

The Mujahid Insurrection in Rakhine Division (1948-1958)

Mon Thiri Soe*

Abstract

Soon after Myanmar gained its independence in 1948, the Mujahid Insurrection broke out in Rakhine Division which was based on the political, social and economic conditions and demographic background of the Northern Rakhine Division. Based on the available sources, this article attempts to examine the situations in Northern Rakhine District before the Mujahid insurrection and how this insurrection originated and how it was suppressed by the Myanmar Armed Forces.

Keywords: Northern Rakhine Division, the Mujahid insurrections

Introduction

Sittwe District situated in the Northern Rakhine Division is separated from Myanmar Proper by the hills of the Rakhine Yoma Mountain, and west of this range a series of rivers, running roughly from north to south and divided from one another by parallel ranges of higher ground, split the district into several parts between which, as between the district as a whole and the rest of Myanmar, communication is difficult. On the west, the Naaf river flows south to the sea, and in its lower reaches forms the frontier between Myanmar and Bangladesh (East Pakistan)¹.

Due to the geographic entity with the border of Bengal (Present Bangladesh), the relations between the Rakhine and Bengal have been existed since the Rakhine monarchical period. The northern part of Sittwe District comprises two administrative areas, known as townships, namely, the Buthidaung Township consisting of the upper part of the Mayu River valley and the adjacent hills, and the Maungdaw Township consisting of the lower Naaf valley with the coastal strip running south from its estuary. The two townships, now the scene of so much disorder, are separated by hills known as the Mayu range. The Mujahid Insurrection that broke in these townships in Sittwe District was not merely an insurrection that occurred after the independence of Myanmar in 1948 but it was a rooted Insurrection which mainly based on the changing conditions of Sittwe District practiced by the British in the colonial period. Among these changes, the change of the demographic pattern in Sittwe District such as a large influx of seasonal hard labours from Chittagong into Sittwe District coming to work in the rice fields: some went by sea directly to the port of Sittwe, but many crossed the Naaf River to Maungdaw and spread thence on foot.² Naturally, some of them finally settled in the country. Finally, these migrants from Chittagong accumulated wealth, properties and lands at these two townships of Maungdaw and Buthidaung Townships. The fact that the yearly influx of Chittagongian hard labour undercut indigenous labor was an added source of grievance.³

Communal tension was unavoidable and was intensified when the development of self-government in Myanmar from 1923 onwards, with its accompaniment of communal representations in the legislature, tended to emphasize the dissimilarities between communities. The collapse of authority in 1942 at the time of the Japanese invasion gave an opportunity for the Mujahid insurgents to take the stronghold of their cell⁴. This paper will mainly emphasize

* 3 Ph.D. Thu-Tha (1), History Department, University of Yangon .

¹ ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်မှတ်တမ်း (Record of Rakhine State), Burma Socialist Programme Party Headquarter, 1985, p. 5

² Zaw Lynn Aung, "Demographic Study on Akyab District in the Early Colonial Period (1826-1885)", *Journal of Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science*, 2014, Vol.XII, No. 9, pp. 14-18

³ Maung Htin, မြန်မာ့လယ်ယာမြေစနစ်, (Land System in Myanmar), Yangon, Seikkou Cho Cho Press, 2012, p. 10 (Hereafter cited as Maung Htin, *Land System in Myanmar*)

⁴ U Shwe Zan, ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်အတွင်းသို့ ဝင်ရောက်လာကြသော ဘင်္ဂလီမူဆလင်များနှင့် ပတ်သက်သည့်လေ့လာချက် (Study on Bengali Muslims Migration in Rakhine State) , p. 12

how these Mujahid rebels tried to obtain political concessions and rights by forming Mujahid Party and Mujahid rebel group to encroach in the sovereignty of the newly established Union of Myanmar soon after gaining independence.

I: From Mujahid Party to Mujahid Insurgency

When Myanmar obtained independence on January 4, 1948, the new government had its hands full of troubles elsewhere: before the country could adjust itself to its new situation, the Communist Insurrection began, followed before long by the Kayin insurrection. Since before the independence of Myanmar, although the political activities of the Jami-a-tul Ulema Islam religious association in Buthidaung and Maungdaw and the underground movement Mujahid insurgency and Muslim Members of Parliament from Maungdaw and Buthidaung Constituencies were likely to be the same, all these things are connected and carried out their movement simultaneously. Their movements had the same convictions and goals¹.

