type of Burmese control in the political, cultural and economic aspects of Rohingya life in the post-colonial period, during which time Burma experienced both a constitutional government and a military dictatorship.

#### The Constitutional Period (1948-1962)

In the late colonial period most of the office holders in North Arakan were the Rohingyas. Because of colonial protection and privilege, the Rohingyas aspired to the status of a pluralistic minority in the new state of Burma. But when in 1948 the Burmese replaced the British as the dominant group, they dismissed many Rohingyas, putting Arakani Burmese in their place. Moshe Yegar points out that the Rohingyas

were not accepted for military service. The government replaced...[Rohingya] civil servants, policemen and headmen by [Arakani Burmese] who increasingly offended the [Rohingya] community, discriminating against them, putting their elders to ridicule, treating them as kalas, and even extorting money and bribes from them and arresting them arbitrarily. The authorities made no effort at all to correct the wrongs against the Rohingyas by means of educational facilities and economic improvement. The [Arakani Burmese] conducted propaganda against the Rohingyas, accusing them of being pro-Pakistan and of aspiring to annexation to Pakistan, and cast suspicion upon their loyalty to the country. (1972: 98)

Immigration authorities imposed limitations of movement upon the Rohingyas from the regions of Maungdaw, Buthidaung, and Rathedaung to Akyab. The Rohingyas were not resettled in the villages from which they had been driven out in 1942.

Some 13,000 Rohingyas still living in refugee camps in India and Pakistan whence they had fled during the war, were unable to return; as for those who did manage to return, they were considered illegal Pakistani immigrants. The properties and lands of all these refugees have been confiscated. The Mujahids took to arms only after all their protests and complaints brought no results. (Yegar, 1972; 98)

The Rohingya demands were that all these injustices be corrected and that they be allowed to live as free citizens of Burma, their cultural identity preserved and guaranteed.<sup>1</sup> At this point the Rohingyas' struggle was not for autonomy but for cultural freedom within one Burma. They sought especially to avoid what the Rohingyas described as 'evil Arakani Burmese' interference in their cultural matters.<sup>2</sup>

In 1949 when all attempts at negotiation had failed, the Rohingya rebels took up arms and made rapid progress in uprooting the Burmese who had settled in Rohingya areas.

Yegar relates:

There was heavy fighting against army units and police patrols in the region which for a long time had been under virtual siege. In June 1949, government control was reduced to the port of Akyab only, whereas the Mujahids were in possession of all of Northern Arakan (1972; 98)

With the Rohingya occupation of north Arakan, the Rohingyas, in their extreme polarity of relations with the Burmese, at this stage form a secessionist minority.

From 1951 to 1961 government forces annually conducted large scale operations against the Rohingyas. On the first of May, 1961 they finally succeeded in putting down the rebellion, and put the provinces of Maungdaw, Buthaung, and Rathedaung under the Mayu Frontier Administration (MFA). It was far from autonomy, for the region was administered by army officers. Since then, army operations in Rohingya areas have continued in what amounts to a military dictatorship.

Period of "Constitutional" Dictatorship (1962 to the present)

In comparison to the present 'constitutional' dictatorship of General Ne Win, the constitutional period following independence was a favourable time for the Rohingyas; at least in that period they enjoyed the privilege of electing their representatives to the parliament. Even the Burmese Health Minister was a Rohingya. Besides this, they had the right of appeal to the court. For example, in one case the Supreme Court set aside orders of deportation against a group of Rohingyas rounded up by immigration authorities in 1959 in a drive against illegal immigrants,

...ruling that in a country like Burma with so many groups there might be people who do not speak Burmese and whose customs are different from the Burmese, but who nevertheless are citizens. (Guardian, 27 October 1960)

However, after the army took over power in 1962, military operations in Rohingya areas continued. Following the Burma Territorial Force operation of 1949 and the Joint Operation of Immigration and Army in 1955, the government

forces launched several operations in order to quell the Rohingya movement. The major operations were as follows:

1. B Htin Gyau (1959)
2. Shwe Kyi (1966)
3. Kyigan (1966)
4. Nga Zin Ga (1967-68)
5. Myat Mon (1968-70)
6. Sabe (1974-78)
7. Naga Min (King Dragon) (1978)

Each of these operations led to the exodus of Rohingyas to join their fellow refugees in Bangladesh. (See Table 2)

In 1974, after eleven years of military rule, General Ne Win gave the country a constitution in which he and his senior military officers would continue to rule. Legally, power would rest with the political party of their creation, the Burmese Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) whose platform was a so-called objective of 'Burmese way to socialism'.

Both in the preamble and in the body it is mentioned in the constitution that the power belongs to the BSPP. In the preamble it is stated that the party authored the constitution. In Article 11 the proposition is set forth that it shall lead the nation. The same article declares that Burma will be a one-party state and the BSPP will be the sole party. Silverstein comments:

With no legal competitors and its leaders in all the dominant positions in the legislature and in the executive, ... the party rules in fact as well as in theory. As long as the constitution remains in effect, the military

controlling the party remain in power.  
The constitution therefore confirms the  
military dictatorship. (1972; 122)

Under this constitution and the unitary structure it proposed, all discussion about ethnic states and the right to secession came to an end. All persons whose parents were nationals of the Republic and all persons who were naturalized before the implementation of this constitution were declared citizens. "Citizenship may be acquired or revoked in accordance with the law" (Article 145, 146). Silverstein again comments:

The citizenship provisions reflect the policies of the government...In their effort to establish clearly that there is one citizenship and that all who have it are equal, regardless of their residence, their racial origins or their religion...the emphasis is upon being a Burmese and not upon the place of origin, ethnic background or religious affiliation...

In name, Burma is the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma; emphasis is clearly upon the republic and not upon the union. It is not a federal state, either in the accepted sense of the term or in the unique way it was applied in the 1947 constitution...

In theory it [the 1974 constitution] assures cohesion and unity in all the territory of the nation. In fact, it fails to satisfy the desires and hopes of the ethnic minorities who have been in revolt against Burmanization and the total integration of their historic territory into a single political unit. (1972; 124-25)

Leadership of the government is limited to a few men. Its leader and the dominant figure in Burmese politics since 1962 is General Ne Win. According to an estimate, "more than 80 serving military officers and about as many, if not more, retired military personnel serve on the new central committee" (F.E.E.R., 27 January 1978; 28). Further evidence of this military preponderance can be seen in the newly elected Council



of Ministers (see table below).

Table 1. Council of Ministers

U Maung Ka (retired colonel)	Prime Minister
U Twn Tin	Deputy Prime Minister (as of Oct. 25) and Minister of Planning and Finance
General Kyaw Htin	Minister for Defence
Col. Sein Lwin	Minister for Home and Religious Affairs
U Ye Goung	Minister for Agriculture and Forest
Col. Tint Swe	Minister for Industry (1)
Col. Maung Cho	Minister for Industry (2)
Khin Maung Win	Minister for Education
Col. Khin Maung Gyi	Minister for Trade (as of Oct. 25)
Col. Sein Tun	Minister for Cooperatives
U Mahn San Myat Shwe	Minister for Social Welfare and Labour
Brig. Gen. Myint Maung	Minister for Foreign Affairs
Vyma Maung	Minister for Information and Culture
Brig. Gen. Hla Tun	Minister for Construction
Col. Khin Ohn	Minister for Transport and Communications

Source: The Working People's Daily (Rangoon) 4 March 1978.

"Other prominent state positions are likewise held by military figures, as for example, the Chairman of the Council of People's Justice as well as that of the Council of People's Attorneys."

(Asian Survey, vol. xix, no. 2, Feb. 1979; 149)

Burmese Control of Cultural and Political Aspects of Rohingya Life

The Rohingyas were not allowed to attend religious institutions (Shaheb, 1978; 51). There were reports that Rohingya students wanted to do research on Rohingya culture and were not allowed in the educational institutions.<sup>3</sup> In 1965 the government banned the Rohingya language programme from the state Broadcasting Service, the BBS, in Rangoon (Habib, 1978: 4)

Ne Win and his army, when they took control in 1962, reinforced the army administration in Rohingya areas which had already been set up in 1961. This was done by employing special army battalions. In 1974 for the first time the Rohingyas were denied the right to elect representatives to parliament. In 1975 only one member of parliament was selected from the Rohingyas. In the same manner, the village councillors (village heads) were appointed from the Arakani Moghs in the place of the Rohingyas (Habib; 1978; 11).

Rohingyas were not allowed to carry even simple arms (Habib: 1978, 1). After 1973 the central jails at Akyab and Insein (Rangoon) became the place of detention of Rohingyas detained as illegal immigrants.

In protest against the loss of basic rights, the R.P.F. was formed in 1973, uniting the Rohingyas from village to those of the city and demonstrating all over Arakan which was "barbarously repressed by the government (Rohingya Outcry and Demands (R.O.D., 1976:64)). In 1976 Mutahar reported the Rohingyas' situation thus:

Reports about the plight of [Rohingyas]... in Burma continue to reach the Rabeta Headquarters from that country as well as Pakistan and Bangladesh. Instances of intimidation, persecution, violence and even murders are not unusual in the Arakan region...It seems that instead of maintaining law and order, the police and civil administration have a special role to play (i.e. of protecting and encouraging the [targets of these] planned and blatant attempts to drive the victims off their property and business.) (Quoted in R.O.D., 1976; 48)

In 1976, the R.O.D. further reported:

It has been learnt from most reliable sources that the government has taken a secret decision to start a massive country-wide drive against the Rohingyas and push them off the country through the Arakan border. (1976; 69-70)

This claim was confirmed in 1978 when the Burmese government launched project 'Naga Min' (Operation Dragon King).

