

Republic of the Union of Myanmar

**Final Report of Inquiry Commission
on Sectarian Violence in
Rakhine State**

8 July 2013

FOREWORD

The Rakhine Inquiry Commission was established on August, 17th, 2012 under the authority of the President's Executive Order to discover the root causes of communal violence and provide recommendations for the prevention of recurrence of violence in the future and promotion of peaceful coexistence. The Commission drafted the report after conducting extensive survey and archival research the Rakhine State. The report is not written with the intention of casting blame on any group or organization. Its overarching goal is to promote peace and development in the region.

The Commission is composed of historians, social scientists, legal experts, and leaders from economic, political, and social sectors. In gathering and analyzing the data, the Commission endeavored to uphold its impartiality. The recommendations presented in this report require close cooperation between the government and the general public. It is important for all citizens to work together to create a sustainable environment of peace and tranquility.

The Commission received generous assistance from government agencies, civil society organizations, political parties, and the general public while drafting this report. The Commission would like to extend its thanks to all who have provided their support and assistance. However, the Commission would like to highlight certain individuals whose contribution is paramount to the success of the Commission's work.

First, the Commission would like extend its gratitude to President U Thein Sein for forming the Commission to carry out this historic work as well as for providing all necessary assistance and support. Moreover, the Commission would like to thank Ministers of the President's office U Soe Thein and U Aung Min; retired Minister of Border Affairs Lieutenant General Thein Htay; Minister of Border Affairs Lieutenant General Thet Naing Win; Minister of Immigration and Population U Khin Yi; the Chief Minister of the Rakhine State Government U Khin Maung Tin; Commander of Western Regional Command Major General Ko Ko Naing; Minister of Rakhine State Security and Border Affairs Colonal Htein Lin; Director General of the Office of the Union Government U Zaw Than Tinn; Director General of the Office of the President U Hla Tun; Deputy Director General of the Office of the President U Ye Min; the Secretary of the Rakhine State Government U Min Chit Oo; the Director General of the National Archive Dr. Aung Myo; and Colonal Kyaw Soe Win of the Ministry of Defense. The Commission would also like to extend its gratitude to Chairman of the Tun Foundation Bank U Thein Tun and his colleagues from the banking sector; Daw Wa Wa Tun; U Thein Myint; Deputy Minister of Telecommunications U Thaung Tin; U Kyaw Win and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland for supporting the

Commission's work. The Commission also wishes to thank Daw Win Thazin Tun of Myanmar Mierva Education Center, Claudine Haenni and Gwen Robinson for their editorial assistance and the team led by U Thang Cin Thawng and U Aung Htun for their research assistance; this report would not have been possible without their valuable assistance.

Endeavoring to advance the interests of the country, the Commission wishes to present this report to the public through the good offices of the President of the Union of Myanmar.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized, cursive script. The signature is written above a horizontal line.

Dr. Myo Myint
President
Inquiry Commission

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Executive Summary

1. Introduction

On August 17th, 2012, President U Thein Sein established the Rakhine Commission of Inquiry through a Presidential Executive Order¹. This Commission composed of prominent historians, social scientists, legal experts, and civil society leaders, from a broad range of sectors was asked to examine the following 8 areas: (1) investigate the root causes that led to the disturbance of peace and security; (2) verify the extent of loss of life, property and other collateral damage; (3) examine the effort to restore peace and promote law and order; (4) outline means to provide relief and implement resettlement programs; (5) develop short- and long-term strategies to reconcile differences; (6) establish mutual understanding and promote peaceful co-existence between various religious and ethnic groups; (7) advise on the promotion of the rule of law; (8) advise on the promotion of social and economic development. The Commission drafted its report after an extensive survey and archival research on Rakhine state. The Commission received support from various government agencies, civil society organisations, political parties, and the general public. In gathering and analyzing the data it received the Commission aimed to maintain its impartiality.

The overarching goal of the Commission's final report was to promote peace and development in the region rather than place the blame on a specific group or community. The implementation of its recommendations will require close cooperation between the various government agencies, the general public and all sectors of society, as well as from all citizens to create and sustain the desired environment of peace and communal stability.

This stand-alone précis was drafted on the basis of the translation of the original report from Myanmar into English, which after editing is still over 60 pages long. The Commission would like to make a shorter version available to the international community to give it access to the essential information with some more details than the original Executive Summary. It does not change the essence of the original report, but in the interest of conciseness has regrouped some of the issues and recommendations, and therefore does not follow the structure of the original report exactly.

Two caveats have to be made to understand the original report or this summary: on one hand, the Commission faced several constraints in its work: (a) the nature of the Commission's mandate was not easily understood and its neutrality was often rejected by Rakhine; (b) outside actors, in particular some Bengali leaders in Yangon, exercised undue influence by trying to impose interviewees on the Commission, and by controlling the answers interviewees gave to the Commission; (c) access to people in more remote areas was hampered by the fact that not all Bengalis speak Myanmar language. In order

¹For a translation of the Presidential Executive Order, see Annex 1.

to counter these constraints the Commission trained local young people on how to collect data, and used purposive and quota sampling instead of probability or random sampling. The Commission also enlisted the help of moderate Muslim and Bengali leaders in Yangon. On the other hand, the use of certain terms needs to be made clear: the report uses the term “Bengalis” when referring to people of Bengali origin. The term “Rohingya” is not recognized in Myanmar and its use has become increasingly politicized; as to the term of “Kala”, it was traditionally used for all foreigners from west of the country. The Brits were referred to as Kala Hpyu (white kala). Today it is used colloquially for people originating from the Indian subcontinent. Opinions differ as to what it is derogatory or not.

2. Methodology and working procedures of the Commission

Given the highly sensitive and emotional environment in Rakhine, the Commission went to great lengths to systematically collect data in order to have hard evidence underlying all its findings and recommendations. The methodology was mixed with field-visits, interviews (household questionnaires, focus group discussions, individual interviews) in various places in Rakhine and in Yangon, on-site observations, as well as desk reviews of broad range of materials. Weighted purposive sampling was used to select areas that were representative in terms of population numbers and ethnic composition. The areas were stratified into urban, easily accessible and remote. Within the chosen areas quota sampling was used to select the interviewees according to education, income and gender. All in all, 2000 people (1200 Rakhine, 800 Bengali) were interviewed between September 2012 and April 2013. All important information was triangulated. Whereas the Commission faced certain constraints in terms of access to people, it had wide access to all the information it requested from government agencies.

An intermediate report was sent to the President in November 2012, and the final report in April 2013. Different Commission members had responsibility for investigating and composing different parts of the report, but the final version was adopted and countersigned by the Commission as whole and was submitted as such to the President on 9 April 2013.

3. The Commission’s main observations and findings

3.1. Establishment of a chronology of events:

Through meticulous research the Commission establishes a chronology of events that led to the two waves of violence in June and October 2012, and puts them into a chain of events that can be linked back to seminal attacks on Rakhine populations by Bengalis that took place in Maungdaw and Butheedaung during World War II in 1942. The Commission states that attacks and counter-attacks have been initiated both by Rakhine and by Bengalis. It highlights the rape and murder of a Buddhist woman by three Muslim men in Yanbe Township in late May 2012, and the retaliation killing of 10 Muslim men by a mob in Taunggoke in early June 2012 as the triggers of the first wave of violence. The Commission concludes that once there was enough

security to control the law and order, the situation in Rakhine state was kept under control and further attacks prevented. For a detailed chronology see Chapter 3.

3.2. Root causes of the violence:

In Chapter 4, the Commission pinpoints several root causes of the violence which can be roughly grouped into (a) historic;(b) contentious border issues with Bangladesh and citizenship legislation;(c) continued lack of socialization and integration between the communities;(d) government inadequacies;politisation and polarization by political parties for their own political agendas; (e) corruption of local officials; (f) lack of education and of economic opportunities in the region and of the people; and (g) external factors such as the rise of extremism on both sides. While there is no hard evidence to suggest the existence of a master plan of the Bengalis to control Rakhine State, there are voices pushing for recognition, and in the past requests for an autonomous region under their control. Multiple factors lead to the increased conviction on both sides that violence is the only way to ensure that one is protected from the others.

3.3. Losses and damages due to the violence in Rakhine State:

In a detailed tally in Chapter 5, the Commission gives the official statistics of losses and damages: in total 192 people died in the two waves; more than 265 were injured and 8'614 houses were destroyed. According to the Commission's findings, the numbers are lower than argued by either the Rakhine or the Bengalis. The highest number of casualties were in Mrauk-U whereas the highest level of destruction took place in Sittwe.

The Commission's report goes on to highlight the high psycho-social impact that the violence has had on the people living in Rakhine state, where many people still suffer from anxiety attacks, nightmares and are reluctant to move around at night. Fear has meant that interaction between the communities has come to a standstill, meaning that the economy is almost paralyzed and will certainly suffer further during this year. The destruction of markets and businesses has meant that people's spending power has been reduced significantly. In certain areas children no longer go to school, either because their parents do not want them to have to cross areas from the other community, or because teachers are too afraid of the other community to go and work in the schools. The Commission states that currently there are not enough security forces to guarantee the safety of all concerned. The report also underlines that the violence in Rakhine has had an impact throughout the country where many Myanmar citizens have felt compelled to take sides, thus contributing to a rift within the overall population. Furthermore, the situation has embarrassed the government in front of the international community.

3.4. Analysis of the socio-economic situation and economic activities in Rakhine State:

Chapters 6 and 7 of the report look at the current socio-economic situation in Rakhine and analyses the key economic activities there, and examines therefore the agricultural, fishery, tourism and services sectors in addition to market sales and trading, and the small industries. The Commission concludes in general that the breakdown in relations between the communities as well as the impeded freedom of movement, either through fear or due to government restriction, will have a major impact on the economic production of a state that is already one of the poorest in Myanmar. This is further compounded by a general under-development of the local industries as compared to elsewhere in Myanmar, unskilled labour and poor access to modern technologies and to obtaining credit.

3.5. Analysis of the humanitarian needs:

The Commission report, in its Chapter 8, also details the humanitarian needs in Rakhine State in the aftermath of the violence, in particular for the almost 120'000 IDPs. The report examines food security, shelter, health and education. In terms of food security, it finds that IDPs are receiving sufficient assistance from the government and from the UN. It highlights however that there have been UN reports of critically high levels of global acute malnutrition and severe malnutrition. The biggest need remains shelter, particularly for the return or relocation of Bengali IDPs where local Rakhine populations do not want them to stay or to return to their places of origin. Current needs for shelter are some 1'500 houses for Rakhine and 17'800 houses for Bengalis. For health the Commission notes that much of the health and sanitation needs are covered through assistance of the international community and medical units of the Tatmadaw but that with the arrival of the rainy season activities will need to be stepped up particularly in the overcrowded IDP camps. In terms of education, although 92% of the schools in Rakhine State were reopened, the Commission underlines that teachers have reported significant fall in the attendance rates. Fear and lack of freedom of movement continue to hamper access to schools for children and of teachers.

4. Recommendations of the Commission

The violence has affected not only vulnerable groups such as women and children both physically and psychologically, but also the social and economic fabric of Rakhine State. The result has been a breakdown in communication and interactions between the two sides. The historical bitterness between the two sides has provided fertile ground for renewed tensions, mistrust and violence. Therefore the Commission recommends:

4.1. Relief and return programs:

- The authorities need to assess and address child malnutrition in Rakhine State.

- Livelihood opportunities for families need to be urgently created and expanded.
- Before the arrival of the monsoon season, internally displaced persons (IDPs) living in inadequate temporary shelters must be moved into more secure buildings, and overcrowding in IDP camps must be reduced.
- The authorities need to ensure safe water and sufficient sanitation facilities in IDP camps and amongst the IDP population.
- The frustration, trauma and anxiety experienced by communities need to be addressed, including through psychiatric support and counseling.
- Concrete measures must be undertaken to reopen schools and to ensure that children are able to go to school.

4.2. Short and long-term strategies to reconcile differences:

- Civic education must be implemented to counter extremist teachings, especially in religious schools for Muslim communities in Rakhine State. Additionally, these Muslim communities must be able to function in the Myanmar language; to this end, functional literacy courses² need to be implemented among these communities.
- A local FM radio station broadcasting in local languages should be established, followed by a TV channel.
- The National Government should regularly issue accurate and timely information on events, so as to avoid rumours or the misuse of the media through instigators seeking to dominate the media and inflame the situation. This would also go a long way towards combatting propaganda, misinformation and rumours.
- All groups must be able to speak the Myanmar language, and understand Myanmar's traditional cultures. Measures to promote such learning need to be implemented.
- Communication and interaction should be promoted between the Rakhine and Bengali peoples.
- Measures need to be taken to instil a sense of loyalty and allegiance to the Union of Myanmar.
- The human rights of all groups must be protected.
- In dealing with illegal immigrants, the government should ensure adherence to human rights principles under all international

² Called Ah-thon-Lon in the Burmese language.

conventions and human rights laws ratified or acceded to by the Republic of the Union of Myanmar.

- The government needs to urgently initiate a process for examining the citizenship status of people in Rakhine State, implementing the provisions of the current 1982 Citizenship Law.
- The authorities need to ensure that justice and the rule of law prevail in resolving problems.
- Authorities will need to convene a Task Force comprising moderate leaders from both sides of the divide, to oversee implementation of the recommended measures.
- The Government needs to ban the use of hate language by and against any religion. In particular, it needs to forbid extremist teachings and activities.
- The responsible authorities need to ban language and actions that inflame tensions and create conflict.
- The government needs to issue accurate and fact-based news to ensure openness and transparency and to counter rumours and falsehoods.
- All villages and communities should be able to receive correct and factual news via radio programmes, news bulletins, and public address systems.

4.3. Measures towards reconciliation and peaceful co-existence:

- The Government and all responsible entities should ensure that the human rights of all parties involved in the conflict are protected and upheld, even if their citizenship status is unclear.
- The Government should deal with illegal immigrants in a visible and transparent process in accordance with the country's existing laws.
- Bengali citizens should be given the same rights as other Myanmar citizens and not be discriminated against, and then only in strict compliance with the law.
- A review of the citizenship status of Bengalis in Rakhine State should be undertaken in a visible and transparent process, as becoming citizens will help them live responsibly in the country and become integrated.
- A stricter and more coherent policy against illegal immigration should be implemented for all foreigners.
- The rule of law should be implemented scrupulously and fairly by all civil servants as a means to avoid tensions and as a problem-solving mechanism.
- The Government should foster encounters between representatives of the Rakhine and the Bengali communities in order to help them to find means of peaceful co-existence.

- To that end the Government should work with civil society leaders and religious organisations, also to facilitate Interfaith Dialogue Forums to foster better mutual understanding between the religions.
- The Government should conduct a review of all religious institutions in Rakhine State to ensure that extremist or hate teachings against specific religious or ethnic groups are not practiced. The Ministry of Religious Affairs should issue a certification to those evaluated as operating within the law.
- Should family planning be implemented it must be done in a non-discriminatory fashion and must be based on the principle of voluntary participation.
- The Government must take measures to ensure that the children of unregistered unions receive documentation and are registered.
- The Government should encourage the establishment and certification of a curriculum for religious schools.

4.4. Measures to promote the rule of law:

- All communities need to be educated on the relevant laws, regulations and policies and on the nature of sanctions for those who break the law. Rakhine State's civil service needs to be strengthened, in particular, the Office of General Administration and the Department of Religious Affairs.
- The authorities need to set up systems for conflict resolution, for analysis and implementation of Myanmar laws and regulations, and for prevention of illegal immigration.
- The Government should establish a department that could function as a conflict management centre.
- Government agencies responsible for security should increase and optimise cooperation and collaboration with one another.
- Security forces in Rakhine should not be withdrawn nor should force levels be reduced in any significant numbers in the short and medium-term.
- Border security must be increased. A skilled force, specially trained in preventing and resolving conflicts, should be put in place as a preventive measure. Such a force must be trained and equipped with modern and appropriate means of riot control. A bomb squad also needs to be established to guard against actions by extremist groups.
- In the event that intervention by the *Tatmadaw* (Armed Forces) is needed to prevent or stop sectarian violence, those forces must be adequately equipped with weapons for riot control.
- The security forces to prevent violence must be fully prepared and able to access all areas rapidly. To this end, they should be equipped with modern telecommunications systems, all-weather vehicles, speedboats and other suitable means of transport.

- The role of the Navy needs to be expanded and strengthened. To this end, coastal radar stations and patrol aircraft should be established. Close-circuit television cameras and purpose-built facilities are needed for 24-hour surveillance along the border.
- To work closely with the Navy, a marine or coastal patrol force should be established and equipped with [assault] high-speed boats, in order to ensure effective patrolling of the Rakhine coast.
- A Special Team composed of civilians and military personnel needs to be established and put in charge of gathering intelligence on extremist organizations and violent groups.
- As an urgent priority, the organization of Immigration service personnel (*La-Wa-Ka*) in Rakhine State must be strengthened.
- The Border Immigration Headquarters personnel (BIHQ or *Na-Sa-Ka*) in Rakhine State has issued certain administrative orders pertaining to control of the territory. Such control must be continued.
- The authorities should ensure that Rakhine State has an excellent transportation network.
- Bangladesh has scheduled general elections in December 2013. Spill-over effects – such as unrest and infiltration by extremist groups – may affect the border regions in Rakhine State. Accordingly, security and other necessary arrangements should be made well in advance.
- The authorities need to ensure that those who break the law are tried and punished swiftly following due process, irrespective of their ethnic origin (or status of legality) as all should be equal before the law.
- All who live in Myanmar, including civil servants, are subject to the country's laws, regulations and legal procedures and should follow these rigorously. Those who break the law or act outside the procedures and regulations should be prosecuted according to the law.

4.5. Measures to promote social and economic development:

The Commission concludes that poverty and lack of economic opportunities were in no small way part of the enabling factors that fostered the outbreak of violence in Rakhine, the report presents several recommendations for the improvement of the economic development there.

- Above all establishing security and the rule of law is imperative for economic development to begin; in the longer term the development and improvement of the transport network are essential.
- The introduction of a new and higher-yield rice strain will be necessary to raise productivity in agriculture, as well as adequate support for farmers.

- An appropriate legislative framework and its implementation, together with technical assistance, modern equipment and boats will be required to develop the fishery sector and to manage the exploitation of the aquatic resources.
- The controversies around land-ownership need to be resolved in a transparent and predictable manner.
- The extent to which non-citizens can and should be incorporated in the agriculture and fishery sectors needs to be decided and implemented fairly. However the Commission recommends allowing those with the capacity to work to do so.
- The holistic reconstruction of homes, destroyed infrastructure, enhancement of transport and communication in the region need to be undertaken.
- Business owners from different religious and ethnic groups need to work together in a cooperative manner to restore confidence and trade within the State. A better assessment of industrial and production needs must take place, also taking into account the added value that production in Rakhine could bring in comparison to industries in neighbouring Bangladesh and in China.
- Big investment projects such as the deep-sea port project in Kyaukpyu need to be seen as also benefiting the local and the overall population of Rakhine State.
- The tourism sector and local industries require technical and vocational education and training.
- Finally means should be found to make low-interest credit easily available.

5. Final comments and observations

The report has two additional chapters on the terminology of “Bengali” rather than “Rohingya” (Chapter 10) and on the perception the public has of international organisations (Chapter 11). It finishes with recommendations specifically for the media (Chapter 13) before concluding that despite all the challenges the Commission was able to discharge its duties in an adequate manner, finding that the roots of the tensions between the communities are deep and complex extending over several generations. The Commission through its report warns that as long as the root causes are not addressed, the violence can spark easily as there are instigators active in both communities. For this not to happen, both communities need to participate actively, with the Government’s leadership, in the implementation of the recommended measures.

1. Introduction

1.1. Sectarian violence between Rakhine and Bengali people flared up in June and October 2012, resulting by official count in 192 deaths, 265 injured and the destruction of 8,614 houses. The violence had a profound physical, psychological and economic impact on local communities and beyond. It also led to misunderstandings between Myanmar and the international community. Such violence clearly has the potential to impact the country's political and economic reforms. On 17 August 2012, with a view to peacefully resolving ethnic and religious differences and preventing further problems, President U Thein Sein of the Union of the Republic of Myanmar appointed an Inquiry Commission. The Commission members and social research support teams conducted fieldwork during 10 visits to 11 affected townships in Rakhine State. On those field trips, the teams collected reports and information from a wide range of people, including civil servants, religious and civil society leaders, business owners and the public. The teams also conducted focus group discussions and interviews, and observed interactions within and between the different groups. The research aimed to examine and analyze the situation between the two groups and make recommendations in line with the Commission's mandate set by the President.

1.2. Research methodology

1.2.1. The surveys used a weighted, purposive sampling approach to select areas that were representative in terms of population numbers and ethnic mix.¹ The sampling was stratified into urban areas, easily accessible rural areas, and remote areas. Within each town or village thus selected, the research teams chose interviewees based on socio-economic characteristics, such as education, income and gender, to provide the broadest representation possible for that location. Within these areas and communities, quota sampling was used to select interviewees. The teams used household questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observation methods to collect the data.

1.2.2. Altogether, the Commission was able to conduct interviews with 2,000 people, comprising 1,200 Rakhine and 800 Bengalis. Focus group interviews as well as in-depth interviews were conducted amongst community elders/leaders, youth groups and women's groups, depending on the prevailing situation at the time. Further probing was conducted through qualitative in-depth interviews of key witnesses. Triangulation was ensured by counter-checking facts and using field observation in the affected communities, as time allowed.

1.2.3. Additionally, the Commission reviewed the many reports and testimonies it received. Through certain Commission members, the Commission was able to access information from international academic institutions, from the Union of Myanmar National Archives and from private libraries. The Commission also

¹ Technical note: a purely quantitative survey would have been difficult given the lack of updated population data for the sampling frame.

received documents from several individuals and associations in Rakhine State. Section 1.4 describes the constraints encountered in the Commission's work.

1.3. Scope of the study

1.3.1. The Commission was able to study and analyse the current situation and attitudes of the communities through its surveys and field work. A cross-sectional analysis was conducted of the eight areas mandated by the President of the Union of Myanmar.²

1.4. Constraints encountered by the Commission

1.4.1. Some affected communities perceived the Commission as an entity for resolving all their problems. The Commission's research teams found that such people tended to exaggerate their problems and were not willing to listen to the Commission's questions. In addition, some Bengali community leaders obtained the telephone/mobile numbers of Commission members from certain Muslim leaders in Yangon and on occasion called Commission members to recite a long list of problems.

1.4.2. Some Bengalis in Rakhine State and some Muslim leaders in Yangon tried to influence the Commission's interviews by instructing Bengali respondents on how to answer the Commission's questions. For example, after the Commission's research team had conducted an interview, the first respondents would inform Muslim leaders in Yangon about the questions. In turn, these Muslim leaders would instruct some Bengali communities in Rakhine State, by telephone, as to the "best" responses for the Commission. Every respondent interviewed subsequently would then give the same answers. The research team even found that some Bengalis had written down the answers on pieces of paper, to which they referred to during the interviews. Some Bengalis tended to answer without even listening to the Commission's questions. However, if the interviewers deviated from the set order of questions in the survey, those same respondents could no longer answer appropriately.

1.4.3. The conflict between the Rakhine and Bengalis also affected the Commission's work. The Rakhine perceived the Commission's neutral stance as counter to the rights of the Rakhine Taing-Yin-Tha.³ This upset some Rakhine groups, who consequently did not answer the Commission's questions willingly. On the other hand, Bengalis interfered in the selection of interviewees. Through phone conversations with Bengalis living in Rakhine, some Bengali leaders living in Yangon would select Bengali respondents to be interviewed by the Commission. Whenever the Commission tried to select its own respondents, they would object. Some independently selected Bengali respondents did not cooperate with the Commission: they would deliberately give responses that avoided the questions, or

² Translation note: see footnote 11 on the eight tasks.

³ Translation note: The official definition of Taing-Yin-Tha (indigenous ethnic group) is: "Nationals such as Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Bamar, Mon, Rakhine, Shan and ethnic group who settled in any territory included within the State as their permanent home prior to 1823 AD." Altogether 135 Taing-Yin-Tha groups are defined by concerned government ministries and the Public Service Commission.

they would repeatedly change their responses. Because of such interference, the statistics obtained from respondents in these communities in northern Rakhine State cannot be relied on or regarded as representative. In those communities, the Commission was able to interview people only after external intervention.

1.4.4. Collecting data in the more remote Rakhine or Bengali settlements also presented difficulties. Although interpreters were used in Bengali communities, respondents were often unable to respond adequately. Few interpreters could translate both ways between the Myanmar and Bengali languages. Additionally, some Bengali communities objected to interpreters who had been brought by the Commission as a check against the accuracy of their Bengali counterparts.

1.4.5 To overcome some of these difficulties, the Commission's research team trained local young people in the appropriate methodology and tasked them with collecting some of the data. At times, the research teams went quietly to certain areas to collect data, without publicizing the trip. The teams counter-checked the veracity of statements by re-interviewing many respondents.

1.4.6 In collecting data for this report, the Commission's research team was unable to use a strict probability or random sampling of select communities and households, due to the interference of external groups. Instead, purposive and quota sampling were used as mentioned in paragraph 1.2.1.

This report does not attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of all aspects of the Rakhine and Bengali communities. Instead, it indicates the political, economic and social conditions that exist and are still developing in Rakhine State, as well as the trends that allow a deeper understanding of the sectarian violence. Based on these findings, the Report makes recommendations on economic issues, on basic needs such as food security, shelter, health and education, on the rule of law, on peaceful coexistence and on the media.

2. Rakhine State: Historical Background

2.1. Rakhine State, situated between latitudes 17°15 and 21°11 North and longitudes 92°11 and 94°55 East, has an area of about 14,200 square miles (36,778 square kilometres). Its coastline stretches along the Bay of Bengal for some 443 miles (713 kilometres). The State comprises 4 districts, 17 townships and 3 sub-townships. In 2011, the administrative data recorded a total population of 3,338,669 in Rakhine State, comprising 2,333,670 Buddhists, 968,218 Muslims, 25,206 Christians, 8,670 Hindus and 2,905 Animists. In terms of percentage, Buddhists comprised 69.90%, Muslims 29%, Christians 0.75%, Hindus 0.26% and Animists 0.09% of the total population. The State's population density is 235 persons per square mile (90.78 per square kilometre). In contrast, neighbouring Bangladesh has a population density some ten times greater. Rakhine State is home to a number of indigenous ethnic groups ("*Taing-Yin-Tha*") such as the Rakhine, Thet, Daing-Net, Mro, Khamwee, Kaman and Mramargyi peoples. The largest in population are the Rakhine people, Theravada Buddhists for many centuries and one of Myanmar's

indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha peoples. Annex A provides more details on the demographic composition of Rakhine State.

2.2. The history of the Rakhine people includes four major periods: Dhannyawadi, Wai-Thali, Le-Mro, and Mrauk-U Periods, during which time independent kingdoms flourished, firmly establishing the national identity of the Rakhine people. The majority of Rakhine, young and old, believe that during the Mrauk-U period, some of the more powerful Rakhine kings extended sovereignty over 12 regions of Bengal, including Chittagong. Many Rakhine today still take pride in what is described as a luminous and distinguished history. Prevailing views amongst many Rakhine can be articulated as “*Rakhine land and Rakhine State belong to the Rakhine people,*” “*Rakhine State is only for the Rakhine people,*” and “*Resources from Rakhine land must benefit only Rakhine State.*”

2.3. Such attitudes appear to be especially strong amongst the Rakhine with regard to the Bengali⁴ inhabitants of Rakhine State and who are of the Muslim faith. Nonetheless, records show a long history of peaceful relations between the Rakhine people and Muslim groups. A historical review shows that the Rakhine have always been the dominant group in Rakhine State. Not only did they have the largest population, but the Rakhine people were also the ruling class who owned the land and controlled the region’s economy. In contrast, the Bengali people in Rakhine State worked traditionally as domestic workers and labourers serving the Rakhine and their businesses. Up to that time, no major conflict was reported between the two groups.

2.4. In the past, the land of Myanmar – including Rakhine State – was blessed with abundant land and water resources, and was sparsely populated compared to its neighbours. The British colonial forces occupied Rakhine State in the earlier part of the 19th century, subsequently changing land ownership policies to benefit their colonial economy. They expanded the land under cultivation and brought in large numbers of Indian labourers and entrepreneurs to settle in Rakhine State. From then on, the Rakhine region saw the arrival of increasing numbers of foreign settlers, including Bengalis. The population growth rates amongst these immigrant groups were several times higher than those of the indigenous peoples of Rakhine. Furthermore, other major differences between the Rakhine and Muslim Bengalis in religion, traditional practices, culture and social norms meant that the respective groups did not easily accept the other. For example, Rakhine do not marry Muslim Bengalis, as shown by the extreme rarity of Rakhine-Muslim couples. Over the decades, these two groups have lived without mingling, in separate communities with starkly different characteristics.

2.5. The Rakhine saw the Muslim Bengalis as economic immigrants who entered their country in search of work. They felt that they, the native Rakhine people, were the hosts, and that the “guests” should fully respect their hosts. On their side, the Bengalis in Rakhine State quickly demonstrated their capacity to work

⁴ Those who are not of the 135 indigenous ethnic groups of Myanmar, according to the country’s Constitution and official documents, have always been classified according to their ethnic root as “Bengali”, “Indian”, “Chinese,” etc. For example, the race and citizenship of Chinese citizens of Myanmar are written on their identification cards as “Chinese/ Myanmar.”

uncomplainingly in menial and poorly-paid jobs, often doing work that no one else was willing to do. They lived frugally, saving where they could.

2.6. Despite their initial circumstances, some Bengalis became wealthy in later years. In interviews, Rakhine people recount how the Bengalis had good connections and received strong support from outside groups, which then led to Bengali ownership or control of several big businesses. Some Bengalis were therefore able to seize greater political and economic opportunities than the Rakhine, could fuelling inter-communal resentment and dissatisfaction.

2.7. The Government's handling of the citizenship process

2.7.1. The extremely rapid growth rate of the Bengali population in Rakhine State also contributed to fear and insecurity amongst the Rakhine people. The growth was not only due to high birth rates, but also to a steady increase of illegal immigration from neighbouring Bangladesh. Many Rakhine believed this was due to weaknesses in previous governments. Following Myanmar's independence from Britain in 1948, the many internal insurgencies, incursions by external armed groups into the country's territory, and political unrest prevented the Government from systematically addressing the issue of illegal immigration. In 1978, under the then Burma Socialist Program Party Government, the ministries of Home Affairs and Religious Affairs conducted the Naga-Min Campaign to review the status of foreigners living within the country, focusing on Myanmar's border regions. Although problems were not encountered in Kachin, Shan, Karen and Mon States, the Naga-Min Campaign encountered difficulties in Rakhine State.

2.7.2. In February 1978, the Naga-Min Campaign began in Sittwe city, with the participation of the Tatmadaw,⁵ the police, immigration personnel, and various government organizations. In total, 200 government staff conducted the campaign. In Sittwe, 1,258 illegal immigrants were found and deported. The second stage, conducted in Butheetaung, uncovered 137 illegal immigrants and again, similar action was taken. Towards the end of the campaign's second stage, looting and attacks by local mobs and destruction of *Taing-Yin-Tha* villages along the northern borders of Rakhine State with neighbouring Bangladesh put more pressure on the government to act. There were also destabilising rumours and propaganda disseminated by foreign sources, combined with diplomatic pressure from neighbouring countries. At that time, the process of border demarcation between Bangladesh and Myanmar was still not complete. In March 1978, the Government of Bangladesh made an official protest to the Government of Myanmar, concerning people crossing into its territory and the need to control the situation along the border. The Bangladesh Government noted that such issues were giving the Bangladesh opposition political ammunition and asked Myanmar Government to stop the Naga-Min campaign. All the while, Bangladesh's media and some leading Muslim organizations were exhorting the Bangladesh Government to pressure the Myanmar Government, including demands to bring the case before the United Nations.