After the Second World War, the chief of the military administration in Northern Rakhine Brigadier D.C.P, Phillips, and Alishsh (Mr. A. A.Shah) gave lip-promised to the Muslims in the administrative committee of Maungdaw and Buthidaung that self-administration of the Muslim and separate Muslim State would be given to them in newly established Myanmar because the Allied Forces wanted to obtain the help from local Muslims and the British also promised session right of Maungdaw and Buthidaung to join with Pakistan when the British granted independence to Myanmar.²

Believing these propagandas and lip-promise of the British authorities, the belief of Muslims living in Buthidaung and Maungdaw Township to be their separate Muslim State of these townships became stronger. Bengali Muslims had high expectation of that dream. Educated Chittagongnian Bengali organized and agitated to build Separate Muslim State in Mayu Region (encompassing Maungdaw, Buthidaung, and the western part of Rathaedaung) since the reentry of the British into that region in 1945³.

In the postwar, an association named Jami-a-tul-Ulema-e Islam religious association which existed since around 1936 became more influential association in Northern Rakhine Division. The leaders of this association were Mr. Sultan Ahmed and his wife Daw Aye Nyunt⁴. Although this association took the name as a religious association, it acted as a political party. Moreover, it instructed the Bengali insurgent movement and protected these Bengali insurgents if necessary.⁵ On the other hand, Jami-a-tul-Ulema-e Islam Association started to strive to be a Separate State of Maungdaw and Buthidaung. In 1947, leaders from this association went to Karachi and met with Muslim leader Mr. Jinnah who was trying to establish a Separate Muslim country from India, and asked him to incorporate Mayu Region with his newly Separate Muslim country, Pakistan. In discussion, they urged Mr. Jinnah to incorporate this region by attacking and annexing or to urge General Aung San to give this region as an autonomous area. However, when General Aung San met Mr. Jinnah on his way

¹ ဂျမေတူလ်အူလမားအသင်းမှ ဗြိတိသျှအစိုးရခွဲ ဒိုမေနီယံဆိုင်ရာ ပါလီမန်အတွင်းဝန်ကလေး တော့တွမ်မလေး ထံ ၂၄ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၉၄၇ ခုနှစ်က တင်ပြချက် (A submission letter dated on 24 February 1947 to the British Parliamentary of the Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs Arthur Bottomley dated on February 24, 1947) Yangon, National Archive Department, Myanmar, Series 10/1 , Acc. No. 641, NAD (Hereafter cited as Series 10/1 , Acc. No. 641, NAD)

² Series 10/1 , Acc. No. 641, NAD

³ Bonpauk Tha Kyaw, ရှိဟင်ဂျာအမည်ခံ ဘင်္ဂလီများပြဿနာစာတမ်း , (Paper relating Bengali Problem in Disguise of the Name Rohingya), Typescript, p. 91 (Hereafter cited as Bonpauk Tha Kyaw, Paper relating Bengali Problem)

⁴ မောင်တောမြို့နယ်ဖြစ်စဉ်သမိုင်း (Historical Process of Maungdaw Township), History Compilation Group, Peoples' Council of Maungdaw Township, 1981, p.25 (Hereafter cited as Historical Process of Maungdaw Township)

⁵ Yu Yu Aung, " လွတ်လပ်ရေးရပြီးခေတ် ရခိုင်ဒေသမှဂျပာဟစ်၊ အလံနီ၊ အလံဖြူ ဆူပူသောင်းကျန်းမှု သမိုင်း (၁၉၄၈-၁၉၅၈) " , ("Insurgencies of Mujahid, Red Flag (Communist) and White Flag (Communist) in Rakhine after independence (1948-1958)", M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Yangon University, 1999, p. 55

to London, Mr. Jinnah made a statement that he did not accept the idea of incorporating Maungdaw and Buthidaung areas into Pakistan.¹