The refugees straggled in bearing babies in slings, bedrolls under their arms; some carried their parents, too ill or too old to walk, on their backs. Women were found begging strangers to listen while they told of husbands and brothers shot dead, houses looted and burned, mothers and daughters raped while their families were forced to watch. Some of them claimed they were evicted at gun point.. When asked why they did not fight back, one refugee replied that they had indeed ambushed and killed six government soldiers.

The official Burmese news agency alleged that the Rohingya refugees were illegal immigrants who had left Burma during the immigration checks. The "refugees" presented a different picture to them and some of them even produced their national registration cards (NRC) to back claims to their Burmese nationality.

It is reported that since 1970 no new cards had been issued in the Arakan region, whereas according to regulations every person above the age of twelve would have to have had an NRC. That means that in 1970 those who were between the ages of 4 and 11 should have been issued with NRC's by 1978 as their present age would be between 12 and 19 years. As they had not been given NRC's they could make no claim to be citizens of Burma. It was also reported that in many cases even those who had received the card had these later arbitrarily replaced with FCR's (foreigner's registration card). The system of issuing the NRC's was designed to fit into a well planned policy of denationalizing the Rohingyas.

Anyone acquainted with the procedure in developing countries for issuance of citizenship certificates knows that most of the citizens in such countries do not possess even residence certificates, let alone citizenship papers, and yet they are enrolled as voters and accepted as full citizens on the basis of residence, education and ownership of property. This system is in vogue in India, Sri Lanka and other countries of that region. The question of motives is further raised by reports that the NRC's are only being checked in the Rohingya settlements in Arakan.

In the camp three-fourths of the total refugee population were old people, women and children. These people reported that Rohingyas aged between about 14 and 25 years had been rounded up by the Burmese army and some were being used to build a highway linking Rangoon with the Akyab hills. As

mentioned earlier, the researcher did meet some young people in Bangladesh who revealed to him that they were active members of the R.P.F. and who hid themselves from the Burmese army before coming to Bangladesh. In addition to international pressure from several major countries and international bodies, one of several important spokesmen, U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy, is quoted as saying

The continued flow of...the refugees into Bangladesh from Burma represents not only an immediate humanitarian problem, but a serious diplomatic issue that must be of great concern to the international community and the United States. (Habib, 1978; 8)

Kennedy appealed to all concerned to help resolve the root cause of the massive refugee influx into Bangladesh. He also urged the U.S. Secretary of State to support strongly the United Nations' initiative and to work directly.

The Burmese government on July 9, 1978 agreed to accept the refugees and signed an agreement with Bangladesh without Rohingya representatives present. Rohingya leaders mentioned that they supported the repatriation but under terms and conditions which were not met. Earlier, about 80 percent of the refugees interviewed stated that they would never return to Arakan.

On September 21, 1978 the Bangladesh government's attempt to send them back forcefully made refugees attack Bangladesh officials. When Bangladesh police opened fire in defense, eight were killed and many injured. However, repatriation continued and present reports show that approximately 2000 refugees of the 1978 exodus still remain in

Bangladesh. On account of this, the situation in Arakan was described as "one of the world's great unreported tragedies." (Sunday Times, 14 May, 1978)

#### Burmese Economic Control

Political persecution of Rohingyas resulting in their being uprooted from Arakan had its economic impact. The government seized all the land of the Rohingyas uprooted since 1942, in both cities as well as rural areas such as Akyab, Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Rathedaung, Mrohaung, Pauktaw, Myinbya, Kyuktaw, etc.

Some of the refugees of the 1978 exodus interviewed personally by the researcher had been reasonably rich in Arakan, but had lost everything before they left for Bangladesh. In one camp, Sultan Ahamed, an ex-parliamentary secretary, disclosed that in 1977 the year before the exodus, he had harvested about 10,000 tons of rice from his own land. He had crossed to Bangladesh with his relatives where the researcher met him wearing a torn cloth. At 75 he is now a pauper. He said that his 30 year old son, Samsual Alam, had been killed by Burmese soldiers.

The Rohingyas are basically agriculturists. Some of them are traders and businessmen. The majority of them had very little or no formal education. Very few of those thrown out were really rich. But Rohingyas once dominated Arakan's economic life. In this regard, Majlis remarked, "The clash between the original Burmese and Arakan Rohingyas is mainly

economic. The native Burmese want to take over what the Rohingyas built up over the centuries." (F.E.E.R., 21 July 1978; 20)

The Rohingyas' Outcry and Demands mentions that

The ill-fated progeny of such an ethnic race like the Rohingyas who were once the backbone of the economy of Arakan, are today found wandering over the whole world being jobless and homeless. As a result, presently more than one fourth of the total area of approximately 12 lacs of its arable land is reduced to vast tracts of jungles...[of course] the government has started a massive resettlement of these lands with Buddhists from both inside and outside Arakan. (1976; 24-25)

Mr. Zakaria, Professor of Botany at Akyab College, whom the researcher interviewed personally, explained that he was dismissed from his position for being "Rohingya".

The Rohingyas were running three high schools for boys and one for girls in Rangoon. There were lecturers and professors at the university and colleges. At one time there had been a large number of university students both men and women, many of whom were educated abroad. However, the number of educated people, Rohingya leaders claim, decreased radically from 1942 to 1962. Rohingya political and cultural organizations in Rangoon were banned in 1964.

The land and properties of returning refugees accepted by the Burmese under the repatriation agreement and sent to their homes to settle were not returned. Such Rohingyas who had held jobs were not reinstated. (R.P.F. Report, 1981; 16)

After the repatriation of the Rohingyas in 1978 strong

restrictions were imposed on their movement, even from one village to another. For any such movement, one was required to get a permit from the village head (who was Burmese). These permits expired after a certain period, and R.P.F. reports disclose that it was difficult to get a permit, especially for a 1978 Rohingya refugee.

Forced labour was introduced by the Burmese military on young Rohingyas. Carriers were collected by the army mainly at night and from the market. The Burmese arrested the Rohingyas arbitrarily from the shopping areas, whether they were buyers or sellers. Sometimes the military dragged Rohingyas into custody and demanded ransom.

Young Rohingyas were required against their will to carry heavy loads on their shoulders for the army, leaving their wives and children who often died in their homes from disease and starvation. "Hundreds of Rohingyas, who have been forcefully taken to Burmese Government's military installations in the Sing Dong hills, have not returned." (R.P.F. Report, 1981; 17)

The Burmese government presently began changing the names of places bearing names reflecting historical Rohingya influence in Arakan. Akyab, a Rohingya name for Arakan's Headquarters, now bears the name Sittwe, a Burmese word (see Appendix 9). Rohingya leaders mentioned that the Burmese have fabricated "historical" works on Rohingyas in the Burmese language, as proof that Rohingyas as a people settled in Arakan after the British conquest of Burma. The 1942 Nation-



ality Act in which the British recognized the Rohingyas' existence, was repealed. The Rohingyas fear that this is a new plot to eliminate them from Burma. The fear-stricken Rohingyas living in Burma believe that the already horrible conditions might further worsen because of this action.

In the case of Burmese Rohingya relations the root cause of tension is the Burmese, who are oriental in origin and Buddhist in religion, urge to dominate over the Rohingyas, who are primarily Indo-European by origin and Hindus or Muslims by religion. The lawlessness in the Burmese treatment of the Rohingyas described above is not an exception but the rule in Burma. Donnison says of this disregard for law in post-colonial times:

The British sought to establish in Burma the fact and concept of the rule of law... If the idea of rule of law ever took root in Burma at all it was but a tender plant. And [it has] now totally died out, except perhaps in the inner recess of the minds of a few of Burma's distinguished lawyers trained in the West. (1970; 244)

Burmese discriminatory treatment of the Rohingyas (the denial of the right to vote, right to have a job, the forced marriages, kidnapping, abduction, confinement, and the rape of their girls) under General Ne Win's rule, is therefore no doubt symptomatic of the Rohingyas' gradual powerlessness in the state of Burma.

### Conclusion

The "shape of a society's social structure is dependent on the nature of its role assignment" (Kinloch; 1972; 51). The denial of Rohingya achievements and roles in every field of activity since independence is a clear indication of their position in Burmese society. As an ethnic group they have little control over political, educational and economic policies affecting them. From this it can be said that, from the time of independence, as a consequence of the Burmese government policy of Rohingya extermination, Burmese society has developed in the direction of ethnic stratification, of the haves and the have-nots.

The Burmese, as the dominant group, have identified their interests and values with those of the state in order to maintain their "nationalist imperative." Thus Burma is an instance of Schermerhorn's type of society in which

The dominant group identifies its interests and values with those of society as a whole, and regards itself as responsible for maintaining stability and integration in the whole. A minority ethnic group is an obstacle to this goal to be...suppressed,...obliterated,...transformed, converted,...ingested, etc. (1967; 235-40)

As the fulcrum of authority was the state, the agent of the lever became the Burmese rather than the total society.

As assumed guardians of the state, they had the power and authority of the military and social control agencies to maintain their self-defined order in the society against highly segmented ethnic groups.

Burma appears, then, as an extreme example of this type of society in contemporary times, though possibly not an exception among developing countries with similar social structures. Had there really been any alarming number of aliens in Arakan (as the Burmese government labelled the Rohingyas), the question would have surely been taken up in courts of international law with the countries concerned. As far as it is known, the Burmese government has not yet brought any such question before any international body; on the other hand, some of its neighbouring countries have raised such issues in the international arena.