⁵ Translation note: Tatmadaw: Armed Forces of the Union of Myanmar

2.7.3. In April 1978, the Bangladesh Government stated that the Myanmar Government, by expelling people in its border camps, bore responsibility for looting and violence against camp inhabitants. The Bangladesh Government also intimated that whilst diplomatic channels were the main means to resolve such issues, security implications could develop. Bangladesh troop movements were observed along the border between the two countries. In addition, the Rohingya Patriotic Front, an activist pressure group, lodged complaints with the then United Nations Commission on Human Rights. In response, the Myanmar Government requested that Bangladesh resolve the border issues first and expressed regret that Dhaka had not adhered to previously agreed commitments. The Myanmar Government also deplored what it described as the propagation of rumours as factual news and emphasized that citizenship was an internal matter for the Government to decide. It said it would take back those immigrants with correct and complete documentation. During this process, Muslim activists held demonstrations in front of the Myanmar embassy in Bangladesh.

2.7.4. Subsequently, the Myanmar Government took note of the implications of this issue, notably, the effect it could have on Myanmar's immigration services and its relations with Islamic countries. In October 1978, a meeting was held between representatives of Myanmar and Bangladesh at a re-integration camp called Taungpyo Letwe in Butheetaung township. At this meeting, the two parties signed an agreement on the repatriation of refugees to Myanmar and on border demarcation issues. From 15 October 1978, a fresh initiative called the Hintha Campaign established new villages and provided fallow and unused land to the returnees. Altogether, 31,505 families comprising a population of 186,968 were accepted as returnees, while during the Naga-Min Campaign, only 25,905 families comprising some 156,630 people had left Myanmar. Therefore, the Hintha Campaign accepted an extra 5,600 families comprising 30,338 people. Many in Myanmar felt the issues surrounding the Campaign set a harsher tone for the country's future relationship with Bangladesh.

2.7.5. From 1974 on, the Tatmadaw had conducted military campaigns that successfully ended armed insurgency within Rakhine State, although some movements still used bases in neighbouring Bangladesh. As of the early 1980s, the Tatmadaw took responsibility for security along the border regions of Rakhine State and was able to restore order over that territory. At the same time, political movements were effectively controlled and separatist demands were quelled. In early 1980, the Tatmadaw exposed and eliminated underground movements in Rakhine State known as the Rohingya National Liberation Front and Rohingya Patriotic Front.

2.7.6. During those years, Myanmar relied on the 1948 Citizenship Law to manage citizenship and immigration issues. At the end of the Naga-Min and Hintha campaigns, the Government noted weaknesses in the law with respect to safeguarding the long-term interests of indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha, and began the process of revising the Law. The resulting 1982 Citizenship Law was subsequently

adopted and up to nationwide unrest in 1988, enabled the Government to stabilise issues concerning the Bengali communities.

2.8. Summary of the sectarian conflict between Rakhine and Bengali communities

2.8.1. After the upheavals of 1942 in Maungdaw and Butheetaung,⁶ both the Rakhine and Bengali communities sporadically attacked and killed each other. In April 1984, in the town of Taunggoke, pamphlets found at bus stops and by the harbour announced that Muslims who were able to marry a Myanmar or Rakhine Buddhist woman would be rewarded with cash. This upset some Rakhine groups, spurring them that same evening to attack mosques, threaten Bengalis and stage anti-Bengali processions every night for about a week. The Taunggoke Township People's Council had to issue penal code 144 aimed at preserving law and order as a preventive measure. Although nobody was injured in those events, Bengalis left Taunggoke as a result and no Bengali has returned since.

2.8.2. In May 1988, during a nationwide surge of unrest, some 50,000 Bengalis tried to take over Maungdaw by force. The township government was weak at the time but police and security personnel were able to put down the takeover attempt.

2.8.3. On a separate occasion, also in 1988, the Mawra-wadi Theravada Buddhist monastery in Maungdaw was set alight by local Bengali activists, forcing the abbot to flee. Since then there have been two more arson attempts on the monastery, reportedly by Bengali groups.

2.8.4. In 1994, a Buddhist abbot from Sittwe was buying medicine at a shop owned by a Bengali. An argument subsequently ensued and the abbot was surrounded by Bengalis from that neighbourhood. Shortly afterwards, Rakhine groups also converged and from then on arson attacks and counter-attacks led to the burning of Narzi market in Sittwe. In the same year, bomb attacks believed to have been orchestrated by Bengalis killed some Rakhine people and destroyed their houses. Also in the same year, 80 armed members of the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) attacked a Rakhine village called Mawra-Wadi in the south of Maungdaw Township, killing one villager and injuring another. The Tatmadaw responded in force against the RSO.

2.8.5. In 1998, a 5,000-strong Bengali force headed by the Rohingya Liberation Organization (RLO) entered Maungdaw and destroyed Buddhist monasteries, set fire to Buddhist neighbourhoods and killed several Rakhine, again attempting to take over Maungdaw by force. The local police force successfully repelled the attack.

2.8.6. In addition to the above incidents, there have been killings and counter-killings between both Rakhine and Bengali communities, as well as evidence of other crimes committed by Bengalis against the Rakhine. Consequently, mistrust and even hatred between the two groups have escalated.

⁶ Translation note: See paragraphs 3.11 and 4.15

3. The cause of the conflict and the sectarian violence in 2012

3.1. The conflict between the two groups

3.1.1. Comments from Rakhine communities highlight their firm beliefs that Bengali communities intend to create conflict in order to realize their long-term goals. This conviction amongst the Rakhine people is rooted in the century-old history of relations between the groups. Among the episodes of conflict between the two groups, both young and old from the Rakhine community regard the 1942 event as the worst outbreak of violence. According to Rakhine accounts, at a time when the country's governing structures were non-functional due to the Second World War, Bengalis equipped with modern firearms, attacked Rakhine indigenous villages in Maungdaw and Butheetaung, killing over 20,000 Rakhine, and occupying those villages to the present day. From that time on, those areas have remained under Bengali domination. The attacks irrevocably destroyed whatever trust existed between the two communities. The mistrust has persisted to the present day. The Rakhine perception is that the Bengalis took advantage of the vacuum in government to take over Rakhine land. Today, over 90% of the population of Maungdaw and Butheetaung townships are still Bengali.

3.2. The events in the first phase of the 2012 conflict

3.2.1. The event that triggered the first phase of sectarian violence was the rape, robbery and murder of a young Rakhine woman (named Ma Thida Htwe) from Kyauknimaw Village, Yanbye Township on 28 May 2012 by three Muslim young men. Shortly after, photos of the young woman's body were circulated on the internet in Myanmar, together with incendiary remarks posted mainly through anonymous channels on the internet. The pictures and news spread even to Rakhine villages and towns without internet access. Shortly before this, a travelling "Tabligh" –or Islamic proselytization group – had exhorted Bengalis to build a mosque in Cedi-byin village of Rathe-taung township, promising to provide all necessary funds. The Commission was told that many Rakhine became extremely resentful of this Tabligh group. This episode was one of many that increased the intensity of Rakhine patriotic sentiment and fuelled their anger. On 3 June 2012, when bitterness between the races and religions was peaking, a mini-bus of the Yoma-Thitsar company, carrying 10 Muslim passengers, was travelling from Thandwe to Yangon. On the way, one police sergeant who had heard there was unrest at Taunggoke warned the car not to continue and tried to stop it. However, the driver did not listen and continued to Taunggoke. At the town entrance, a guard at the checkpoint warned the car not to enter the town and to turn back for Thandwe. Despite this, the driver of the vehicle continued and entered the town. When the vehicle arrived at the terminal for long-distance buses, the driver realized the situation was dangerous and tried to turn back but it was too late. A violent and enraged mob dragged the 10 Muslim passengers out of the vehicle and killed them with repeated blows and knife stabs. From then on, many towns and villages of Rakhine State experienced increased violence between the Rakhine and Muslim communities.

3.2.2. In connection with these events, government newspapers used the term “Muslim Kala”⁷ indiscriminately for all Muslims, which upset this community and intensified the anger of Bengalis. At the same period, mosques throughout Rakhine State held prayer meetings for the 10 Muslims killed in Taunggoke. On 8 June 2012, in Maungdaw—today a predominantly Muslim Bengali town—Friday prayer meetings were held at the West Myoma quarter Jamai Mosque (also called the Kyauk Mosque) and at the Myoma Kanyindan Cemetery Mosque. Several witnesses testified that following these prayers, a large crowd of Bengalis emerged from the mosques onto the main road, shouting, “*Strength to the Muslims! Death to the Rakhine!*” in their Bengali dialect. Some of these people then burned and looted houses of the indigenous non-Muslims in Myoma quarter, attacking and killing some non-Muslims. The witnesses, who were from the local Rakhine community as well as non-Rakhine religious leaders, say the acts appeared to have been pre-meditated.

3.2.3. On the same day (8 June 2012), the violence spread to surrounding areas of Maungdaw and to the south. Witnesses reported that thousands of Bengalis surrounded indigenous Rakhine villages, shouting in their Bengali dialect, “*Kill all Rakhine and drive them out from this land!*”, burned down houses and attacked non-Muslims. Some Rakhine and Bamar (Burmese) people claim that these events, rather than mere acts of vengeance for the 10 Muslims killed at Taunggoke, were actually the implementation of a pre-existing plan by Bengalis to drive out indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha people from Maungdaw region and make it an exclusively Bengali area.

3.2.4. During the violence in Maungdaw that began with the Bengali crowd who came out of the mosque, the Thazin Guesthouse and food stalls owned by the Rakhine were set on fire. The fire then spread to the Rakhine village of Bo-hmu destroying 15 homes. According to local accounts the following events occurred around the same time and on the same day, all in Maungdaw township:

- Bengalis burned down Mawra-wadi model village and the Buddhist monastery in Ohndaw village group, Maungdaw Township, destroying 109 houses or nearly all the houses in that village.
- Bengalis burned Thray-konbaung (Na-Ta-La) village of Gawduthara village group, 12 miles away from Maungdaw, causing the death of one villager and the destruction of 97 villages.
- Bengalis also burned We-Thali village at Na-Sa-Ka 3 mile Sakhan, which resulted in the loss of the electricity generator station and 9 houses.
- Bengalis stoned the houses of indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha in the Fifth Quarter of Maungdaw.
- 47 houses in Khayay Myaing model village of Duchiyadan village group, 31 houses in Bodhigone village, 21 houses in Tat-Oo Chaung village, 25 houses in Kinchaung village, and 2 houses in DPA model village were all set on fire.

⁷ Translation note: The Bamar (Burmese) traditionally used the term *Kala* or *Kula* for all foreigners from the west of the country; the British were originally known as *Kala Hpyu* (white kala). More recently, in modern day conversation, the Myanmar people employ the term *Kala* for all peoples originating from the Indian subcontinent (usually India, Bangladesh and Pakistan). The Myanmar people also use the terms *Tayoke* for Chinese, *Yodaya* for Thai, *Pyin Thit* for French. Whilst *Tayoke* and *Pyin Thit* are still used in official documents to indicate the name of those countries (China and France), the terms *Kala* and *Yodaya* are no longer formally used, and have been replaced in formal documents by the names of the originating countries. Opinions differ on whether *Kala* is derogatory or not.

- At Shwe-Yin-Aye (Na-Ta-La) model village of Nyaung Chaung village tract just three miles from Maungdaw, Bengalis attacked and burned down one Buddhist monastery and 67 houses.
- 7 houses in We-Thali model village in Myo-Thu-Gyi village tract, 36 houses in Kainggyi Ywa Haung village of Zaw-ma-htet village tract and 3 houses in Myoma quarter of Maungdaw town were all burned down.

3.2.5. When examining the events, the Commission noted that these episodes of violence occurred on the same day (8 June 2012) and around the same time in many areas, clearly suggesting some orchestration and coordination of the violence. From the events of that day, the sectarian violence spread to other regions of Rakhine State such as Rathe-Taung, Kyauktaw, Pauktaw, Sittwe, Mrauk-U, Kyaukpyu, and Yanbye, involving both sides in reciprocal attacks, burnings and killings. The Rakhine State government and local authorities managed to restore some order for a certain period. However, trust between the two groups had been destroyed, and levels of tension remained extremely high. From time to time in the aftermath, sectarian killings still occurred, especially in areas where security measures were weak.

3.2.6. In the ensuing days, outbreaks of violence included:

- On 9 June 2012, in Sittwe, Bengalis living near the Buddhist monastery in Taungshe village in Kone-Dan quarter and Bengalis living near Bauk-Thee-Su quarter roamed the areas armed with sticks and knives. Some Bengalis surrounded the University of Sittwe in Bu-May quarter. They also stoned the back of government offices in Magyee-Myaing quarter. After Bengalis burned down one house, the Rakhine set fire to the mosque in Magyee-Myaing quarter. Towards the end of the day, armed mobs both of Bengalis and Rakhine roved the streets of Sittwe.
- On 10 June 2012, Rakhine mobs burned down Bengali houses behind the Min-Gan quarter Buddhist monastery, while Bengalis set fire to Rakhine houses in plot number 1/2/8/9 in the same Min-Gan quarter. Houses from the Bengali quarter in Taya-Thee-Su were burned. The Rakhine also burned down 10 Bengali houses in Magyee-Myaing quarter. In West San-Pya quarter, Rakhine and Bengalis attacked each other and in the process, 12 Rakhine houses were set on fire. The Rakhine burned 60 houses in the Bengali village of The-Chaung in front of Sittwe University. On the same day (10 June 2012), the authorities issued a curfew order authorized under penal code 144 to quell the violence, arson and attacks.
- Despite the curfew, 90 Bengali houses and one mosque were burned down on 11 June 2012. Similarly, 100 Bengali houses were destroyed by fire at Than-Htaw-Li village. Throughout that day, both sides committed arson attacks, often throwing Mee-Kwin⁸ to exacerbate the damage. The authorities made efforts to stop the fires in Kone-Dan that consumed Bengali houses, and set off warning shots to deter the attackers.
- On 12 June 2012, the violence continued unabated. Bengali houses in front of the Sa-ba-khun generator station in Set-Yone-Su quarter were set alight and fire engines were dispatched to stop the fire. Around 50 Bengali houses were lost in the fire of Narzi quarter and Ka-The quarter. Five Bengalis set fire to a computer-

⁸ Translation note on *Mee-Kwin*: an inflammable material twisted and made into a ring to create fires.

printing shop owned by a Rakhine in Narzi quarter; the fire then spread to 20 adjacent Rakhine houses, 10 Bengali houses and two video movie theatres. The fire started by arson attacks west of the school in Magyee-Myaing quarter consumed 10 Bengali houses, a further 36 Bengali houses on Kyaung-Gyi Road quarter and 3 Rakhine houses. In the evening of that day, the fire of Narzi market also consumed 10 Rakhine houses, 20 Bengali houses, 37 shop stalls owned by Rakhine and 70 shop stalls owned by Bengalis. West of the Buddhist monastery in Taung-She village, the fire which started at the Kone-dan quarter of Bengali village consumed 130 Rakhine houses, 140 Bengali houses. Violence involving around 200 people on either side injured one monk, 2 Rakhine and 2 Bengalis. In Myo-Thu-Gyi Quarter, some 85 Bengali houses between Hpa Hpyu Road and Maung Shwe Lone Road were burned by the Bengalis themselves who had come up from the Kaladan River. In Sittwe, Min-Gan quarter and north Set-Yo-Kya village, around 20 Rakhine men encircled a Bengali house to burn it down; the security forces then tried to stop them by firing four warning shots into the air, but failed to stop the violence. Subsequently, one shot by the security forces into the Rakhine crowd killed a Rakhine man.

3.2.7. The sectarian violence spread during the same period to other townships.

- On 10 June, the Rakhine set fire to 35 Kaman houses and three mosques in Number One and Number Six quarters of Yanbye town, which led to the death of one Kaman.⁹
- On 11 June, mutual attacks in Pauktaw town led to the burning and destruction of 21 Rakhine houses, 1 store and 14 Bengali houses.
- On 12 June, the Rakhine of Mrauk-U destroyed the houses belonging to the indigenous Mramargyi group: 12 houses within the Shwegu-Taung quarter, and 14 houses in Kyet-Sha-Sun quarter and Ka-The quarter. On the same day, around 50 Rakhine burned down 46 Bengali houses and one mosque in Myo-Thit quarter of Kyauktaw town.
- On 13 June, a 50-strong Rakhine group burned down 104 Bengali houses in Nga-Wet-Chaung village of Pauktaw township. On the same day, the Rakhine burned down 140 Bengali houses in Pan-Gaing village of Rathe-Taung township.
- On 14 June, 30 Bengali houses in Kone-Dan village of Rathe-Taung township were burned down.
- On 15 June, in Kyauktaw township, 21 Bengali houses in A-Le village of Apauk-Wa village tract, 9 Bengali houses in Pya village, 13 Bengali houses in A-Le-Kyun village and 20 huts in Paik-the quarter were burned down.
- On 16 June, in the Lanmadaw village tract of Kyauktaw township, the Bengali village of San-ka Taung was attacked by Rakhine, which led to 92 houses being burned, 3 people killed and 3 injured.
- On 17 June, 13 houses were burned in the Bengali village of A-Le-Kyun in the same township.
- On 19 June, violence between the Bengali village of Kyet-Yoe-Kone-Dan and the Rakhine village of Anauk-Pyin in Rathe-Taung township led to 10 deaths and 6 injured amongst the Rakhine and 2 deaths and 26 injured among the Bengalis. During the same violence, 166 Bengali houses and 31 Rakhine houses were burned or destroyed.

⁹ Kaman: An indigenous ethnic group who are Muslim, classed as Taing-Yin-Tha in the country's laws and regulations.

- On 23 June, in Tain-Thaung-Byin village in Minbya township, a fight between 2 Bengalis and 5 Rakhine left the 2 Bengalis injured.

3.2.8. In August, violence erupted again. The following took place in Kyauktaw township.

- On 5 August 2012, a Rakhine group set fire to the Bengali village of Goke-Pi of Kyauktaw township, leading to the destruction of 52 houses. 25 Bengali houses were burned down in Apauk-Wa A-Le village, an attack leading to 2 deaths and 2 injured. In Shwe Hlaing, a Bengali village in the Thawin-Kaing village tract, 106 houses were set on fire, 6 people were killed and 6 were injured.
- On 6 August 2012, near the Bengali village of Let-Hsaung-Kauk, Bengalis set fire to a rice mill belonging to a Rakhine, causing damages of about Kyat 50 million to property. On the same day, some Rakhine entered the Bengali village of Ywa-Hnyar in Ywa Thit Kay village tract, and burned down 10 houses.
- On 7 August 2012, 230 Bengali houses were destroyed in the Bengali village of Inbari in Dukkhan village tract.

Following these violent incidents, the authorities imposed a curfew under penal code section 144 on Kyauktaw Township.

3.2.9. As Rakhine State by then was gripped by widespread unrest, the authorities invoked penal code section 144 to impose a curfew for troubled townships and strengthened the security forces. It was in this situation that the President of the Union of Myanmar issued Executive Order 58/2012, dated 17 August 2012, establishing an Inquiry Commission charged with the eight tasks, detailed in Annex B.¹⁰ The Commission travelled to the affected areas for the first time in the second week of September 2012. Although tensions were running high at that time, attacks had subsided and the security situation had started to improve. However, violent episodes continued to break the uneasy calm:

- On 24 August 2012, U Tun Hlaing, aged 40 years from Taung-Chay village in Butheetaung township, went to his orchard in Dukin-Chaung village and was killed by Bengalis. In another episode, a young Rakhine girl sustained injuries in an attack by Bengalis.
- On 11 September 2012, U Kyaw Maung Chay from Thayet-Oke village, Kyauktaw township, was returning home to his village from town when he was set upon by Bengalis and killed on the road.
- On 14 September 2012, a Rakhine couple from Kantha (or Ywa Tharyar) village in Maungdaw township were asleep in their hut in the fields when 20 Bengalis surrounded them with weapons. A fight then ensued during which the husband, U Aung Hla Hpyu, was seriously injured by gunshot wounds.

These events occurred as the Union Government was trying to restore calm. The timing and nature of some of the attacks prompted many Rakhine to question whether local Bengalis were trying to instigate further conflict and confrontation. On 28 September 2012, in the Aung Mingala (Inbala) quarter, a Bengali-dominated part

¹⁰ The Commission was tasked by the President to examine the following eight areas: a) investigate the root causes that led to the disturbance of peace and security; b) verify the extent of loss of life, property and other collateral damage; c) examine the effort to restore peace and promote law and order; d) outline means to provide relief and implement resettlement programmes; e) develop short- and long-term strategies to reconcile differences; f) establish mutual understanding and promote peaceful co-existence between various religious and ethnic groups; g) advise on promotion of rule of law; h) advise on promotion of social and economic development. *Annex B (Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Office of the President: Executive Order No 58/2012. August 17, 2012. 'Formation of the Inquiry Commission')*

of Sittwe city, unrest followed a rumour that a young child selling ice popsicles in that quarter had been killed by Bengalis. On the following two days (29-30 September 2012), extremist Bengalis in Bangladesh attacked and killed Buddhist Rakhine residing in that country and destroyed several Buddhist homes, buildings and pagodas, causing the death of several people, including a Buddhist monk. These events deepened the climate of mistrust and blame between the Rakhine and Bengali peoples in Myanmar, and subsequently led to a second round of sectarian violence.

3.3. The events in the second phase of the 2012 conflict

3.3.1. Against this uneasy backdrop, the burning of a Bengali village on 21 October 2012 in the Paik-The quarter of town of Minbya led to accusations and counteraccusations by both sides. This then started the second phase of violence throughout Rakhine State. The conflict in this second phase affected seven townships in Rakhine State, including two (Kyaukpyu and Myebon townships) that had not been affected in the first phase of violence. On 22 October, 85 Bengali houses were burned in Aung-Hlaing village in Minbya township. In the process, one person died and 25 sustained injuries. Subsequently, the violence spread to other places:

- From 23 to 25 October, the municipal quarters within Kyaukpyu town and four other places in the surrounding villages,
- From 22 to 24 October, Purain and Yin-The villages of Mrauk-U township,
- On 24 October, Myebon township, and
- On 25 October, Rathe-Taung township.

Casualties from these episodes included 89 deaths, 124 injured and over 5,000 houses destroyed. Overall, the violence and conflict in Rakhine State extended over a five-month period from June to October 2012. Annex C details the losses and deaths from this violence.¹¹

3.4. Steps taken by the authorities to restore calm

3.4.1. To control the violence and reduce tensions, the authorities temporarily segregated the Rakhine and Muslim communities from Sittwe. From August, Bengalis were banned from entering the city and confined to camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs). At the same time, the authorities banned Rakhine from entering Muslim areas. Consequently, students were unable to attend classes and many businesses came to a halt. These bans stayed in place, largely because authorities could see no other way to maintain a measure of calm. In the long term, however, the Commission considers such measures neither possible nor desirable. Even now, these measures are having a negative impact on both sides, although the degree of impact may vary. In the longer term, the ban on movement of people will affect the socio-economic conditions of the communities and could lead to further extreme and desperate reactions.

¹¹ The tables in Section 5 give some details on the toll.

3.4.2. On 9 August, Buddhist monks in Mrauk-U issued an exhortation against buying from and trading with Bengalis. In the second week of August in Butheetaung Township, the authorities began arresting people from both sides on charges of committing criminal acts. Non-government organisations reported that foreign donors were banned from visiting the areas affected by the sectarian violence. It was further reported that the authorities had placed restrictions on the work of NGOs and foreign donors due to security concerns. During the same week in August, the security situation improved, people could move about more easily and businesses started to reopen. However, in the second week of September, extremist Rakhine groups in Sittwe attacked an Indian Muslim from Yangon, thinking he was a local Bengali. In reality, he was a Myanmar citizen working for a Malaysian humanitarian organization.

3.4.3. Starting from 23 October 2012, the strength of the *Tatmadaw* in Rakhine was bolstered by additional troops. The *Tatmadaw* subsequently implemented measures to increase security in places where violence had previously broken out. From 27 October onwards, the *Tatmadaw* was able to bring order to troubled areas. Today, the *Tatmadaw* maintains security in Rakhine State, with sufficient troop numbers in key strategic areas. The response of the *Tatmadaw* prevented further unrest and rapidly restored calm to the whole region. A review of the preceding incidences of violence shows that these occurred only in areas where there were little or no security forces.

4. Causes of sectarian conflict in Rakhine State

4.1. The opinion expressed by the majority of Rakhine was that the conflict and violence in 2012 were caused by Bengali attempts to control the land and economy of Rakhine State. Surveys conducted by the Commission in Maungdaw, Sittwe, Kyauktaw, Rathe-Taung, Kyaukpyu, Butheetaung townships found that 84.7 per cent of 1,200 Rakhine respondents attributed the violence to alleged Bengali efforts to take over Rakhine State.

4.2. Some Rakhine saw the violence as part of a deliberate and systematic Bengali plan. In the survey above, 80 per cent of Rakhine respondents stated that in their view the conflict had been planned ahead of time by Bengalis. Some Rakhine respondents alleged that these Bengalis were receiving guidance and financial support from religious extremists in Bangladesh and Pakistan who were determined, they said, to convert Rakhine State into an Islamic state.

4.3. Amongst these Rakhine respondents, 96 per cent also blamed the violence on the inability of the government to protect the country's own indigenous *Taing-Yin-Tha*. They said the problems were due to the corrupt practices of civil servants and local authorities who, having taken bribes from illegal Bengali immigrants, had protected the Bengalis and had committed other illegal actions. Such practices, they said, had fuelled the conflict.

4.4. In the survey, 82 per cent of respondents stated that, starting from Kyauktaw area, Bengali villages now dominated all the main waterway routes, thereby offering

illegal immigrants from Bangladesh easy access into Rakhine State. Furthermore, respondents felt that Bengalis were plotting to control Sittwe and other principal towns of Rakhine. Some said that since the government had not taken any action to counter this acute danger to Myanmar's national security, the Rakhine people, in responding with force, were only trying their best to stop Bengali attempts to dominate them.

4.5. The Rakhine also stated that the national government or a certain political party had used the Bengali issue to advance their own political aims, and that this action had exacerbated the tensions between the two groups. Further, many Rakhine felt they had been forced to accept past injustices committed by the then Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) government, who had allowed these Bengalis to brand themselves as "Rohingya" Taing-Yin-Tha, simply to win votes. They also underscored that in the November 2010 elections, authorities in the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) had issued large numbers of Bengalis with temporary white registration cards in order to gain votes, further complicating the issues.

4.6. Bengali respondents on their side blamed the sectarian violence on the Rakhine ethnic nationalist attitude, which they said did not tolerate minorities. In surveys in Maungdaw, Sittwe, Kyauktaw and Butheetaung townships, 800 Bengali respondents were asked about the causes of the violence and 92 per cent of them cited intolerance and ethnic nationalism among Rakhine people. Most Bengalis acknowledged that the initial rape and murder case at Kyauknimaw Village was an unacceptable crime. However, they also said the government should have dealt with subsequent crimes in a timely manner. They indicated their belief that Rakhine ethnic nationalists used the rape case to create trouble for Bengalis. Surveys in Bengali-dominated areas such as Maungdaw, Ohn-Daw village, Nyaungchaung and other villages however revealed that in these areas people had not heard of the rape and murder of Ma Thida Htwe by Bengalis, but only of the killing of 10 Muslims by the Rakhine mob at Taunggoke. A comparison of these statements shows that the Bengalis who had disseminated such information had done so selectively, without presenting all the facts to their communities.

4.7. Most Bengalis blame members of the Rakhine Nationalities Development Party (RNDP) for the violence. In the above surveys, 83 per cent of Bengali respondents stated that RNDP members were among those who carried out arson, protest marches and direct attacks on Bengali villages. They also accused the Arakan Liberation Party (ALP), which had just recently negotiated peace with the Myanmar government, of instigating the violence. Field investigations showed that the position of the ALP can be summarized as follows:

"The Rakhine people are acting as the front-line defenders of the Union of Myanmar against the Bengali threat. ALP promotes the defence of the Rakhine people against the dangers of Bengalis encroaching on Rakhine soil. The ALP has urged the Myanmar government and Myanmar people to join in this struggle against the common danger.

Even if they do not join in, the ALP on its own is prepared to do its utmost to defend Rakhine State against the present danger.”

4.8. Some Bengalis stated that the violence happened because of the government’s reluctance to fully implement the law and order. Amongst survey respondents, 55 per cent accused the police force of not having protected Bengalis against the violence. Instead, they said, the police joined the Rakhine attackers to destroy Bengali villages. The Bengali respondents had the following opinion:

“One main cause of the conflict is that the government has failed to provide the same rights and opportunities to Bengalis who have already obtained Myanmar citizenship as those that are granted other Myanmar citizens. These unjust controlling measures led to undesirable consequences.”

4.9. It is difficult to say that both sides are entirely wrong in their accusations and counter-accusations. While there is no hard evidence to show that Bengalis are attempting to control Rakhine State, nonetheless the Bengalis are advocating to be known as “Rohingya” Taing-Yin-Tha with all the rights that being an indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha group entails. In the past, Bengalis in the state had also demanded that the northern part of Rakhine State become an autonomous region under their control. Thus, they have insisted on a much greater degree of political dominance and land control than the Rakhine people felt was acceptable.

4.10. Some Rakhine people feared that the Muslim Bengalis could revive the same violent agenda as the previous Mujahid rebels in Rakhine State. They told the Commission that certain Bengalis living in Rakhine State had been involved in military and political training conducted by the extremist Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO). The Commission also learned from moderate Muslims in Yangon that some mosques in Yangon are associated with extremist religious groups that receive support from other countries. These mosques are known for sending groups of trained Muslim preachers to proselytize and spread their extremist views in locations around Myanmar, including in the Rakhine region. The Commission was told that these preachers would be unlikely to sympathize with joint efforts by the current Myanmar government and Myanmar people to build a modern reformist nation, or to understand Myanmar’s traditions, practices and cultures. The Commission heard that these extremist preachers were propagating their culture under the guise of Islamic teachings; that they did not subscribe to contemporary thinking; and that they were imposing extremist views on everyday life, making more moderate Muslim Myanmar citizens uncomfortable. The moderate Muslims considered these extremist views to be dangerous, and noted in interviews that they simply wished to practice their religion peacefully.

4.11. The Commission observed that some Rakhine people viewed the Bengalis as unwelcome economic immigrants and wanted to see them leave Rakhine State. Indeed, the Commission saw that some Rakhine had even started to pressure Taing-Yin-Tha groups that cooperate closely with the Bengalis – these groups being the Buddhist Mramargyi group, and the Muslim Kaman group, both of whom are indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha. Following the violence in June and August, certain

Rakhine leaders, including Buddhist monks, attempted to prevent the delivery of food, medicines and other humanitarian assistance to Bengali communities. One Rakhine rice merchant who had tried to sell rice to Bengalis was killed. Overall, agitation by leaders from both sides appears to have been a major cause of the violence in October.

4.12. The RNDP states it is against illegal immigration by Bengalis into Rakhine State, which has taken place over several generations. It is in favour of taking lawful action against these illegal immigrants and is firmly opposed to attempts by the Bengalis to seek Taing-Yin-Tha status under the label of “Rohingya.”