While General Aung San and ethnic leaders were discussing and negotiating for the ethnic rights in newly established Myanmar at the Panlong Conference in February 1947, the Jami-a-tul-Ulema-e Islam Association sent a report to British Undersecretary of State for Dominion Affairs, Mr. A.G. Bottomley on 24 January 1947. This Report mentioned that Buthidaung and Maungdaw Townships and the Rathaedaung in the western part of Mayu should be put under the Hilly Areas Administration and should declare as an autonomous area and it was the petition of the people who were living in the North Rakhine State to have partly enjoyed the results of the Panlong Conference.²

The Jami-a-tul-Ulema-e Islam Association again sent a demand to obtain the rights to discuss at the Panglong Conference and demand autonomous rights by signing its chairman Mr. Sultan Ahmed and eleven persons were sent to London Government, the Burma Secretariat Office in London, Chairman of Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League (A.F.P.F.L) and High Commissioner of Arakan (Rakhine), and the Voice of Burma Newspaper, and the Statesman Newspaper in Calcutta and The Dawn Newspaper in New Delhi.

The date of receiving this letter by the Government was recorded as 18 June 1947. The detailed remarks of the receiver were as follows:

“--- Buthidaung, Maungdaw, and some parts of Rathaedaung were demanded as autonomous Muslim areas in the newly established Union of Myanmar but in practice, it is impossible to create these areas as autonomous Muslim areas. The creation of such autonomous Muslim areas based on religion would not be basic considering the fact of citizenship. If they (Muslims) were born in Myanmar, they should assume as Myanmar citizens and should stay under the administration of Myanmar. Migrants who came and settled down in Myanmar have no right to demand of independent country.....³”

Moreover, the remark for drawing Constitution in the future is mentioned as follows:

“.... Drawing Constitution in future would not be the British Government but Myanmar Parliament. It is to implement the future of them (Muslim in Mayu Region in Rakhine) by themselves living in the sovereignty of Parliament without demanding Separate State....⁴”

A Mass Meeting of Rakhine Nationals was held in Yangon on 5 June 1947 to demand autonomous rule of Rakhine Division and another Mass Meeting held in Sittwe also decided to ratify three demands of the autonomous rule of Rakhine Division on 8 June 1947. It is learned that the demand of Jami-a-tul-Ulema-e Islam Association to give Mayu Region an autonomous Muslim State was the in-time movement with the Rakhines' demand.

Apart from the political movement of Jami-a-tul-Ulema-e Islam Association to gain an autonomous Muslim State, the Muslim uprising group which was later known as “Mujahid Insurrection” was reinforcing their Insurrection. Zaffar Kawal, one of the leaders of Jami-a-tul-

¹ မြန်မာ့အလင်းသတင်းစာ (*Myanma Alin Newspaper*) on 10 January 1947

² Series 10/1 , Acc. No. 641, NAD

³ Series 10/1 , Acc. No. 641, NAD

⁴ (a) Series 10/1 , Acc. No. 641, NAD

(b) Dr. Myint Thein (Yangon University), *အတွေးများနေဘက်ကွယ်မှရခိုင်အရေး*, (*Rakhine Affair behind the Thoughts*), Yangon, Dhamma Thandawhsint Sarpe, 2017, p. 126

Ulema-e Islam Association, by the instigation of educated Bengali and Muslim politicians, composed songs of tragedy of how Bengali were killed during Rakhine-Muslim riots in 1942 and lost their properties and entertained these songs about which were liked by many Bengalis.¹

On 30 September 1946, the Muslim uprising group was stationed at Hsin Oo Village and they shouted their slogan “Pakistan Zindabad (Victory of Pakistan) for their aim of incorporating with Pakistan. In March 1946, the Muslim Liberation Organization (MLO) was formed with Zaffar Kawal as the leader². Under Zaffar Kawal, Mohammed, the younger brother of Ex-headman Sultan led to organizing Muslim youths secretly and collecting arms. Their troops headed by Mohammed and Sultan stationed in discarded Ceti Taung Village from which the Rakhine villagers were fled during the Rakhine-Muslim riot in 1938. They had collected arms to use if a racial riot broke out.³

A conference was held in May 1948 in Garabyin Village north of Maungdaw and the name of the organization was changed to “Mujahid Party.” Some Chittagongian Bengalis from nearby villages brought the weapons they had collected during the wartime to the mosques in Fakir Bazaar Village and Shahbi Bazaar Village.⁴