Therefore, it is difficult to believe that the infiltration of foreigners is a true assessment of the problem in Burma today; certainly there is no truth whatsoever in the propaganda campaigns inside Burma. Reports published about "Indians in Burma" refer to Indians who had lived mostly in Rangoon, the capital city of Burma, and whose property had been nationalized when the military took over. In any event, most of these had left Burma following the loss of their property and industries. Donnison adds:

In the two years following the decision to nationalize the retail trade, some 100,000 Indians and some 12,000 Pakistanis left Burma for their homeland...The flow of Indians returning to India as a result of these policies began in 1964. (1970: 199, 240)

It is the contention of the author that the Rohingyas are not the aliens in Burma, as they have lived there for centuries. The Burmese at times insisted that they were foreigners, and at other times accepted them as citizens.

This treatment reveals that the Burmese perceived the Rohingyas as aliens because they consistently resisted the Burmese assimilationist goals.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See Jamiat-Al-Ulama, North Arakan General Secretary, "Memorandum for the Arakan Enquiry Commission" (Rangoon, August 1960, mimeo). See also Yegar (1972) p. 98 for detail on it.

<sup>2</sup>Rohingyas' contact with the mainland Burmese was always complicated by the Arakani Burmese who are loyal to the Burmans and work on their behalf as Burmese. The cause of most of the troubles Rohingyas had to endure, as the Rohingyas claim, came from the evil nature of many Arakani Burmese.

<sup>3</sup>This is revealed from the interviews with some former students of Rangoon University.

<sup>4</sup>The account of the estimate of 1978 Rohingya refugees still living in Bangladesh was received from the R.P.F. leader, Mr. Rahman.

CHAPTER V  
CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

In spite of their differences in religion and racial origins, the Rohingyas, in response to the Burmese domination, developed a subjective perception of themselves as "us" and the Burmese as "them". As an ethnic group, the Rohingyas exhibit a high degree of enclosure which helped develop a polarity of relations with the Burmese. Even in the colonial period, the Rohingyas, as well as other minorities, were the target of Burmese oppression. Protection afforded them by the British heightened their consciousness as a group and they began to work more independently.

Growing oppression by the Burmese in the post-colonial period led to a sense of oneness and increased awareness of their differences from the Burmese. In their common resistance to domination, an objective sense of identity emerged. The pattern of oppression and resistance, and change of role with accompanying changes in achievement and aspiration levels forms the dynamics of Burmese Rohingya relations.

From the preceding analysis, certain conclusions about the dynamics of this interethnic group relationship can be made.

## Dynamics of Burmese Rohingya Relations

### Pluralistic Aspirations at the Time of Independence

The history of the Rohingyas reveals that they developed from different stocks of people who concentrated in a common geographical location, the Arakan region of present-day Burma. They spoke a common language, and developed a common identity in the face of Burmese oppression.

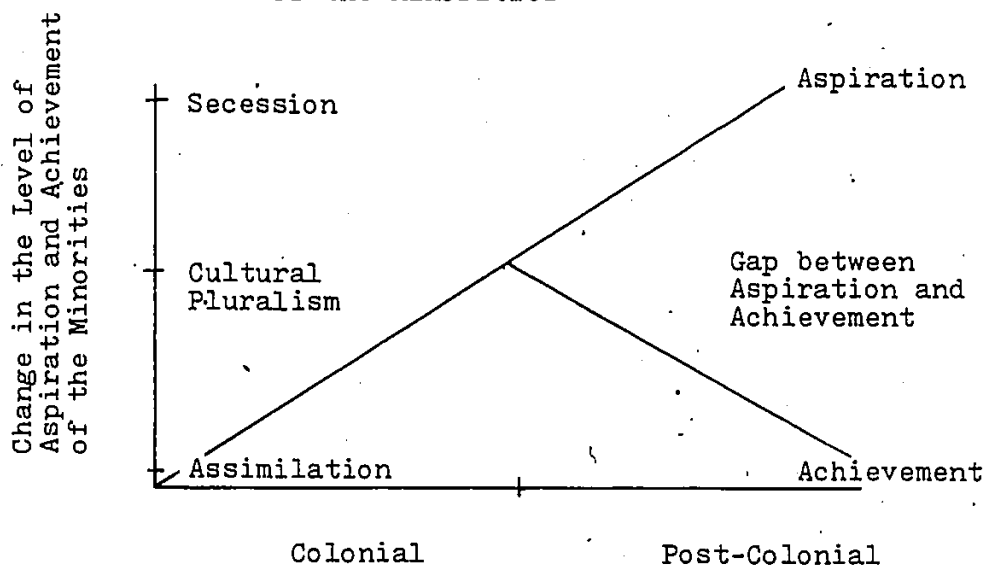
In the colonial period the Rohingyas enjoyed cultural autonomy, and in the latter part of that period, they even received the promise of a Rohingya national area. Thus, at the time of independence, their aspiration and achievement levels were that of a pluralistic minority within a nation state.

### Secessionist Aspirations

In the post-colonial period, with the change to a unitary system of government dominated by the Burmese, the Rohingyas lost their cultural, economic and social security, and experienced a sudden reduction in achievement level. Failure to negotiate with the government led the Rohingyas (and many other ethnic groups as well) to change to a secessionist goal. In that endeavour, soldiers were trained and given uniform; Kasem, the Rohingya leader, was given the title of Major General, having held rank in the British Army in World War II. Twenty thousand Rohingya soldiers marched under their own flag of green and white stripes with star and crescent.

But due to strong military control, the Rohingyas failed to achieve their goal. In the interaction process of polarity of relations, the gap between their aspiration and achievement levels created a stage of alienation. The following figure shows how the level of aspiration and achievement level changed and forms the dynamics of ethnic relations.

Figure 2 Dynamics of Ethnic Relations Expressed in the Changing Aspiration and Achievement Level of the Minorities



Schermerhorn summarizes the interaction process thus:

The principle of polarity postulates that centripetal and centrifugal tendencies of [the dominant and subordinate groups respectively] are simultaneously present in every society, and that if unchecked by the other, will exhibit cumulative growth toward its own extreme. Centrifugal tendencies move toward autonomy, independence, or in more extreme cases, toward secession of the parts. Conversely, centripetal tendencies move toward increased participation in the whole by the parts, and in extreme cases, domination of the whole by a single part. (1967: 235-240)



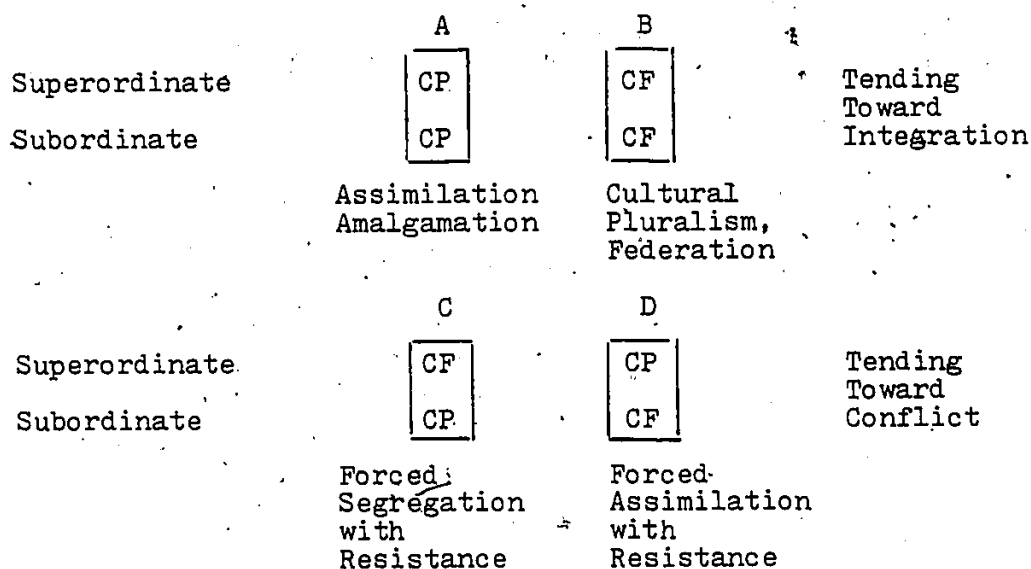
To explain the minority's response to the dominant group, some typologies have been developed. According to P. I. Rose, there are four ways in which a minority group responds: submission, withdrawal, avoidance, or integration. In the case of submission, minority members accept inferiority and segregation by playing the role their superordinates expect of them. Withdrawal is submission to an inferior status and/or a denial of inferior identity as the individual accepts the majority's image of his group as inferior. Avoidance is non-acceptance of the inferior image by avoiding contact with the majority group. Integration is a rejection of both the segregated role and the inferior image, and a demand for integration.

Taking Burmese and Rohingya relations as a whole, in Rose's analysis there is no category that fits well. ~~Submis-~~sion is partially applicable here; however, the existence of the R.P.F. indicates that they have not really submitted to the inferior status assigned to them by the Burmese. Because this type of typology is not based on the experience of the Burmese type of society, it does not really help to explain it.

Taking an interaction of dominant and subordinate group approach, and applying the principle of polarity of relations between groups, Schermerhorn developed four directional types of societal contexts. He predicts that, if the orientations toward centripetal and centrifugal directional movements by superordinate and subordinate groups are congruent,

the intergroup relations will tend toward integration, while if they are incongruent, the groups are likely to have conflict. These are presented in the following figure.