4.13. In October and November, some RNDP members declared they would protect Rakhine State against the “Bengali threat”. However, unlike these local leaders, party officials from the central RNDP headquarters rarely engaged in public anti-Bengali activities. Instead, it was observed that the pamphlets distributed by RNDP central headquarters urge a peaceful solution to the problems. One central RNDP leader explicitly stated that the RNDP did not provoke the violence and conflict. However, he stated that local nationalist leaders in townships and villages had mobilized anti-Bengali sentiment to such an extent that any attempt by the central Party authorities to call for a stop to these activities would have been fruitless and that the public would have seen such attempts as defending the Bengalis. The Commission heard from local respondents that anti-Bengali mobilization activities in townships and villages had included local RNDP members.

4.14. The Commission’s interviews indicate that bribery and corruption amongst civil servants were one of the causes for the sectarian conflict. Corruption was also the fundamental reason for Rakhine complaints and Bengali accusations about government officials. The Commission noted that government staff in Rakhine State was composed of Rakhine and other Myanmar Taing-Yin-Tha people and generally did not include Bengalis. It was reported that ethnic Rakhine civil servants did not view the Bengalis in a positive light and treated them harshly. However, civil servants from other Taing-Yin-Tha groups did not display such animosity towards Bengalis. Thus, Bengalis and other Muslims were allegedly able to approach these civil servants and bribe them in return for favours and illegal opportunities. It was reported that over the years, non-Rakhine civil servants had illegally provided Bengalis with opportunities to control and work farmland, and had given them identity papers, including false identities such as belonging to the Kaman¹² indigenous group. Some Bengalis who had committed illegal acts bribed certain civil servants to delay taking action under the law, or to take their side in a case.

4.15. The Rakhine appear to have decided that if the government would not take any action against the Bengalis, then the Rakhine themselves would have to fight against Bengali domination. The mistrust, bitterness and hatred among Rakhine people towards the Bengalis started in the racial conflict between the two groups from the time of the Second World War. In the 1942 events, Bengalis killed a great number of Rakhine. The surviving Rakhine fled from their villages to other, safer

¹² Translation note: the Kaman belong to one of the 135 indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha groups and are Muslims.

places in the state. From then on, Maungdaw and Butheetaung became regions dominated by Muslim Bengalis and villages in those regions, destroyed back then, still have Rakhine names to this day. The Rakhine have passed on their memories of these events and their warnings from generation to generation. Today, new generations of Rakhine, young and old, harbour deep hatred towards the Bengalis.

4.16. The Commission notes that hatred among many Rakhine of Bengalis will not dissipate easily as long as the two peoples live side by side. Such sentiments are rooted in a historical legacy of bitter relations between the two sides, and compounded by their geographical situation. A survey of 1,200 Rakhine showed that since young, all respondents had been warned continually by grandparents, parents and teachers that the Muslims harboured evil feelings against the Rakhine and told untruths. Furthermore, the Rakhine respondents stated their belief that Bengalis, instead of behaving like decent guests, were continuously plotting to oust the Rakhine and control Rakhine State.

4.17. From the 1,200 Rakhine interviewed, 75 per cent reported having Muslim friends, but not trusting them and only rarely visiting each other's houses. Only 8 per cent of the 1,200 Rakhine interviewed reported understanding the basic principles of Islam. Others stated it was a "*very bad religion*," and that its adherents were "*evil*" and "*untrustworthy*."

4.18. Today, it appears that the Rakhine people's feelings of hatred and bitterness towards the Bengalis are stronger than ever. Additionally, Rakhine people living in Bengali majority areas reported feelings of great anxiety, vulnerability and acute fear of the Bengalis. These Rakhine communities are very dependent on government security forces and insist on being protected by them. The Rakhine who are able to afford it are already preparing to move permanently to areas deemed more secure. Rakhine mistrust and fear of Bengalis, and their anxiety over their own future, have led to an outpouring of blame, accusations and demands for justice against past administrations and against civil and military personnel in these systems.

4.19. Similarly, the Bengalis have passed on from generation to generation their hatred of the Rakhine people and their belief that Rakhine are bad. This has made present-day Bengalis ready to respond to any problem with violence.

4.20. Non-governmental organizations and community leaders told the Commission that lack of economic development in Rakhine State was one of the causes of conflict. The economy of Rakhine State is primarily driven by agriculture and fishery. However, agricultural productivity is low due to salt water encroachment over much of the agricultural land, the lack of proper irrigation systems and difficulties in accessing credit. The fishery sector requires significant investment to be productive and is therefore dominated by the few who can make such investments. Other sectors, such as manufacturing, are similarly underdeveloped.

The lack of decent livelihood options perpetuates poverty among both Rakhine and Bengali communities, many of which cannot meet basic needs. Not surprisingly, education and other social sectors are also in decline throughout the State. In interviews with civil servants, community leaders and business owners, the

Commission was told that violence and conflict had spread quickly throughout Rakhine State partly due to the harsh economic circumstances of both sides, and partly because misunderstandings arise more easily between poorly educated groups, who are more susceptible to outside influences and incitement to violence. The Commission found that poorly educated people usually dominated the groups behind last year's attacks.

5. Losses due to the violence in Rakhine State

5.1. The 2012 sectarian violence took a significant toll on the population of Rakhine State, killing or injuring many people and destroying their well-being, houses and livelihoods. The second phase of violence in October not only added to the losses of the first phase but also exponentially increased the psychological impact on the populace. The relationship between the two sides reached its nadir, when any remaining trust and understanding evaporated with the violence. Both sides continue to suffer from the impact. The impact is examined here through the following four aspects:

- (a) Physical impact: death, injury and destruction of property
- (b) Psychological and social impact
- (c) The impact on the country and its ethnic groups
- (d) Economic impact.

5.2. Physical impact of the violence: death, injury and destruction

5.2.1. Violent attacks triggered losses of life and property in Rakhine State. The initial violence at Kyauknimaw village in Yanbye township then led to retaliatory violence at Taunggoke. This then escalated to the destruction of Rakhine homes and the killing of Rakhine people in Maungdaw area, acquiring the character of sectarian violence and leading to 20 deaths, 7 people injured and 474 homes destroyed. Subsequently, the violence spread to Sittwe, Rathe-Taung, Kyauktaw, Mrauk-U, Pauktaw townships, involving both Rakhine and Bengali groups in attacks and counter-attacks.

5.2.2. Enraged by the Maungdaw events on 8 June 2013,¹³ the Rakhine communities began retaliatory attacks on 10 June in Sittwe and other townships. Sittwe and Rathe-Taung townships saw the greatest number of attacks and counter-attacks, which led to the destruction of houses, religious buildings, loss of life and injury. In terms of duration, Kyauktaw suffered the longest period of violence. Mrauk-U saw the highest number of deaths. By official count, the first phase of violence killed a total of 98 people, injured 123 and destroyed some 5,300 houses.

5.2.3. Sittwe recorded the highest losses in the June round of violence, the toll being 3,636 Bengali houses destroyed, 35 dead and 60 people seriously injured. In Kyauktaw, the toll was 687 houses destroyed, 28 deaths and 26 people seriously injured. Rathe-Taung recorded 367 houses destroyed, 16 deaths and 41 injured. A multitude of people thus became homeless, living in IDP camps.

¹³ See paragraphs 3.2.2 and 3.2.3.

5.2.4. August provided a lull in the violence because of tight control by the Rakhine State Government and the Tatmadaw. However, by that time, feelings of bitterness and hatred were firmly entrenched on both sides. Not surprisingly, violence erupted again in seven townships in the third week of October, involving the hitherto peaceful Kyaukpyu and Myebon townships. In this round of conflict, the Rakhine State Government recorded 94 deaths, 124 people injured and 2,300 houses destroyed.

5.2.5. The following losses were recorded in this second wave of violence:

- 4 deaths, 17 people injured and 657 houses from the Bengali community destroyed by fire in Minbya township,
- 63 deaths, 33 people injured and 579 houses destroyed in Mrauk-U township,
- 11 deaths, 42 people injured and 860 houses destroyed in Kyaukpyu township,
- 18 people injured and 674 houses destroyed by fire in Myebon township,
- 2 deaths, 12 people injured in Rathe-Taung township,
- 1 death and 503 houses destroyed by fire in Pauktaw township.

Table 1. Deaths, injuries and losses amongst the Bengali communities				
	Dead	Injured	Home destroyed	Businesses destroyed
First phase of violence	66	72	4188	75
Second phase of violence	68	45	3234	-

Table 2. Deaths, injuries and losses amongst the Rakhine communities				
	Deaths	Injured	Home destroyed	Businesses destroyed
First phase of violence	32	51	1150	45
Second phase of violence	26	97	42	-

5.2.6. Overall, in the Rakhine State sectarian conflicts of 2012, a total of 192 people perished in the violence, more than 265 were injured and 8,614 houses were destroyed according to official figures. In the first phase of violence, the 98 deaths comprised 66 from the Bengali community and 32 from the Rakhine community, the

injured comprised 72 Bengali and 51 Rakhine, and the destroyed houses comprised 4,188 belonging to the Bengalis and 1,150 belonging to the Rakhine. The toll from the second phase of violence led to 68 Bengali and 26 Rakhine deaths, 45 Bengalis and 97 Rakhine injured, and 42 Rakhine and 3234 Bengali homes destroyed. Table 3 provides the overview of the toll by township. Loss of life in Mrauk-U accounted for 30 per cent of the total death toll, followed by Sittwe accounting for 20 per cent of the deaths. Sittwe accounted for the highest proportion of destroyed houses and businesses: respectively 40 and 90 per cent of houses and businesses (mainly market stalls and shops) destroyed in the whole of Rakhine State.

Table 4. Public and communal property destroyed		
	Type of building	Number of buildings destroyed
1	Mosque	32
2	Monastery	22
3	Power Station	7
4	Residential housing for the staff of the Education Department, Ministry of Education	7
5	School	4
6	Local health clinic/dispensary	3
7	Police outpost	2
8	Buddhist temple/congregation hall (Damaryone)	2
9	Briefing Hall	2
10	Forestry Office, Department of Forestry	1

5.2.7. Additionally, the violence led to the destruction of public and religious buildings. Rakhine mobs left public buildings intact but destroyed Islamic religious buildings and houses. On the other hand, Bengalis in Maungdaw Township destroyed not only houses of the Rakhine Taing-Yin-Tha, but also destroyed public state-owned buildings as well as religious (non-Muslim) buildings. Table 4 shows the buildings that were destroyed. Bengali destroyed 22 Buddhist monasteries, 7 electricity generating stations, 2 medical dispensaries, 4 schools and 2 police posts. The Rakhines destroyed 32 mosques but did not destroy any state-owned property.

5.3. Losses as reported by the Rakhine and Bengali communities

5.3.1. The Commission found discrepancies between reports from Rakhine communities, Bengali communities and the official reports from the Rakhine State government. While the state government recorded a total of 192 deaths, comprising 58 Rakhine and 134 Bengali deaths, the Rakhine list showed 128 Rakhine deaths while the Bengali list shows 219 Bengali deaths. The Rakhine State government issued a list of 148 Rakhine and 117 Bengalis injured making up a total of 265 injured. This is considerably less than the numbers of injured people submitted by each side: the Rakhine side reported 169 injured whilst the Bengali side reported 242 injured. The discrepancies can be seen by comparing Table 5 with Tables 1 and 2.

Township	Reported by the Rakhine side		Reported by the Bengali side	
	Dead	Injured	Dead	Injured
Sittwe	35	60	26	30
Maung Daw	20	10	31	45
Butheetaung	5	5	35	23
Yanbye	6	5	15	20
Pauktaw	3	16	17	12
Rathe-Taung	15	29	34	42
Kyauktaw	15	2	25	10
Mrauk-U	10	8	10	20
Kyaukpyu	7	3	13	5
Taunggoke	-	-	-	-
Minbya	5	9	5	10
Myebon	7	10	8	10
Thandwe	-	12	-	15
Total	128	169	219	242

5.4. Psychological and social impact of the violence

5.4.1. The first phase of violence from June to August led to feelings of insecurity, acute anxiety and fear in both communities. Worries about individual security became an issue, particularly affecting women and children. Yet some people on both sides of the sectarian divide clearly wished to live peacefully. Communities

were constantly worried about potential attacks. Families living close to the line between Rakhine and Muslim communities were particularly anxious, being more vulnerable to attacks from the other side. Propaganda and blame from both sides heightened the mistrust and fear, preventing interaction across the lines separating the two communities.

5.4.2. The attacks and nationalist/ethnic ideologies created insurmountable problems for those who wished to live peacefully. Movement became limited and mothers were constantly worried about the safety of their children. As a result, children could not attend school. From time to time rumours of an attack would trigger panic among women and children, disrupting daily life. The Commission observed that fear of Bengalis (“ *We are frightened when the Kala comes near us.* ”) has become entrenched amongst young Rakhine children. This does not bode well for the future of Rakhine State, since it is the young of today who will shoulder responsibility for Rakhine State as the adults of tomorrow. The feelings of fear, mistrust and alienation, therefore, must be resolved.

5.4.3. All Rakhine and Bengalis interviewed by the Commission’s research teams reported on having family or friends who, in the aftermath of the violence, were experiencing anxiety attacks, nightmares and fear of going alone from one place to another alone. Clearly, in the current situation, the number of security forces is still inadequate to protect all communities on both sides of the divide. This deters children from going to school, parents from having peace of mind, and impedes the flow of food and other essential goods.

5.4.4. The killing of U Aung Chan Tha, a Rakhine schoolteacher in Thray-Konbaung village of Maungdaw township, by three Bengali boys who were his own pupils, had a particular effect in terms of undermining Rakhine-Bengali relations. As a consequence of this killing, non-Bengali public servants no longer trust the Bengalis and are now fearful of being posted in Bengali-dominated villages and remote areas. It is not only the Rakhine who mistrust the Bengalis – but also other indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha. Interviewees from these groups stated that whilst they interact well with the Rakhine, they do not like dealing with the Bengalis and only do so if they have to. Relations between Bengalis and other Taing-Yin-Tha groups also worsened after the June and October violence.

5.4.5. Rakhine people living in the southern townships of Rakhine State did not experience any violence. However, news of the violence in the northern parts of Rakhine State spread to them through the media, leading them to insist that they, too, could no longer live side by side with Bengalis. The Bengalis wished to move back to the places they lived in before the events; however the Bengalis who used to live in Rakhine-dominated areas such as Myebon no longer feel safe and wish to move somewhere else (but within the Union of Myanmar). Thus, one way or another, the violence affected a sense of security for all people living in Rakhine State, which was exacerbated by occasional rumours of impending attacks.

5.4.6. Currently, the level of animosity amongst the Rakhine towards the Bengali is such that relations between the two sides are facing a total cut-off. Rakhine nationalists are urging the boycott of Bengali businesses and forbidding any

interaction with the Bengali community. Any Rakhine who breaks this interdiction is harshly criticized and punished. In Mrauk-U township there was conflict amongst the Rakhine themselves because some were trading with Bengalis; these Rakhine were called traitors and were socially punished. Some Rakhine even barred delivery of humanitarian supplies (food and medicine) to the Bengali IDP camps, forcing these Bengalis to spend money to buy such items. All these actions have extremely serious implications, with potential impact on the socio-economic development of both communities.

5.4.7. The Commission interviewed the IDPs who fled Kyaukpyu in the October round of violence. These IDPs recounted how, following the first wave of violence in other places, both Rakhine and Bengali communities in Kyaukpyu had formed a committee comprising both Rakhine and Muslims to prevent violence and promote peaceful coexistence. Subsequently, however, the Rakhine on this committee received propaganda materials through the post office, which condemned their cooperation and exhorted them to attack Bengalis. When the unrest flared up again in October, the Rakhine from Kyaukpyu attacked the Kaman people (indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha of the Muslim faith). This not only intensified tensions but also changed the conflict from a focus on anti-Bengali sentiment to an inter-religious conflict.

5.4.8. On the other hand, the destruction of Bengalis of Buddhist buildings and Buddha images angered Buddhists everywhere. Other Taing-Yin-Tha groups within the country were also outraged by the Bengali actions. Thus, not only the Rakhine, but also other ethnic groups in Myanmar came to regard Bengalis with hatred. The destruction of Buddhist monasteries in Bangladesh not only led to increased tension between all Bengali peoples and Buddhists, but helped fuel renewed conflict in Rakhine State.

5.4.9. Currently, a movement called 969 is gaining momentum in Rakhine State. The aim of the movement is to exhort Buddhists not to buy from or do business with Muslims, and to buy goods only from those businesses labelled 969, which are owned by Buddhists. Such boycotts only serve to further alienate the Bengalis, who are already facing increasing difficulties in their daily lives.

5.4.10. The education of children and young people has suffered, especially in situations where a group of students have to attend classes in an area where they are in a minority. Because they do not trust the other side, they tend to avoid going to classes. In Maungdaw township, in addition to killing the schoolteacher U Aung Chan Tha at Thray-Konbaung village,¹⁴ the Bengalis also attacked a medical doctor, Dr Khin Maung Latt. Both attacks had far-reaching consequences – not least because Buddhist culture venerates doctors and teachers, and the two attacks led to accusations that the Bengalis were savage people. Ultimately, communities in remote areas, in Bengali villages or in areas close to Bengali villages, paid the price as teachers refused to go to their schools or communities.

¹⁴ See paragraph 5.4.4.

5.4.11. A number of international donors are willing to build houses for the IDPs in the recovery period. However, the Rakhine communities are strongly objecting to resettlement of Bengali IDPs in their communities. The problems are not yet resolved. In fact, as many Bengalis wish only to return to their previous areas, and many Rakhine oppose this, the resulting stand-off is deepening already serious tensions.

5.4.12. The Commission interviewed the indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha groups who are Muslim (the Kaman ethnic group), and who expressed anxiety and feelings of vulnerability. The Kaman who live in Yanbye have a tradition of working as civil servants in the education and communications departments. However, they are now living in IDP camps with restrictions on their movements. They told the Commission that the government should allow them to move around without restriction, as they are Taing-Yin-Tha, even more so as they are civil servants. They reported that as the Myanmar Government and Rakhine people had not done anything to help the Kaman despite their Taing-Yin-Tha status, they were losing trust in both sides.

5.5. The impact on the country and its ethnic groups

5.5.1. The conflict also had a profound impact on the country's ethnic groups and civil society networks in many ways. In their conflict with the Bengalis, the Rakhine people received support and encouragement from the majority of Myanmar citizens. Most of the Taing-Yin-Tha groups of Myanmar view the Rakhine as defenders against illegal immigrants and defenders against aggressive proselytization by another religion. Similarly, the Rakhine Taing-Yin-Tha diaspora living in countries across the world also support the Rakhine cause. On the other hand, all Bengalis and all Muslims across the world accused the Rakhine of cruelty. Many in the Islamic world have even accused the Rakhine people of orchestrating genocide against the Bengalis.

5.5.2. Within Myanmar, the general view is that the Bengalis are extremists trying to spread Islam by converting indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha groups. Furthermore, the public generally view the Bengalis as being merciless, selfish and unsavoury. Such views mean there is very little mutual respect and understanding between Bengalis and the indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha groups of Myanmar. Accordingly, following the violence in June and October 2012, anti-Muslim sentiments increased across the whole country. This is a potential barrier to Myanmar's ongoing reforms and development.

5.5.3. The Rakhine people's strong objections against international NGOs contributed to the international community's perception that the Rakhine were extremists and racists. Rakhine hostility to and actions against international organizations led to accusations by the international community that the Rakhine lacked compassion. One-sided reporting and exaggeration by the international media and by Bengalis have coloured the way the Myanmar Government is perceived by the international community. Some groups are even calling for prosecution of Myanmar officials at the International Criminal Court. The whole country's reputation has suffered in the international arena.

5.5.4. The international community judges a country on its adherence of the human rights norms and principles enshrined in United Nations conventions and instruments. In dealing with the Bengalis in Rakhine who have not yet obtained citizenship, the Government in the past implemented measures to control and limit their movement, marriage and population growth. The reasons given for the control were the inability of Bengalis to fit in culturally with the country's other inhabitants, their large family size and high birth rates, all deemed to pose a heavy burden for the country. The international community view these restrictions as violations of the human rights of Bengalis. Through international media, Bengali groups are widely publicizing the extent of government controls over them. Whilst the Government deems such measures as necessary in the context of the country's situation and the non-citizen status of this group,¹⁵ the international community condemns these measures as violations of fundamental rights. This, too, has undermined the country's reputation and affected its international relations.

5.6. The economic impact

5.6.1. All economic transactions between the Bengali and the Rakhine communities came to a halt due to increased security concerns and the subsequent destruction of trust following to the events in June and October.

5.6.2. The destruction of markets and businesses also wrought havoc on people's livelihoods. The impact was especially serious for a population that is already poor, with many living day to day. Of the 270,000 employed in Rakhine State, 77 per cent work in the informal sector in menial jobs and basic occupations¹⁶ such as selling produce at the market, driving trishaws, and working for daily wages. They work in such jobs simply to survive and feed their families. The violence in June and October not only destroyed their market stalls, but also reduced people's spending power by an estimated 50 percent, effectively wiping out many livelihoods.

5.6.3. Furthermore, the sharp separation between the two communities has significantly reduced the demand for goods and services. This has had a domino effect, translating eventually into increased numbers of unemployed people, reduced family income and a growing inability to meet basic survival needs. The reduced flow of goods and transport raised food prices and the costs of basic essentials, compounding the effects of reduced income and pushing already poor families into deeper poverty.

5.6.4. The main livelihoods for Rakhine State's rural population are agriculture and fisheries. The rule of law and control by local authorities is weak in rural areas. Consequently, where the two communities live side by side, mistrust and fear form barriers that constrain farmers from freely working the fields and fishermen from going out to fish. The impact on livelihoods has affected health, education and

¹⁵ Myanmar Muslim citizens have the same rights and freedoms as Myanmar citizens of other religions.

¹⁶ Translation note: Elementary occupations, a term used by the International Labour Organization (ILO), is used in the Report for the Burmese term "Kya ban a loke". According to the ILO, it consists of simple and routine tasks, which mainly require the use of hand-held tools and considerable physical effort. These include: selling goods in streets and public places, providing various street services; cleaning, washing, pressing; taking care of houses, hotels, offices and other buildings; delivering messages or goods; carrying luggage/goods; collecting garbage; sweeping streets and similar places.

nutrition of children and their families, with children unable to go to school. For many families, these difficulties are compounded by the lack of adequate shelter.

5.6.5. The economy of Myebon township is driven primarily by fishery. Before the outbreaks of violence in that township, Bengali communities were engaged in fishery. Bengali IDPs in Myebon stated that the violence had destroyed 80 large boats and 30 medium-sized boats belonging to them. They were unable to estimate the losses in monetary terms, but noted this would severely curtail their fishing activities. Myebon's economy is likely to decline precipitously as a result. In Kyaukpyu, community elders and business owners stated that as 85 per cent of the township's fishery had been controlled by Bengalis, the township would see a significant drop in productivity in the wake of their departure.

5.6.6. Such constraints are having a serious impact on families and their purchasing power, and consequently on the overall economy of the Rakhine State. Another reason for the drop in purchasing power is the separation of the two communities. The Rakhine merchants interviewed by the Commission stated that the separation had reduced the demand for goods and services from each side and slowed down business. All this will lead to an inevitable drop in the economy of Rakhine State as a result of the sectarian conflicts.

6. The current socio-economic situation

6.1. Although the violence in October was eventually brought under control, both Rakhine and Bengalis are still suffering greatly from the impact of the conflict and related problems. As noted above, the violence has undermined livelihoods and caused a steep fall in income.

6.2. Rakhine State is one of the poorest amongst the Union of Myanmar's 14 States and Divisions. Field visits and interviews in the 11 townships of Rakhine State confirmed the poverty of both Rakhine and Bengali communities. The socio-economic situation of the northern part of Rakhine State, however, is different from that in the south. Overall, in Rakhine State, the average monthly income of a family is Kyat 42,000. Livelihoods comprise agriculture, buying and selling goods in streets or markets, trading, government clerical work and elementary occupations.¹⁷ Over 30 per cent of all households are agriculture. Some 20 per cent of households engage in buying and selling goods and trading. As noted in paragraph 1.4.3, samplings in the northern part of the State are biased due to interference with interviews and these figures are indicative only.

6.3. The southern part of Rakhine State has an average household income of Kyat 50,000 to Kyat 100,000 per month. The average household size is five persons, with a household dependency ratio of 60 percent. Around 91 percent of south Rakhine State's population has completed education up to high-school level, including 9 percent who have completed tertiary education. Some 9 percent have no education. Of the adult population, some 85 percent are employed and 15 percent have no employment. As there was no interference in the surveys in the southern

¹⁷ Elementary occupations: see footnote attached to paragraph 5.6.2.

part, these figures may be taken as more reliable than those for the whole of Rakhine State.

6.4. The Bengali population living in the northern part of Rakhine State is characterized by lower education levels in general. The teams collected data on both Rakhine and Bengali in this area but these data are rejected due to interference with data collection and sample bias.

6.5. In interviews, the Commission asked 1,200 Rakhine and 800 Bengalis from Maungdaw, Butheetaung and Kyauktaw how the conflict had affected their income. This question elicited the following information: 25 per cent of Rakhine and 35 per cent of Bengalis reported losing 100 per cent (all) their income; the rest reported losing various proportions, from 40 per cent to 80 per cent of their income. Prices in these areas had risen reportedly by 20 to 50 per cent, largely because of the scarcity of goods and services due to the conflict.

6.6. In November 2012, 3,500 Rakhine and 103,000 Bengalis were registered with the Rakhine State Government as IDPs. Although the government and international organizations have been providing humanitarian assistance to these groups, their basic needs are still not fully met.

6.7. Whilst IDP camps near towns and cities received adequate rice and lentils, those in more remote areas face difficulties in obtaining adequate food.

6.8. In health, UN organizations, NGOs and local associations cooperated in emergency humanitarian measures from the start. As the situation calmed down, basic healthcare services, water and sanitation services, and measures to prevent infectious diseases were provided. The medical corps of the *Tatmadaw* has also assisted in the provision of health services (further information on health is provided in a later section). In education, the Government and relevant bodies have made concerted efforts to ensure the provision of basic education services (further information is provided in the section on education). In the shelter sector, tents, temporary huts and temporary housing were provided to IDPs during the emergency phase. Overall, the Government and other organizations providing assistance encountered several difficulties and challenges. Whilst the IDPs still have many needs, the most urgent and highest priority action is to provide adequate shelter before the rainy season begins.

6.9. Currently the Rakhine people across 11 townships are objecting to the resettlement of Bengali IDPs within their townships. In particular, Kyaukpyu and Myebon townships, where the Bengalis are minorities, are insisting that the authorities permanently move the Bengalis displaced from those townships elsewhere. Turkey's offer to build 5,000 houses for the Bengalis in March 2013 has continued to create resentment amongst the Rakhine. This resentment led to further demonstrations by the Rakhine, although authorities have imposed a ban on unauthorised demonstrations. The issue of these 5,000 houses is also affecting the local governments' attempts to restore law and order and ensure rule of law.

6.10. Mistrust between the two communities has also fuelled ugly rumours. Recently, there were accusations that the Bengali villagers had put poison in the

vegetable produce they were selling to the public in Sittwe. The Government stated such reports were false. However, local Rakhine associations responded that they did not believe the Government statement and insisted on banning the sale of these vegetables to the Rakhine population. In the meanwhile, (as mentioned in paragraph 5.4.9), the Buddhist movement known as “969” is gaining strength in Rakhine State. The aim of this movement is to preserve the Buddhist religion and to buy only from Buddhist-owned businesses.

7. Analysis of key economic activities in Rakhine State

7.1. Agriculture

7.1.1. Agriculture occupies a key place in the economy of Rakhine State, mainly because of the under-development of other sectors. According to survey data, 30 per cent of all households participated in survey depend on agriculture as a livelihood. Most of these households are engaged in subsistence agriculture and live in grinding poverty, trapped by the scarcity of other livelihood options.

7.1.2. Currently only 1.33 million acres of land are under cultivation, accounting for only 12 per cent of the land area of Rakhine State. Citizens and non-citizens have different rights regarding agricultural land. Those who are citizens by birth, namely the Rakhine and other Taing-Yin-Tha groups, receive government permission for agricultural tenancy and, therefore, the right to cultivate the land. In return, they pay annual tenant fees to the Government. Rakhine who are unable to afford the right of working the land usually work as day labourers for others. Bengalis who are already citizens also receive the same permission from the Government for the right to work the land. However, Bengalis who are not citizens are not eligible for this right. These non-citizen Bengalis then rent land from others, or if too poor to do this, they too become day labourers.

7.1.3. Since the Rakhine have the right to travel where they want in Myanmar, they are able to go and sell their agricultural produce in any suitable market. On the other hand, Bengalis are unable to do so, mainly because they lack the national identification cards required for travel. Overall, farmers from both sides have limited access to credit.

7.1.4. Following the conflicts, mistrust and weak security prevented many Rakhine people from working their own land if their properties were close to Bengali villages. With the rupture of relations, the Rakhine ended many agreements to rent and work their land to Bengalis, making them also face economic difficulties. Rakhine landowners subsequently hired other Rakhine to work on their land as labourers, instead of hiring Bengalis as before. However, this meant they had to pay the Rakhine labourers wages that were 10 to 30 per cent higher than those paid to Bengali labourers.

7.1.5. A total area of 1,331,157 acres is recorded as agricultural land in Rakhine State. Sittwe and Maungdaw townships account for some 67 per cent (889,930 acres) of this total. They were also the sites of major conflicts. Therefore, the impact of the conflict on agriculture, described above, will affect a significant proportion of

Rakhine State's agricultural output. In the financial year 2012-2013, the share of agriculture in Rakhine State's gross domestic product (GDP) is likely to shrink markedly.

7.2. The fishery sector

7.2.1. Rakhine State is rich in aquatic resources and fisheries are a significant part of Rakhine State's economy. The fishery and livestock sector account for some 13.4 per cent of the GDP of Rakhine State. Of the combined fishery and livestock sector, fishery and other aquatic products account for 61.9%. However, only 4 per cent of all families are engaged in this sector full-time, as the sector requires comparatively large investment. However, the sector is important in providing daily food and income for both Rakhine and Bengali families, as most rural families catch fish and other aquatic products for their food. The poorest families survive by earning daily wages as agricultural workers, but they are employed in the fields for only certain parts of the year due to the planting and harvesting cycle. For these families, fishery provides an important source of food and additional income. The Rakhine communities not only catch their own fish, but also engage in buying and selling these products in other places. The Bengali communities sell their catch either in their own villages or use Rakhine traders to sell these in other locations. Additionally, shrimp farming in salt-water ponds established on agricultural land is an important economic activity. Since the Bengalis rarely have the right to own or work land, they rent land for this purpose from the Rakhine.

7.2.2. According to interviews with fishing families in Myebon, Kyaukpyu and Minbya, the Rakhine and Bengali communities have had occasional problems when competing for fishing sites. These fishing families reported that Bengalis would form a large group and intimidate and threaten Rakhine fishermen. Conversely, the Commission received a letter from the Bengalis¹⁸ complaining about threats and provocations by the Rakhine towards the Bengalis. Poor quality boats and equipment provide another barrier to the growth and productivity of the fishery sector. Traditional wooden boats, lacking modern equipment and modern engines, are the norm. Difficulties in accessing credit and high interest rates are another obstacle.

7.2.3. The most serious obstacle at present, however, is the security situation and its consequences on the movement of people. Bengalis in Myebon and Kyaukpyu, now in IDP camps, are not allowed to go outside of these camps, far less to go to sea for their livelihoods. Bengali fishermen from Myebon reported to the interviewers that nearly all their boats had been burned and destroyed.

7.3. Market sales and trading

7.3.1. About 25 per cent of families are engaged in buying and selling goods. The Commission observed these activities in both towns and villages. The nature of transactions differs between the two communities.

