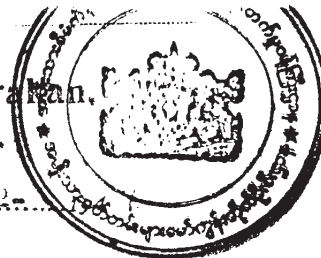


PRESIDENT
SECRETARY

Jamiatul-ulama, North Arakan.

Head Office :- MAUNGDAW.



Ref No :-

Dated, the 21-1-57

To

The Honorable A.G. Bonaheidi,

His Majesty's Under-Secretary for Home Affairs,

Sir,

Care of the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma,

MAUNGDAW.

We, the undersigned on behalf of the Jamiatul Ulama, North Arakan, beg to lay before your honour the following few lines for favour of your honour's sympathetic considerations and immediate action:-

1. That North Arakan comprises the areas of Maungdaw Butnidaung townships and that portion of Natogyi township which lies to the west of Sayu river. It covers an area of about three thousand square miles. The total population will reach well nigh three lakhs and at least 90% of them are Muslims.

2. That the Muslims first settled down in Arakan about the year 788. Since then the Muslims have been playing an important part towards the advancement of civilization in Arakan. History reveals that during the days of Arakanese Kings, some of whom, being influenced by Islamic culture, adopted Muslim names in preference to Arakanese ones and even the court language was Persian. The Muslims and Arakanese Buddhists brethren lived side by side peacefully for centuries.

3. That although the two communities lived side by side for centuries, the Muslims remain quite distinct in religion, race, language, culture and in mode of living from those of their Arakanese Buddhist brethren.

4. That as time went on, the cordial relationship between the Muslims and Arakanese Buddhists was marred when first communal trouble broke out in 1710. And as history repeats itself, there occurred another clash between the two communities

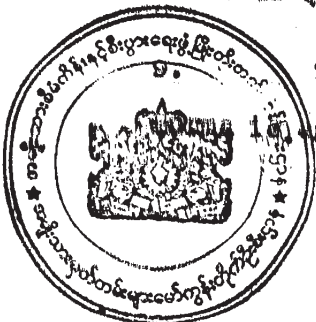
communities in the year 1825. In 1942, the event took a serious turn when the communal riots spread through out Kayah district, when more than 40,000 innocent people were killed.

5. That when the Government protection was withdrawn from this area, we functioned successfully in the interim period as a Sovereign State forming a Peace Committee, the Administrative Body, in North Arakan. This conclusively proved our ability to manage our own internal affairs.

6. That when the Burma campaign was launched in the North Arakan Front, and the advancing Allied forces entered this area, this Peace Committee, the Administrative Body, gained recognition from the military Administrator, North Arakan. And this Administrative Body was given many pledges towards self determination, on the model of autonomous Muslim State, in New Burma. A kind reference may be made to the then Military Administrator, Brigadier D.C.P. Phelps and Mr. A.A. Shah, I.C.S., the then Civil Advisor to the Military Administrator, North Arakan, now the Private Secretary to the Chief Minister, Bengal.

7. That North Arakan was declared the Muslim area by Notification No. 110A-CC/42, dated the 31st December, 1942. (Copy attached).

8. That on the strength of above mentioned pledges the Muslims of this area, during the North Arakan campaign, stood as a rock and fought side by side with Allied Nations and sacrificed their lives and properties towards the successful prosecution of the Allied war efforts in giving the enemy a crushing blow, with the best of hope for the attainment of freedom of Burma with an autonomous State of this Frontier area. A kind reference may be made to the records maintained in the Head Quarters of South East Asia Command.



That has at last come the glorious Allied victory and again under the Burma Government and now Burma is on the



on the onward march to attain freedom soon. The Anglo-Burmese talk ended and even the cases of the Anglo-Burmans and Karens were given due considerations, but the case of the Karens of this Frontier, inspite of the carnage of 1942 and inspite of their immense sacrifices and sufferings during the war, received no consideration.

10. That there appeared a certain glimpse of hope, when during the recent London talk on Burma, His Majesty's Government was gracious enough to announce its Policy that the people of the Frontier Areas should not be included in that agreement without their specific consent and as a result the Panglong Conference materialised.

11. That we being on the Indo-Burma Frontier, were rightly under the impression that our views would receive duly represented in that Conference. The Conference is coming to its close, but unfortunately we find that we are totally ignored.

12. That this disappointment came as a rude shock towards us and we beseech Your Honour to do full justice to our cause before it is too late.

13. That by practical deeds through out the recent Burma campaign we have conclusively proved our ability to manage our own internal affairs. Thus we venture to suggest that the smallest unit of the Frontier Areas represented in the Panglong Conference can never equal North Arakan in population, area, importance or in any other respect.