Figure 3 Showing the Congruent and Incongruent Orientations Toward Centripetal (CP) and Centrifugal (CF) Directional Movement by Superordinate and Subordinate Groups



Source: Richard Schermerhorn, Reprinted in Minako Kurokawa (ed.) Minority Responses, 1970, p. 58.

Schermerhorn notes parenthetically that box D is especially applicable to the new states of the developing areas.

Considering the Burmese-Rohingya relations, the analysis in Chapter IV reveals that, in spite of the stated goal of federalism since independence, the Burmese carried out a programme of forced assimilation or "Burmanization". Faced

with these centripetal tendencies on the part of the Burmese, the Rohingyas' response was initially one of resistance, and later of actual flight into foreign countries. Only after severe criticism did the Burmese accept the 1978 Rohingya refugees. The present situation remains one of forced assimilation with resistance. Burma then falls into Schermerhorn's D category of societies, where the result is conflict, since the attendant response of the Burmese to the Rohingyas' centrifugal tendency was coercive control. The end result was to render the Rohingyas powerless and create a sense of alienation from Burmese society among them. However, considering that the Rohingyas are powerless yet secessionist, even this category does not explicitly explain the Rohingyas' situation in Burma. For this, the present research makes it clear that there exists a stage of alienation, created because of a gap in their aspiration and achievement levels which has rendered them powerless.

An instance of the Rohingyas' lack of control over their own fate is seen in the occupation of their property and in the replacement of Rohingyas in their jobs and positions in local politics. The Rohingyas' failure in the face of the Burmese government control helped heighten their sense of alienation from the state of Burma.

There also exists at present a strong identification or acknowledgement of the Burmese with the state of Burma. This is reflected in their nationalist Burmanization programme, one of the slogans of which is "Burma is for the Burmese and Burma is for the Buddhists." The extreme nationalist sentiment was also evident in the comments of some Burmese interviewed

by the researcher. This imposition of Burmese values on the whole of Burmese society is further reflected in this quotation from Christian: "If a Burman becomes a Christian, in the eyes of his fellows, he is a 'kala' or foreigner." (1945; 48) As was mentioned earlier, the Rohingyas were also referred to as kala. The Burmese practice of referring to all who were different from them as foreigners helped develop minority estrangement from "Burmese society", which explains the Rohingyas' demand for autonomy and their desire to fight for separation.

Interviews with Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh revealed their feelings of alienation; when asked what pre-conditions would justify their returning home, 77 percent of them said that they would never return to Arakan unless it received complete separation from Burma.

However, Rohingyas were forced to return home by pressure from the Bangladesh government, and presently, as recent reports show, many young Rohingyas are trying to get out of Burma to escape the forced labour in the army installations imposed after their return.

The Rohingyas were not the only ethnic group to fight against the Burmese domination. Other groups such as the Karens, Kachins, Mons, Kayahs, Chins and Shans also developed resistance. In this sense, from this summary it becomes clear that ethnic relations in Burmese society in general place it in the category of a society in conflict.

### Implications

Over the past three decades or more, neither of the parties has really succeeded in achieving its goal. The Burmese have not established complete control over the minority areas, nor have the minority groups managed to separate themselves from the Burmese state. Other minority groups who have no control over their land, but who, like the Rohingyas aspire to independence, will continue to live in alienation, until there is a substantial change in their relations with the Burmese.

There are examples of external help being brought to bear: the Bengalis of Bangladesh who lived for 24 years under Pakistani domination became independent with the Indian government's military help. There are examples as well of mutual agreement on secession: Singapore, a small territory of Malaysia, became an independent state.

However, apparently any prospect of such an event in Burma seems dim; at least for the time being there seems to be no neighbouring country to come forward with sufficient help for the Rohingyas.

Considering the continuous persecution of the Rohingyas in Burma, and the exile of 500,000 along with their leaders to neighbouring countries, as well as Arakan's location in the triangle zone formed by Burma, Bangladesh and India, the fight of the unassimilable Rohingyas will no doubt continue. Jaffer Habib, the Chairman of the R.P.F., makes it clear: "Until there is a solution of the Rohingya problem, the Rohingyas' self-definition will continue to inspire the

Rohingyas, if only, as a survival mechanism."

Since the independence of Burma, the Burmese have attempted to build a united Burma with one Burmese culture, while the minorities have sought through resistance to preserve their long cherished identity as ethnic groups. All that has resulted to date is the estrangement of both sides in a continued determination to fight on.

The coming to power of General Ne Win (who was one of twenty-two young men who in the Second World War, slipped secretly from Burma to train under the Japanese-German forces) only led to a further deterioration in the situation of minorities in Burma. The policies of his government are claimed by many Burmese scholars to be the revival of the Burmese nationalist imperatives of long ago. The ethnocentric ambitions of the Burmese which form the basis of the violent nationalist politics of the post-colonial period, can be traced back to the Burmese kings of old who, although ignorant of the outside world, dreamt in the 18th century of annexing Thailand, China and India and even of conquering England much farther west. Carrying this ethnocentricity into the 20th century by a people who believed that the ideology of decolonialization would free Burma does nothing but create a form of "internal colonialism" in which the Burmese, through forced servitude and military control over minorities, supplant the British as "colonial masters". This has led only to misery for the Rohingyas and other groups (the death toll officially in Bangladesh refugee camps following the 1978 exodus was

2000). The reoccupation of the minority areas has resulted in continual uprooting of these peoples and Burma's neighbours (Thailand, India and Bangladesh) have continued to be infected with the old disease of Burma's refugee problem.

The economic implications of the present politics are manifest. Defense already absorbs up to 30 percent of the budget. Rich mineral deposits, precious stones, and even up to 80 percent of the forest reserves are under rebel control, denying to the government central control of the economy. Under these conditions, Burma maintains a weak economy, with increasing dependence on a small range of exports. Given its economic stagnation, its slow but steady population expansion, Burma's economic situation will become explosive in the years ahead.

In a multiethnic society like Burma, with many alienated minorities, unity seems to be a more immediate and preferred goal than that of avoiding the problem of underdevelopment. Until it resolves internal conflicts, thinking of development for Burma seems to be far from realistic. There is evidence to suggest (from the experience of a multiethnic democracy (such as Switzerland) that differences among diverse peoples in a shared social environment cause a minimum of conflict when the misuse of power, the desire to dominate and the creation of "we" versus "them" dichotomies are not allowed to exist. Indeed, cultural pluralism has been held by the civilized world as one of the pre-conditions of a rich and dynamic civilization, and accepted as the solution to the problems of a multiethnic society.

Interviews with Rohingya leaders revealed that some believe that the Rohingya problem can still safely be resolved by the granting of cultural autonomy. This would necessitate the end of the ethnocentric aspirations of the Burmese. The 20th century must bring the realization that if Burma is to stand on a firm foundation, the Burmese will have to shake off their pre-colonial traditions and share power with the minorities who are also parts of a wider Burmese social system.

If Burma's policy makers come to understand that future progress can only come about if minority conflicts are resolved, not only will it help to reduce the suffering of the Rohingyas and other minorities, but it will put an end to the influx of refugees to Burma's neighbours, which threatens the peace of that region.

#### Recommendations

In an effort to resolve the problems outlined in this study, further research is needed in the following specific areas. (1) A comparative study of the dynamics of ethnic relations of the Rohingyas living in Burma and Bangladesh with other groups in those societies can help to explain the ethnic relations in both those countries.

(2) There are many Third World countries in the south and South East Asia which have colonial backgrounds similar to Burma's, such as Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan



and Malaysia. Sociological studies of intergroup relations in these countries could help in the understanding of the dynamics at work. Some interesting case studies present themselves: in Sri Lanka, between Sinhalis and Tamils; in Bangladesh, between Bengalis and Chakmas; in India, between caste Hindus and Harisons, up Indians and Assamese, Hindus and Muslims; in Pakistan, between Panjabis and Sindis, Panjabis and Pathans; and in Malaysia between Malays and the Chinese.

(3) In the aforementioned societies interesting research could also be done in an effort to understand the correlation between colonialism and minority ethnic alienation and the problem of underdevelopment, etc.

R

TABLE 2

## ROHINGYA OPPRESSION IN STATISTICAL FIGURES FROM 1942-76

<u>Crimes</u>	<u>Approximate No.</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Destruction of settlements	692	over the whole region
Exodus/expulsion	500,000	
Massacre	100,000	massive in 1942
Arson	5,000	over the entire region
Rape	1,500	
Murder	5,000	mostly by BTF (Burma Territorial Force); now alarmingly increased
Detention		mostly in Maungdaw, Buthidaung, Akyab, Ruthidaung, Insein, Moulemein areas
Destruction of religious institutions	600	
Confiscation of waqf land and trust property	2,000(acres)	
Confiscation of land and property, etc.		worth millions of Kyats
Removal from government services (including nationalized organizations)	10,000	
Missing	20,000	Government explanation is 'left the country'

Source: N. A. Shahib, History of Arakan, 1978, p. 36.