¹⁸ Letter number 83 (Bengali)

7.3.2. In interviews, Bengali business owners at The-Chaung Sakan in Sittwe, stated that the Rakhine dominated the trade with other regions of the country, for example, selling fish and other aquatic products to these regions and bringing in food products from those regions. They reported that as Bengalis they had limited opportunities to engage in such activities, because they lacked national identification cards, and therefore required permits for travelling, together with permit fees (e.g., they have to apply to the immigration authorities with form number 4). Another disadvantage was their lack of business networks outside their localities that could assist them with money transfers. Notwithstanding, the Commission observed that Bengalis in Sittwe, with the help of Bengalis from Yangon, were engaged in buying and selling goods from outside the region, such as construction materials. The Bengalis bought most other goods directly from the Rakhine, or brought these into the region through Rakhine merchants, and then redistributed the goods to markets and businesses in towns and villages. On the other hand, in interviews with the Commission, Rakhine merchants stated that Bengalis dominated the cross-border trade with Bangladesh. The Commission observed that Maungdaw's cross-border trade with Bangladesh was led only by Bengali merchants.

7.3.3. Current restrictions on movement in Sittwe, Kyaukpyu, Yanbye and Minbya townships have made sales and transactions between the two sides nearly non-existent. The loss of freedom of movement and the impact of the violence have severely affected incomes, reduced demand and paralysed many businesses. Business owners in Sittwe interviewed in October reported that the flow of goods was half of previous levels and that the frequency of ships in and out of Sittwe port had been reduced by one-third. Civil society organizations and local associations in Sittwe reported finding evidence of poison in vegetables and meat sold by Bengalis. Such reports, although denied by the government, combined with Rakhine exhortations not to buy from Bengali sellers, have hurt businesses further.

7.3.4. The Commission learned of the illegal export of Rakhine products to Bangladesh, mainly agricultural products such as rice. During the country's unrest in 1988, the rule of law broke down and as a result, illegal export of rice to Bangladesh took place not only from Rakhine State, but also from Ayeyarwadi Division. Clearly, the illegal exports and sales to Bangladesh is only possible because of weak border security. After the 2012 conflicts, border security was strengthened. This has now reduced the flow of illegal export and cross-border sales, which consequently has lowered the price of rice in Rakhine State.

7.4. Tourism and services sectors

7.4.1. The haunting beauty and magnificent scenery of Rakhine State, its rich cultural heritage and its age-old traditions all provide ample opportunities to develop sustainable tourism in Rakhine State. However, only Thandwe, Kyaukpyu, Sittwe and Mrauk-U have managed to develop the tourism sector and even then only to a limited extent. At Mrauk-U, where the cultural heritage is especially rich, tourism is held back by under-development of the hotel industry and poor transportation networks. At the time of this Report, there were 31 hotels, 3 motels and 95 guesthouses or lodges in the whole of Rakhine State, with Thandwe township

accounting for 50 per cent of hotels. The hotel and travel sector have yet to fulfil their potential in terms of employment opportunities. Approximately half of Rakhine State's GDP is from the services sector.

7.4.2. The 2012 conflicts and aftermath have inevitably hurt tourism and travel as well. The Government restricted visitor movement within Rakhine State to control security. Due to these restrictions and international media reports of violence, the flow of international tourists to Rakhine State has significantly declined.

7.5. Small industries

7.5.1. As of mid-2013, Rakhine State had 1,331 small factories or production units, 90 per cent of them privately owned. The majority of townships in Rakhine State face severe difficulties in accessing electricity and especially in coping with the high cost of electricity tariffs. Most industries in the State are engaged in repair and modification of existing products, rather than in primary production. Technology is underdeveloped. Locally produced goods cannot compete with foreign-made goods, in terms of price or quality, particularly amid the opening of borders and free flow of goods from other countries. Competition has brought the small industries of Rakhine State to their knees. Most of these industries are actually cottage industries, dependent on family labour and entrepreneurship, and therefore do not create employment opportunities for others outside the family. Whilst a deep-sea port is being built in Kyaukpyu, this project is largely for the transport of oil shipped in to Rakhine State and does not contribute to the state's productivity. This project furthermore does not contribute to significant livelihood opportunities for the people of Rakhine State.

7.6. Factors constraining the economic development of the State

7.6.1. The creation and expansion of decent employment options must be a priority in any effort to improve the socio-economic development of Rakhine State. The peoples living in the State are largely engaged in subsistence livelihoods, which depend on the land, sea and other natural resources. Among the most daunting challenges to further economic development are the extremely poor transport networks and under-development of industries and technologies.

7.6.2. The scarcity of fertile land

7.6.2.1. Much of Rakhine State is a narrow coastal strip, which determines the nature of its agriculture. For example, its 1.33 million acres of agricultural land constitute only 12% of the State's total area and only 4% as a proportion of all agricultural land in the Union of Myanmar. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, salt water encroachment and infertile soils afflict much of Rakhine State's agricultural land, forcing farmers to select their crop varieties based on their resistance to salt water and not on other considerations, such as yield and quality of the eventual produce. Only Kyauktaw township, which is blessed with non-saline freshwater resources, can produce crops of a quality that make them competitive on the markets. Compared to other regions of Myanmar, Rakhine State has fallen behind in the quality of its agricultural produce and productivity of the sector. This is seen in

the predominance of the Nga-Sein rice variety in Rakhine State, in contrast with better and higher-yield rice varieties elsewhere in Myanmar. The close proximity of the sea and resulting soil salinity are major barriers for any attempt to raise the living standards of agricultural communities.

7.6.3. Poor transportation networks

7.6.3.1. The many streams and rivers of Rakhine State are obstacles for further development of the road network. Inside town and city boundaries, records show a total of 119 miles of asphalt roads and 50 miles of metalled roads. On the other hand, the road network joining towns and cities within the State only has some 108 miles of asphalt roads, 49 miles of metalled roads, 5 miles of gravel roads and 53 miles of earth roads. Overland travel within the State requires cars and buses to go around rivers and streams, requiring an inordinate amount of travel time. The Rakhine public therefore prefer to travel on waterways, despite the fact that ships and boats serving the public are not convenient in terms of time and routing. Overall, travel within Rakhine State requires much time and planning, even for travel between towns that are relatively close. The state of the transportation sector constitutes one of the biggest hurdles to the economic development of Rakhine State and to the further development of its tourism sector. Even sites of historical and cultural interest and recreational value lack good road links or adequate public transport. The poor transportation network also has a negative impact on the social development of communities living in more remote areas.

7.6.4. Poor access to modern technologies

7.6.4.1. Livelihoods in Rakhine State have yet to benefit from modern technologies or equipment. In agriculture, farmers still use traditional methods and plant older, poorer quality strains of rice. The use of modern equipment for ploughing and other operations is extremely rare. There are no attempts to switch to more productive strains or crops, or to more appropriate crops. While farmers in other parts of Myanmar are now making efforts to move beyond subsistence agriculture and to turn it into a profitable enterprise, agriculture has not changed from subsistence levels and traditional methods in Rakhine State.

7.6.4.2. In the fishery sector, the boats, nets and other equipment are outdated. Few boats have modern engines or equipment. The wooden boats, built according to traditional methods, are unsafe for straying far from the coastline, limiting the catch. This further hinders the development of the sector.

7.6.4.3. The state's industries use traditional methodologies, a consequence of long years of isolation from the outside world. Even so, the impact of globalization is now increasingly felt. Goods from other countries flow into Rakhine State and are far more competitive than goods that are locally produced with outdated technology.

7.6.5. The under-development of local industries

7.6.5.1. Local industries are undeniably under-developed in Rakhine State. When compared with neighbouring countries, these countries have industries producing consumer goods while Rakhine State only has traditional, hand-produced goods. For example, neighbouring countries produce aluminium pots and household utensils whilst Rakhine State produces only traditional earthenware pots. These domestic products cannot currently compete with neighbouring countries' rival products, in terms of quality, durability and cost. Development of Rakhine State's cottage industries is thus extremely important and should aim to produce goods that are competitive in quality and cost. The biggest challenges however to the development of Rakhine State's industries are the cost base and lack of adequate electrification, its outdated technology and production methods and the need for technical assistance in this area.

7.6.6. Difficulties in obtaining credit

7.6.6.1. Development of businesses in Rakhine State is constrained by the difficulty of obtaining credit. Businesses in both urban and rural areas are forced to use private moneylenders. Credit obtained from such lenders is limited. Generally, borrowers are only allowed Kyat 100,000 to 300,000 and repayment has to be within a year. Interest rates are as high as 60 to 120 per cent each year. To create an environment more conducive for businesses, credit needs to be more accessible.

7.6.7. Weaknesses in human resources

7.6.7.1. Skills and the education of the work force in Rakhine state are of a generally low standard, especially in rural areas. This condemns much of the population to subsistence livelihoods and elementary occupations. One reason for the low skills level of the work force is the scarcity of vocational training schools. Unless skills are improved, Rakhine State will only have basic, labour-intensive industries and will find it difficult to produce value-added goods and services.

7.7. Requirements for the economic development of Rakhine State

7.7.1. Whilst Rakhine State's lack of economic development is not the only cause of sectarian conflict, poverty does have an impact on the way some communities think and act. Economic advancement will give the communities a strong desire for greater stability and calm, and will increase the opportunities for modern education. Both will also add to take out the likelihood of more rational behaviour on the part of all groups. It is therefore imperative that the Myanmar Government and the Rakhine State government prioritize the economic development of Rakhine State as a strategy to counter conflict and sectarian violence.

7.7.2. The above sections show that although the majority of the State's adult population is employed, the quality of livelihoods is such that many are struggling to survive. Work in the agriculture or fishery sectors is inadequate to provide more than a hand-to-mouth existence. Communities find it difficult to meet their health and

education needs. Poverty is generally more prevalent in rural areas than in urban areas.

7.7.3. Poor people across all ethnic groups in Rakhine State are engaged in the same sort of subsistence livelihoods in the agriculture and fishery sectors. Where they differ, however, is in the rights and opportunities accorded to citizens and non-citizens. Throughout the decades, the Rakhine have always enjoyed the rights of citizens and Taing-Yin-Tha, such as land tenancy rights, business permits, the right to own property, the right to own vehicles and so on. On the other hand, Bengalis are split into two groups – those who are recognized as citizens and those who are not recognized as such.

Bengalis recognized as citizens receive nearly all the same opportunities as do indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha. However, under some previous governments, they faced restrictions on certain opportunities and rights. For example, even those who were full citizens had to report and apply to the nearest immigration office for a form called Travel Permit Form 4, in order to undertake any travel. With the ascension of the current reformist Government, the President of the Union of Myanmar set out the principle that all citizens must enjoy full citizenship rights. Consequently, Bengalis who are Myanmar citizens are no longer required to apply for a permit to travel.

Regarding the right to own immovable property, the relevant authorities reported to the Commission that a review of citizenship was delaying the process and that Bengalis still faced difficulties in this respect. In contrast, Bengalis who are not recognized as citizens do not have the rights and opportunities enjoyed by citizens. This difference in status between the non-citizen Bengalis and other groups who are citizens and Taing-Yin-Tha causes resentment and recriminations.

7.7.4. Across the 11 townships where interviews took place, over 60 per cent of the Rakhine reported they were able to easily obtain the necessary licences for businesses and business opportunities, but only 39 per cent of the Bengalis reported having obtained these easily, and over 60 per cent of the Bengalis reported difficulties in doing so. Other ethnic groups reported they were able to obtain permits and business opportunities more easily than could Bengalis, but not as easily as the Rakhine were able to. Maungdaw township was the place where the highest proportion of Bengali respondents (57 per cent) reported having easily obtained business licences and opportunities. It was reported that those Bengalis who could afford it would provide money or gifts to the local authorities and the Na-Sa-Ka¹⁹ (especially in Maungdaw township), in exchange for permits to work agricultural land and to fish in Rakhine waters.

7.7.5. Bengalis who cannot afford required investments become agricultural day labourers. Bengalis who can afford such investments rent the permits from the Taing-Yin-Tha. The research teams found that Rakhine-owned businesses employ both Rakhine and Bengali workers, with the Rakhine in managerial and administrative positions and the Bengalis as manual workers. Business owners report that the Bengalis work harder than the Rakhine. The wealthy Bengalis in

19 Translation note: Na-Sa-Ka: the Bamar acronym for Border Immigration Headquarters personnel (BIHQ)

Butheetaung and Maungdaw townships possess two large boats with engines each, as well as licenses for meat production. Each of these large boats is worth an estimated Kyat 50 million (500 lakhs), whilst each meat production license is worth Kyat 10 million (100 lakhs).

7.7.6. Comparing the two groups in terms of wage and productivity, the Bengali workers seem much more business-minded than the Rakhine workers. Interviews found that Bengali workers took wages that were lower by 10 to 30 per cent than those for Rakhine workers. Even when the wages were equal, Bengalis tended to work harder and be more productive.

7.7.7. Bengalis live frugally and are able to save, with every member of the family contributing to the family income where they can. Even the children contribute by fishing and hunting, thus reducing the proportion of household income spent on food. Their savings translate into expansion of their economic activities, including buying land from the Rakhine, buying fishing boats and establishing fishery businesses, and opening market stalls and small shops. It should be noted that when the non-citizen Bengalis “buy” land, they have no power to change the name on title deeds and other documents within the official government departments. Instead, the land remains registered under the name of the previous owner and the transaction is conducted by mutual understanding.

7.7.8. Findings from field visits indicate that over time, the Rakhine people have gradually lost more and more of their land, whilst Bengali ownership of land is increasing. In previous times, the land was sufficient for Rakhine families to live off and attain a decent standard of living. Over the years, the land holdings decreased in size, as each piece of land was divided amongst the heirs and descendants of those Rakhine families. As each small plot declined in productivity, it became harder to live from agriculture alone. Consequently many Rakhine “sold” their land to Bengalis and used the money for other livelihood options. The frugality of the Bengalis combined with the fact that the whole family contributes to family income have made it possible for these Bengalis to continue living off the land they possess.

7.7.9. Field visits by the Commission indicate that 85 percent of the farmland around Myebon town, 85.66 percent of the farmland in Maungdaw township and 84.75 percent of farmland in Butheetaung township have all passed into Bengali hands. Since non-citizen Bengalis do not have any right to legal ownership of this land in terms of official records, it is hard to say exactly how much land the Bengalis actually or legally own. Nevertheless, the expansion of land occupation by Bengalis is fuelling resentment amongst the Rakhine who are demanding a review of land ownership status. The book “*The Bengali problem and Rakhine State Crisis*” written by Khaing Kyaw reflects this point of view in its call for reviewing the citizenship status of Bengalis according to existing laws and for using this review as a basis for removing farmland and certain businesses from non-citizens.

7.7.10. The Commission’s findings indicate that Bengali expansion of their economic activities in Rakhine State was partly due to the lower productivity, higher production costs and the risk-averse nature of the Rakhine people.

7.7.11. Rakhine respondents stated that they viewed the Bengalis in Rakhine State as immigrants and that as such, the authorities should not give the Bengalis the same opportunities and rights as the indigenous Rakhine people. The Commission notes that livelihood opportunities in Rakhine State are severely limited, creating problems in the allocation and ownership of land and water resources. A comparison of southern and northern Rakhine State shows that communities in the south generally have higher income and are more educated compared with those in the northern part of Rakhine State. In addition, families in northern Rakhine State have larger households, which contributes to their lower standard of living compared with families in the south. Generally, in terms of local attitudes, poorer and less educated communities would appear to be more easily swayed by extremism.

7.7.12. Overall, half the population of Rakhine state is engaged in agriculture, fisheries, livestock production, market sales and trading, forest, mineral exploration and extraction, tourism, and handicrafts, with the first two sectors accounting for the majority of livelihoods. Following these two sectors, significant proportions of the population also earn their living with livestock production, market sales and manual labour.

7.8. Recommendations to improve the economic situation

7.8.1. Opportunities offered by Rakhine State include natural resources, the large workforce and low labour costs, the rich cultural heritage, and the State's strategic position on the Indian Ocean. However, low productivity and inadequate skills and education of the workforce mean that the majority would find it difficult to move up from the subsistence agriculture or fishery into other lines of work. Poverty has contributed in no small way to the rapid spread of the conflict. Raising productivity in agriculture will require the introduction of new and higher-yield rice strains appropriate for the region and would also require adequate support for farmers in the expansion of such initiatives. Developing the fishery sector and managing the exploitation of aquatic resources will require the establishment and implementation of appropriate laws and regulations, the provision of technical assistance and modern equipment and boats, and above all improvement of the security situation.

7.8.2. In the shorter term, establishing security and the rule of law is imperative for improving the economic outlook. In addition, the controversies surrounding land ownership status need to be resolved. The authorities need to decide to what extent non-citizens will be allowed to work in the agricultural and fishery sectors. If they are not permitted to work, the burden of feeding and providing for them will fall on the nation and the resulting tensions will create more violence and conflict.

Other recommended actions include: reconstruction of destroyed homes; restoration of water and electricity services to affected communities; enhancement of transport and communication in the region; reduction of religious extremism; and efforts to ensure the equitable distribution of humanitarian assistance. With regard to economic activities, business owners of different religions need to work together in a cooperative manner to restore confidence and trade within and with the State. At present, a deep-sea port is being built at Kyaukpyu with Chinese support. The Union

Government has committed to selling and transporting the natural gas extracted from Rakhine State's offshore fields to the People's Republic of China. Unless this project also benefits the local communities, there is serious potential for misunderstanding between the local people and the Government. Thus, the Kyaukpyu region should benefit from electricity generated by the Chinese natural gas project. Additionally, the authorities should also ensure that the Kyaukpyu project generates livelihoods for local people, regardless of race or religion. The development of the tourism sector and local industries will require technical and vocational education and training, with opportunities to all those who live legally within Rakhine State.

7.8.3. Banning those with productive capacity from working hurts the country's productivity and competitiveness, and may eventually affect economic development. Accordingly, the Government should allow people to work if they have the capacity to do so. To reduce disparities, the Government needs to develop and implement income redistribution policies, including a progressive tax regime. Furthermore, the Government needs to have a clear idea of how the Rakhine and Bengali communities would each work in the agriculture and fishery sectors and promote this approach.

7.8.4. Any longer-term measures need to take into account the productivity of Rakhine State's workforce. Labour-intensive industries are suitable for the current situation in Rakhine State. However, decisions on selection of such industries need to consider several factors, such as the type of products in demand, the resource base, and the large workforces in the neighbouring countries of India and Bangladesh, both of which have very large populations. Current assessments show that the Rakhine State offers potential for the following businesses and industries: boat and ship construction; public-private partnerships for electrical utilities and electrification; modernization of the fishery sector with refrigeration and freezing facilities; cutting, making and packing industries; shrimp farming in salt water ponds; the hotel and tourism industry; park development and outdoor recreation businesses.

Tourism, in particular, has high potential for Rakhine State as it could attract foreign investment. Tourism also has a multiplier effect as it encourages growth and creates jobs elsewhere in the economy. Rakhine State's cultural heritage, and its magnificent coasts and mountains offer many opportunities for developing tourism. However, developing and improving the transport network is essential. Other recommended actions for long-term development are the implementation of targeted rural development schemes, the development of infrastructure required for maintaining transport networks, the creation of targeted employment schemes to reduce unemployment, the creation of employment through labour intensive industries, and the development and implementation of the required budget and financing mechanisms.

7.8.5. Making low-interest credit easily available will do much to develop the fishery sector, since the sector requires large amounts of investment. This will go some way towards resolving social and economic issues in the region.

8. Basic needs in Rakhine State

8.1. Nutrition and food security

8.1.1. In the immediate aftermath of the June conflicts, there were a total of 83,420 IDPs. The subsequent October violence produced another 36,440 IDPs. As the IDPs lost their means of livelihood, the Government and NGOs took care of their basic needs. Currently, the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) is providing food. International organizations estimate that the food needs will continue into the second half of 2013.

8.1.2. In food distribution, there was a shortfall of over 2,000 metric tons between projected IDP needs up to February 2013 (estimated at 15,394 metric tons) and the actual distribution of emergency food (around 13,000 metric tons).

8.1.3. The emergency food rations provided by the WFP include rice, oil, lentil, salt and a wheat soy blend powder. The food is distributed based on a calculation of 550 grams per person per day and is adequate in terms of dietary requirements for one person. The shortfall of more than 2,000 metric tons mentioned above could be due to difficulties in accessing remote places. The Commission also found that some IDP families would not eat properly but would put some food aside to sell, so that they could buy other goods with the money from the sale of food. This could explain why some IDPs complained to Commission members that they lacked sufficient food.

Recommendations

8.1.4. No cases of acute hunger were reported or observed. However, some IDP camps and parts of northern Rakhine are reporting malnutrition. In February 2013, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA) and other UN agencies issued a Humanitarian Bulletin, which reported critically high levels of global acute malnutrition (GAM) and severe acute malnutrition (SAM) – international measures - among young children (GAM 14 per cent and SAM 4.5 per cent in Sittwe, GAM 26.5 per cent and SAM 1.7 per cent in Butheetaung and GAM 24.9 per cent and SAM 4.7 per cent in Maungdaw). There are likely to be more pockets of child malnutrition in the State. Accordingly, the authorities need to assess child malnutrition throughout the whole of Rakhine State and take necessary measures.

8.1.5. Before the conflict, many IDPs had been labourers earning daily wages; in IDP camps they have been unable to work and earn money. As long as these IDPs are not allowed to live outside the camps, it remains the Government's responsibility to provide food security and other basic needs. Accordingly, the Government needs to urgently create or expand livelihood opportunities for those who have lost their jobs and property.

8.1.6. Re-establishing livelihoods should take place first in the agriculture and fishery sectors, where most of the IDPs had previously worked. The Government needs to make appropriate arrangements to define new jobs, plan the return of IDPs,

lift unnecessary restrictions against certain groups, and invite the participation of civil society organizations.

8.2. Shelter

8.2.1. The first phase of violence in June 2012 left a total 13,464 families homeless, whilst the October violence made another 5,964 families homeless. The IDPs were provided with temporary shelter in camps and villages as required.

8.2.2. The government established 81 IDP camps in areas affected by the violence and started moving the IDPs into these camps from June 2012 onwards. The IDPs were initially settled in tents and similar shelters. Up to September 2012, 2,015 tents were distributed and set up in the affected areas. Following this, temporary barracks, each accommodating 10 families, were set up.

8.2.3. Low cost housing was also built to resettle IDPs and is still being built in Sittwe, Pauktaw and Maungdaw townships. Rakhine families need some 1,547 houses, whilst Bengali families require some 17,881 houses. To date, only some 990 houses have been built. This relatively small number represents only 5 per cent of the total shelter needs in the conflict-affected areas and some 64 per cent of the Rakhine community's needs.

8.2.4. In resettlement, the construction of houses for the Bengali IDP population has run into difficulties. The Government stated that its budget was insufficient. Although there are offers of international support, with Turkey offering to build 5,000 houses, there are other problems. The Rakhine are insisting that permanent homes cannot be built for the Bengalis until and unless they have gone through a Government-led process of citizenship review based on the 1982 citizenship laws. To this end, the Rakhine are making their objections clear with on-going demonstrations in Rakhine State. International assistance is sorely needed in the shelter sector, as resettling all the IDPs is a mammoth task.

Recommendations

8.2.5. The rainy season from mid-2013 will bring new problems for IDPs living in tents in the camps. The top priority is therefore to move all IDPs into more secure shelters. Currently, the Rakhine state government and humanitarian organizations are not well coordinated and little is being accomplished in this matter. The matter requires the state government, international organizations and the relevant community elders to work together closely and implement the move before the monsoons arrive. The IDP camps situated in low-lying areas are particularly vulnerable as flooding is likely, and with it water-related diseases and other health problems. Children will be the most affected. In particular, the Bengali IDPs urgently require more secure shelter that can withstand flooding and other natural disasters. The authorities need to urgently ensure such shelter, reduce overcrowding in IDP camps and ensure availability and sufficiency of clean drinking water and sanitation.

8.2.6. As soon as the situation stabilizes, the Government should address the issue of where the Bengalis will live in future.

8.3. Health

8.3.1. As in other sectors, Rakhine State is also under-developed in health care services. The quality and availability of such services are low and the distribution of health care staff inequitable. UN reports indicate one physician for over 75,000 people in Butheetaung township, one physician for the population of 83,000 in Maungdaw, whilst in Sittwe, the state capital, there is one physician for every 681 people.

8.3.2. Maternal and child health indicators show the poor health situation of Rakhine State. According to UN statistics,²⁰ the maternal mortality ratio for northern Rakhine State is 380 per 100,000 live births, compared with 316 per 100,000 for the country as a whole. The under-five mortality rate is estimated to be 224 and 135 per thousand live births respectively in Butheetaung and Maungdaw, compared to 77 per thousand live births for the country as a whole. Additionally, availability of safe water and sanitation facilities remains low. A WFP assessment in 2011 showed that nearly half the households in the northern part of Rakhine State did not have any sanitation facilities.

8.3.3. Out of 19,428 families in IDP camps, only 1,000 families have been resettled, with the rest (95 per cent) still remaining in IDP camps. The June conflicts produced a total of 83,420 IDPs and the October conflicts produced another 36,440 IDPs. The Rakhine IDP camps are not crowded but the Bengali IDP camps are extremely crowded. NGOs report a total of 3,199 latrines built, with each latrine used by some 37 people. Drinking water has been provided by the international community through hand pumps (486) and water storage tanks (143). Reports indicate the distribution of over 8,000 hygiene kits and 65 emergency health kits. Other health activities include safe disposal of solid waste, and distribution of soap and chlorine disinfectant. Overall, the water and sanitation response is judged by various organizations to be weak.

8.3.4. In interviews in the 11 townships, 32 percent of respondents reported the lack of sufficient drinking water. This was because poorer families had no means to store rainwater during the rainy season, unlike other families who possess storage tanks and rainwater collection capacity. In general, fresh water that is unpolluted by salt water is scarce in many parts of Rakhine State.

8.3.5. State government records show that 32 physicians, 2 nurses, 2 technicians, 42 health workers and several Red Cross workers from the United Nations and international NGOs are undertaking health protection activities in nine townships. The organizations represented include WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, AZG (MSF-Holland), ACF, ICRC/MRCS and Malteser International. The activities include preventive health care including against infectious disease, environmental sanitation, the provision of safe water, food and nutrition support, testing and diagnosis, and curative health care including referral.

²⁰ Northern Rakhine State, June 2010 - MIMU

8.3.6. Some NGOs and UNFPA are providing support for reproductive health and maternal health. The Bengalis living in the northern part of Rakhine State have large households of about 10 persons per household. The high birth rates trap these families in a cycle of poverty. Rapid population growth amongst the Bengali communities will be a barrier to fulfilling basic needs in Rakhine State.

Recommendations

8.3.7. The IDP camps need more facilities for clean water and safe sanitation, especially in the IDP camps for Bengalis, which have large populations and not enough sanitation. Environmental sanitation and hygiene interventions need to be stepped up, since the rainy season will bring heightened risks of dengue haemorrhagic fever and diarrhoeal diseases. In the villages, malnutrition in young children needs to be addressed. Whilst the malnutrition is linked to poverty in these villages, food alone is not the solution, as the Commission's teams found no evidence of acute hunger. However, unhygienic food and incorrect feeding of young children are issues that needs attention.

8.3.8. Mental health aspects, such as psychological trauma and anxiety as a result of last year's violence, need to be addressed. A holistic approach including psychosocial support and counselling is needed. The trauma and psychological problems are inextricably linked with issues such as health, education, social relations, the economy, religion, the rule of law, good governance and clean government. Addressing trauma and its root causes will therefore require cooperation and coordination between several entities. Rakhine respondents, both male and female, were asked how the conflict had affected them. They described psychological impact such as inability to focus, rapid mood changes including surges of anger, insecurity, fear and depression. Such psychological problems could not only affect their own rehabilitation and mental health, but also lead to fresh problems in interacting with those on the other side of the conflict. One displaced person recounted how the turmoil in his mind seemed to be pushing him towards a desire to kill Bengalis.

8.4. Education

8.4.1. In June and July of 2012, the authorities were forced to temporarily close schools in Rakhine State due to the violence. In August, the Rakhine State Chief Minister issued a directive to reopen schools and classes re-commenced. However, it was not possible to reopen schools in Bengali villages or to ensure education for Bengali children in IDP camps. On the other hand, Maungdaw, Butheetaung, Thandwe, Myebon, Kyaukpyu and Yanbye townships, which had significant numbers of Bengali students, were able to keep schools open as well as conduct school examinations.

8.4.2. The Rakhine State government's records showed that a total of 2,496 basic education facilities were reopened (comprising 136 high schools, 136 middle schools, 319 post primary schools and 1,905 primary schools) in September 2012. However, some schools were not opened for that school year. These were 22 primary schools in Sittwe township; 15 primary schools in Kyauktaw township; 8

primary schools in Rathe-Taung township; 3 middle schools and 71 primary and post primary schools in Maungdaw township; and 3 high schools, 4 middle schools and 93 primary/post primary schools in Butheetaung township. In these five townships, therefore, 219 basic education facilities remained closed, accounting for 32 per cent of the total (676) in those townships. The remaining 68 percent of schools in these same townships were re-opened.

8.4.3. Overall, therefore, the State government was able to reopen 92 percent of all schools in Rakhine State for that school year. However, teachers reported a significant fall in attendance rates. This was due to security concerns: parents would no longer let their children walk some distance to go to school, for example, in the next village. Additionally, teachers would not serve in areas they considered insecure, especially after the killing of a Rakhine schoolteacher by his Bengali pupils in Thray-Konbaung village of Maungdaw township.²¹

The Commission found that schools were not opened in Bengali villages largely because teachers no longer trust their Bengali students. Another reason was the trauma suffered by these teachers, many of whom witnessed attacks and killings and therefore, did not want to return to those areas. The outcome is that these Bengali villages lack government personnel, depriving the population of basic education due to security concerns.

8.4.4. In the IDP camps of southern Rakhine, such as those in Kyaukpyu, Myebon and Yanbye, teachers were in the IDP camps with the children, and subsequently, opened classes within the camps. In these places, therefore, children were able to continue their education and with the support of township education authorities, were also able to sit for school examinations within the IDP camps. However, in the Bengali IDP camps of Sittwe, there are no teachers and consequently children there are not being educated. Furthermore, as security cannot be assured for Bengali university students, they have been prevented from attending classes.

8.4.5. The Bengali students attending university told the Commission they were not allowed to select the subjects they wished to study in university and that after they had completed their university studies, they were not given degree certificates. Crosschecks with the university staff showed that non-citizens are allowed, in fact, to attend courses in “professional” subject areas,²² but degree certificates are issued only to those who can prove they are citizens. On the other hand, Bengali students were allowed to attend arts and science courses and upon graduation from these courses, were awarded degree certificates.

8.4.6. In the school year 2012-13, only the schools in Sittwe township were unable to reopen. In January 2013, the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) in cooperation with education authorities conducted censuses of Bengali children in those schools and Bengali children in IDP camps. Subsequently, with UNICEF support, Bengali teachers were identified and temporary schools were established in

²¹ See paragraph 5.4.4.

²² Translation note: The so-called professional subject areas (a thet mway wun gyaung pyinnya yay mya) include medicine and engineering.

these camps. UNICEF and the education department also provided teacher training. Discussions are underway on arrangements for the 2013-14 school year so that children can continue their education. In March 2013, to alleviate the shortage of Bengali teachers, the education department and UNICEF identified 45 Bengali high school graduates and university graduates in the Bengali villages of Sittwe township. These graduates were given teacher training with UNICEF support from 11 to 17 March, 2013 at the post- primary school in The-Chaung villages. These newly trained teachers launched classes from April 2013. Similar UNICEF support is being planned for Bengali children in Mrauk-U township to continue their education.