When Myanmar was granted its independence in 1948, border towns of Bengal (later East Pakistan and now Bangladesh) were not excluded from Myanmar territory⁵. Zafar Husain from Mujahid Party sent a letter of seven demands to the Government through the township authority in Maungdaw on 9 June 1947. These demands were as follows:

- (1) The area between the west bank of the Kaladan River and the east bank of the Naaf River must be recognized as the National Home of the Muslims in Burma.
- (2) The Muslims in Rakhine (Arakan) must be accepted as one of the nationalities of Burma (Myanmar).
- (3) The Mujahid Party must be granted legal status as a political organization.
- (4) The Urdu Language must be acknowledged as the national language of the Muslims in Rakhine (Arakan) and be taught in the schools in the Muslim areas.
- (5) The refugees from the Kyauktaw and Myohaung (MraukU) Townships must be resettled in their villages at the expense of the state.
- (6) The Muslims under detention by the Emergency Security Act must be unconditionally released.
- (7) A general amnesty must be granted to the members of the Mujahid Party.⁶

II: The Mujahid Insurrection

When the demands were ignored, the Mujahids destroyed all the Rakhine villages in the northern part of Maungdaw Township. On 19 July 1948, they attacked Ngapruchaung and nearby villages in Maungdaw Township and some villagers and Buddhist monks were kidnapped for ransoms. The Mujahids started to mobilize their troops in the northern part of

¹ *Historical Process of Maungdaw Township*, p. 72

² ရခြလျင်တပ်ရင်း ၅၊ ၆ နှစ်မြောက်စာစောင် (Sixth Year Anniversary of Light Infantry Battalion No. 5) , Sittwe, Defense Archieve 1956

³ Bonpauk Tha Kyaw, *Paper relating Bengali Problem*, p. 103

⁴ Aye Chan, “The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)”, *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Autumn 2005, pp. 408-411

⁵ Bonpauk Tha Kyaw, *Paper relating Bengali Problem*, p. 106

⁶ မြန်မာ့အလင်းသတင်းစာ (*Myanma Alin Newspaper*), 8 July 1948

Maungdaw by organizing secret armed groups¹. They not only destroyed the Rakhine villages in that area but also blocked Buthidaung and Bali Bazaar Town. The Government of the Union of Myanmar declared curfew law in these areas and Burma Rifle Battalion No. 5 was sent to suppress the Mujahid insurrection. The Mujahid insurgents fled to the jungles in the northern part of Maungdaw in early 1949.²

The new democracy in independent Burma induced some Muslim leaders to remain loyal to the state. Free and fair elections were held and four Muslims were elected to the legislature from Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships³. Meanwhile, the Mujahid insurgency threw the frontier area into turmoil for a decade. The army again launched its offensive on the Mujahid insurgents in the northern part of Rakhine Division in March 1951. The Mujahid troops fled to East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh) by crossing the border. The Mujahid insurrections still remained as usual when the army was withdrawn. The Mujahid caused many racial and religious riots. Rakhine people were massacred and looted in villages and set arson the whole villages, raped Rakhine women, and destroyed temples, pagodas and monasteries. The army resumed its military campaign as Mayu Operation in October 1952. The headquarters of Mujahid, Lat Pan Taung was occupied in November. The Mujahids commanded by Abdul Kassim had less power. However, the army could not station in the northern Rakhine Division for long because of the internal insurrection throughout the country and the foreign invasion of Chinese Kuomintang forces. Thus, the army withdrew after the military operation. The Mujahids again invaded and destroyed the Rakhine villages while the army was absent.⁴

The Monsoon Military Operation was launched in Maungdaw and Buthidaung areas by the army in November 1954. Mujahid Commander Abdul Kassim fled to the territory of East Pakistan because the army military columns attacked and destroyed the headquarters of Mujahid and their strongholds. However, the army could seize the Mujahid squadron commanders in death and arms and ammunitions and rations they had collected for years. The power of Mujahid was reduced from 400 troops in 1954 to 200 troops in early 1955 and most of them took refuge in East Pakistan. The numbers of Mujahid troops in the years from 1955 to 1958 were not important enough to mention and they were reduced to the gangs of Hmaung Kho (Black Market) and robbery band by smuggling illegal rice from Rakhine border to East Pakistan and robbing some often.⁵