TABLE 3

SOME OF THE  
MAJOR EXODUSES [PUBLISHED IN NATIONAL  
AND INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPERS] FROM 1948-1976

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>Number of Refugees</u>	<u>Country of Shelter</u>
<u>Daily Kuhistan</u> (Urdu) Lahore	4 Sept. 1959	50,000	East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)
<u>Pakistan Observer</u> , Dacca	29 March 1956	30,000	East Pakistan
<u>Bangladesh Observer</u>	6 August 1974	Captioned 'Non-nationals in Bangladesh Burma border'. (No figure mentioned.)	Bangladesh
<u>Daily Ittafaq</u> (Bengali) Dacca	4 March 1975	15,000	Bangladesh
<u>Hindustan Times</u>	24 March 1975	250	India
<u>Daily Ittafaq</u>	6 March 1975	Mentioned 500 refugees entering Bangladesh	Bangladesh
<u>India Express</u>	24 March 1975	157	India
<u>Rabafat Al Alam</u> <u>Al Islami</u> , vol. 3, no. 11, Mecca	Sept. 1976	no figure mentioned	Bangladesh

The preceding table shows Rohingya exoduses only into Bangladesh and India; in Bangladesh refugees went to Chittagong, Rangpur, Dinjpur, and Bagura district. Besides the 1978 exodus, the Rohingya accounts claim the approximate figure of refugees taking shelter in different countries as follows:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Approximate Number</u>
Bangladesh	230,000
Pakistan	110,000
Saudia Arabia	75,000
Thailand	35,000
India	5,000
Kuwait	10,000
Dubai	20,000
Jordan	5,000
Egypt	5,000
Others (Malaysia, Syria, Canada, U.K., and USA)	5,000
	<hr/> 500,000

One exciting commentary on the exodus of Rohingyas since independence comes from an Indian newspaper:

Over 250 Burmese nationals, allegedly dispossessed of their land and evicted out of their villages in Arakan, have arrived in Delhi, after crossing over from Bangladesh...looking for a home, occupation, and a country they can call their own.

(Nazmul Hossain, The Hindustan Times, March, 1975, quoted in R.P.F. Report, 1976, pp. 42-60.

TABLE 4

ACCOUNT OF 1978 ROHINGYA VICTIMS  
INSIDE BURMA DUE TO NA GA MIN OPERATION

This operation was directed under special supervision of the Deputy Home Minister Ukin Maung Ti. It is of special significance to the Rohingyas because it took unaccountable lives. Rohingyas claim that a total of 20,000 people died as a result of this 1978 operation only. Also called the Dragon King Operation, it began in February and continued to July of the same year.

<u>Day</u>	<u>Area of Operation</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>People Involved</u>
11 February	Akyab town and suburban area	5000 arrested	Armed forces with BSPP members
7 February	Ambari village tracts, Akyab	400 women arrested	Police and army
18 February		2000 arrested	Immigration officials
21 February		500 women arrested, most of them raped; 30 died in concentration camp	Police, Immigration personnel and the army
1 March	Myebon Township	500 arrested	Operation party
3 March	Kyaktaw	200 arrested	

continued

<u>Day</u>	<u>Area of Operation</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>People Involved</u>
5 March	Buthidaung and Maungdaw	Looting and arrest continued but no figure recorded.	Burma Army under command of Major Sein Min
9 March	Buthidaung Township	Raped wives of many prominent Rohingyas	Burma Army men
10 March	Thratkamanu, Dabruchung villages	Looted villages	Burma Army and Mogh collaborators
15 March	Buthidaung	Four Burma naval gunboats arrived from Akyab with senior army officers	
16 March	Buthidaung	arrested 300 young people and 60 girls; kept in Operation Office for a long time; girls sentenced to imprisonment	Burma Army, Immigration personnel and local Moghs
17 March	Buthidaung	Looted and took a hundred girls to Maungdaw Jail; one girl (18 years) raped by policemen of Akyab Jail and subsequently died.	Police
18 March	Kyauktaw, Akyab, Myebon, Rathedaung, Buthidaung	Rohingyas began fleeing to safer areas	
19 March	Buthadaung	5 women arrested, 1 raped, 1 died	
20 March	Nyoungchaung	4 deaths	Dragon Operation team
21 March	Moidaung	Looted by Moghs, 50 arrested	Burmese Army

continued

<u>Day</u>	<u>Area of Operation</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>People Involved</u>
24 March	Pakira Bazar, Buthidaung	Arrested 6 prominent village leaders, looted and set fires	Burma Army
27 March	Maungdaw	15 girls taken to concentration camp and never returned	Burmese Army

TABLE 5

STATEMENT OF ROHINGYA REFUGEES IN  
BANGLADESH AS ON JULY 12, 1978

Name of Camp	Registered		To Be Registered	Births		Deaths	
	Previous Day	On the Day		On the Day	Total	on the Day	Total
Dechaupalong I	23,202	23,200		1	53		
Dechaupalong II	27,199	27,194			87		
Maricha		2,932	2068	2	2		
Dhoapalong	20,753	13,791			48	1	77
Kuthपालong I	10,030	10,032	16		57	2	162
Kuthपालong II	15,150	15,139			20	1	124
Anjumapara	13,811	13,803	63		37	2	102
Whykong	14,516	14,516			47	1	34
Nilla	26,236	26,227			118	4	205
Ledha	20,189	20,187			117	3	553
Ghundum	7,312	7,312		3	45	1	71
Nainong-Chari	21,690	21,694		1	62	4	114
Khuniapalong		8,189	3811	5	2	2	2
Total	200,088	201,214	5958		695		1514

TABLE 5 continued

Grand total = 207,172
-----------------------

Source: Headquarters of 1978 Rohingya Refugee Control Room, in Ukiya, Bangladesh.

TABLE 6  
SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION

Name of Camp	Population Size	Sample Size
Dechaupalong I	23,200	36
Dechaupalong II	27,194	42
Dhoapalong	10,791	21
Kuthपालong I	10,032	15
Kuthपालong II	15,139	23
Anjumapara	13,803	21
Whykong	14,516	19
Maricha	2,932	8
Nilla	26,227	39
Ledha	20,187	30
Ghundum	7,310	11
Nainong-Chari	21,694	32
Khuniapalong	8,189	12

207,172

309



APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1

## CHRONOLOGY OF BURMESE AND ROHINGYA RELATED EVENTS

<u>Year (A.D.)</u>	<u>Event</u>
800	Arab predominance in the Eastern Seas
788	First trace of Arab settlement in the Indian State of Arakan in Chandra King Mahat Sen Daya's time. Several Arab ships wrecked on Ramree Island. Survivors sent to Arakan proper and settle in villages.
785-957	Age of Chandras and mixture of Chandras and Arab traders, forming first group of Rohingyas.
957	Mongolian invasion and fall of Chandras. Beginning of Rohingya exodus to Eastern India.
1044-77	Rise of Burmese Pagan King in Burma proper. Burmese King Anwardhta's conquest of North Arakan and Burmese mixture with local people, formed Arakani Burmese, or Mogh.
1406	King of Ava invaded Arakan. Noromi-Kala fled country with followers to Guar, the capital of sultan of Bengal.
1430	Min Saw Mwan restored to his throne by the King of Guar.
1433	Foundation of the city of Mrohaung and the beginning of the development of Rohingya culture.
1538	Fall of the Kingdom of Bengal and the beginning of the Portuguese piracy in Bengal coastal regions.
1660	Shah Suja's taking of shelter in Arakan.
1665	Shayesta Khan and the conquest of Chittagong.

<u>Year (A.D.)</u>	<u>Event</u>
1784-85	Burmese King Bodawpaya's conquest of Arakan and Rohingya exodus to Chittagong.
1760	Possession of Chittagong from Moghul by East India Company.
1824	First Anglo-Burmese War and the British occupation of Arakan and Tenasserim.
1852	Second Anglo-Burmese War and annexation of Pegu.
1885	Third Anglo-Burmese War and the annexation of Upper Burma.
1917-18	Revival of Burmese nationalist movements in the formation of Young Men Buddhist Association (YMBA).
1942	Japanese occupation of Burma and Burmese massacre of minorities such as Karens, Shans, Chins and Rohingyas. Rohingya exodus to Chittagong.
1945	British re-occupation of Burma.
1947	Panglong Minority Conference held in Panglong, Shan region.
1948 <sub>A</sub>	Independence of Burma and Rohingya appeal for autonomous state in Arakan. Prime Minister U Nu refused.
1948 <sub>B</sub>	Rohingyas' open revolt in Mujahid Movement.
1949 <sub>A</sub>	Karen and Mon revolt.
1949 <sub>B</sub>	Rohingyas occupy most of North Arakan.
1950	Memorandum by public of Maungdaw demanding fundamental rights and unconditional repatriation of Rohingya refugees left Arakan in 1942.
1951	Rohingya demand for immediate cessation of genocide of Rohingyas in Arakan.
1954	Memorandum of appeal by Rohingyas demanding fundamental rights and freedom.

<u>Year (A.D.)</u>	<u>Event</u>
1958	Shan and Kachin revolt.
1959 <sub>A</sub>	Kayah revolt.
1959 <sub>B</sub>	Burma agreed with East Pakistan Governor Zakir Hossain to take back Rohingya refugees who had taken shelter in 1958.
1960 <sub>A</sub>	Rohingya memorandum of appeal to Chairman of Constitution Revision Committee by public of North Arakan through Mr. Sultan Ahamed (ex-M.P. and parliamentary secretary) to keep in view the difficulties to be remedied on grant of Arakan state.
1960 <sub>B</sub>	Memorandum by Rohingya M.P.s demanding autonomous state or direct government rule or Rohingya parity in services on grant of Arakan state.
1960	Representation to Prime Minister U Nu by Mr. Sultan Mahmood, ex-Health Minister and Mr. M. A. Subhan, Advocate, demanding unconditional release of detenus (in Akyab Central Jail) arrested under Citizenship Act, the Immigrant Emergency Provision- Amendment Act, etc.
1961 <sub>A</sub>	U Nu's declaration of Buddhism as the state religion of Burma and reaction among the Karen Christians, Rohingya Muslims and Hindus, and the Mon Animists:
1961 <sub>B</sub>	Formation of army administration in Rohingya areas.
1962 <sub>A</sub>	U Nu opens federal seminar to hear minority problems.
1962 <sub>B</sub>	General Ne Win took over power, dissolved federal seminar, arrests minority leaders.
1970	Burmese Government agreed that Rohingya areas to be ruled by military with Arakani Burmese in the administration to help the military.
1972	Memorandum to General Ne Win by Rohingya leaders to stop deterioration of Rohingya situation.
1973	Formation of R.P.F (Rohingya Patriotic Front).