Recommendations

8.4.7. To foster peaceful coexistence based on longer term mutual understanding, both sides must change their political and social views. In Bengali communities, the government must eliminate the currently prevailing teachings in religious schools that encourage narrow-minded views and incite hatred against the Rakhine. Instead of these extremist teachings, special education initiatives are required to ensure an education that is more appropriate for a Myanmar citizen. Similarly, the government, NGOs and other social organizations should organize trainings and orientations for the Rakhine to reduce resentment and mistrust of Bengalis and minimize the influence of past conflicts. Civic education needs to be implemented in all schools. Literacy courses²³, also, need to be implemented amongst communities who cannot function in the Myanmar language. A local FM radio station broadcasting in the local language should be established, followed by a TV channel, for public education and for entertainment.

8.4.8. Security must be assured for rural schools where the student population is mixed. In particular, the Government should make additional security arrangements in order to guarantee the safety of school teachers in rural and remote areas.

8.5. General recommendations

8.5.1. Currently, international organizations and donors are providing humanitarian and recovery support, each in line with their mandate, goals, and areas of specialization.

8.5.2. However, in the recovery phase, discussions between the Government, local resource persons and all local leaders should form the basis for all donor support to these programmes. In these discussions, international organizations must ensure transparency of their operations for humanitarian assistance and recovery support. These organizations should also ensure that information they disseminate is objective and accurate.

8.5.3. The Government should take the leading role, involving all stakeholders including NGOs and CSOs. Doing so will also build the capacity of local NGOs and CSOs, expose them to international norms and standards and will increase mutual understanding amongst all the groups. This will also ensure smooth implementation.

²³ Called Ah-thon-Lon in the Bamar language.

9. Rule of law to promote peaceful coexistence

9.1. The implementation of the rule of law in Rakhine State is entrusted to the relevant organs of the State in 4 districts, 17 townships and 3 sub-townships. Myanmar's 2008 Constitution created a new government which modified how the Government discharged its functions, roles and responsibilities. Every level – State, district, township and sub-township – is now implementing its duties according to the roles, responsibilities and procedures as re-defined by the Constitution. The institutions responsible for governance are in transition and participation in governance reforms is not yet optimal. The new systems still have many weaknesses and have to cope with faulty legacies of previous systems. The weaknesses in administration and rule of law played a role in the instability and violence of 2012. Every conflict has immediate causes and underlying causes and the Rakhine conflict is no exception. The following sections are based on findings from the Commission's field visits.

9.2. Two different peoples with different religions and cultures have been living together in Rakhine State throughout decades, with occasional bouts of conflict. The worst conflict was seen in 1942 during the Second World War in the townships of Butheetaung and Maungdaw.²⁴ Again, in May 1988, during the countrywide unrest, Bengalis tried to take over Maungdaw by force, only to be repelled by police and security personnel. Clearly, the violence happened at times when either the Government's systems were weak or the rule of law was not effective. The 2012 violence, therefore, indicates weaknesses in the rule of law.

9.3. Several interviews and field visits were conducted to examine the role of the authorities in enforcing or upholding the rule of law, as well as the role of the public in following the rule of law. Weaknesses were found on both sides.

9.4. Those who enforce the rule of law are the region's authorities including members of the Tatmadaw. The distinctive feature of Rakhine authorities is the presence of Na-Sa-Ka.²⁵ The Na-Sa-Ka troops have been tasked with border security since 1992, starting with Butheetaung and Maungdaw townships. Their responsibilities cover not just border security but also rule of law in the border regions, immigration control, population issues, and movement of goods across the borders, including the application of border tariffs. Maungdaw and Butheetaung are divided into Na-Sa-Ka territories 1 to 9.

In 2012, the conflicts led to expansion of Na-Sa-Ka jurisdiction over Sittwe (The-Chaung) and Pauktaw (Ashay-Chan) as Na-Sa-Ka territories 10 and 11. In discharging its responsibilities, in particular, control of the Bengali population and border immigration issues, Na-Sa-Ka personnel reported that long-established procedures had to be followed. The Na-Sa-Ka personnel is composed of members of the Tatmadaw, People's Police, and immigration and customs personnel. The top

²⁴ Translation note: See paragraphs 3.1.1 and 4.1.5

²⁵ Translation note: Na-Sa-Ka: the Bamar acronym for Border Immigration Headquarters personnel (BIHQ)

position in Na-Sa-Ka is usually a member of the Tatmadaw. Na-Sa-Ka reports directly to the Directorate of People's Militia & Territorial Forces under the Office of the Chief of Staff of the Tatmadaw (infantry). When Na-Sa-Ka was first formed, it comprised only officers and other ranks from the Tatmadaw's former Military Intelligence entity. Government personnel and local people told the Commission that, at that time, Na-Sa-Ka had full authority and dominated all other government organs and offices, because it was part of Military Intelligence. Furthermore, they told the Commission that the Na-Sa-Ka of today, unlike the Na-Sa-Ka of before, had considerably improved. However, they also stated that the Na-Sa-Ka's organization, implementation of activities and supervision/directives were quite different from those of other government departments. The result, they said, was that in work that required cooperation and coordination with other departments, the distinctive culture of the Na-Sa-Ka led to weaknesses in cooperation, transparency and accountability.

9.5. The Committee notes that the centralization of power in a single organization was one factor that undermined the rule of law. The enforcement of strict rules and issuance of regional decrees without systems for ensuring checks and balances, transparency and accountability, led to abuse of authority and power, possibly for personal gain. In interviews with the public, 33 percent of the 800 Bengali respondents stated that having the Na-Sa-Ka was not necessary, 44 percent of the group stated it was necessary to maintain the Na-Sa-Ka whilst 23 percent said they were undecided. Of the 1,200 Rakhine interviewed, 68 percent stated it was necessary to maintain the Na-Sa-Ka.

9.6. The Commission notes that civil servants' disregard for the law and failure to discharge their duties honestly and properly was one of the causes for the problems and conflict in Rakhine State. To address such weaknesses, Rakhine elders and community leaders told the Commission they were requesting the central Government to hire or promote Rakhine people into positions of authority and decision-making within government organs such as Na-Sa-Ka and important government departments. They stated that any Rakhine appointed to such positions would not be corrupt, because his/her people and land were at stake and only a Rakhine would defend the rights of the Rakhine indigenous people. They further emphasized this would eliminate corrupt practices amongst government staff, such as the habit of taking bribes from the Bengalis. It would also strengthen the rule of law and increase security along Myanmar's western border with Bangladesh. Some Rakhine people, who had worked several years as senior civil servants before retiring, emphasized the necessity of maintaining Na-Sa-Ka in Rakhine State, with a strengthened role and expanded responsibilities. However, they also emphasized that the organizational structure of Na-Sa-Ka would need to be improved to ensure its accountability and that a system with checks and balances would be required. Finally they said that Na-Sa-Ka should report directly to the Rakhine State Chief Minister, which would be the most effective governance mechanism.

9.7. A review of the following instances reveals the gaps and limitations in the rule of law:

- In 2005, the Chairman of the local Ward Peace and Development Council (Ya-Ya-Ka) and nine Council members were carrying out their duties in checking household guest lists²⁶ in the village of Kappa-Kaung in Maungdaw township, and were set upon by the Bengali villagers from that village with sticks and knives. The Bengalis killed the Chairman, and the others escaped with injuries.
- In many such crimes, the Bengalis were not prosecuted in a court of law, as they usually escaped over the border to Bangladesh, no matter what rules had been issued on their movement. Furthermore, many Bengalis escaped beyond Rakhine State into other parts of Myanmar, where they are now widely dispersed.
- In the November 2010 elections, authorities in the Union Solidarity and Development Party issued large numbers of Bengalis with temporary white registration cards in order to gain votes. With such cards, the Bengalis were able to travel as desired. Some Bengalis from Rakhine State elected as Members of Parliament.
- The Commission notes that systematic records of Bengalis coming into Myanmar as illegal immigrants continue to be lacking, despite reported attempts over several years to resolve the issue of illegal Bengali immigration.
- While the authorities were able to pinpoint and capture the killers and rapists of the young Rakhine woman from Kyauknimaw Village, the crime that triggered the 2012 conflicts, the authorities have been unable to identify or take action against the Rakhine from Taunggoke who killed the 10 Muslims in the passenger vehicle.
- After the conflicts began, the authorities issued penal code 144, which featured curfews and restrictions on gatherings, but were unable to take action to prevent people from gathering and committing further violence.
- According to the Constitution, those who want to demonstrate are allowed to do so providing they follow certain rules, but in practice, neither has anyone followed these rules, nor has action been taken against the offenders.
- During the violence in Maungdaw in June 2013, some Bengalis were wrongly arrested and jailed, but those who actually carried out the killings escaped and are at large.
- In prosecuting Bengalis suspected of committing offences, neither due process nor their entitlements and rights observed.
- Many of the police are Rakhine and are not impartial, often taking the side of the Rakhine community.
- The authorities do not sanction the police for their many wrongdoings.
- Despite receiving advanced information of events and violent episodes, the authorities were unable to take preventive measures to avoid them happening. As a result, the problem became bigger, leading to many deaths and significant destruction.
- The authorities will need to address security and other concerns in connection with Bengali houses and communities. Many of these houses were constructed to close off inhabitants from the outside world. Mosques and other religious buildings should be open to the public. Most Bengalis in these closed off communities had never heard of the Myanmar Constitution.

The above instances show that the authorities have been inconsistent in applying the rule of law; equally, the public is not adverse to breaking the law when it suits them.

²⁶ Translation note: this also happens in all other parts of Myanmar. People have to report to the local authorities on having houseguests.

9.8. Rule of law is a *sine qua non* for stability and calm, which are in turn essential for development of the Rakhine region.

- The public needs to be educated on their role and that of others in ensuring the rule of law. An official told the Commission that those who implemented the law justly would themselves need to be protected by the law.
- The authorities need to apply the law scrupulously and fairly and therefore need to be thoroughly familiar with the law and its provisions. The Constitution has a clause that in the event of serious conflict, the Tatmadaw can be called in to restore order. Officers are trained on the Tatmadaw's role as an Aid to Civil Power. In Rakhine State, when a large crowd carrying weapons advanced, the government's response was delayed by lack of required documentation and orders, although the battalion commander had been prepared to act following the Aid to Civil Power principles set out for the military.
- Ensuring the rule of law will require redistribution of power and the passing of authority back to lower levels. Bureaucratic hurdles, such as requirements for step-by-step approval at all levels, should be eliminated or streamlined especially for emergencies. Delegating the decisions for dealing with violent crowds to lower levels will avoid undue delays and save lives.
- The Rakhine elders stated that if the then Na-Sa-Ka commander had acted decisively in response to the Maungdaw events, the conflicts would not have spread to such an extent. Ultimately, the security forces and the Government were blamed.

9.9. In Butheetaung, incidents took a different turn from those in Maungdaw,²⁷ most likely because the head of the General Administration Office in Butheetaung was an ethnic Rakhine and understood the Bengali issue. On 8 June, 2012 before the Friday prayer, he had stationed security personnel at key places around town. The Tatmadaw battalions were in the northern part of the town. In Myoma Quarter 3, whilst the Bengalis were in Friday prayers at the Myoma mosque, some security personnel were already stationed around the mosque, and were prepared to act. As Bengalis streamed out from the mosque, there were clearly some who had come into the town from rural areas simply to make trouble. However, by that time, the head of the General Administration had already obtained authority from the Rakhine Chief Minister to issue penal code 144. The Tatmadaw moved into the town and was able to maintain security. As a result, Butheetaung had far fewer conflicts than in other areas.

9.10. Those responsible for ensuring the rule of law and stability in Rakhine State are the Tatmadaw, the Police, the Na-Sa-Ka, the department of General Administration, the Directorate of Prisons, the courts of law and legal department. All these institutions need to strengthen their capacity for handling conflict properly. This explains in large part the failure of authorities to mount an effective response to attacks in most places. For example, in Maungdaw town, these institutions had few personnel and were unprepared. Thus every time a conflict arose, the forces despatched to handle this were far fewer than the mobs they encountered.

²⁷ Translation note: see paragraphs 3.2.2 to 3.2.5. for an account of the Maungdaw events.

9.11. The nature, geography and poor transport of Rakhine State prevent rapid and effective response when conflicts break out. For example, in Rathe-Taung township, the Mayyu River and other smaller rivers prevent easy access to many locations. On the Bangladesh border with Maungdaw township, the bad roads and an extremely high population density of Bengalis make it difficult to respond effectively and take action whenever conflicts break out, as perpetrators can easily flee into Bangladesh.

9.12. In connection with the conflicts, 226 cases were brought to court in Rakhine State. Of this number, 141 cases have been through due process, with 85 cases yet to be processed, according to records at the High Court of Rakhine State. The records show that out of these 226 cases, 246 Rakhine were charged in 100 cases, 1,589 Bengalis were charged in 125 cases and 1 Kaman was charged in 1 case.

9.13. An important element of rule of law is the re-education and training of prisoners, with a view to eventually rehabilitating and reintegrating them into society. The prison system of Rakhine State needs much improvement, in terms of buildings, equipment and the number of prison staff, which falls short of planned targets. The conflict added 1,500 people to the prison population, which the system could ill handle. The prison population comprises people from different ethnic groups; they speak different languages, which causes difficulties in communication with the prison staff. Rakhine State has four jails of category A, served by 303 prison staff. As of 11 February 2013, there were 3,678 prisoners and detainees, with the majority of these housed in Sittwe and Butheetaung prisons, the two largest in Rakhine State. The staff-prisoner ratio of these two prisons is 1:14, just slightly more than the Rakhine State's staff-prisoner ratio of 1:12.

9.14. Weaknesses in the legal system of Rakhine State lead to inequitable access to legal assistance when people run foul of the law. In Rakhine State, there are only 204 lawyers registered with the State Bar Council. This number is insufficient for the population. The public has no trust or faith in the lawyers. No lawyer speaks Bengali. Poor people cannot afford their services. Furthermore, the lawyers are reluctant to take on cases connected with the sectarian violence for their own security concerns.

9.15. Interviews indicated that with the help of local people and various agents, the Bengalis in Rakhine State managed to escape from Rakhine State to settle illegally in other parts of Myanmar, or to go to Saudi Arabia, Malaysia and other countries. Human trafficking agents operate in the cities of Butheetaung, Maungdaw, Rathe-Taung and Sittwe. From Maungdaw, a passage on a boat can be assured for a payment between Kyat 0.5 million and 1 million.

- One method used by the human traffickers is to bribe the authorities, and have the Bengalis board regular scheduled flights out of Rakhine State. During the period of military rule in Myanmar, Bengalis would bribe military intelligence officials to allow them to go to Yangon. Medical treatment may be used as the excuse for "special permission." Once these Bengalis arrived in Yangon, they adopted a fake new identity that enables them to live in Yangon or other parts of the country. Some also obliterated their records with a faked death certificate.
- Another way of leaving Rakhine State is to pay Kyat 0.5 million, join a similar group of about 100 people and purchase a large motorized boat to go to Maw Tin

point, from where - with the help of paid local people - they can easily travel to Patheingyi, Yangon and any other part of Myanmar by car. The boat would be scuttled at the point they left it, to disappear into the sea.

- Interviews showed that Bengali villagers often go over the Bangladesh border and from Bangladesh to work in Saudi Arabia and Malaysia.
- Interviews with three *Mullawis*²⁸ from Rathe-Taung revealed that all three had been to Saudi Arabia with the help of Islamic organizations. In fact, a reported 75 percent of *Mullawis* in Butheetaung and Maungdaw had been to Saudi Arabia and Malaysia. The *Mullawis* may go to Yangon first, invited by the Islamic organizations there, or they may make their way across the Bangladesh border and go to the Middle East from there.

9.16. Recommendations for ensuring the rule of law

9.16.1. Both citizens and non-citizens in Rakhine State generally have poor understanding of the country's Constitution, its laws, regulations and procedures. In line with the Bamar saying, "*U-baday baung twin, nay htaing chin, be kin yan kwa, seik chan than*" ("Living within the law protects from danger and enmity and provides peace of mind")

the public has every right to enjoy the protection and peace of mind afforded by the law. However, to do so requires understanding the law. Accordingly, Rakhine State government departments, the University of Sittwe, the Myanmar Bar Council, university law students should work together during the summer holiday to educate communities on the country's Constitution, laws, regulations and procedures.

9.16.2. The experience of the 2012 events in Rakhine State has shown weaknesses in the capacity of the authorities charged with maintaining law and order. These are the Tatmadaw, the Myanmar Police Force, the Immigration Department, the Department of Justice, the General Administration Department, the Prisons Department and the Office of the State Attorney General. The need to strengthen capacity is seen in the slowness of response in preventing attacks and other security failures. The fragility of the situation in Rakhine State will require full capacity of those responsible for administration, justice, security and the law. In particular, the immigration forces need to be significantly increased. More resources need to be made available for personnel from Immigration, General Administration and the Department of Religious Affairs to conduct inspection and monitoring visits down to village and community level.

9.16.3. The conflicts between Rakhine and Bengali communities have occurred repeatedly from before Myanmar's independence in 1948. Taking lessons from other countries, the Government should establish a department that could function as a conflict management centre. Such a department should have the mandate to develop and monitor strategies for conflict prevention, conflict resolution and conflict recovery. It would also have the mandate to analyze and collect data on potential flashpoints and drivers of conflict, and use this research to develop and implement an early warning system.

28 A Muslim religious teacher

9.16.4. The Committee received suggestions that only Rakhine should be appointed to positions of authority within the bodies responsible for security and administration. However, such a move would only invite charges of discrimination. Accordingly, all Taing-Yin-Tha groups, including Rakhine should be appointed in positions that ensure security and the rule of law.

9.16.5. The current Na-Sa-Ka is composed of personnel from four different Ministries but falls under the jurisdiction of the Chief of Staff of the Tatmadaw (infantry). Local people note the improvement in Na-Sa-Ka, but also remarked on its weaknesses in cooperating and coordinating with other offices. In Rakhine State, all government departments report to the State Chief Minister. However, security forces such as Na-Sa-Ka do not normally heed the Rakhine State authorities. Since the security forces have to work together with the administrative and civil authorities in ensuring security and the rule of law, both the Na-Sa-Ka and the civil authorities need to agree on a mechanism for working together.

9.16.6. Because of the current situation in the border regions, the Na-Sa-Ka has been issuing certain administrative orders to improve the Government's control of that region. Such control by Na-Sa-Ka should continue. However, Na-Sa-Ka personnel should avoid actions that would have a negative impact on law-abiding citizens or hurt them in any way. Na-Sa-Ka personnel should discharge their duties to restore and maintain stability in the region. In dealing with those who transgress the law, Na-Sa-Ka itself should act within the law. Na-Sa-Ka personnel should refrain from unlawful actions and observe the utmost integrity in dealing with the public. If a member of Na-Sa-Ka breaks the law, then that person must be dealt with according to the law.

9.16.7. Authorities need to be more decisive, effective and timely in conflict prevention and conflict response. Accordingly, there should be more delegation at appropriate levels. Furthermore, the Rakhine State and Regional Governments should be mandated with authority to give direct orders to the security forces in crises, so that effective and timely actions can be taken on the ground.

9.16.8. The authorities need to encourage individual members of the security and law enforcement bodies to perform their duties decisively and boldly. Currently, staff from these entities – especially police and legal office personnel – are suffering from low morale, since they are being blamed for certain events, such as the conflict in 2012 in Sittwe market. Many of these staff are performing their work only perfunctorily and have become timid and reluctant to act against wrongdoing. Therefore, the authorities will need to better protect staff who are doing their jobs. On the other hand, if civil servants are punished, they should be told the reasons for the punishment.

9.16.9. The national government should make it illegal for any political organization to use the sectarian problems in Rakhine state for the benefit of that organization.

9.16.10. To promote the rule of law, the authorities and courts should ensure that those who break the law are prosecuted following all due process, without discrimination between Rakhine, Bengalis, or various Taing-Yin-Tha groups, so that

all are equal before the law. Laws, regulations and policies relevant to the conflict should be circulated widely to the public in Rakhine State so that all groups understand them. For example, the government should disseminate the President's emergency decree for Rakhine State. This decree aims to reinforce the rule of law and protect lives and property. The government should also publicize the nature of sanctions for those who break laws relating to the emergency decree. Channels for dissemination could include public address systems, newspapers, journals, and regular radio announcements, as well as information posted or distributed in places such as schools, mosques, monasteries, churches, and government offices.

9.16.11. In prosecuting those who committed violent acts or those who broke the law in the 2012 violence, the authorities should ensure that the process takes into account the international conventions and human rights laws ratified or acceded to by the Union of Myanmar.

9.16.12. The strength of security forces in Rakhine should not be reduced any time soon. Instead, to control and prevent further violence in Rakhine State, the government will need to double the size of the Tatmadaw troops, the police force, the intelligence services and the Na-Sa-Ka on the ground in the State. To protect the public against violent groups and extremist organizations, the Government should establish a Special Team, composed of civilians and military members, to gather intelligence on extremist groups and organizations. Cooperation needs to be strengthened between the bodies responsible for security. In particular, the areas of Butheetaung, Maungdaw, Rathe-Taung and other coastal regions should be administered by a joint military-civil authority until peace and order are fully restored. In practice, this would mean that civil administration would apply during the day (6 am to 6 pm), and military administration would take over in the evenings (6 pm to 6 am).

9.16.13. The geographic position of Rakhine State makes it vulnerable in terms of security. It has a border with Bangladesh, which has a large population and high population density. Rakhine State also has a long coastline fronting the Indian Ocean. The Navy needs to be strengthened and its role expanded. To work closely with the Navy and ensure effective policing of the Rakhine Coast, a marine or coastal police force should be established and equipped with assault boats. The Government should set up coastal radar stations and should deploy aircrafts to patrol the region. Close circuit television cameras and man-made barriers are needed for 24-hour surveillance along the border. The various security forces need to be coordinated and led by one senior commander. All security elements should be part of the country's strategic security plan, which should emphasize a holistic and preventive approach.

9.16.14. Bangladesh has scheduled general elections in December 2013. Spill-over effects may affect the border regions in Rakhine State. In December 2012, for example, extremist groups based in Bangladesh caught and killed some Tatmadaw engineers and soldiers who were putting up the border fence. Accordingly, security and other necessary arrangements should be made well in advance, with increased

numbers of troops and in particular, strict security checks and control of exit and entry points with Bangladesh.

9.16.15. Illegal immigration from Bangladesh cannot be addressed without the involvement of the Bangladesh government. Similarly, other security problems along the Bangladesh border will require consultations with that country. Currently, Na-Sa-Ka is the only entity handling such issues and consulting with Bangladesh. The relationship between Bangladesh and Myanmar needs to be raised to a higher level.

9.16.16. To prevent and address future violence, the Union of Myanmar should establish a special force, appropriately equipped with equipment for crowd control and trained in the physical, psychological and technical aspects of conflict resolution. The complex and delicate nature of the problems in Rakhine State will require such a specially trained force. The proposed force should be given responsibility to act as soon as conflict occurs. If, in the conflict, the Tatmadaw's help is needed, those troops should also be given the appropriate equipment.

9.16.17. Myanmar being a multi-racial and multi-religious country, the government should take firm action against any person or group instigating conflict or violence under the banner of race, religion, language and culture. Existing criminal laws should be effectively applied and enforced. The laws also need to be modified with appropriate punishment to deter such acts in future. Additionally, new laws should be developed and promulgated as needed.

9.16.18. To ensure good governance, the person responsible at each level in the government structures will need to take immediate action when it comes to issues concerning law and order, such as attacks. The central government should delegate decision-making to the local authorities so that problems can be speedily resolved. Similarly, to ensure clean government, all government servants and members of the public, whatever their race or religion, should observe the law and be held accountable. Public education on laws and regulations should be given to communities to educate them on Myanmar's Constitution, laws, regulations and procedures.

9.16.19. In all cases, all people who live in Myanmar, including Government civil servants, should respect the law. Whoever breaks the law must be dealt with according to the law.

10. The issues related to the term Rohingya

10.1. Rakhine history records close interactions between Rakhine people and Muslim Bengalis. The more powerful Rakhine kings had suzerainty over 12 regions in Bengal, including the Chittagong region. At that time, those kings had Rakhine titles to their names and adopted Islamic titles as a political strategy to gain the trust of their subjects. The Rakhine kings were close to the Bengali kings, often supporting them as allies in war. Muslim soldiers served in the forces of the Rakhine kings – the descendants of these soldiers are the present day Kaman people of Muslim faith, recognized as one of Myanmar's indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha. The close association and peaceful relations over centuries between the Rakhine and these

Muslims from Bengal are documented with solid evidence and is well accepted by the majority of present-day Rakhine people. Despite this, some in the international and diplomatic community accuse the Rakhine of denial, stating that the majority of Rakhine refute the evidence of Muslims in the Rakhine region before the British colonial period.

10.2. The Rakhine and the Bengalis lived together amicably for many years. The Rakhine do not accept the name “Rohingya”, widely used internationally, for the Bengalis. They state there is no firm historical evidence for the use of this name. The first published use of the word Rohingya seems to be in 1799, by Francis Hamilton (also known as Francis Buchanan) in his paper “*A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire*” in 1799, in the fifth volume of *Asiatic Researches*.²⁹ The paper mentions, “*Mohammedans, who have long settled in Arakan, and who call themselves Rooinga, or natives of Arakan.*” In the British colonial period, Bengali migrant workers from Chittagong came to work agricultural land in the Rakhine region around Butheetaung and Maungdaw but moved between Bengal and Rakhine according to the seasons. Bengalis living in the south of Chittagong called the Rakhine region at the time “*Rohin Maloke*” in their dialect with *Rohin* meaning Rakhine and *Maloke* meaning country in that dialect. This is the root of the word Rohingya, with the “*gya*” meaning “going to live.” Thus “Rohingya” was not the name of a distinct race or people.

10.3. The British colonized Rakhine State in 1826, at the end of the First Anglo-Burmese War. In 1869, after the Suez Canal was complete, the price of rice rose on world markets, and the British brought large numbers of Bengali Muslims from Chittagong into the Rakhine region as agricultural workers. However, no connection has been found between these later Bengali workers brought in by the British and the earlier people calling themselves Rohingya. Furthermore, in censuses taken under the British colonial system, there are no records of a people called “Rohingya”. Often, ethnic groups living close to a country’s borders have communities living on both sides of the border. For example, along the Myanmar-China border, the Jingpaw people live on both sides. Similarly, along the borders between Rakhine and Bangladesh, there are Rakhine communities as well as Bengali communities living on both sides of the border. However, it is the Bengali groups of today living in Myanmar who call themselves Rohingya, and not the Bengali groups in Bangladesh. This is one reason why the Rakhine people will not accept the term Rohingya.

10.4. In the early years just after Myanmar’s independence, from 1948 to the early 1950s, the Bengalis living in Butheetaung and Maungdaw in northern Rakhine State started to call themselves Rohingya. The term first appeared in a publication in Myanmar in an article called “The Sudeten Muslims,” published in the 20 August 1951 issue of the *Guardian Daily*. The author of this article was Mr Abdul Gaffar, a member of the Mujahid Party.³⁰ From that time on, Bengalis would repeatedly use the term in their many demands to the Government, as well as in their organizations.

29 Francis Buchanan. “A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the languages spoken in the Burma Empire.” *Asiatic Researches* 5 (1799): 219-240. Republished in SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research, Vol. 1, No., 1 (March 2003)

30 See paragraph 4.10.

The Rakhine bitterly contested these demands from the Bengalis. Historical records of that early period show that Bengalis using the name Rohingya made repeated insistent demands and formed organizations that eventually became armed rebel groups (the Mujahid) who then waged an insurgency against the Union of Myanmar.

10.5. In one survey in 2008, 150 villagers from one village in Maungdaw township were asked, “Which ethnic group (*lu myo*) are you?” 85 percent replied that they were Muslim, 2 percent replied they were Kala,³¹ and 1 percent responded that they were Rohingya. Of this 1 percent, one-third did not understand the meaning of the term.

10.6. After 2010, some political and social leaders in the Bengali community became more prominent in the movement demanding human rights for Bengalis. Amongst these was U Shwe Maung, a Member of Parliament from the Union Solidarity and Development Party. At the time, U Shwe Maung stated to international journalists that the usage of term Rohingya was not important, and that obtaining citizenship was the only important issue. On 18 March 2013, on the second day of the first session of the Union Parliament, U Shwe Maung presented a proposal for granting the status of Taing-Yin-Tha to the Bengali people.

10.7. During its first field visit in the second week of September 2012, the Commission visited Bengali IDP camps and Bengali villages in the townships of Sittwe, Pauktaw, Rathe-Taung, Butheetaung and Maungdaw, conducting interviews with the Bengali population. In all these interviews, Bengalis were asked, “What ethnic group (*Lumyo*) are you?” Most of the time, they answered, “I am of the “Muslim ethnic group” (Muslim Lumyo). However, in group meetings, when the question was posed to members of the group randomly selected by the research team, the leader of the group said something in Bengali language to the rest of the group and after that, no more answers were forthcoming; the group appeared to be intimidated by the leader. In the early part of the Commission’s visit, only a few respondents replied they were Rohingya, but later visits found increasingly greater numbers of Bengalis stating they were Rohingya. After the first visit by the Commission, the majority of Bengalis stated they were Rohingya (85 per cent of the 800 interviewed). Even so, around 60 per cent of those who stated they were Rohingya only did so in the first part of the interview. As the interview went on, they called themselves members of a “Muslim ethnic group,” and not Rohingya.

10.8. The Government of the Union of Myanmar does not recognize the name Rohingya, yet the Bengali community is pushing this term to the point where it is becoming the object of an intensive campaign. The Commission was informed that leaders of the Rohingya movement in Yangon, New York and London were calling the Bengali communities in Rakhine State on mobile phones and urging them to declare themselves “Rohingya”. On the other hand, all the 1,200 Rakhine people interviewed objected to using the name Rohingya for the Bengalis. The majority of other Taing-Yin-Tha living in Rakhine State also did not support using the name Rohingya for the Bengalis. Elsewhere in Myanmar as well, most Taing-Yin-Tha did

³¹ See footnote for paragraph 3.2.2. on the explanation of Kala.

not support using the name Rohingya. The research team also surveyed 1,000 citizens living in the Union of Myanmar but outside Rakhine State. All responded that they did not recognize the name Rohingya for Bengalis. Consequently, the Commission notes that the use of the name Rohingya is not a trivial matter and that the authorities should not rush a decision.

10.9. In the above matter, should the Bengalis continue to insist they should be called Rohingya, the majority in the country will not accept this and there could be further unrest. The indigenous Rakhine can be expected to have an intense reaction. Thus, Bengalis now pushing to use the term Rohingya are surely fanning the flames of sectarian violence. The Commission noted that some local Bengalis were demanding to be recognized as “Rohingya Taing-Yin-Tha.”³² The Rakhine people warn that if the Government ever officially approved the name Rohingya, the Bengalis will ask for a separate state. Furthermore, it is almost certain that other indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha groups will also protest against such recognition. The subsequent protests and acts of violence are likely to spread to other parts of the country. Much bigger problems would result between the two ethnic groups, with the outcome being a halt to development of Rakhine State. The goal of peaceful coexistence will also be undermined. Whilst there are, at present, some issues that can be resolved through peaceful debate and negotiation, Bengali demands to be recognized as Rohingya will only be divisive, leading to more conflict, possibly with greater losses than before.