Conclusion

The Mujahid Insurrection occurred after the independence of Myanmar in 1948 but it was a rooted Insurrection which mainly based on the changing conditions of Sittwe District practiced by the British in the colonial period such as a large influx of seasonal hard labours from Chittagong into Sittwe District and their permanent settlement and accumulation of wealth and properties and social and economic grievances between native Rakhine and migrant Chittagongian Bengalis. During the Second World War, Rakhine-Muslim riots occurred in

¹ Bonpauk Tha Kyaw, *Paper relating Bengali Problem*, p. 103

² တပ်မတော်သမိုင်း၊ စတုတ္ထတွဲ၊ ၁၉၄၈-၁၉၆၂ (*History of Army, Vol. IV, 1948-1962*), War Museum and Office of Army Archive Officer, Yangon, News and Periodical Enterprise, 1996, p. 90 (Hereafter cited as *History of Army, Vol. IV, 1948-1962*)

³ ပါလီမန်ဒီမိုကရေစီခေတ် မဲဆန္ဒနယ်များမှ ရွေးကောက်ပွဲဝင် မွတ်ဆလင်အမတ်များ (*Muslim Members of Parliament ran in the Constituency in Parliament Democracy Period*), Department of Historical Research, Holding Number-42865, pp. 1-3

⁴ Yebaw Thit Maung, ပြည်တွင်းသောင်းကျန်းမှုသမိုင်း(အပိုင်း ၂)၊ (၁၉၄၈-၁၉၆၂)၊ (*Internal Insurrection (Part II), (1948-1962)*), Yangon, News and Periodical Enterprise, Ministry of Information, 1990, pp. 36-37 (Hereafter cited as Yebaw Thit Maung, *Internal Insurrection (Part II)*)

⁵ Yebaw Thit Maung, *Internal Insurrection (Part II)*, p. 38

the Maungdaw and Buthidaung Townships and, perished many of both Rakhine and Bengali and destroyed both properties. During the war, the British authorities easily gave lip promise of forming autonomous Separate Muslim States in these areas and incorporating these townships with Muslim dominant areas of Pakistan from India. These lip promises became the hope for the Muslims in these townships in the northern Rakhine Division. They even tried connecting with the Muslim leader of Pakistan Mr. Ali Jinnah but their request was declined. Some educated Bengalis from these townships tried to gain their want of autonomous Separate Muslim States politically by forming Jami-a-tul-Ulema-e Islam Association. They demanded to have equal rights with ethnic nationalities in the Panglong conference and they demanded autonomous rights in their areas but these demands were also declined. Thus, they choose armed insurrections to gain their rights and to establish autonomous Separate Muslim States. In March 1946, the Muslim Liberation Organization (MLO) was formed and, in May 1948 in Garabyin Village north of Maungdaw and the name of the organization was changed to “Mujahid Party.” The “Mujahid Party” attempted its last chance of demanding seven demands from the newly established Government of Myanmar after independence in 1948. When the demands were ignored, they started their insurrections in Maungdaw and Buthidaung Townships by making destructive acts, killings Rakhine people and raping Rakhine Women. The army of the Union of Myanmar Government had to suppress these Mujahid insurrections from 1949 to 1958 because of their limited mobilization of troops and frequent withdrawal after a military operation was over due to their engagements of suppressing other internal insurrections throughout the country and foreign invasion of Kuomintang forces from China but the Mujahid forces nearly annihilated by Myanmar army forces in 1958. Although the Mujahid insurgency was suppressed in northern Rakhine, another problem which new disguised name demanding for autonomous Separate Muslim State is still occurring in the Parliament Democracy period in Myanmar.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Myint Thein, a member of Myanmar Historical Commission and Dr. Thin Thin Aye, Professor and Head, Department of History, University of Yangon for their encouragement, valuable suggestions, and permission to conduct this work. I would like to express my deep appreciation to U Aung Myint, Director General, Department of Historical Research and National Library, Ministry of Religious Affairs and Culture, Naypyitaw for his kindly provided and helpful advice. I wish to thank all my Directors of Section Heads and all my colleagues in my department who provide any kind of assistance for my study.