<u>Year (A.D.)</u>	<u>Event</u>
1974	Government's denial of Rohingyas' right to vote. Rohingya demonstration all over Arakan leading to mass arrest.
1978	Rohingya exodus of 207,172 refugees to Bangladesh.
1978	Burmese Government agreed to repatriate Rohingyas.
1981	2000 of the 1978 refugees, Rohingya leaders (a total of 500,000) still living in Bangladesh, India, and other foreign countries.

## APPENDIX 2

## ARAKANI RULERS FROM 1434-1638

For centuries Arakan received so much Muslim cultural influence that it used to be a common practice to issue coins and medals bearing Arabic and Persian alphabet. The official language of the kings of Arakan was Persian until the year 1836 (i.e. 12 years beyond the conquest of Arakan by the British in 1824). The names of Arakani rulers with Muslim names are as follows:

<u>Arakani Name</u>	<u>Muslim Name</u>
Min Khari (1434-1459)	Ali Khan
Basawpyu (1459-1482)	Kalima Shah
Dawlya (1482-1492)	Mohmed Shah I
Baswyno (1492-)	Mohmed Shah II
Yanaung (1492-)	Nuri Shah
Salingathu (1492-1501)	Sheikh Abdullah Shah
Minyaza (1501-1523)	Illias Shah
Minsaw-O (1525)	Jalal Shah
Thatasa (1525-1531)	Ali Shah
Min Bin (1531-1553)	Zabauk Shah
Manapalaung (1571-1593)	Sikandar Shah
Minyazapyi (1593-1612)	Salim Shah I
Thrithaudama (1622-1638)	Salim Shah II

## APPENDIX 3

PROMINANT ROHINGYA LEADERS OF COLONIAL AND POST-  
INDEPENDENCE PERIODS1. Colonial Period

Omrah Meah, President Arakan State (1942-43)

Zahir Uddin, Vice-President I Arakan State (1942-43)

A. Majid Chowdhury, Vice-President II (1942-43)

Kasem Raja, Major-General, Rebel leader (1948-1963)

2. Representatives in Burmese Government Since Independence

Sultan Mahmood, Ex-Minister of Health of Burma

Sultan Ahamed, Ex-Parliamentary Secretary, Burma

A. Gaffer, Ex-Parliamentary Secretary

A. Basher, Ex-Parliamentary Secretary

Mrs. Zohora Begum, Ex-Parliamentarian

## APPENDIX 4

## MAJOR ROHINGYA EXODUSES FROM ARAKAN TO CHITTAGONG

The influx of Burmese, especially Arakanī refugees into Bengal was almost an intermittent phenomenon in Burma's history. This resulted in the development of different ethnic groups in Chittagong of present Bangladesh, such as the Chakmas, Mogh, Baruas, and the Rohingyas. The Chakmas historically took shelter in Chittagong at the time of Guār sultans. They came under Bengal Sultan's protection to escape Burmese oppression. Chakmas were labelled by the Burmese as miscreants at that time.

Moghs took shelter immediately before the British occupied Burma. The term 'Barua' derived from Boro-Ua, meaning the Big One, or the Eldest One. Probably the leader of the tribe was the eldest prince of the country for some reason possibly defeated in the competition of royal heredity took shelter in Chittagong. They are also called Rajbanshi or people of royal family. But in Bangladesh they are mostly cooks by profession.

The presence of Rohingyas in Bangladesh developed not as a result of a single exodus from Arakan, but of many such exoduses. R.P.F. Publication Secretary Mr. Sabbir Hossain handed the researcher a list of such major exoduses with dates. They are as follows: A.D. 957, 1044, 1406, 1544, 1660, 1752,



1775, 1782, 1784, 1785, 1794, 1796, 1798, 1799, 1811, 1930, 1938, 1942, 1949, 1950, 1958, 1967, 1975, and 1978.

All of the above mentioned years are related to either Mongolian or Burmese invasion of Arakan, or post-colonial Burmese internal control problems. Mr. Sabbir could not supply the researcher with the number of people who each time migrated to Bengal, but some approximations from the analysis of certain historical records and dates of exodus are given:

1775--	2,000
1798--	150,000
1799--	100,000
1811--	90,000
1784-1785--	500,000
1942--	40,000
1978--	200,000

No definite figures can be given as none exist, especially before the colonial period.

## APPENDIX 5

## HOW MANY ROHINGYAS ARE THERE IN BURMA?

Arakan is a province of Burma, and it is here that Rohingyas are concentrated. Arakan takes up 14,914 square miles of the total area of Burma's 261,798 square miles. Of the more than two million people who inhabit the region, more than half are Rohingyas. The rest are Arakani Burmese and other minorities.

For the purposes of the Burmese census, Arakani Burmese and other small minorities are included with the Burmese, and Rohingyas are counted as Muslims and Hindus of Arakan.

The first census taken in Burma was in 1872; the next was in 1881 and thereafter the census has been taken every ten years. In these latter censuses, only a part of the Rohingya population who lived in North Arakan was counted; since only Muslims of North Arakan were counted, Rohingyas of the Kaman, Myedus and Hindu groups were excluded. In addition, in the 1921 census count, many Arakanese Muslims were listed as Indians. (Bennison, 1931, 213) Therefore, the population figures for Rohingyas available are not altogether exact.

After Burma's independence, only census samples and estimates were made because of internal problems. According to such an estimate done in 1963, Burmese numbered 17,000,000, a figure which also includes Mons, Arakani Burmese, and other small minorities.

Impact International (May 26, 1978) reports the total number of Rohingyas in Burma as one million. This estimated figure, which excludes Rohingyas living outside Arakan, is supported by the Far Eastern Economic Review (1978).

The R.O.C. in 1976 claimed that Rohingyas numbered 1,500,000 inclusive of Rohingyas who took shelter in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Singapore, Thailand, U.A.E. Saudi Arabia, U.K., USA and Canada.

## APPENDIX 6

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REFUGEES IN 1978  
REFUGEE CAMPS IN BANGLADESH

1. How old are you?
2. What is your marital status? Married\_\_Unmarried\_\_Other\_\_
3. What is your religion? Islam\_\_Hindu\_\_Buddhism\_\_
4. What is your country of origin? Burma\_\_Bangladesh\_\_  
India\_\_Other\_\_
5. What is the first language you speak in your locality?  
Rohingya\_\_Burmese\_\_Other\_\_
6. What is your father or forefather's country of origin?  
Burma\_\_Bangladesh\_\_India\_\_Other\_\_
7. Do you or any other member of your family or anybody from  
the Rohingyas you know have marital ties with the  
Burmese? Yes\_\_No\_\_
8. What are the reasons behind your taking shelter as a  
refugee in Bangladesh? Detail.
9. Who are the people that made problems for you to leave  
Burma?
10. Do they kill or rape any member of your family? Yes\_\_No\_\_
11. What is the total number of your family members that  
came with you?
12. How many family members did you have while in Burma,  
and how many survived now?
13. What are the movable and immovable properties that you  
left in Burma?
14. What was your profession while in Burma?
15. Do you know of any Rohingya who have a job in the Burma  
army?

16. What are the different type(s) of labelling used by Burmese to maintain social distance with your group?
17. How do the Burmese express their feelings of hatred to you when you meet them?
18. What are the reasons behind that hatred?
19. How do you consider the Burmese?
20. What is the name of the political party you support?
21. What is the ideology of the political party you support?
22. What is your opinion about conditions for your return to Arakan of Burma?