11. The view of the public on the work of international organizations in Rakhine State

11.1. Rakhine State is vulnerable to natural disasters. Having a border with Bangladesh, with its high population density, makes Rakhine State vulnerable as well to man-made emergencies.³³ The Naga-Min Campaign, the Hintha Campaign, Cyclone Nargis and Cyclone Giri led to IDP camps in Rakhine State. Rakhine State received international assistance early on. Well before the 2012 sectarian violence, large UN organizations such as UNDP, UNHCR, UNICEF, WFP and FAO were in Rakhine State providing humanitarian assistance, assisting in recovery, or contributing to the State’s socio-economic development. With the sectarian violence in 2012, other international organizations came into Rakhine State. These included Care International, Malteser International, ECHO, Danish Refugee Council, Solidarité Internationale, Consortium of Dutch NGOs, Action contre la faim (ACF), Médecins sans frontières (MSF), USAID, Turkish IHH, Islamic Relief Worldwide, Aide médicale internationale (AMI), and AZG (MSF-Holland).

11.2. The Rakhine communities initially believed these organizations would help to tackle the broad challenges faced by local people, such as grinding poverty and poor education. Later, they came to feel that these organizations were not working to improve the situation in Rakhine State as a whole but rather, were targeting only

³² Translation note: this means Rohingya who are of the indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha groups. See footnote # of paragraph 1.4.3.

³³ See Section 2.7, paragraphs 2.7.1 to 2.7.6.

Bengalis in Rathe-taung, Butheetaung and Maungdaw. The Rakhine people reported to the Commission that these organizations discriminated against indigenous Rakhine, from the distribution of supplies to the recruitment of staff to work in their local offices.

11.3. The Rakhine communities interviewed provided instances of this discrimination practiced by INGOs and some United Nations agencies. The reports below are written as reported:

- 90 percent of the operations of Bridge Asia Japan (BAJ) in Maungdaw were only in Bengali communities.
- AMI (Butheetaung) recruited only Bengalis in supervisory positions. In 2009, conflict arose with the Rakhine townspeople because these Bengali supervisors in AMI had sexually harassed (verbally and physically) young Rakhine women in junior positions.
- UNHCR (Maungdaw) had opened their local office in Taman-Tha village in the house of one Bengali male who bullied and mistreated the Rakhine female staff working under him with impunity, since supervisors had ignored the issue.
- In June 2010, a UNHCR supervisor had summoned a Rakhine female staff to his office at Maungdaw from her village 10 miles away, even though it was late in the evening and the woman was ill. To bring the woman to Maungdaw, he sent a Bengali motor cycle rider. On the way, the motor cycle had an accident and the woman sustained a head injury. The woman, far from receiving medical treatment, was threatened by the UNHCR Bengali motor cycle rider to keep silent. In the same village, one Rakhine girl had earlier been raped by a Bengali and had become pregnant.
- UNHCR's Inter-Ethnic Youth Centre in Cedi-byin village of Rathe-taung Township informed the Rakhine community that they would undertake a Peace Building Initiative. The aims of this Initiative were deeply offensive to the Rakhine. The Initiative tried to make them see the Bengalis as "Rohingya-Myanmar Taing-Yin-Tha" and worse, to "create a new race of Rakhine-Bengali." In line with these objectives, UNHCR had reportedly encouraged Bengali men to make sexual remarks/gestures/innuendoes that the Rakhine women had found insulting and offensive.³⁴
- Similar charges were made against UNHCR in Rathe-Taung, Butheetaung and Sittwe for allowing their Bengali male staff to sexually harass Rakhine female employees. In all these cases, however, the Rakhine women were reportedly afraid to complain because they were poor and work was scarce, because they felt shame and because they did not know the procedures for complaints about sexual harassment. The Rakhine communities only found out about this situation afterwards.
- UNHCR, WFP and UNDP reportedly employed only Bengalis or "non-Rakhine who would favour Bengalis" in supervisory positions, such as Project Manager, Project Assistant Manager, Administrator, Project Coordinator and Field Supervisor. The Rakhine felt that although WFP claimed to be working for the region's development, it was in reality favouring only Bengalis. Examples given included the payment of cash for the primary education of Bengali children, the provision of learning materials, rice and oil only to Bengali families, turning a blind

³⁴ Translation note: The reports to the Commission on this matter said the Bengali men "saw-kah de" the Rakhine women. Myanmar and Rakhine society uses this polite term to cover a broad range of meanings, from sexual harassment, sexual abuse to rape.

eye to abuses of the UN system by the Bengalis, whereby Bengali children who have grown beyond primary school age still received support by assuming a false name; the fact that poor Rakhine families never received such support.

- ACF (Sittwe) had reportedly recruited a non-qualified Bengali to a Project Assistant post, and during downsizing in 2009, ACF had eliminated only the positions held by Rakhine.
- ACF and AZG recruited Bengalis into 80 percent of their positions. However, in submitting staff lists to the Government, they had falsified the lists by substituting Rakhine names.
- AZG broke organizational rules by recruiting family members of their Bengali staff. Further, the Rakhine were dissatisfied with AZG for supporting the Bengali cause for recognition as Rohingya and for becoming a Myanmar Taing-Yin-Tha. The Rakhine also accused AZG of discriminating between sick patients and favouring only Bengali patients. One Bengali who had been jailed for embezzlement and breaking the law was recruited by AZG when he came out of jail. The Rakhine pointed out that MSF /AZG had not been acting in a way worthy of a Nobel prize winning organization because INGOs such as AZG were inflaming tensions rather than calming them.

11.4. The Rakhine highlighted what they felt were the worst injustices as follows:

- At one time, the UNHCR had allowed the use of one of its office rooms as a prayer room. UNHCR had sacked some Rakhine employees because they had used the word “Kala” for the Bengalis, which they had always done since ancient times.³⁵ Further, UNHCR had not given these Rakhine employees a preliminary warning but had sacked them peremptorily without “educating” them on the issue.
- On 8 June 2012, when the violence started in Maungdaw against the Rakhine,³⁶ the Rakhine had asked the UNHCR regional office in Maungdaw to let them come in and take temporary refuge. UNHCR had refused the Rakhine request, but had sheltered and protected a Bengali leader whom the Rakhine identified as a key instigator of violence against them.
- Subsequently, the Rakhine IDPs in Maungdaw accuse the UN/UNHCR of having pressured the Myanmar Government to release their staff. These Bengali staff of UNHCR are accused by Rakhine witnesses of being instigators of violence. The Rakhine are also furious that these UNHCR staff had been re-appointed in the same positions upon their release from jail. They stated that presidential pardon had secured these releases, following which the Bengalis had boasted that even the Myanmar Government could not touch them and had feted the released prisoners as heroes.
- The Rakhine also accuse the UNHCR of indirect involvement in the violence against Rakhine through allowing Bengalis to use the internet and other facilities in its offices to link up with religious extremists.
- The feelings against the UN and INGOs mounted to such a fever pitch that Rakhine elders and community leaders in Maungdaw made the following statement to the Commission:

“ When Cyclone Nargis ravaged Ayeyarwadi Division, the scale of the disaster attracted international support and attention. UN agencies provided humanitarian assistance for a period of about three years, after which much of

³⁵ See paragraph 3.2.2 and its footnote.

³⁶ See paragraphs 3.2.2 to 3.2.5.

the humanitarian assistance stopped. However, northern Rakhine State's disasters have never been on such a scale as that of Nargis in Ayeyarwadi Division. Why then, has the international community stayed in northern Rakhine State from 1992 to 2012, with headlines publicizing their work? It is time to receive an answer on the real reason."

All these reports by the Rakhine go some way towards explaining their resentment towards the UN and INGOs. This resentment has dissipated any goodwill they might have had towards those organizations for their assistance.

11.5. Up to the present, some 20 international organizations are engaged in humanitarian assistance in Rakhine State. Of the 1,200 Rakhine interviewed, 20 percent expressed satisfaction with the work of the international organizations. 85 percent wanted these organizations placed under control by the government. Of the 800 Bengalis interviewed, 86 percent were satisfied with the work of international organizations. 80 percent wished these organizations to work independently without any government intervention.

11.6. A main challenge for international organizations is to ensure that the public views their operations as ethical and impartial, especially in an environment where two parties are in conflict. From this point of view, it may be easier to provide humanitarian assistance for displaced persons in Shan, Kayin and Kachin States since in those regions, international organizations only have to cope with one party. In Rakhine State, the situation is far more complex with two parties in conflict. Thus, the international organizations working in Myanmar may be perceived in different ways by the public, depending on where they work. For example, the public has positive views of the work of UNDP, UNICEF, WFP and other humanitarian organizations in Shan, Kayin and Kachin States. Yet at the same time, the public has negative views of UNHCR, WFP, and some other organizations with regard to their work in Rakhine State.

The main difference is that these organizations working in Rakhine State are doing so under much more difficult conditions due to sectarian tensions. A second challenge for any humanitarian operations is that the aid may not fully benefit a region still in conflict. Much as the non-profit organizations in Kachin State cannot access some IDP camps because of the armed conflict, the operations of organizations in Rakhine State may not be fully effective due to difficulties accessing certain areas and populations. In any case, all organizations intending to provide assistance in Rakhine State will need to fully understand the depth and nature of the problems and develop in advance the best ways of handling those problems.

11.7. Both the reports provided by UNOCHA and records of the Rakhine State government show clearly that IDPs have indeed benefited to a certain measure from the assistance of international organizations. However, the Rakhine remain critical of these interventions. A Sittwe resident, for example, states,

"The UNHCR offices facilitate free TB and malaria tests as well as free medical care for the Bengalis. They give cash to the Bengalis. They pay for their transport to and from health clinics and also pay for their meals. The Rakhine may be treated free at health clinics but receive no other benefit."

In connection with this criticism, a UNHCR officer who is a Myanmar citizen gave the following explanation for the public:

“We do not deny that one side receives more supplies and funds from our organization than another. But we do not do this because of feelings or preferences. We do this on the basis of our mandate. We are obliged to work within our mandate. In the Rakhine case, our organization has come into the country in order to provide assistance to the IDPs who call themselves Rohingya, in other words, the organization came in to help the returnees. This is our mandate. However, we do help the local communities within our mandate and it is not true that we totally neglect them. There are records in relevant government offices showing what we have done for each side, records that are undeniable. Another point is that when we work, plans and directives guide us in determining how much to allocate where. We cannot arbitrarily decide to whom we provide the assistance. Let’s say we provide assistance to build a school or dig a well in a certain community. This is not the kind of assistance that discriminates between individuals. We try our best to provide for all. We would like the public to understand this and understand our work.”

11.8. In early October 2012, postings on Facebook appeared, mobilizing public opinion against the proposed entry of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) into the country. This was due to the belief mentioned in previous paragraphs that international organizations would not be fair or unbiased. The extent of opposition to this organization may be seen in the movement against the OIC among Rakhine. In the second week of October, the protests against the OIC became widespread in cities and towns such as Sittwe, Myaybon, Kyaukpyu, Taunggoke, Minbya, Rathe-Taung, Mrauk-U, and Ponna-Kyun. On 15 October, the Office of the President of Myanmar issued its position,³⁷ turning down the OIC’s request to open an office. On 20 October, the Rakhine public demonstrated in Myaybon against proposals that Rakhine and Bengalis live side by side. Similarly, at Rakhine meetings and demonstrations in Yanbye and Rathe-Taung the same demand was issued. Earlier in this period, in neighbouring Bangladesh, 22 Buddhist monasteries in the Cox’s Bazar area had been attacked and set ablaze. These events fuelled anti-Bengali sentiments, driving it to even higher levels amongst the Rakhine in Myanmar. On 21 October, arson attacks took place in Paik-The village, near the bus terminal in Minbya region, the first episode in the second phase of violence, which then spread to Mrauk-U, Kyauktaw, Pauktaw, Yanbye and Kyaukpyu.

11.9. Before entering into any agreement with international organizations, the government needs to scrutinize the proposed agreement to see whether these would be appropriate and acceptable for its States and Divisions and for the country. The Government should first fully understand the situation of citizens at the grassroots level and then proceed with full transparency. For example, the establishment of an OIC office in Myanmar created misunderstanding and undesirable consequences both within and outside of the country. The Myanmar public is still not clear about the government’s position on the agreement. If the OIC were to open an office in the

³⁷ Notably, that the OIC would not be opening an office in Myanmar.

country in the current climate, it is clear that Buddhist groups would find this unacceptable.

11.10 The government should have clarified its position with regard to the OIC early on. If the government had not permitted the OIC to open an office in the country, it should have said so clearly. Instead, the government stated that it would not allow an OIC office only when Buddhist groups held demonstrations against the OIC. At the OIC and in UN circles, there has been some criticism that the agreement with the OIC was made without fully examining the domestic situation. Some OIC countries have used this to condemn Myanmar. The situation could have an adverse effect on Myanmar's ongoing reforms. The government needs to pay special attention to the international ramifications of the sectarian conflict.

12. Recommendations for the peaceful coexistence of Rakhine and Bengali communities

12.1. The conflicts in Rakhine State were between the Rakhine and the Bengalis, between the Rakhine and the Kaman, and between the Rakhine and the Mramargyi. Amongst the 1,200 Rakhine interviewed, nearly all responded that the Kaman and the Mramargyi were indeed indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha and that both groups understood Rakhine culture and tradition and lived accordingly. Rakhine respondents also said that they had no problems with the Kaman and Mramargyi living in Rakhine State.

12.2. However, the majority of Rakhine also noted problems with the Bengalis who (falsely) used the Kaman identity to obtain Taing-Yin-Tha status. These Rakhine acknowledged they had targeted those Bengalis pretending to be Kaman, and in the process, the Kaman had become victims of violence. The Rakhine respondents noted they also objected to Mramargyi who, they claimed, treated the Rakhine with contempt since the Mramargyi conducted business with Bengalis. This seems to indicate that if relations between the Rakhine and Bengalis were smooth, then there would also be fewer problems between the Rakhine and the Mramargyi.

12.3. Long-running hatred between the Rakhine and the Bengalis is particularly intense in the northern part of Rakhine State. This is because the 1942 conflict³⁸ between Rakhine and Bengalis took place in the north. Amongst the total 1,200 survey respondents, 25 percent of the 600 Rakhine who came from the northern part of Rakhine State reported having Bengali acquaintances, but only for business dealings. Beyond this, they reported they did not know any Bengali they could trust. The Bengalis living in the same region would begin by saying they had close associations with Rakhine (i.e., "going around together" or *a-tu nay paung-thin hset hsan*). However, in the same interviews they also said that apart from the work sphere, they did not mix at all with the Rakhine whether in social and family matters or in leisure activities.

³⁸ Translation note: See paragraphs 3.11 and 4.15

12.4. In southern Rakhine State, the Commission observed much friendlier relations between the two sides. The Rakhine living here knew of the problems between their people and the Bengalis, but they did not make angry statements about Bengalis as did their counterparts in the north. Overall, the lack of contact between the Rakhine and the Bengalis in the north seems to have contributed to the lack of understanding between the two sides. Both interpret the other group's actions in a negative way.

12.5. Mutual understanding was found to be much higher in the southern part of the State, according to interviews conducted from December 2012 to March 2013. Of the 600 Rakhine living in the south, 40 percent stated that they could continue co-existing in peace with the Bengalis. In contrast, just under 3 percent of Rakhine in the northern part of the State replied that they could live in peace with the Bengalis, whilst the rest wanted to keep the Bengalis in separate communities.

12.6. The majority of Bengalis in both the southern and northern part of Rakhine State told interviewers they could co-exist peacefully with the Rakhine. 60 percent of the 800 Bengalis interviewed said if adequate security could be put in place, they could continue to live "as before" with the Rakhine communities. However, those same respondents were reluctant to do all that it would take to get on with the Rakhine people: for example, only 5 percent of these Bengali respondents said they were willing to show respect³⁹ to the flag of the Union of Myanmar. Furthermore, the Commission notes that the majority of the Bengalis in Rakhine State do not live and act in the same way as Myanmar Muslim citizens. Instead, they practise an extreme form of religion whereby girls are not allowed to go to school, women are not allowed to have any say in early marriage or child spacing, and Mullawis preach hatred and disrespect against other religions. Upon being asked whether they would be prepared to live in the way that Myanmar Muslims do, to fit in with the rest of the country, 60 percent of the Bengalis from southern Rakhine State said they had no problems doing this. However, nearly all Bengalis in the north (Butheetaung and Maungdaw) said that they would continue living and practicing the same form of religion according to their own customs.

12.7. The Rakhine communities stated that in reality, the Bengalis in Rakhine would not be able to live peacefully with others in Myanmar because the Bengalis from Butheetaung and Maungdaw always took Bangladesh's side whenever Myanmar had disagreements or issues with that country, for example, on border demarcation. They also said that the Bengalis supported Bangladeshi teams in any sporting event between the two nations.

12.8. The Commission members and survey teams found that Bengalis who lived in rural areas could not speak any indigenous languages of Myanmar well. Rather, they spoke, wrote and read Bengali and Arabic. They could not write or read the official Bamar language used in government communications. Although most Bengalis demand to become Myanmar Taing-Yin-Tha, these Bengalis are undeniably different from all the indigenous Taing-Yin-Tha groups living in the

³⁹ Translation note: usually this means standing at attention and bowing in deference to the Flag.

country. Whilst the Bengalis living in urban areas were more familiar with political changes in the country, the majority of Bengalis in rural areas had never heard of the President of the Union of Myanmar U Thein Sein nor of the National League for Democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. This, and the other examples mentioned above, were cited as support for Rakhine arguments that in reality, the Bengalis are foreigners who do not fulfil cultural requirements to become Myanmar citizens.

12.9. The Commission notes that the two sides are not yet ready for peaceful coexistence. However, this goal is not as far off as it sounds. International media and the Bengalis accuse the Rakhine of violating the human rights of Bengalis and opposing their bid to become lawful citizens of the Union of Myanmar. However, in reality, most Rakhine do accept that Bengalis who fit the legal criteria for citizenship should be given citizenship. The Rakhine only oppose the claim of Bengalis who wish to be labelled Taing-Yin-Tha – one of the indigenous groups of the Union of Myanmar.

12.10. Only 4 per cent of Rakhine interviewed stated that Bengalis inside the country should not be given citizenship. In turn, Bengalis expressed the wish to live peacefully in Myanmar. They said that this was because they were not recognized in Bangladesh, where they were viewed as lower class, backward people. They wished to go to Indonesia, Malaysia and other countries, but this was not an easy matter. Because they could not move to those countries, they wished to live in Myanmar peacefully.

12.11. Currently, the two sides resent each other, but the desire for more violence seems to have retreated. Previously, when there had been rapes of women, criminal investigations and proceedings would ensue, without violence and retribution. Some causes of the earlier rounds of violence following the rape case in 2012 are due to nationalist movements. Some Bengalis seized the opportunity to intensify their campaign for recognition as “Rohingya Taing-Yin-Tha” which upset the Rakhine and other Taing-Yin-Tha groups. At the same time, some Rakhine leaders started a movement in 2010 to form certain political parties and civil organizations, which then mobilized Rakhine communities using anti-Bengali sentiments.

12.12. Following the rape and murder of the young Rakhine woman Ma Thida Htwe, certain Rakhine political and civil associations started to mobilize the Rakhine public against the Bengalis. Consequently, mobs in Taunggoke killed 10 Muslims. Some Bengalis, meanwhile, were seen to be taking advantage of a new and open political climate to intensify the drive for the Rohingya cause. If political and religious elements had not entered the equation, the situation could have been easily controlled.

12.13. For peaceful coexistence of the Rakhine and Bengali population, the Government and all responsible entities should start by ensuring protection of human rights for all parties involved in the conflict. If this is not done, victims of human rights abuse will always be dissatisfied and will be vulnerable to pressure and attacks by others.

12.14. Although the citizenship status of some Bengalis living in Rakhine State is still unclear, the government and various organizations should not violate human rights principles in dealing with them, and should ensure that their human security concerns and basic social needs are addressed. Government entities need to accept that whether citizen or not, illegal immigrants are entitled to protection of their human rights. The Government should deal with illegal immigrants in a visible and transparent process in accordance with the country's existing laws.

12.15. Furthermore, those Bengalis already documented as citizens should be treated fairly, with full rights according to the law. If the government needs to restrict the opportunities of certain Bengalis in the interests of Myanmar's national security, it should do so in strict accordance with the law. Not applying the law fairly and rigorously opens the way for corrupt civil servants to exploit the situation for their own benefit. Currently, the authorities have placed restrictions on the travel of these Bengali communities. Despite such restrictions, it is reported that those Bengalis able to afford it have travelled to Yangon, by bribing corrupt officials, and are already living in Yangon. By preventing any party from abusing the human rights of others, the authorities will avoid many of the problems encountered in the Rakhine State conflicts.

12.16. Hence two important priorities in addressing the conflict in Rakhine State are the protection of human rights and the security of all groups. Every country, however, has the right to restrict the rights of certain persons in the interests of national security. Such cases should only happen when Myanmar's national interest is at stake.

12.17. Another priority for the Government will be to conduct a review of the citizenship status of the Bengalis in Rakhine State. Only those who are eligible for citizenship would be able to live in coexistence with other citizens in Myanmar. Becoming citizens will help the Bengalis to live responsibly in the country and to take more interest in the country's affairs and situation.

12.18. Every country has requirements for citizenship application. In Myanmar, those who are allowed to apply for citizenship (called Associate Citizens "ai-naing ngan tha"), are required by the country's existing law to "respect and abide by the laws of the State" and "discharge the duties prescribed therein." This includes being able to speak one of the Taing-Yin-Tha languages well and being of good character⁴⁰ (i.e., not criminal). They must also fit into the local region's culture and language. These criteria should be applied to determine who is eligible for Myanmar citizenship. Recognition of citizenship should be accompanied by an oath of allegiance to the country. All citizens living in Myanmar should make efforts to fit in with the country's indigenous cultures, traditions and dress. On their side, authorities should educate new citizens in these respects.

12.19. Using existing laws, the government needs to implement a visible and transparent process for addressing the citizenship claims of Bengalis, ensuring a

40 Pyithu Hluttaw Law 4/1982 (commonly known as the Citizenship Law) repealing the Union Citizenship Act 1948 and the Union Citizenship (Election) Act 1948

systematic and fair application of the 1982 Citizenship Law. Critics from other countries claim this 1982 Citizenship Law unfairly discriminates against Bengalis. However, if systematically and fairly applied, this Law could solve the majority of current problems between the two groups. The reason why the citizenship issue persists amongst Bengalis is not only certain aspects of the Citizenship Law, but also weaknesses in its implementation. In addressing the issue of eligibility for citizenship, the Government should not only apply existing national laws but also proceed in line with international agreements.

12.20. Every country has the sovereign right to ban illegal immigration. Therefore, a law should be promulgated to bar all illegal immigrants from obtaining citizenship or associate citizenship when entering the Union of Myanmar by illegal means, whether by land, water or air. The law should also forbid all persons from aiding and abetting in the illegal entry/residence of all foreigners (not just Bengalis) into the Union of Myanmar. The government should enforce these laws rigorously.

12.21. The measures put in place to strengthen justice and the rule of law in Rakhine State should be used in such a way as to act as a problem-solving mechanism. Only then will acts of lawlessness on both sides subside. Half the Bengalis interviewed and 60 percent of Rakhine interviewed responded that scrupulous implementation of the law could reduce the conflict. Furthermore, those who are illiterate in Myanmar languages, not only in the Rakhine region but also in other parts of the country, will need literacy classes (Ah-thone-lone) and necessary knowledge about the country. The research teams also interviewed Taing-Yin-Tha living elsewhere in the country. Of the 1,000 (non-Rakhine) Taing-Yin-Tha respondents, 75 percent did not like the Bengalis. About 85 percent of respondents stated that whilst they did not encourage violence, they fully supported Rakhine efforts to firmly resist the spread of Bengali influence. The 969 movement has the potential to create more conflict between Muslims in Myanmar and adherents of other religions. In Yangon, the townships of Thaketa and Mingalar Taung Nyunt have many Bengalis who have bribed their way out of Rakhine State. At the time of this Report, rumours were circulating that the Buddhists living there needed to be vigilant. Mishandling of such suspicion and tensions could lead to further conflict between Muslims and citizens of other religions.

12.22. In the current situation, the Rakhine and the Bengali communities will need to be kept separate in the short term. However, this is not a viable long-term solution and should only be maintained while feelings of anger and revenge are still running high. During this period, any person or groups breaking the law in this regard must be firmly dealt with according to the law.

12.23. To examine how and under what conditions Rakhine and Bengali people would be able to live peacefully side-by-side, the government should organize discussions between representatives of both communities. The Government's role at such meetings should be limited to that of a facilitator. The President's Office should issue a special Decree to form a Task Force with moderate leaders from both communities to implement this and other suggestions of the Commission.

12.24. The Union Government and Myanmar civil society organizations should be the entities organizing and hosting the discussions mentioned above. If international organizations wish to support such a process, these organizations must be acceptable to both the Rakhine and the Bengalis. If not, the participation of such an international organization will only exacerbate the situation.

12.25. The government should scrutinize practices related to religion, in order to prevent adherents of one religion from insulting those of another religion, and to protect the country against extremist elements acting in the name of religion. To this end, the government will need to conduct a review of all religious institutions in Rakhine State, such as Buddhist monasteries, Islamic mosques, Christian churches and Hindu temples, as well as investigate religious practitioners. Subsequently, the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Union of Myanmar should issue certification to those deemed to be operating within the law.

12.26. To foster peaceful coexistence based on mutual understanding over the long term, both sides will need to change or modify their political and social views. In Bengali communities, the government must eliminate the currently prevailing teachings that encourage narrow-minded prejudices and incite hatred against the Rakhine. Instead of the extremist teachings in Islamic religious schools, special education initiatives are required to ensure education that is more appropriate for a Myanmar citizen. Similarly, the government, NGOs and other social organizations should organize trainings and orientations for the Rakhine to reduce their resentment and mistrust of Bengalis and minimize the influence of past conflicts. This will take time.

12.27. Most Rakhine see the rapid population growth of the Bengalis as an extremely serious threat. Their large and growing population makes some Rakhine believe that all Bengalis are illegal immigrants and that they must act to prevent Rakhine State from becoming a region controlled by Bengalis. The Rakhine communities and other Taing-Yin-Tha groups expressed the wish for the Government to promote family planning and birth spacing programmes amongst the Bengalis. Such programmes, they said, would alleviate their fears of Bengali control and support the goal of peaceful coexistence. They suggested that the Government, international and local NGOs provide family planning education to Bengali families. However, the Commission notes that such family planning and child spacing initiatives should be voluntary and should not be forced on any group. An approach by force would not only have repercussions on the country's reputation, but also provide another cause for Bengali political activists and extremists to create further unrest inside Myanmar.

12.28. In this regard, past efforts using administrative authority to prevent Bengali men from marrying more than one wife have had little impact. Up to the time when the present Government took office, Bengalis in Rakhine required permission from local administrative authorities to marry, creating yet more avenues for corruption. In any case, many Bengalis simply married in secret. One negative impact of this policy was that children born of such non-registered unions also became automatically illegal, with no records of their birth.

At present, the best estimates indicate that there are some 60,000 unregistered children born of such unions. The Government and civil organizations should take lessons from certain Muslim countries on how to implement the promotion of family planning. Large Bengali families are poor; they struggle for their living, and have no access to outside recreation such as movies. In such a situation, conjugal relations are their only recreation. Furthermore, the majority of Bengalis believe that family planning and birth control are forbidden by their religion. This belief appears to be more pronounced among Bengalis living in poor and remote villages, where the families have large numbers of children. An additional reason for non-registration of children is that some women slip over to Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh for conjugal relations with their husbands who are working in other countries. The children of such unions are also not registered.

12.29. Moderate religious leaders should be encouraged to replace extremist religious leaders who currently lead certain Islamic communities. The extremist leaders are the products of certain extremist Islamic religious schools that preach on ways to dominate and control Muslim society. Those who graduated from such schools are able to dominate Muslim Bengali society in Rakhine State, since they are usually the only people in their communities with some education (i.e., religious education).

12.30. However, education in these Islamic schools of Rakhine State does not equip graduates for integrating into modern society. Furthermore, the teachings encourage extremist trends. When the graduates of such schools become schoolteachers and religious teachers, they in turn transmit the same extremist teachings and exhortations to hatred of the Rakhine people. The government needs to handle such extremist religious schools by establishing an appropriate body of educators, including Muslim educators, to develop new curricula and require those schools to implement the revised curricula.

12.31. In interviews of 800 Bengalis, all responded that the person they most respected was the *Mullawi*. Clearly, the *Mullawis* were the most dominant figures in their communities. Some 19.5 per cent of respondents stated in the interviews that the *Mullawis* told them to hate the Rakhine, whilst 80.5 per cent stated that the *Mullawis* did not do so. However, in focus group discussions, about 60 per cent of participants stated that the *Mullawis* always taught them that Rakhine were bad, whilst 30 per cent said the *Mullawis* did so occasionally, and the remaining 10 per cent reported they did not know. Some 18 per cent of Bengalis expressed their desire to establish a Muslim country and said that they must make the Rakhine people weak so that the Rakhine would no longer mistreat Muslims. Clearly, the teachings by extremist religious leaders make it difficult to change attitudes and foster the desire for peaceful coexistence. In addition to these local extremist *Mullawis*, the Rakhine community reported that members of *Tabligh*⁴¹ – Islamic propagation groups from Yangon - had heightened the animosity between the Rakhine and Bengalis. In aiming to make the Muslim society in Rakhine State more religious, *Tabligh* members had propagated their religion so aggressively and

41 See paragraph 3.2.1.

intensively that their acts had increased tensions between the Muslims and non-Muslims in Rakhine State. The Muslim extremist religious leaders appear to believe that they can dominate Muslim society in Rakhine State only if these communities follow their brand of conservative beliefs and traditions. Changing the mind-set of people who promote such extremism will be difficult. Given the good examples of cooperation between moderate Muslim religious leaders and the government in countries such as Malaysia and China, the Government should request moderate Muslim leaders from Yangon and Mandalay to lead the reform of Islamic religious schools in Rakhine State. At the same time, the government should forbid Rakhine leaders from preaching hatred. The government should also organize forums and workshops for Rakhine leaders to promote the acceptance of peaceful coexistence.

12.32. Working with civil society leaders and religious organizations, the Government should promote Interfaith Dialogue Forums in order to increase mutual understanding and tolerance of each other's faith. The Commission's surveys have found that the Rakhine who were more familiar with Islam had more moderate attitudes towards Bengalis. Promoting interfaith dialogue frequently will contribute towards building mutual understanding between the religions.

13. Recommendations related to the media

13.1. The sectarian violence in Rakhine State has drawn not only the attention of the whole country, but also that of the international community. The authorities must avoid exacerbating the situation, either by word or by action in issuing news updates, organizing media briefings or interacting with international organizations. For example, the relevant officials in the national Government should not say that Rakhine State has no illegal immigrants. Such statements are bound to anger the Rakhine people. Instead, the government should make clear its intention to deal with all illegal immigrants and corrupt civil servants according to existing laws and procedures, and its commitment to take decisive and effective action.

13.2. It would clearly be impossible to ban or censor material on the internet. Therefore, the national government should regularly issue accurate and timely information on events in Rakhine State. Not doing so enables instigators from both sides to dominate the media and inflame the situation. Recent events have shown that the Government's delay in announcing news created opportunities for both sides to spread their own propaganda, fuelling further violence.

13.3. Both the Myanmar public and the international community are scrutinizing the violence in Rakhine State. Some countries, including some in ASEAN, are attempting to internationalize the issue and are seeking a role for the international community. In this matter, it is not sufficient for Myanmar to say that the problem is a domestic one; the Myanmar Government also needs to demonstrate it is fully capable of resolving the problem internally and publicize these actions through regular news updates. Some members of the diplomatic community in Yangon blame the Government, based on information they have obtained from Internet

sources and social media sites. Attempts to control such media will only worsen the situation. Instead, as mentioned above, the government itself needs to issue accurate news and ensure openness and transparency, with the exception of matters relating to national security. Holding regular media briefings and issuing news bulletins would go a long way towards combatting propaganda, misinformation and rumours.