References

ခြေလျင်တပ်ရင်း ၅၊ ၆ နှစ်မြောက်စာစောင် (Sixth Year Anniversary of Light Infantry Battalion No. 5) , Sittwe, Defense Archieve 1956

ဂျပန်တပ်အင်အားအသင်းမှ ဗြိတိသျှအစိုးရဆီသို့ မေနှိပ်ဆိုက်ရာ ပါလီမန်အတွင်းဝန်ကလေး ဘော့တွမ်မလေး ထံ ၂၄ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီ ၁၉၄၇ ခုနှစ်က တင်ပြချက် (A submission letter dated on 24 February 1947 to the British Parliamentary of the Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs Arthur Bottomley dated on February 24, 1947) Yangon, National Archive Department, Myanmar, Series 10/1 , Acc. No. 641, NAD (Hereafter cited as Series 10/1 , Acc. No. 641, NAD)

တပ်မတော်သမိုင်း၊ စတုတ္ထတွဲ၊ ၁၉၄၈-၁၉၆၂ (History of Army, Vol. IV, 1948-1962), War Museum and Office of Army Archive Officer, Yangon, News and Periodical Enterprise, 1996

ရခိုင်ပြည်နယ်မှတ်တမ်း (Record of Rakhine State), Burma Socialist Programme Party Headquarter, 1985

ပါလီမန်ဒီမိုကရေစီခေတ် မဲဆန္ဒနယ်များမှ ရွေးကောက်ပွဲဝင် မွတ်ဆလင်အမတ်များ (Muslim Members of Parliament ran in the Constituency in Parliament Democracy Period), Department of Historical Research, Holding Number-42865

မောင်တောမြို့နယ်ဖြစ်စဉ်သမိုင်း (Historical Process of Maungdaw Township), History Compilation Group, Peoples’ Council of Maungdaw Township, 1981

Aye Chan, “The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)”, *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Autumn 2005

Bonpauk Tha Kyaw, ရှိဟင်္ဂျာအမည်ခံ ဘင်္ဂလီများပြဿနာစာတမ်း , (*Paper relating Bengali Problem in Disguise of the Name Rohingya*), Typescript, p. 91 (Hereafter cited as Bonpauk Tha Kyaw, *Paper relating Bengali Problem*)

Maung Htin, မြန်မာ့လယ်ယာမြေစနစ် (*Land System in Myanmar*), Yangon, Seikkou Cho Cho Press, 2012

Myint Thein, Dr. (Yangon University), အတွေးများနောက်ကွယ်မှ ရခိုင်အရေး, (*Rakhine Affair behind the Thoughts*), Yangon, Dhamma Thandawhsint Sarpe, 2017

Shwe Zan,U & ခိုင်ပြည်နယ်အတွင်းသို့ သင်္ချေကပ်လာကြသော ဘင်္ဂလီမူဆလင်များ နှင့် ပတ်သက်သည့်လေ့လာချက် (*Study on Bengali Muslims Migration in Rakhine State*)

Yebaw Thit Maung, ပြည်တွင်းသောင်းကျန်းမှုသမိုင်း(အပိုင်း၂)(၁၉၄၈-၁၉၆၂) (*Internal Insurrection (Part II), (1948-1962)*), Yangon, News and Periodical Enterprise, Ministry of Information, 1990

Yu Yu Aung, “ လွတ်လပ်ရေးရပြီးခေတ် ရခိုင်ဒေသမူဂျာဟတ်၊ အလံနီ၊ အလံဖြူ၊ ဆူပူသောင်းကျန်းမှု သမိုင်း (1948-1958) ” , (“Insurgencies of Mujahid, Red Flag (Communist) and White Flag (Communist) in Rakhine after independence (1948-1958)”), M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Yangon University, 1999,

Zaw Lynn Aung, “Demographic Study on Akyab District in the Early Colonial Period (1826-1885)”, *Journal of Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science*, 2014, Vol.XII, No. 9

Newspaper

မြန်မာအလင်းသတင်းစာ (*Myanma Alin Newspaper*) on 10 January 1947