Under the circumstances stated above we fervently pray and confidently hope Your Honour would be good enough to move His Majesty's and Government of Burma to extend to us the benefits of the agreement unanimously arrived at in the Panglong Conference and demarcate North Arakan accordingly.

FOR WHICH ACT OF JUSTICE WE SHALL EVER PRAY.

We the undersigned beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

Sultan Ahmed

Qura

A. Ghaffar

Hawque Ahmed

M. A. Basdar

M. M. Khan

Habibullah

H. M. Math

Umhura H. H. H.

H. H. H. H.

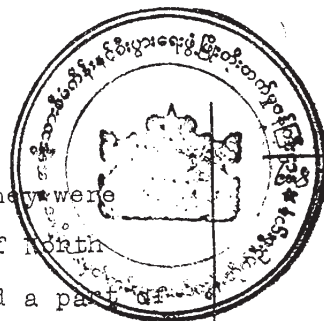
Habibul Rahman

Copy to:-

1. His Majesty's
Govt: London.
2. The Secretary
of State for
Burma, London.
3. His Excellency
the Governor
of Burma, Rangoon.
4. The President,
A.F.P.F. League,
Burma, Rangoon.
5. The Commissioner,
Arakan, Akyab.
6. The Editor,
the Voice of Burma,
Rangoon.
7. The Editor,
The Statesman,
Calcutta.
8. The Editor,
The Dawn, Delhi.



Continuation notes, precis, draft etc.



The memorialists state that they were given pledges by Military Administrator of North Arakan (Maungdaw & Buthidaung Townships and a part of Rathedaung Township) ^{that they} would be offered self determination on the model of autonomous Muslim state in new Burma. Office has no information of it. But it seems impracticable to create a separate Muslim state in Burma, for various reasons. Religion itself cannot be the basis of nationality. It has no precedent in Burma or in the world. In the case of other states in Burma, historically speaking they had independent states during Burmese Kings which were subsequently annexed to Burma proper by conquest. Muslims in Arakan side were always under the Arakanese or Burmese Kings and not existed separately as a state. Territorially speaking they had always been included in Burma and subjects of the Burmese Kings not having claimed a sovereignty right by themselves and there is no reason why they should be accorded a separate state at the present time.

So far as this memorial is concerned, the memorialists were born and brought up in Burma and as such they should be treated as Burmese Nationals for all purposes and are Burma subjects. They cannot claim a separate state on the basis of religion only. Having immigrated to Burma they cannot have the right something like a conquest as an independent state. This idea seems to have been originated by the recent Pakistan claim of Mr. Jinnah in India and such claim cannot be endorsed in Burma which is, as a matter of fact, a homogeneous province. If the view of the

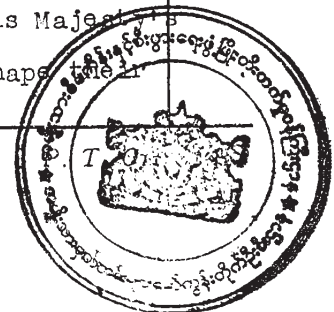
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Continuation notes, precis, draft etc.

of the Arakan Muslims is endorsed, there is bound to be serious administrative complications. ~~The Chettiyars in the Delta may one day claim for an independent Chettiyar state following the precedent of a Muslim state. Even the Karens have not been accorded a separate 'state'.~~

As regards their non-representation in the Panglong Conference it may be mentioned that the agreement reached therein was between the Burma proper and the Frontier Areas, because, the memorialists live in the Indian and Burma borders, they cannot style themselves as members of the Frontier Areas of Burma. "Frontier Areas" is defined as the areas specified in part 1 of the Second Schedule to the Government of Burma Act, 1935. Maungdaw and Buthidaung are not included in the part 1 of the Second Schedule and as such the Muslims of North Arakan cannot claim any representation in the Panglong Conference. An amendment of the Government of Burma Act will be necessary to bring the Buthidaung and Maungdaw areas in part 1 areas so that the residents of those areas can be represented to the conferences for the administration of the Frontier Areas.

It is true that Aung San-Attlee agreement provides separate seats for Anglo-Burmans and Karens in the Constituent Assembly but Indians irrespective of their religion can come to the Constituent Assembly if they are "Nationals of Burma". Muslims of Arakan can easily represent themselves in the Constituent Assembly as Nationals of Burma. The future constitution of Burma will be drawn up by the Constituent Assembly of Burma and not by His Majesty's Government and the Muslims of Arakan can shape the



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Continuation notes, precis, draft etc.

their own future by joining in the Constituent Assembly without claiming a separate state or a constituency.

Before any reply is given to Governor's Secretary, the Hon'ble Deputy Chairman may perhaps see. (The memorialists have already forwarded copies of this memorial to the press).

R
24.2.47

Hruu slo 1 Suggal see the pbd.

E.L. Anon
2/8