13.4. One of the main reasons for the escalation of conflict in June, August and September 2012 was the central government's lack of advance information on certain Taing-Yin-Tha associations and their activities and consequently, its inability to implement preventive measures. Consequently, the government needs to put in place mechanisms for obtaining timely and accurate information.

13.5. The Government should appoint a special investigative committee to trace the roots of conflict between Myanmar civil society and Muslim society in the country. Such a committee, with its purview extending over the whole of Myanmar, should document events of the past and suggest the way forward based on lessons learned from these episodes.

14. Conclusions

14.1. The Inquiry Commission on the Sectarian Violence in Rakhine State prepared this Report under many constraints and interference, some of which was outlined in earlier sections. The Commission worked on this Report to the best of its ability under these difficult conditions. The new Government of the Union of Myanmar has embarked on a path of multi-faceted reform, surprising the world with its early successes and bold moves within a short time. It was during this period that the situation in Rakhine State exploded in communal violence, attracting the attention of the whole country as well as that of the international community. The attention, expectations and scrutiny put the Commission under considerable pressure.

14.2. From field visits, interviews, research and data collection, the Commission found that the conflict had roots extending back over several generations. Because of the constant friction between different religious beliefs, cultural traditions, norms and practices of Rakhine and Bengali peoples, Rakhine State saw its former harmony and peace deteriorate into a volatile atmosphere interspersed with bouts of extreme violence. Today, the slightest incident could trigger another round of violence in Rakhine State. Many interest groups have attempted to exploit this situation for their own gain. The instigators of violence used the poverty of communities, their general ignorance and their trusting simplicity to stir them into acts of violence. Other groups are attempting to internationalize this issue and involve the international community with false claims of genocide and religious persecution, portraying the violence as a religious issue only.

14.3. The President of the Union of Myanmar entrusted this Commission to complete the eight tasks⁴² mentioned earlier. The Commission has not expanded its work outside of this mandate, nor is it appropriate to do so. Yet some individuals and organizations have led the public to believe that the role of the Commission would be that of a judge, deciding who was right and who was wrong in the Rakhine conflict. In the midst of these unrealistic expectations and distortions, the Commission has focused this Report on analyses and recommendations that aim to serve the best interests of the people of Rakhine State and of the country.

14.4. The Commission recognizes that many aspects of the Report could be improved. In some areas, not enough analysis has been done. Nonetheless, all the main tasks given to the Committee were adequately discharged. The Report analyzes and draws lessons from past events. It highlights weaknesses in policies and laws and the shortcomings of those responsible for their implementation. It highlights the gaps in governance and outlines requirements for ensuring the rule of law. It reviews the socio-economic situation of communities, identifies their needs and makes recommendations for the health and education of communities. It underscores the urgent need for ensuring the security of the country's territory and human security. It investigates the role of media in the conflict and suggests remedies to counter this. It urges the protection of human rights and the adherence to international standards of human rights. It highlights the weaknesses and lack of capacity in conflict management and points out the need for better, more modern methods. Finally, it makes recommendations for bringing about peaceful coexistence between two different communities. The Commission based its work on field visits, data collection and interviews, documents submitted by the communities on its visits, historical records and other research, and its own observations and triangulations.

14.5. The root causes of the violence in Rakhine State are deep, complex and go back many decades. Peaceful coexistence will only be realized if both sides of the conflict participate actively in implementation of the recommended measures under the Government's leadership. Experience elsewhere shows that such measures will take time. Because the problems and causes are multi-dimensional, all stakeholders will need to adopt a holistic approach as well as a preventive one and consult, cooperate and coordinate with each other. Above all, they will need to have unflagging persistence, patience and tolerance. Only then will Rakhine State enjoy peace and stability.

42 The Commission was tasked by the President to examine the following eight areas: a) investigate the root causes that led to the disturbance of peace and security; b) verify the extent of loss of life, property and other collateral damage; c) examine the effort to restore peace and promote law and order; d) outline means to provide relief and implement resettlement programmes; e) develop short- and long-term strategies to reconcile differences; f) establish mutual understanding and promote peaceful co-existence between various religious and ethnic groups; g) advise on promotion of rule of law; h) advise on promotion of social and economic development. *Annex B (Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Office of the President: Executive Order No 58/2012. August 17, 2012. 'Formation of the Inquiry Commission')*

References

- ကျောက်နီမော်ဒေသခံ (၂၀၁၂)၊ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံစုံစမ်းရေးကော်မရှင်အဖွဲ့ သို့ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်တွင်ဖြစ်ပွားခဲ့သည့် အကြမ်းဖက်မှုများနှင့် စပ်လျဉ်းသည့် ဖြစ်ရပ်ကိုတင်သွင်းသည့်စာတမ်း။
- ကျော်မြင့် (၂၀၁၂)၊ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်အရေးစုံစမ်းစစ်ဆေးရေးကော်မရှင်သို့ အကြံပြုစာတမ်း။
- ကျော်မင်း၊ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်၏ တိမ်မြုပ်နေသောသမိုင်းအခန်းကဏ္ဍ တစေ့တစောင်း။
- ကျော်မင်း၊ ရိုဟင်ဂျာဘယ်သူလဲ? တဖက်နိုင်ငံမှ ခိုးဝင်လာသည်ဆိုခြင်းပေါ် သုံးသပ်ချက်။
- ထွန်းမြဦး (၂၀၁၂)၊ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်အတွင်း နိုင်ငံခြားသားဘင်္ဂါလီလူမျိုးများ ခိုးဝင်လွှမ်းမိုးမှု အန္တရာယ်မှ တားဆီးကာကွယ်ရေး နှင့်ပတ်သက်၍ တင်ပြချက်။
- ထွေးအုပ် (၂၀၁၂)၊ ပေါက်တောမြို့ နယ်တွင် ရခိုင်လူမျိုးများနှင့် ဘင်္ဂါလီလူမျိုးတို့ ပဋိပက္ခဖြစ်ပွားမှုအပေါ် လုပ်ငန်းဆောင်ရွက်မှု တင်ပြအစီရင်ခံစာ။
- ထွေးအုပ် (၂၀၁၂)၊ တောင်ကုတ်မြို့နယ်ဖြစ်စဉ်နှင့်ဆက်စပ်၍ မြို့နယ်များ၌ ဖြစ်ပေါ်မှုအခြေအနေ။
- ထွေးအုပ် (၂၀၁၂)၊ ရမ်းဗြဲမြို့ နယ်ဒေသအခြေအနေတင်ပြချက်အစီရင်ခံစာ။
- ထွေးအုပ် (၂၀၁၂)၊ မြောက်ဦးမြို့ နယ်အတွင်းအဓိကရုဏ်းဖြစ်ပွားမှုဖြစ်စဉ် အခြေအနေတင်ပြချက်အစီရင်ခံစာ။
- ထွေးအုပ် (၂၀၁၂)၊ ကျောက်ဖြူရခိုင်အတွင်းဖြစ်ပွားခဲ့သောပဋိပက္ခ အခြေအနေတင်ပြချက်။
- ထွေးအုပ် (၂၀၁၂)၊ ရသေ့တောင်မြို့ နယ်အတွင်းလတ်တလောပေါ်ပေါက်ခဲ့သည့် ပဋိပက္ခဖြစ်စဉ်များနှင့်ပတ်သက်၍ တင်ပြခတ်အစီရင်ခံစာ။
- ထွေးအုပ် (၂၀၁၂)၊ တောင်ကုတ်မြို့ နယ်အတွင်း ဖြစ်ပေါ်ခဲ့သည့် ပဋိပက္ခဖြစ်ပွားမှုနှင့် စပ်လျဉ်း၍ စုံစမ်း စစ်ဆေးရေးကော်မရှင်သို့ တင်ပြသည့်အစီရင်ခံစာ။
- ထွေးအုပ် (၂၀၁၂)၊ ကျောက်ဖြူရခိုင်တင်ပြချက်။
- ထွေးအုပ် (၂၀၁၂)၊ မင်းပြားမြို့ နယ်အတွင်းရခိုင်-ဘင်္ဂါလီပဋိပက္ခဖြစ်စဉ်များနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ တင်ပြချက်အစီရင်ခံစာ။
- ပြည်နယ်အစိုးရအဖွဲ့ (၂၀၁၂)၊ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်တွင် ဖြစ်ပွားခဲ့သောဆူပူအကြမ်းဖက်ဖြစ်ပွားမှုများကြောင့်ထိခိုက်ပျက်စီး ဆုံးရှုံးမှုများနှင့် တည်ငြိမ်အေးချမ်းရေး၊ ကယ်ဆယ်ထောက်ပံ့ရေး၊ ပြန်လည်ထူထောင်ရေး လုပ်ငန်းဆောင်ရွက်မှုများအား တင်ပြခြင်း၊ စစ်တွေ။
- ဖိုးလှိုင် (၂၀၁၂) ၊ ပြည်ထောင်စုသမ္မတမြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော် နိုင်ငံတော်သမ္မတကမ္ဘာ့ စည်းတာဝန်ပေးအပ်သော ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ် ပဋိပက္ခစုံစမ်းစစ်ဆေးရေးကော်မရှင်သို့ ပေးပို့ သည့် အကြံပြုစာတမ်း၊ ရန်ကုန်။
- မြင့်သိန်း (၂၀၀၉)၊ ရခိုင်ဒေသအတွင်းသို့ မွတ်ဆလင်များဝင်ရောက်လာခြင်းနှင့် နိုင်ငံရေးလှုပ်ရှားမှုအဆင့် ဆင့်၊ ယဉ်ကျေးမှုဝန်ကြီးဌာန။
- မောင်တောမြို့ မိမြို့ ဖများ(၂၀၁၂) ၊ ဘင်္ဂါလီကုလားလူမျိုးများအကြမ်းဖက်မှုဖြစ်ရပ်မှန်မှတ်တမ်း။
- မြို့မိမြို့ဖ (၂၀၁၂)၊ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်အရေးကိစ္စ စုံစမ်းစစ်ဆေးရေးကော်မရှင်သို့ တင်ပြလွှာ၊ ဘူးသီးတောင်။

မြို့ခံရဟန်းတော်များ (၂၀၁၂)၊ အဖြစ်မှန်နှင့် အမှန်တရားများပေါ်ပေါက်နိုင်ရေးအတွက် အကြံပြုတင်ပြချက်များမြို့စည်းကမ်းထိန်းသိမ်းရေးနှင့် ကူညီစောင့်ရှောက်ရေးရဟန်းတော်များ၊ စစ်တွေ။

မြို့မိမြို့ဖများ (၂၀၁၂)၊ နိုင်ငံတော်သမ္မတကြီးဦးသိန်းစိန်ထံသို့ ထောက်ခံတင်ပြသည့်အကြံပြုစာတမ်း၊ စစ်တွေ။

ရခိုင်မျိုးစောင့်အုပ်စု (၂၀၁၂)၊ ပါလီမန်ဒီမိုကရေစီခေတ် ရခိုင်ပြည်နိုင်ငံရေးနှင့် မျက်မှောက်ခေတ်ဘူးသီးတောင်၊ မောင်တောအခြေအနေ။

ရခိုင်အမျိုးသားအသင်း(၂၀၁၂)၊ လူ့အခွင့်အရေးချို့ "ရိုဟင်ဂျာ"အမည်ခံစစ်တကောင်းအနွယ်ဝင်ဘက် ဂါလီတို့၏နယ်ချဲ့ထွင်ရေးသမိုင်းလိမ်ကို ဝေဖန်ခြင်း၊ ရခိုင်အမျိုးသားအသင်း(ဂျပန်)။

အောင်နိုင်ဦး(၂၀၁၂)၊ မောင်တောမြို့နယ်တည်ငြိမ်အေးချမ်းရေး၊ ကယ်ဆယ်ရေးနှင့် ပြန်လည်ထူထောင်ရေးဆိုင်ရာ ကြီးကြပ်ရေးအဖွဲ့မှ စုံစမ်းစစ်ဆေးရေးကော်မရှင်သို့ တင်ပြချက်။

အေးချမ်း၊ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်ရှိရိုဟင်ဂျာအမည်ခံမွတ်ဆလင်များနေရပ်။

အမျိုးသားပါတီ(၂၀၁၂)၊ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်နိုင်ငံရေးသမိုင်းနှင့် အနာဂတ်မြန်မာပြည်။

အမျိုးဘာသာစာစဉ်၊ အမျိုးပျောက်မှာစိုးကြောက်စရာ။

NDPD (၂၀၁၂)၊ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်အတွင်းမှီတင်းနေထိုင်ကြသောဒေသခံ အစ္စလာမ်ဘာသာဝင်များသည်ဥပဒေကြောင်းအရလည်းကောင်း၊သဘာဝအလျောက် မွေးရာပါ နိုင်ငံသားများဖြစ်၍လည်းကောင်း၊ ပြည်ထောင်စုသမ္မတမြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်၏ တိုင်းရင်းသားနိုင်ငံသားဖြစ်ကြောင်း ပြည်ထောင်စုလွှတ်တော်သို့ တင်ပြသည့်စာတမ်းအမျိုးသားဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတတ်ရေးဒီမိုကရက်တစ်ပါတီ၊ရန်ကုန်။

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Appendix

Quarter/ Village Tract/ Village Population List

Appendix A1

No	District/ Township	No. of Quarter	No. of Urban Household	No. of Village Tract	No. of Village	No. of Rural Household	Total Household	Urban Population			Rural Population			Population of Township		
								Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	Sittwe	32	21472	31	89	17105	38577	66460	71260	137720	74842	74167	149009	141302	145427	286729
2	Ra Thae Taung	4	1448	88	196	29695	31143	3728	4014	7742	82615	85371	167986	86343	89385	175728
3	Pone Nar Kyun	4	1683	92	193	21793	23476	5241	5583	10824	64215	64072	128287	69456	69655	139111
4	Kyuk Taw	5	3548	79	285	35793	39341	15013	20639	35652	110793	105826	216619	125806	126465	252271
5	Myauk Oo	7	5997	94	248	32817	38814	21418	14377	45795	96608	94148	190756	118026	118525	236551
6	Min Byar	3	4220	62	246	30476	34696	12374	13185	25559	90822	90250	181072	103196	103435	206631
7	Pauk Taw	5	6066	53	182	25523	31589	15133	15397	30530	69667	69740	139407	84800	85137	169937
8	Myaebon	9	2718	51	139	23917	26635	7150	7125	14275	57047	58031	115078	64197	65156	129353
	Sittwe District	69	47152	549	1578	217119	264271	146517	161580	308097	646609	641605	1288214	793126	803185	1596311
9	Maung Daw	6	4885	88	371	47693	52578	15890	17272	33170	191326	191226	382552	207224	208498	415722
10	Bu Thee Taung	7	3374	78	385	42811	46185	15068	18248	33316	135941	133596	269537	151009	151844	302853
11	Taung Pyo Let Ware	5	637	10	34	4372	5009	2552	2734	5286	18437	17549	35986	20989	20283	41272
	Maung Daw District	18	8896	176	790	94876	103772	33518	38254	71772	345704	342371	688075	379222	380625	759847
12	Kyauk Phyu	10	4469	54	266	29119	33588	15599	20560	36159	82880	85917	168797	98479	106477	204956
13	Yan Byal	6	2025	51	207	19231	21256	6955	8410	15365	65957	73155	139112	72912	81565	154477
14	Man Aung	5	1098	36	138	13043	14141	7596	9313	16909	41887	45277	87164	49483	54590	104073
15	Ann	4	1680	29	242	21390	23070	4637	4861	9498	57236	57453	114689	61873	62314	124187
	Kyauk Phyu District	25	9272	170	853	82783	92055	34787	43144	77931	247960	261802	509762	282747	304946	587693
16	Than Dwe	8	3824	63	262	22661	26485	10821	11305	22126	67611	69798	137409	78432	81103	159535
17	Taung Gote	4	5186	42	145	18055	23241	12286	13640	25926	43593	45648	89241	55879	59288	115167
18	Ma Ee	3	923	21	104	7455	8378	1758	1948	3706	16398	17021	33419	18156	18969	37125
19	Gwa	4	2296	10	61	9889	12185	4774	5422	10196	20760	20935	41713	25534	26375	51909
20	Kyain Ta Li	3	1210	12	53	4448	5658	4492	4384	8876	11199	11007	22206	15691	15391	31082
	Than Dwe District	22	13439	148	625	62508	75947	34131	36699	70830	159561	164427	323988	193692	201126	394818
	Total	134	78759	1043	3846	457286	536045	248953	279677	528630	1399834	1410205	2810039	1646787	1689882	3338669

Source : Rakhine State Government

Population in Rakhine State by Tribe

Appendix A2

No.	Name of District	Rakhine			Kha mee			Di net			Myo			Thet			Maramar gyi		
		male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total
1	Sittwe	71175	70454	141629	53	58	111	45	41	86	33	40	73	109	114	223	1338	1510	2848
2	Ye thae taung	68768	71646	140414	264	258	522	31	25	56			0	113	139	252			
3	Pone-nar-kyun	61599	62149	123748	5125	4887	10012	461	511	972	1227	1127	2354				119	118	237
4	Kyauk Taw	90148	89626	179774	10	12	22	1144	1166	2310	12408	12913	25321						
5	Myauk Oo	97030	97927	194957	4032	4042	8074	979	914	1893	2410	2440	4850	134	181	315	665	710	1375
6	Min Pyar	72488	74737	147225			0	904	945	1849	3		3				1810	1801	3611
7	Pauk taww	74227	75013	149240	2148	2145	4293			0			0						
8	Myaebon	53317	54489	107806			0			0			0				12	16	28
	Sittwe District	588752	596041	1184793	11632	11402	23034	3564	3602	7166	16081	16520	32601	356	434	790	3944	4155	8099
9	Maung taw	9413	10003	19416	44	50	94	557	523	1080	1849	1727	3576	767	808	1575	45	50	95
10	Bu thee taung	13051	12730	25781	3878	3709	7587	3463	3669	7132	1764	2226	3990	161	139	300	3	3	6
11	Taung Pyo Let ware	211	206	417			0	577	553	1130			0				105	107	212
	Maung taw District	22675	22939	45614	3922	3759	7681	4597	4745	9342	3613	3953	7566	928	947	1875	153	160	313
12	Kyauk Phyu	94607	102238	196845													354	367	721
13	Yan Byal	69371	77597	146968															
14	Man Aung	48955	54070	103025															
15	Amm	42533	43972	86505	68	79	147										354	367	721
	Kyauk Phyu District	255466	277877	533343	68	79	147										7	6	13
16	Than twe	66300	68104	134404				2	4	6									
17	Taung Kote	49939	53715	103654															
18	Ma Ee	17185	17890	35075															
19	Gwa	24132	25143	49275	1	2	3												
20	Kyain Ta Li	14686	14457	29143															
	Than Twe District	172242	179309	351551	1	2	3	2	4	6							7	6	13
	Total	1039135	1076166	2115301	15623	15242	30865	8163	8351	16514	19694	20473	40167	1284	1381	2665	4458	4688	9146

Source: Rakhine State Government

Kamen			Chin			Burma			Kachin			Kayin			Kayar			Mon			Shan		
male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total
2407	2566	4973	265	270	535	4151	4261	8412	43	46	89	50	46	96				43	49	92	44	48	92
			236	258	494	499	389	888				18	15	33							3	1	4
			11	5	16	17	21	38														1	1
			37	25	62	1823	1495	3318															
			1681	1606	3287	567	312	879	5	7	12	17	18	35	1		1				2	1	3
1		1	15910	14155	30065	982	734	1716	12	10	22	24	22	46				4	8	12	11	11	22
						34	33	67															
90	77	167	9034	8735	17769	32	16	48	2		2	1		1									
2498	2643	5141	27174	25054	52228	8105	7261	15366	62	63	125	110	101	211	1		1	47	57	104	60	62	122
1		1	39	27	66	596	539	1135				7	4	11							3		3
			3	4	7	543	402	945															
						158	138	296															
1		1	42	31	73	1297	1079	2376				7	4	11							3		3
417	527	944	416	450	866	60	53	113				7	6	13									
521	618	1139	635	732	1367	34	37	71				4	3	7				3	4	7	8	5	13
			520	509	1029	8	11	19															
			17031	16728	33759	2182	1492	3674	6	2	8	30	22	52				10	6	16	13	13	26
938	1145	2083	18602	18419	37021	2284	1593	3877	6	2	8	41	31	72				13	10	23	21	18	39
234	240	474	3457	3443	6900	1705	2798	4503	25	32	57	120	227	347	3	4	7	40	49	89	39	70	109
			4828	4753	9581	1103	816	1919	1		1	4	3	7				2	1	3	2		2
			934	1024	1958	37	55	92															
1	2	3	203	213	416	1151	992	2143	3	4	7	37	15	52				5	3	8			
			977	903	1880	27	31	58															
235	242	477	10399	10336	20735	4023	4692	8715	29	36	65	161	245	406	3	4	7	47	53	100	41	70	111
3672	4030	7702	56217	53840	110057	15709	14625	30334	97	101	198	319	381	700	4	4	8	107	120	227	125	150	275

Source: Rakhine State Government

Population in Rakhine State by Religious

Appendix A3

No.	Township	Buddhist			Christian			Hindu			Islam			Spirit Believer			Total		
		Male	Femal	Total	Male	Femal	Total	Male	Femal	Total	Male	Femal	Total	Male	Femal	Total	Male	Femal	Total
1	Sittwe	77314	76930	154244	191	182	373	1408	1546	2954	62389	66769	129158				141302	145427	286729
2	Ra Thae Taung	69933	72731	142664				38	42	80	16372	16612	32984				86343	89385	175728
3	ponna gyun	68358	68670	137028	201	150	351	32	29	61	865	806	1671				69456	69655	139111
4	Kyauk taw	103172	102780	205952	2399	2457	4856	203	224	427	20032	21004	41036				125806	126465	252271
5	Myauk Oo	107445	108082	215527	78	78	156	27	28	55	10476	10337	20813				118026	118525	236551
6	Myin Byar	89956	90249	180205	2193	2174	4367	48	42	90	10999	10970	21969				103196	103435	206631
7	Pauk Taw	76402	77181	153583	7	10	17	15	13	28	8376	7933	16309				84800	85137	169937
8	Myaebon	57435	58501	115936	3470	3457	6927				1810	1915	3725	1482	1283	2765	64197	65156	129353
	Sittwe District	650015	655124	1305139	8539	8508	17047	1771	1924	3695	131319	136346	267665	1482	1283	2765	793126	803185	1596311
9	Maung Daw	13274	13700	26974	46	31	77	1820	1826	3636	192084	192941	385025				207224	208498	415722
10	Bu Thee Taung	22863	22878	45741	3	4	7	568	491	1059	127575	128471	256046				151009	151844	302853
11	taung pyo tat wal	1051	1004	2055				21	23	44	19917	19256	39173				20989	20283	41272
	Maung Daw District	37188	37582	74770	49	35	84	2409	2340	4739	470895	340668	811563				379222	380625	759847
12	Kyaut Phyu	95021	102659	197680	423	456	879	97	124	221	2938	3238	6176				98479	106477	204956
13	Yan Byae	70055	78378	148433							2857	3187	6044				72912	81565	154477
14	maun aung	49483	54590	104073													49483	54590	104073
15	Ann	60725	61110	121835	1118	1159	2277							30	45	75	61873	62314	124187
	Kyaut Phyu District	275284	296737	572021	1541	1615	3156	97	124	221	5795	6425	12220	30	45	75	282747	304946	587693
16	Than Dwe	73490	75709	149199	1139	1103	2242	1	4	5	3802	4287	8089				78432	81103	159535
17	Taung got	55544	58919	114463	324	356	680							11	13	24	55879	59288	115167
18	Ma Eai	18120	18926	37046	17	21	38							19	22	41	18156	18969	37125
19	Gua	25308	26157	51465	226	218	444										15534	26375	51909
20	kyautli	14973	14594	29567	718	795	1515										15691	15391	31082
	Than Dwe District	187435	194305	381740	2424	2493	4919	1	4	5	3802	4287	8089	30	35	65	183692	201126	394818
	Total	1149922	1183748	2333670	12553	12653	25206	4278	4392	8670	480492	487726	968218	1542	1363	2905	1648787	1689882	3338669

Republic of the Union of Myanmar

President Office

Notification No. 58/2012

15th Waning of Second Waso, 1374 ME

(17th August, 2012)

Investigation Commission formed

1. There occurred unrests and killings in Rakhine State in May and June 2012, which undermined peace and stability and rule of law. The **Investigation Commission** comprising the following persons is formed so as to expose the real cause of the incident and to give suggestions for national interest.
 - (a) Dr Myo Myint
Director-General (Retd)
Ministry of Religious Affairs Chairman
 - (b) Rev. U Kyaw Nyunt
Judson Church, Yangon member
 - (c) Rev. U Saw Mar Gae Gyi
Secretary
Myanmar Baptist Convention member
 - (d) U Thein Tun
Entrepreneur member
 - (e) U Soe Thein (a) Maung Wun Tha
Writer member
 - (f) U Thura (a) U Zagana
Artist member
 - (g) U Khun Tun Oo
Chairman
Shan Nationalities League for Democracy member

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------|
| (h) | Daw Than Than Nu
Democratic Party (Myanmar) | member |
| (i) | U Khin Maung Swe
Chairman
National Democratic Force | member |
| (j) | Dr Aye Maung
Chairman
Rakhine Nationalities Democratic Party | member |
| (k) | U Aye Tha Aung
Chairman
Rakhine League for Democracy | member |
| (l) | U Ko Ko Gyi
88 Generation Students Group | member |
| (m) | Dr Daw Yin Yin Nwe
UNICEF Senior Officer (Retd) | member |
| (n) | Dr Salai Mu Kyone Lyan
International Law Expert | member |
| (o) | U Tin Aung Moe
Environmentalist | member |
| (p) | U Aung Naing Oo
Executive Committee member
Vahu Development Institute | member |
| (q) | Daw Wah Wah Tun
Chairperson
Myanmar Women Entrepreneurs' Association | member |
| (r) | Daw Ja Nan
Executive Director
Nyein Foundation | member |

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|
| (s) | U Tun Aung Chein
Member
Myanmar National Human Rights Commission | member |
| (t) | Haji U Hla Win
President
Myanmar Muslims National League
(MaAhPha Headquarters) | member |
| (u) | U Kyaw Khin
General Secretary
Myanmar Muslims National League (MaAhPha
Headquarters) | member |
| (v) | Haji U Myint Tun
President
Myanmar Muslims Youth's Religious Organization
(MaMaLa headquarters) | member |
| (w) | U Hla Win
Secretary
Myanmar Muslims Youth's Religious Organization
(MaMaLa headquarters) | member |
| (x) | Dr Hla Tun
Secretary
Thanantara Dhammapalaka (Hindu) Association | member |
| (y) | Dr Kyaw Yin Hlaing
Myanmar Egress | secretary |

2. The Investigation Commission is to investigate the following matters so as to expose the incident and present suggestions along with reviews.

- (a) the causes of the conflict that undermines peace and stability
- (b) casualties, property losses and other damages due to the conflict
- (c) measures taken for restoring peace and stability
- (d) rescue and rehabilitation tasks
- (e) Short- and long-term measures to be taken for ending the conflict
- (f) finding out the ways for peaceful coexistence between different creeds and ethnic groups
- (g) suggestions for law enforcement
- (h) suggestions for economic and social development

3. President Office and Rakhine State Government are to make arrangements for security and administrative affairs while the Investigation Board is on duty.

4. While making investigations into the incident, the Investigation Commission has the rights to probe into the incident in accord with Code of Criminal Procedures and Evidence Act as well as to summon the witnesses, see documents and have access to the necessary places. The investigation report is to be submitted directly to the President by 16 November, 2012.