## APPENDIX 7

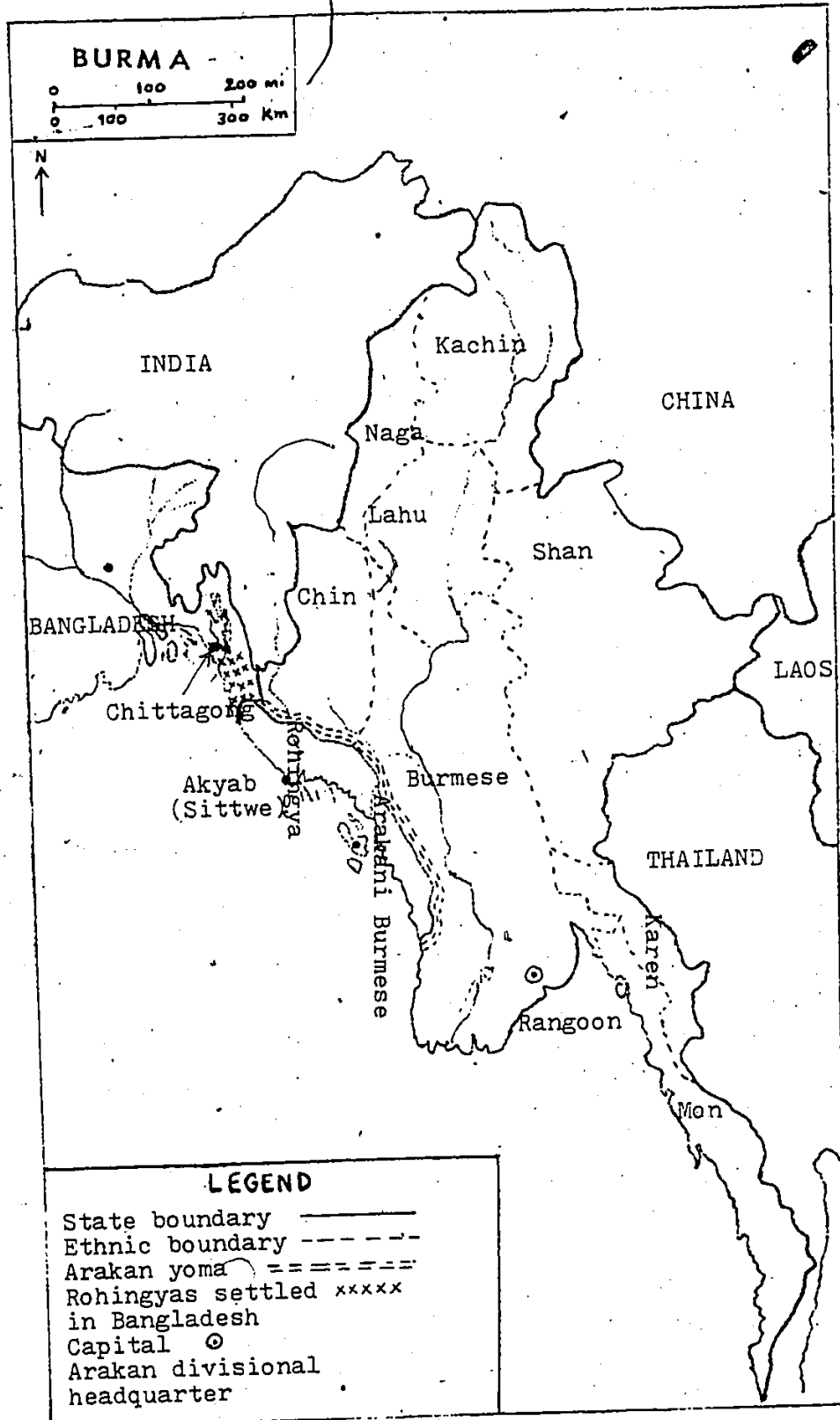
SPECIAL MAILED QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ROHINGYA  
LEADERS CONDUCTED IN 1981

1. What is the present political programme of the R.P.F.?
2. What do you know of the present Rohingya situation in Burma? Detail.
3. As Rohingya leader, what future do you predict about the Rohingyas?
4. What do you think would be the most appropriate solution to the Rohingya problem in Burma?

## APPENDIX 8

ROHINGYA LEADERS AND BURMESE  
PERSONALLY INTERVIEWED BY THE RESEARCHER

1. Mr. Zaffer Habib (Chairman of R.P.F.)
2. Mr. Zakaria (Ex-Head of the Department of Botany of Akyab Government College)
3. Mr. Sultan Ahmed (Ex-Parliamentary Secretary, Government of Burma)
4. Mr. Sabbir Ahmed (Publication Secretary, R.P.F.)
5. Sajjad Hossain (Member R.P.F.)
6. Advocate Shafiqur Rahman (an already settled Rohingya in Bangladesh)
7. Mr. Archi Khin and Mrs. Archi Khin' (Burmese living in Windsor)





APPENDIX IO

PHOTOGRAPHS SHOWING THE 1978 VICTIMS OF MASSACRE AND  
EXTERMINATION



Rohingyas entering Bangladesh



Wounded brother being rushed towards Bangladesh



Victims of rape

Courtesy of R.P.F. Publication Department, Arakan  
Burma.

PHOTOGRAPHS SHOWING THE 1978 VICTIMS OF MASSACRE AND  
EXTERMINATION/



Rohingyas taking shelter into the Bangladesh territory



Two sisters, victims of rape



R.P.F. Foreign Secretary  
Advocate Nurul Islam

Courtesy of Dainik Bangla Prakashani, Dacca  
Bangladesh.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- Adam, B. D. The Survival of Domination: Inferiorization and Everyday Life. New York: Elsevier, 1978.
- Bagley, C. "Race Relations and Theories of Status Consistency." Race, 1970. Cited by G. C. Kinloch, The Dynamics of Race Relations--A Sociological Analysis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974, p. 106.
- Banton, M. P. Race Relations. New York: Basic Books, 1967.
- Barth, F. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little Brown, 1969.
- Bennison, Census of India of 1931. Vol. XI. Burma. Part I, p. 213. Quoted in Moshe Yegar, The Muslims of Burma. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972, p. 119.
- Berger, P. Invitation to Sociology. New York: Woodstock, 1973.
- Bernot, L. "Ethnic Groups of Chittagong Hill Tracts" in P. Bessaignet, (ed.) Social Research in East Pakistan. Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1964.
- Bessaignet, P. Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1958.
- Blalock, H. M. Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.
- Brecher, M. The New States of Asia: A Political Analysis. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Buchanan, K. The South Asian World: An Introductory Essay. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1967.
- Burrows, J. D. and F. R. Lapidés (eds.) Alienation--A Case Book. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969.
- Cady, J. F. A History of Modern Burma. New York: Cornell University Press, 1958.
- Chakravarti, N. R. The Indian Minority in Burma. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

- Chowdhury, A. H. Chattagramer Itahas Prasanga. Chittagong: Chowdhury, 1976. (In Bengali).
- Christian, J. L. Burma. London: Collins, 1945.
- Cox, O. C. Caste, Class and Race. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1948.
- Dollard, J. L., L. Doob, N. Miller, O. Mowrer and R. Sears. Frustration and Aggression. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.
- Donnison, F. S. V. Burma. London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1970.
- Emerson, R. From Empire to Nation: The Rise of Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples. Cambridge, Mass.: 1960.
- Fanon, L. A Dying Colonialism. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965.
- Feuer, L. What is Alienation: The Career of a Concept. In D. J. Burrows and F. R. Lapidés (eds.) Alienation--A Case Book. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969.
- Fisher, C. A. Burma: A Social, Economic and Political Geography. London: Mathvan and Company Limited, 1967.
- Fromm, E. "From Work in an Alienated Society," in Burrows, D. J. and F. R. Lapidés, (eds.) Alienation--A Case Book. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967.
- Furnival, J. S. Colonial policy and practice: A comparative study of Burma and Netherland's India. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957.
- Geertz, C. Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa. New York: The Free Press, 1963.
- Glick, C. E. "Social roles and types in race relations," in A.W. Lind (ed.) Race Relations in World Perspective. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1955.
- Gordon, M. A. Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origin. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Grantham, S. G. Census of India, 1921, Vol. X, Burma. Part I. Rangoon, 1923.

- Hall, D. G. E. Burma. New York: Hutchinson University Library, 1950.
- Hiram Cox Journal of a Residence in the Burmhan Empire. London: Gregg International Publishing Limited, 1971.
- Hall, R. L. Ethnic Autonomy--Comparative Dynamics, the Americans, Europe and the Developing World. New York: Pergamon Press, 1979.
- Harvey, G. E. History of Burma : From the Earliest Times to 10 March, 1984, The Beginning of English Conquest. New York: Octagon Books, 1967.
- Outline of Burmese History. Bombay: Green and Company, 1947.
- Huntington, S. P. and J. I. Dominguez. "Political Development." In F. Greenstein and W. Polsby (eds.), Macro-Political Theory: Handbook of Political Science. Vol. 3. Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1975.
- Irwin, A. Burmese Outpost. London: Collins, 1945.
- Kennedy, G. B. Fresh Every Morning. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
- Kinloch, G. C. The Dynamics of Race Relations--A Sociological Analysis. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1974.
- The Sociological Study of South Africa: An Introduction. Johannesburg: Macmillan, South Africa, 1972.
- Kluckhorn, C. Mirror For Man. New York: Fawcett, 1965.
- La Raw, M. "Toward a Basis for Understanding the Minorities in Burma: The Kachin Example." In J. T. McAlister Jr. (ed.), Southeast Asia: The Politics of National Integration. New York: Random House, 1973.
- Leach, E. R. "The Frontiers of Burma." In J. T. McAlister Jr. (ed.), Southeast Asia: The Politics of National Integration. New York: Random House, 1973.
- Leifer, M. Dilemmas of Statehood in South East Asia. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1972.
- Levy, 1952, cited in R. A. Schermerhorn's Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Lewin, K. Resolving Social Conflicts: Selected Papers on Group Dynamics. New York: Harper and Row, 1948.