Sd/Thein Sein

President

Republic of the Union of Myanmar

Damage and loss during the Sectorian Violence in Rakhine State

Appendix C

District	First Event									Second Event								
	Dead			Injured			Home Destroyed			Dead			Injured			Home Destroyed		
	Rakhine	Bengali	Total	Rakhine	Bengali	Total	Rakhine	Bengali	Total	Rakhine	Bengali	Total	Rakhine	Bengali	Total	Rakhine	Bengali	Total
Sittwe	11	24	35	35	25	60	669	2967	3636									
Maung Taw	10	10	20	7		7	460	14	474									
Yen Byal		1	1		1	1		35	35	1		1	1		1			
Pauk Taww		3	3	6	12	18	21	103	124				1		1		503	503
Ra Thae Taung	10	4	14	3	26	29		367	367	2		2	12		12			
Kyauk Taw	1	14	15		7	7		687	687	8	5	13	13	6	19			
Myauk Oo								15	15	11	52	63	26	7	33		579	579
Kyauk Phyu										2	9	11	24	18	42		863	863
Taung Gote		10	10															
Min Byar					1	1				2	2	4	2	14	16		657	657
Myaebon													18	0	18	42	632	674
Total	32	66	98	51	72	123	1150	4188	5338	26	68	94	97	45	142	42	3234	3276

Source : Rakhine State Government

Summary of Recommendations in the Report of Inquiry Commission to the Government of Myanmar

Sr.	Section	Task	Implementation Department	Responsible Committee	Remark
1	Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) Situation Temporary Shelters before the Monsoon Season.	A. While the Rakhine IDPs are adequately resettled, there have been difficulties in resettling the Bengali IDPs. The Rakhines have called for resettlement of Bengali IDPs only after verification of their citizenship. However, it is becoming extremely urgent to provide the Bengali IDPs with access to safe and secure temporary shelters prior to the monsoon season.	Ministry of Border Affairs Rakhine State Government International Organizations	The Working Committee for Temporary Resettlement and Reconstruction in the State The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations	
	Resettlement	B. There is a pressing need to address overcrowding in camps, provide access to clean water and sanitation, and take necessary precautions against other risks – such as outbreaks of disease – that can arise during the monsoon season at the Bengali IDP camps.	Ministry of Border Affairs Rakhine State Government International Organizations	The Working Committee for Temporary Resettlement and Reconstruction in the State	
	Reopening of Schools.	C. Schools should be reopened and access to education provided for students living in Bengali IDP camps.	Ministry of Border Affairs Rakhine State Government International Organizations	The Social and Economic Development Working Committee	

	Food Security and Malnutrition.	D. A concerted effort is needed to plan and prepare for longer-term food security, meet immediate food shortages, and address malnutrition.	Ministry of Border Affairs Rakhine State Government International Organizations	The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations The Social and Economic Development Working Committee	
	Livelihoods.	E. The Government shoulders the responsibility to meet the basic needs of the IDP populations until their livelihoods are restored. It is vital, therefore, to consider all possible means to revitalize the livelihoods of the IDP populations.	Ministry of Border Affairs Rakhine State Government International Organizations	The Social and Economic Development Working Committee The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
	Permanent Settlement.	F. The Government should plan and prepare strategies to settle the IDPs permanently when law and order is restored in the state.	Ministry of Border Affairs Rakhine State Government International Organizations	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
2	Social Kaman Ethnic Group Issue.	A. Currently, there is a disconnect in the communication channels between the Rakhine and Bengali populations. Certain Rakhine leaders – relying on the inflamed tensions and a renewed sense of prejudice – have urged, and	Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Temporary Resettlement and Reconstruction in the State The Security and Law Enforcement Working	

		<p>even taken steps to prevent, the Rakhine public from conducting social and economic interactions with the Bengali population. As a result of this “social and economic blockade”, members of the Kaman ethnic group, who have traditionally worked in the education and communication sectors of the civil service, are also trapped in the IDP camps. The Government should take immediate action to meet the Kaman ethnic group’s demand to restore their freedom of movement.</p>		Committee	
	Population Growth.	<p>B. One factor that has fuelled tensions between the Rakhine public and Bengali populations relates to the sense of insecurity among many Rakhines stemming from the rapid population growth of the Bengali population, which they view as a serious threat. If, as proposed, family-planning education is provided to the Bengali population, the Government should refrain from implementing non-voluntary measures which may be seen as discriminatory or that would be inconsistent with human rights standards.</p>	<p>Ministry of Immigration Rakhine State Government Na Sa Ka (Border Immigration Head Quarter)</p>	<p>The Immigration and Citizenship Review Committee The Social and Economic Development Working Committee</p>	
	Social Integration.	<p>C. When reviewing the cases of Bengalis who are eligible to become citizens, the Government should screen for their ability to fully integrate into society by testing their knowledge of the country, local customs, and language. At the same time, the Government should make available educational resources</p>	<p>Ministry of Immigration Ministry of Home Affairs Rakhine State Government</p>	<p>The Immigration and Citizenship Review Committee The Social and Economic Development Working Committee</p>	

		that will provide information about the country's culture, traditional dress and practices, and social norms to those wanting to become citizens.			
	Formation of Truth-Finding Committee.	D. On a broader level, the Government should form a Truth-Finding Committee to determine the root causes of sectarian violence between the Buddhist and Islamic communities. One of the Committee's priorities should be to find ways to prevent as well as overcome future conflict, and if necessary, delegations from this Committee should be sent to interested countries to discuss their findings.	President Office	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law	
3	Citizenship	A. The Government should immediately address the citizenship claims of the Bengalis. They will be able to live and coexist with the other citizens only when they themselves become citizens. Likewise, they will take more interest in the recent developments in the country and live as responsible citizens only when they become citizens and can enjoy the rights and responsibilities of other citizens.	Ministry of Immigration Ministry of Home Affairs Rakhine State Government	The Immigration and Citizenship Review Committee	
		B. The Government should address the citizenship claims of the Bengalis in a transparent and accountable manner. In dealing with stateless individuals, the Government should do so in accordance with existing laws and international norms. The government should arrange citizenship ceremonies to commemorate those who become new citizens.	Ministry of Immigration Ministry of Home Affairs Rakhine State Government	The Immigration and Citizenship Review Committee	

4	Economy	<p>A. The majority of the people living in Rakhine State rely on resource-based economic activity such as agriculture and fisheries for their livelihoods, primarily due to their lack of economic opportunities and low individual productivity. There are ways to improve their earning power and benefit the state, for example with regards to agricultural development in northern Rakhine State, there is a need to distribute and grow high-grade paddy as well as high-yield paddy.</p>	<p>Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation</p> <p>Rakhine State Government</p>	<p>The Social and Economic Development Working Committee</p>	
		<p>B. The Government will have to meet the basic needs of non-citizens if they are denied livelihoods. If there is no improvement in their situation, poverty and discontent will lead to further unrest. The responsible administrative authorities and civil society groups should work together to: rebuild homes and revitalize communities; provide access to water and electricity; improve communication; promote economic activity and cooperation between diverse groups; and encourage good economic practices. In the strategic port area of Kyaukphyu, there is a danger of fostering local resentment or misunderstanding against the Government if the township is unable to utilize at least a portion of the natural gas from Kyaukphyu offshore development to supply electricity to the Kyaukphyu area.</p>	<p>Ministry of Energy</p> <p>Ministry of Electricity</p> <p>Ministry of Border Affairs</p> <p>Rakhine State Government</p>	<p>The Social and Economic Development Working Committee</p> <p>The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans</p> <p>The Working Committee for Temporary Resettlement and Reconstruction in the State</p>	

		C. Hotel and tourism industry development should be promoted in Rakhine State, because it is steeped in colourful history and is well-endowed with fine beaches and natural beauty. Other areas of economic development may include: boat building shipyards; energy sector; fisheries and cold storage facilities; Cutting, Making and Packing (CMP) activities; shrimp farming; hotel and tourism; and recreational parks.	Related Ministries Rakhine State Government	The Social and Economic Development Working Committee The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
		D. The Government should also consider ways to provide access to low-interest loans that could have a big impact on local social and economic activity.	Related Ministries Rakhine State Government	The Social and Economic Development Working Committee	
5	Health	A. There is an urgent need for access to clean water and sanitation in the IDP camps.	Ministry of Health Rakhine State Government INGOs and NGOs	The Working Committee for Temporary Resettlement and Reconstruction in the State The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations	
		B. While those living in Rakhine State are unlikely to suffer from hunger and starvation, inadequate nutritional resources may lead to cases of malnutrition among young children.	Ministry of Health Rakhine State Government INGOs and NGOs	The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations	
		C. The government must make a priority of providing screening and treatment for post-traumatic stress and other mental health conditions experienced by the IDPs.	Ministry of Health Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations	

			INGOs and NGOs	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law	
6	Education	A. While the majority of the schools closed amid sectarian violence last year have been reopened for the Rakhine IDPs, the schools for the children living in Bengali IDP camps remained closed for the 2012-2013 school year. The government should plan to reopen these schools prior to the 2013-2014 school year.	Ministry of Education Rakhine State Government INGOs and NGOs	The Social and Economic Development Working Committee The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations	
		B. The schools with a mixed population of Rakhine and Bengali students have seen a sharp fall in attendance due to security concerns. It is critical to establish and maintain security at these schools.	Ministry of Education Rakhine State Government INGOs and NGOs	The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee	
		C. The teachers who are assigned to schools in the Bengali villages and the areas where the Rakhine and Bengali populations are in close proximity to each other are fearful to return to these schools. Therefore, it is critical to staff these schools with local teachers.	Ministry of Education Rakhine State Government INGOs and NGOs	The Social and Economic Development Working Committee	
		D. The Government should immediately review the curricula of all religious schools and remove any inflammatory texts and teachings to better promote a sense of national pride and mutual understanding between communities. It is of critical importance to teach citizenship and provide civic education to all children throughout Rakhine State.	Ministry of Education Ministry of Religion Rakhine State Government	The Social and Economic Development Working Committee The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	

		E. The Government should promote literacy programs (i.e. 3R programs) for the Bengali population to learn how to read, write and speak the Myanmar language.	Ministry of Education Rakhine State Government	The Social and Economic Development Working Committee The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations	
		F. The Government should develop strategies and guarantees to establish and maintain security at schools with a mixed population of Rakhine and Bengali students as well as address the security concerns of teachers at schools in isolated areas.	Ministry of Education Rakhine State Government INGOs	The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law The Social and Economic Development Working Committee	
		G. In order for communities to coexist peacefully, it is important to transcend past racial prejudices and hatred through special education programs aimed at changing the mindset and promoting mutual understanding. The Government should develop plans to establish an FM Radio Station to broadcast these educational programs in the local languages as well as consider the future establishment of a TV Channel with similar aims.	Ministry of Education Rakhine State Government	The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans The Social and Economic Development Working Committee	
7	Religion	A. Moderate Muslim leaders from Yangon and Mandalay should be encouraged to lead the reform efforts in the Islamic religious schools in Rakhine State,	Ministry of Religion Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	

		especially in place of more extremist elements.			
		B. The Government should facilitate and organize interfaith dialogue meetings between representatives of all religions to promote mutual understanding and foster respect between Buddhist and Muslim communities.	Ministry of Religion Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
		C. The Government should engage with and regulate religious schools that teach extremism and incite violence. To better promote mutual understanding, the Government should form a governing body comprised of religious educators, including the Mullahs, or religious leaders, to develop and teach a tolerant curricula at these religious schools.	Ministry of Religion Rakhine State Government	The Social and Economic Development Working Committee The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
		D. The Government should conduct a review and inspection of all religious institutions within the Rakhine State, including Buddhist monasteries, Islamic mosques, Christian churches, Hindu temples, and individuals whose livelihoods depend on advancing religious beliefs. The Ministry of Religious Affairs should issue necessary permits only after determining that these institutions and individuals are operating within the legal framework to carry out their intended purpose.	Ministry of Religion Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law	
8	INGO and LNGO Interaction	A. The Government, before cooperating with any international institutions or organizations on the Rakhine issue, should first ascertain the	Cabinet	The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International	

		appropriateness of the proposed interaction in the local and national contexts, as well as take into consideration the attitudes, viewpoints and opinions of the general public.		Organizations	
		B. The Government, the donor organizations, and the local experts and leaders should discuss and work together to revitalize the communities affected by the conflict. It is important for all parties involved to share the necessary information to ensure that the revitalization and humanitarian assistance programs are carried out in a transparent and accountable manner.	Union Government Rakhine State Government INGOs, NGOs and CBOs	The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
		C. The National Government should lead a concerted effort of local government, NGOs, community-based organizations, and other stakeholders in providing assistance to and revitalizing Rakhine State. Working together will help build mutual trust and understanding, aid in the development of strategies and programs that meet international standards, and strengthen cooperation between various entities during the implementation phase.	Union Government Rakhine State Government INGOs, NGOs and CBOs	The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
9	Security and Administration	A. The Government should learn from other conflicts and establish a Conflict Management Center that has the authority to gather accurate data on the root causes of the conflict, develop appropriate courses of action to tackle the conflict, and prepare strategies to revitalize the conflict areas.	Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
		B. To diffuse future crises before they	Union Government	The Working Committee for	

		<p>occur, the Government should establish an Early Warning System to obtain timely and accurate information, monitor the situation on the ground, and carry out necessary precautionary measures. Since there is still a risk of continuing conflict in the Rakhine State, the Government should maintain the current levels of security personnel. There is also a need to strengthen cooperation among various entities within the security apparatus. In addition, the Government should establish a Special Intelligence Team composed of both the military and civilian law enforcement personnel to safeguard against potential extremist action.</p>		<p>Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans</p> <p>The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law</p> <p>The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee</p> <p>The Working Committee for Temporary Resettlement and Reconstruction in the State</p>	
		<p>C. The Government should facilitate and organize community dialogues that bring together leaders and representatives from Rakhine and Bengali populations to determine the conditions under which the two communities can coexist peacefully. The Government's role in this should be limited to supportive and facilitative functions. The Government should also establish a Task Force composed of moderate leaders from both communities for this initiative.</p>	President Office	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
		<p>D. The Government and local civil society organizations should take the lead in organizing the community dialogues. International organizations wanting to facilitate these meetings must appear</p>	President Office	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	

		impartial and be acceptable to both communities or else they risk antagonizing one or both communities.			
		E. The current conditions in Rakhine State call for a temporary separation of Rakhine and Bengali communities. While keeping the two communities apart is not a long-term solution, it must be enforced at least until the overt emotions subside. Those who break the law during this period must be prosecuted in accordance with the law.		The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee The Working Committee for Temporary Resettlement and Reconstruction in the State	
		F. Rakhine State shares a land and maritime border with Bangladesh, which is densely populated. Its possesses a coastline that stretches along the Bay of Bengal and serves as a gateway to the Indian Ocean, making its geographic location important both for trade and national security. The Government should strengthen its navy and establish a Maritime Police Force to safeguard its coastline and protect its territorial waters. The combined security forces should be placed under the supervision of a commander. The Government should also formulate a national security strategy on the basis of holistic and preventative approaches and paradigms.	Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law The Immigration and Citizenship Review Committee The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
		G. As Bangladesh will hold elections this December, it is advisable to monitor the developments in that country as well as	President Office Union Government	The Security and Law Enforcement Working	

		<p>the conditions near the Myanmar border. In December 2012, soldiers from the army corps of engineers were ambushed and killed by militant elements operating out of Bangladesh while constructing a fence along the border. The Commission has also received reports of other disturbing activity along the border. The Government should take necessary precautionary measures by strengthening emergency security plans and increasing the security personnel along the border.</p>		<p>Committee</p> <p>The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans</p>	
		<p>H. Under the current conditions, the Border Security Force (Na-Sa-Ka) should continue to perform administrative duties along the border areas. However, the Border Security Force should focus its energies on restoring law and order in these areas and refrain from infringing on the rights of the general public under existing laws. Even when interacting with those who break the law, the Border Security Force personnel should follow due process and act within the legal framework. The Border Security Force personnel must avoid unlawful acts and act in their professional capacity. If any Border Security Force personnel act extrajudicially they should also be prosecuted in accordance with the law.</p>	<p>President Office</p> <p>Union Government</p>	<p>The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law</p> <p>The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee</p>	
		<p>I. The Government should establish a professional riot control force to restore law and order in times of conflict. The</p>	<p>President Office</p> <p>Union Government</p>	<p>The Security and Law Enforcement Working</p>	

		riot control force should be well prepared, equipped, and trained in physical, psychological, and technical aspects of conflict resolution. It should be given authority to act as soon as a conflict occurs. The complex and sensitive nature of the conflict in Rakhine State necessitates conflict sensitivity training for the security personnel tasked with restoring law and order. It is equally important to provide conflict sensitivity training to military, or Tatmadaw, units that may be deployed in conflict areas.		Committee	
		J. The Government should double the strength of the Tatmadaw, the police force, intelligence personnel, and Border Security Force (Na-Sa-Ka) personnel assigned to Rakhine State to control and prevent further violence in Rakhine State. The security and emergency response personnel must carry out their duties lawfully and those who break the law must be held accountable under existing laws.	President Office Union Government	The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee	
		K. According to Sittwe residents, there has been very little presence and participation on the part of the Union Level Ministries in responding to the conflict in Rakhine State. Specifically, there is a need for the ministries of Relief and Social Welfare, Home Affairs, and Border Affairs to play expanded roles in responding to the crisis. The need for the union-level involvement is even more pronounced	Union Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	

		when taking into consideration the limitations of the Rakhine State Government to act effectively.			
		L. The Government may face accusations of prejudice and unfairness if the administrative and security personnel tasked with management and rule of law implementation are mainly of Rakhine ethnic origin. The government should strive towards a diverse staff in the administrative and security sectors in the Rakhine State.	President Office Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee	
		M. A major factor contributing to the difficulty in establishing rule of law and restoring order in Rakhine State is the chronic understaffing at the departments of general administration, immigration, corrections, and the judiciary, making them ineffective as a result. Specifically, the difficulties in restoring law and order in Maungdaw, a flashpoint for inter-communal tensions, can be attributed to the instigators outnumbering the security personnel. In particular, the departments of immigration, general administration, and religious affairs must be restructured and strengthened so that they can carry out their duties effectively at the grass-root level.	Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee	
		N. The natural geography and relatively poor infrastructure of Rakhine State makes quick responses a challenge. The Government should make transportation infrastructure a priority and construct roads and bridges to	Union Government Ministry of Construction Ministry of Border Affairs	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans The Social and Economic Development Working	

		provide easy access to remote areas.	Rakhine State Government	Committee	
		O. The officials who are responsible for preventing violence and restoring law and order should be entrusted also with the authority to take legal and security measures that they deem necessary. The government should also provide such officials with all the assistance and support they need.	Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee	
		P. The Border Security Force (Na-Sa-Ka) is made up of four different governmental agencies and is placed under the command of the Tatmadaw. The government should review and reform the structure and function of the Border Security Force to create an environment in which all participating agencies can work well together. Although some people in local areas noted that the performance of the Border Security Force has improved to some extent in the wake of violence, the coordination and cooperation among the participating agencies remains weak. Given the emergency situation in Rakhine State, all security forces except the armed forces should answer to the Chief Minister of the state. In order to restore law and order effectively, all security forces must work closely with the officials responsible for civil administration. Up to now, it has been found that security forces take orders only from the relevant line ministries of the union-level government and do not	President Office Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	

		follow the instructions and requests from the state government until they receive authorization from their ministerial superiors. There is a need for a mechanism that will require all security forces to work closely with the State government in undertaking needed action.			
		Q. Coordination and cooperation with the Bangladesh Government is essential to tackle migration problems originating from Bangladesh. Likewise, border conflicts will require the involvement of the Bangladesh Government. In this respect, there is a need for improved bilateral communications between the Myanmar Government and the Bangladesh Government.	President Office Rakhine State Government	The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law The Immigration and Citizenship Review Committee	
10	Rule of Law	A. Citizens and non-citizens who reside in Rakhine State have little awareness and knowledge of the Constitution, existing laws, administrative rules and regulations, and ordinances. It is vital for all inhabitants to be informed of the laws so that they can enjoy protection under these laws. It is also important to organize regular legal capacity building seminars and initiatives – possibly during each summer break - with the help and cooperation of the Rakhine State governmental agencies, students	Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	

		from Sittwe University, the Myanmar Bar Council, and law students from Yangon University.			
		B. The Government should make it illegal for any political organization or individual to exploit the sectarian divide in Rakhine State for their own benefit or to inflame tensions.	Union Government Rakine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law	
		C. In line with rule of law promotion efforts, when prosecuting those who break the law, the Courts should guarantee their due process rights; not distinguish them based on their race, religion or ethnicity; and treat them equally before the law. In addition, laws and regulations related to public safety and restoration of order should be circulated widely to the general public in Rakhine State.	Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law	
		D. The Government must take firm action against any group or individual inciting or instigating conflict or violence on the basis of race, religion, language, or culture. The existing criminal laws must be applied and enforced effectively to not only punish those who break these laws, but to serve their deterrent purpose. Also, new legislation concerning such issues should also be promulgated from time to time as the need arises.	Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law	
11	Peaceful Coexistence	A. While the citizenship status of some of the Bengalis living in the Rakhine State remains unclear, regardless, the Government and civil society	Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee	

		organizations must protect their human rights and ensure that their security and basic needs are met. Government entities should also acknowledge the basic human rights of undocumented and illegal immigrants and deal with them in a transparent manner under existing laws.		The Immigration and Citizenship Review Committee The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law	
		B. The Government must enable Bengalis who have become Myanmar citizens the opportunity to enjoy all rights associated with citizenship. The Government has the authority to infringe on the rights of all citizens in times of emergency and for national security, but it must do so lawfully. If the Government can fully safeguard the rights of individuals even in times of crisis, it would avoid many unwanted criticisms.	Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee	
		C. The Government must safeguard the security and human rights of all people when responding to sectarian violence in Rakhine State. The Government under law may restrict the rights of certain individuals or groups when their actions affect national security concerns. However, the Government must first ascertain that the threat to national security exists, and must recognize that it bears the burden to demonstrate that these unlawful actions amount to national security threats.	President Office Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee	
		D. It is critical to strengthen existing judicial and other dispute-resolution mechanisms within Rakhine State so	President Office Union Government	The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law	

		they can serve their intended purpose of solving problems within the law.. The Rakhine and Bengali populations will turn to these institutions to solve their disputes only when such institutions are properly functioning.	Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans
		E. One issue that has undermined peaceful coexistence between Rakhine and other groups in Rakhine State is the concern expressed by many members of the Rakhine public about recent rapid growth of the Bengali population. . This has fuelled insecurity among some Rakhines. On top of the widely-held belief that all Bengalis are illegal immigrants, such sentiments have driven the feeling among Rakhine groups that they must act to prevent the Bengali population taking over RakhineState . According to many Rakhines, the implementation of family planning programs amongst Bengali communities would go some way to mitigating such concerns and would support the goal of peaceful coexistence. While family planning education should be provided to the Bengali population, the Government and other civil society organizations should refrain from implementing mandatory measures which could seem unfair and abusive. In addition, any mandatory measures could be used by some elements of the Bengali population to stir up instability within the Rakhine State. Moreover, past efforts to	President Office Union Government Rakhine State Government INGOs and NGOs	The Working Committee for Coordination and Cooperation with UN Agencies and International Organizations The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans The Social and Economic Development Working Committee

		<p>outlaw the practice of polygamy among Bengali men have had little impact. Until the current Government came to power in early 2011, Bengali residents did not have the right to marry without local administrative approval. Not only did this requirement provide a loophole for corruption, it had little practical impact. The majority of the Bengali population marry in secret without the necessary administrative approval and children born under these circumstances remain unregistered. Currently, the number of unregistered children is estimated at 60,000 and this number can have significant consequences in determining population growth and density. The Government should take lessons from Pakistan and other Islamic countries that have implemented educational and legal measures in this regard.</p>			
12	Media	<p>A. The communal violence in Rakhine State has drawn both national and international media attention. Government authorities must be vigilant and avoid exacerbating the situation either by words or action when briefing the media or interacting with international organizations. For example, Government authorities should not readily discount the presence of illegal immigrants in Rakhine State, since such statements could provoke further insecurity among the Rakhine population. Instead, the Government should make clear its</p>	<p>President Office Union Government Rakhine State Government</p>	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	

		intention to take decisive action against all illegal immigrants and corrupt civil servants under existing laws.			
		B. It is impossible to ban or censor material related to communal conflict in Rakhine State on the internet. Therefore, the Government should regularly release factual and timely information concerning events in Rakhine State. Inability to do so will allow instigators on both sides to spread rumors, thereby worsening the situation. Recent events indicate that the delay in releasing an official account of the situation created an opportunity for instigators on both sides to propagate rumors that fuelled further violence.	President Office Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	
		C. The communal violence in Rakhine State is monitored both locally and by the international community. Some countries, such as those in ASEAN, are attempting to internationalize the issue. It is insufficient for the Myanmar Government to claim this is a domestic problem; the Government needs to demonstrate it is capable of resolving the problem internally, and publicize its actions through regular news updates. Even the diplomatic community in Yangon wrongly blames the Government based on information obtained from the internet and other social media outlets. In situations such as this, attempts to control such media outlets will only worsen the situation. Instead, the Government should release	President Office Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans	

		accurate, factual accounts as well as ensure greater openness and transparency, except when doing so affects national security. Briefing the media and issuing news bulletins on a regular basis would help greatly in combating misinformation and rumors.			
		D. One of the main reasons why the conflict escalated in June, August and September is because the Government did not have sufficient information on <i>Taing-Yin-Tha</i> nationalist associations and their activities in order to take precautionary measures. Consequently, the Government needs to put in place mechanisms for obtaining timely and accurate information on politically active groups so that preventive measures can be implemented.	President Office Union Government Rakhine State Government	The Working Committee for Drawing Long-Term Strategic Plans The Working Committee for Restoration of Stability, Peace and Rule of Law The Security and Law Enforcement Working Committee	

President U Thein Sein's Remark on the Report of the Rakhine Investigation Commission

The recent reforms carried out by the Government in the interests of the country and its society center on three parallel processes: a peace process that strives to end all ethnic conflicts that are ongoing since the independence and achieve lasting peace; the transformation from military rule to democratic administration; and the replacement of the centralized economic system with a market-oriented economy.

If the entire country works hard to successfully implement these reforms, I am convinced—even in the face of many challenges and difficulties—that we will be able to create an open society where all citizens can enjoy equal opportunities to pursue their dreams. Whatever our prospects for a bright future may be, we are still at a sensitive stage in the reform process where there is little room for error; as such, senseless, irrational, reactionary and extremist behavior and action by some of our citizens may lead to the failure of the reform process itself. I would like to seriously caution you that we, as citizens, must refrain from doing anything that will jeopardize the reforms.

The Rakhine Investigation Commission was established in mid-2012 with the intention to systematically uncover the root causes of communal violence in the Rakhine State. The Commission has released its report to the public on April 29, 2013. The Commission's report has analyzed the issues surrounding communal violence in the Rakhine State from various perspectives. The report is comprehensive, pragmatic and forward-looking. I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the dedication and contribution of the Commission members in this effort.

My administration will resolve the on-going problems in the Rakhine State in a systematic and pragmatic manner. It will also undertake all necessary measures to create a harmonious society where all communities can live together peacefully.

In doing so, we must heed lessons from our own history, liberate ourselves from the shackles of past memories and historical mistrust, and look ahead to finding lasting solutions.

Because of our previous inability to institute proper democratic practices and establish an open society, our country has witnessed many armed conflicts, hardships, distrust between various ethnic groups, economic backwardness and underdevelopment.

We are undertaking democratic reforms to remedy these problems. In this democratization process, we must make sure that all citizens are able to enjoy freedom of religion and freedom of speech. In order for religious freedom to prevail, there must be tolerance and mutual respect among the members of different faiths. Only when there is tolerance and mutual respect, will it be possible for members of different faiths to coexist with each other peacefully. The government, for its part, will respect and protect the right of all citizens to worship any religion freely.

I also want to comment on the right to free speech, which we all consider to be the essence of democracy. However, there are some people who abuse this right to free speech with speech intended to provoke, cause fear and spread hatred, thereby exacerbating the conflict between different religious communities. In this regard, we must be mindful that the abuse of certain rights could jeopardize the enjoyment of many other rights.

In our country, Buddhist temples and pagodas, Christian churches, Islamic mosques and Hindu temples exist side by side with each other. There had also been social harmony between members of different ethnic groups throughout history.

The failure to pay sufficient attention to the real and perceived root causes of the conflict—ranging from the explosive birth rate, the long shared border between Myanmar and Bangladesh, negative colonial legacy, the economic backwardness in both the Rakhine and Bengali communities—and mis-portrayal of the conflict in Rakhine State as religious violence between Rakhine and Bengali have made it more difficult to resolve the problems we are facing. Concomitantly, we can also see the negative effect of the mis-portrayal of communal violence as religious conflict in the outbreak of violence in places like Meiktila and Oakkan.

If we look at the main recommendations put forward by the Rakhine Investigation Commission, the actions that should be taken immediately are the restoration law and order and the enforcement of rule of law. I, as the president of the country, will

do everything in my power to make sure that all security apparatus will cooperate and coordinate with each other to effectively perform the law enforcement duty entrusted to them. I have instructed all security forces to perform the duties entrusted to them without any bias and in accordance with law and public servant code of conduct. Anyone who breaks the law and carries out violence will be prosecuted in accordance with the law in a transparent and accountable manner.

We are also undertaking relief activities to help people who lost their homes and other property during the violence. We will also do everything in our power to provide secure temporary shelters for the internally displaced persons before the rainy season, to remedy malnutrition among children, to help those traumatized by violence, to prevent epidemics, and to create job opportunities for the people of Rakhine State. We will also swiftly undertake economic development programs in the state.

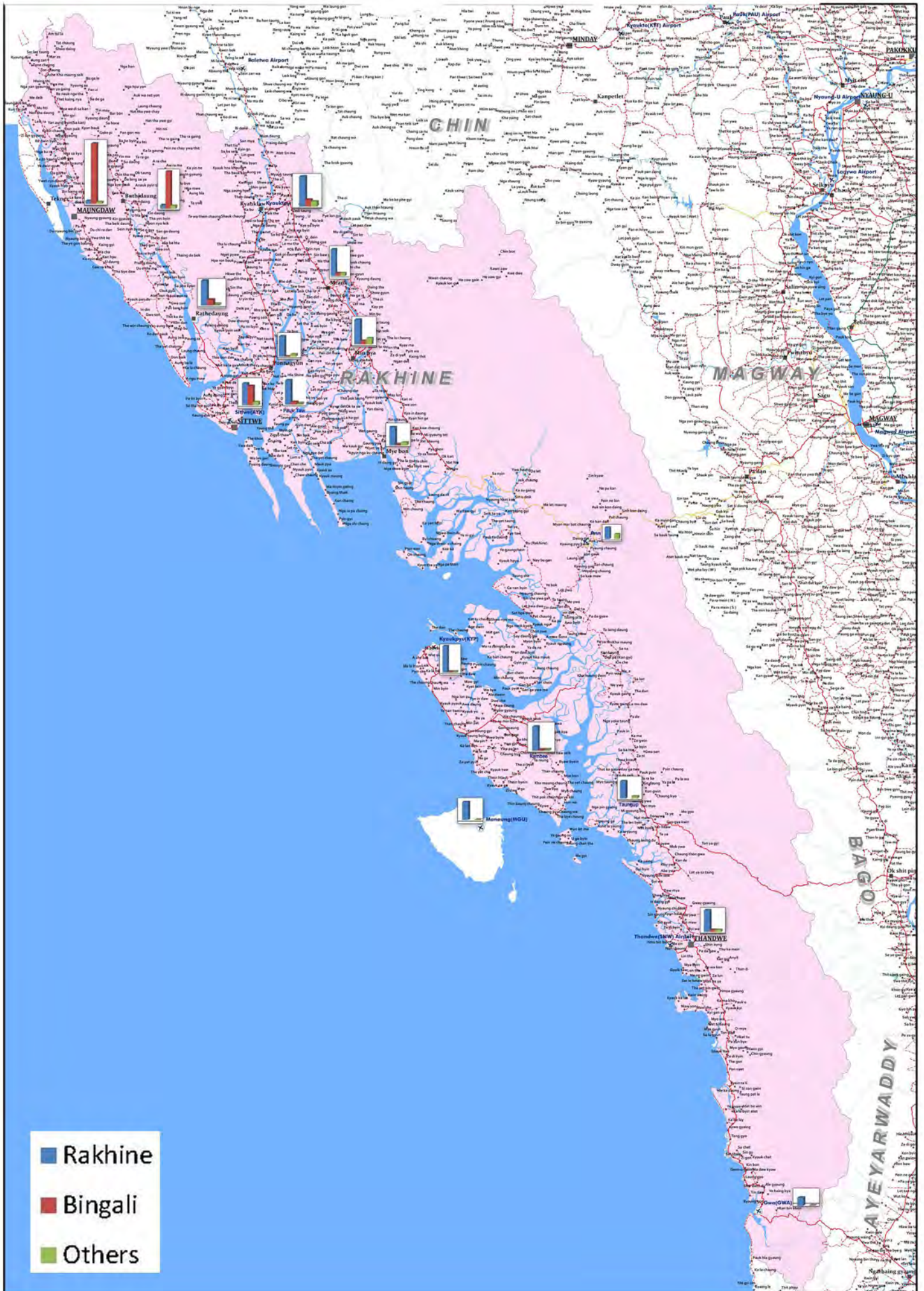
In so doing, we will also be seeking assistance from our international partners. The government will also provide the international aid agencies and international organizations that are engaging in relief activities with the necessary assistance. Here I also want to note that some of the activities undertaken by international relief agencies have worsened the situation in the conflict-affected areas in Rakhine State. I therefore would like to urge all relief agencies to take into account the local limitations when planning their activities and to try to win the trust and support of both communities. Furthermore, in line with the recommendations of the Rakhine Investigation Commission, the Government will also take all necessary security measures to deter illegal immigration. In addition, the Government will deal with the citizenship-related issues by adopting short-, medium- and long-term strategies.

The Government will also adopt and implement short-, medium- and long-term plans to create a harmonious society and achieve economic development in Rakhine State. In so doing, the Government will adopt the recommendations of the Rakhine Investigation Commission as the basis for these plans. However, the Government will also continue to welcome suggestions from civil society and other community groups.

In order to end conflict and implement reconstruction activities swiftly, the Government has established a Central Committee for Implementation of Stability and Development in Rakhine State (CCISD) on March 23, 2013. In order to implement the policies adopted by the CCISD, the recommendations of the Rakhine Investigation Commission and other necessary actions, the Government has also established seven sub-committees on rule of law, security and law enforcement, immigration and review of citizenship, temporary resettlement and reconstruction, social and economic development and strategic planning on March 29, 2013. I also want to inform you that the Government will provide genuine and decisive leadership in resolving the conflict in Rakhine State in ways that will ensure national security, promote rule of law and protect human rights.

One of the lessons one can take away from the report of the Rakhine Investigation Commission is that the defective policies adopted by previous governments have led to human rights violations within our society. Therefore, in resolving all the problems we are facing now, it is time for us to stop casting blame on each other and adopt pragmatic approaches that will help us create a peaceful and harmonious society in Rakhine State.

I would like to conclude by saying that the Government will take all necessary action to ensure the basic human rights of Bengalis in the Rakhine State and to accommodate the needs and expectations of the Rakhine people.



Office Staff of Inquiry Commission on Sectarian Violence in Rakhine State

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|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. U Thang Cin Thawng | Head of Office |
| 2. U Aung Htun | Deputy Head of Office |
| 3. U Zin Maung Lin | Research Assistance |
| 4. U Htet Paing Oo | Research Assistance |
| 5. U Kyaw Min Lwin | Research Assistance |
| 6. Daw Ye Myat Aung | Research Assistance |