- Lind, A. W. Hawaii: The Last of the Magic Isles. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Manganyi, N. C. Alienation and the Body in Racist Society: A Case Study of the Society that Invented Soweto. New York: Nok Publishers, 1977.
- Maring, J. M. History and Cultural Dictionary of Burma. New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1973.
- Mayer, K. "Cultural Pluralism and Linguistic Equilibrium in Switzerland." In P. L. Van Den Berghe (ed.), Inter-Group Relations. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972.
- Myrdal, G. Asian Drama: An Introduction into the Poverty of Nations. New York: Pantheon Books, 1971.
- Newman, W. M. American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.
- O'Malley, L. S. S. Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908.
- Park, R. E. Race and Culture. Glencoe: Free Press, 1950.
- Pinkney, A. Red, Black and Green. London: Cambridge Press, 1976.
- Rahman, M. K. Karbala-I-Arakan. Arakan, Burma: (mimeo), 1946.
- Rex, J. Race Relations in Sociological Theory. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.
- Rose, P. I. "They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States," in Minako Kurokawa (ed.), Minority Responses: Comparative Views of Reactions to Subordination. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Saheb, N. A. History of Arakan. Karachi: Department of Dawah, 1978.
- Said, A. and L. R. Simons. Ethnicity in International Contexts. Brunswick: Transactions, 1976.
- Schermerhorn, R. A. Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research. New York: Random House, 1970.
- "Polarity in the Approach to Comparative Research in Ethnic Relations." In Minako Kurokawa (ed.), Minority Responses. New York: Random House, 1970.

- Siddiqui, A.R. Cited in A. H. Chowdhury, Chattagramer Itahas Prasanga. Chittagong: Chowdhury, 1975.:(in Bengali).
- Silverman, D. "Some Neglected Questions about Social Reality." In P. Filmer (ed.), New Directions in Sociological Theory. London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1972.
- Silverstein, J. Burma: Military Rule and Politics of Stagnation. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Burmese Politics: The Dilemma of National Unity. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1980.
- Simpson, G. E. and M. Yinger. Racial and Cultural Minorities: Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination, 4th edition. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.
- Smart, R. B. Burma Gazetteer: Akayab District. Vol. A. Rangoon: Burma Government, Printing and Stay, 1959.
- Tapp, N. "The Hill People of Northern Thailand." In G. Ashworth (ed.), World Minorities. Middy: Quartermaine House Limited, 1977.
- Taylor, A. Focus on South East Asia. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.
- Theodorson, G. A. and Theodorson, A. G. A Modern Dictionary of Sociology. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969.
- Thomson, V. and R. Adolph. Minority Problems in South East Asia. California: The Stanford University Press, 1955.
- Tinker, H. The Union of Burma, A Study of First Years of Independence. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- "Burma: Separation as a Way of Life." In G. Ashworth (ed.), World Minorities. Middy: Quartermaine House Limited, 1977.
- Trager, R. N. Burma from Kingdom to Republic: A Historical and Political Analysis. New York: Praeger, 1966.
- Van Den Berghe, P. L. Intergroup Relations: Sociological Perspectives. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972.
- Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective. New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.
- South Africa: A Study in Conflict. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1965.
- 1967 mimeo cited in R. A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research. New York: Random House, 1970, p. 126.

- Van Der Zanden, J. W. Race Relations in Transition: The Segregation Crisis in the South. New York: Random House, 1965.
- Walsh, D. "Varieties of Positivism." In P. Filmer (eds.) New Directions in Sociological Theory. London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1972.
- Weiner, M. "Political Integration and Political Development." In J. L. Finkle and R. W. Gable (eds.), Political Development and Political Change. New York: Wiley, 1971.
- Williams, R. M. Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964.
- The Reduction of Inter-Group Tension. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947.
- Wirth, L. "The Problem of Minority Groups." In R. Linton (ed.), The Science of Man in World Crisis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.
- Witfogel, K. A. Oriental Despotism--A Comparative Study of Total Power. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
- Wolfe, E. Songs of the Shaking Earth. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.
- Yegar, M. The Muslims of Burma: A Study of Minority Groups. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972.

#### Newspapers, Journals and Periodicals

- Butler, V. "Deadly Harvest" in the Globe and Mail. Toronto, 7 April 1980.
- Bangladesh Observer. Dacca, 4 August 1979.
- Guardian. Daily. 8 March 1962, 27 October 1960.
- Hindustan Times, 28 March 1975.
- Sunday Times, 14 May 1978, cited in Impact International, 26 May 1978.
- William, A. "An Introduction to the Races of Burma" in the Guardian (Rangoon) vol. xviii, no. 3, March 1971.
- Working People's Daily (Rangoon), 4 March 1978, 12 July 1978.



Asian Survey, 2 (February 1979).

Baird, D. "The Bull let Loose", Far Eastern Economic Review (17 April 1971).

"Bangladesh: A New Blight on the Border," Far Eastern Economic Review, (9 June, 1978).

Ba Tha (Buthidaung). "Rohingya Fine Arts," Guardian Monthly. VIII (February 1961).

Bichitra. Weekly. Dacca. Vol. 50, (11 May 1978).

Collis, M. S. and Bu San Shwe. "Arakan's Place in the Civilization of the Bay--A Study of Coinage and Foreign Relations," Journal of Burma Research Society. 5 (1975).

Far Eastern Economic Review, 27 January 1978.

Genocide in Burma: R.P.F. Report. Arakan: R.P.F. Information and Publicity Department, 1978.

Glaser, D. "Dynamics of Ethnic Identification," African Sociological Review. 23, 1 (February 1958),

Habib, J. Memorandum to King Khalid of Saudia Arabia. A Climency, (mimeo) (1978).

Hall, D. G. E. "Studies in Dutch Relations with Arakan in the First Half of the 17th Century." Burma Research Society Journal (1970).

-----"Studies in Dutch Relations with Arakan, Part I: Dutch Relations with King Thrithudhamma of Arakan: 1622-38; Part II: Shah Suja and the Dutch Withdrawal in 1665." Burmese Research Society Journal. 2 (1960).

Harvey, G. E. "The Fate of Shah Suja, 1661." Journal of Burma Research Society. XII (August 1922).

Haung, M. "Social and Cultural Pluralism as a Concept in Social System Analysis." American Journal of Sociology. 73 (November 1967).

Hyder, Y. Sharing a Problem of Humanity (Letter to the Editor). Far Eastern Economic Review, (25 August 1978).

Jamiat-Al-Ulama (General Secretary, North Arakan). "Memorandum for the Arakan Enquiry Commission." Rangoon. (mimeo) (August 1960).

- Khan, S. M. "Muslim Intercourse with Burma." Islamic Culture.  
Hydrabad, Dacca. X (July 1936) and XI (April 1936).
- Khan, M. K. "Captain George Sorrel's Mission to the Court of  
Amrapura, 1793-4: An Episode of Anglo-Burmese Relations."  
Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan. Dacca, II  
(1957).
- Lafite, M. "Burma still in fear of Dragon." Far Eastern  
Economic Review (3 November 1978).
- Lauwagie, B. N. "Ethnic Boundaries in Modern States." American  
Journal of Sociology. 85 (September 1979).
- Lyman, S. M. and M. B. Scott. "Territoriality, A Neglected  
Sociological Dimension." Social Problems. 15 (1967),
- Majlis, D. "Repatriation for the Rohingyas." Far Eastern  
Economic Review. Hong Kong (21 July 1978).
- McBeth, J. "Burma: Rebels Widen the Net." Far Eastern Economic  
Review (4 January 1980).
- "Memorandum to the First All Asia Islamic Conference." R.P.F.  
(Rohingya Patriotic Front). Arakan, Burma. (mimeo)(1978).
- Mettern, William. "Burma's Brand of Apartheid." Far Eastern  
Economic Review (14 July 1978).
- Milner, J. "Burma: An Anniversary in the Jungle." Far Eastern  
Economic Review (2 March 1979).
- Mutahar, S. H. "Burma's Muslim Minority." Rubatat Al Alam Al-  
Islami. 3, 11. Mecca (September 1976).
- Owen, N. G. "Colonialism, Development and Underdevelopment  
in Burma." Journal of Asian Studies. XXV, 1 (November  
1975).
- Ping, K. "Reforms can be profitable." Far Eastern Economic  
Review (18 January 1980).
- "Present Situation of Arakan." R.P.F. Report. Arakan, Burma,  
1981.
- Quarterly Economic Review of Thailand, Burma. London: The  
Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd., 1981.
- Rohingya's Outcry and Demands (R.O.D.). Rohingya Patriotic  
Front Report. Arakan, Burma, 1976.
- Salmond, F. A. and C. H. Swanson. "Identity and Ethnicity:  
Ethnic Groups and Integrations in a Multi-Ethnic  
Society." In A. L. Laruffa (ed.), Ethnic Groups--Inter-  
national Periodicals of Ethnic Studies. England:  
Gordon and Breach Science Publishers Limited, 1979.

- Scully, W. L. and Trager, F. N. "Burma 1978: The Thirty Years of Independence." Asia Survey. XIX, 2. Berkley: University of California Press, (February, 1979).
- Shahabuddin, M. "Arakan in Historical Perspective." In Shahabuddin Mohammed (eds.) Bangladesh in International Affairs. I, 5 (May 1978).
- Stuart, J. "An Appeal for More Light on Arakan History." Journal of Burma Research Society. XIII, Part II (1973).
- Tun, M. C. "Burma: Census raises the temperature." Far Eastern Economic Review, (26 May 1978).
- Williams, R. M. Jr. "Some Further Comments on Futher Controversies." American Journal of Sociology. 71 (1966).

:VITA AUCTORIS

The writer, A. T. M. Salimullah Bahar was born in Chittagong of Bangladesh in 1953. He obtained both his B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. Degree in Sociology from the University of Chittagong, Bangladesh in 1976 and 1977 respectively. He then joined the University of Chittagong faculty in 1978 as a lecturer in the Department of Sociology. He is now on study leave from the university to complete his Ph. D. Degree from McGill University, in Montreal, Quebec.