[This document is a transcription by Network Myanmar, from a microfilm held in the British Library, London, of an article which appeared in the daily newspaper "The Nation" (Volume No. XIII Regd No. 177 No.105, Rangoon, Burma) dated Thursday 27 October 1960. "ANUO" is an abbreviation for the Arakan National United Organization.]

ARAKAN MUSLIMS ASK FOR CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

Will Not Support Statehood Unless ANUO Meets Their Demands

From Our Staff Reporter

The Arakanese Muslim community will not lend its support to the demand for Arakan statehood unless its own requirements are met by the ANUO and such acceptance confirmed by an agreement.

The 22-points which the Muslim community requires to be incorporated in the Constitution of the proposed Arakan State to provide "adequate, effective and mandatory" safeguards for the protection and promotion of the Muslim minorities' religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative, educational and other rights and interests are as follows:-

- (I) That all the Muslims at present resident in Arakan with the exception of holders of foreign passports or Foreigners' Registration Certificates shall be deemed to be citizens of the Union.
- (II) That all Muslim members of Parliament representing any area in the Arakan State shall be members of the Arakan State Council along with the non-Muslim members of Parliament representing the Arakan State.
- (III) That any member of the State Council who shall have ceased to be a member of the Parliament shall have the right to continue to carry on his duties until his successor shall have been elected.
- (IV) That the Head of the Arakan State who shall also be a member of the Union Government to be known as the Minister for the Arakan State shall be appointed alternately from among the Muslim and Non-Muslim members of the State Council so that if a Non-Muslim holds the office for one term a Muslim shall hold the office the following term.
- (V) That if the Head of the State happens to be a Muslim, the speaker of the State Council shall be a Non-Muslim while the Deputy Speaker shall be a Muslim and vice versa.
- (VI) That the State Council shall, at its first meeting after a General Election, elect from among its members or otherwise a Cabinet of State Ministers to aid and advise the Head of the State in the exercise of his functions:

Provided

- (a) that no less than one-third of the members of the Cabinet shall be Muslims.
- (b) that not less than one-third of the important State Portfolios or State Legislative Subjects be held by Muslim members of the State Council.

(VII)

- (a) That a Bill prejudicially affecting any right or privilege enjoyed by the Muslims as a class or community shall not deemed to have been passed by the Council unless the majority of the Muslim members in the State Council have voted in its favour.
- (b) That if any question arises in the State Council whether a Bill is of the character described in the last preceding sub-section, the presiding officer shall take the vote of the Muslim members of the State Council on such question, and if a majority of such members vote in the affirmative the Bill shall be deemed to be of the character mentioned above.
- (VIII) That in respect of Muslim areas, the Head of the State in exercising the executive authority of the State in connection with matters relating to recruitment to the State Civil Service, to postings and transfers and to matters relating to these services shall act only in accordance with the advice given by the Muslim members of the Cabinet.
- (IX) That in the State Public Service Commission Muslims shall be represented in due proportion to their number, and the Chairmanship of the Commission shall alternate between Muslims and Non-Muslims.
- (X) That Muslims shall be similarly represented in all other Commissions, Boards and Committees to be appointed or formed.
- (XI) That in all branches of State Services and in other services under the control of the State and also in the services under Boards, Corporations and Municipalities, Muslims shall have their just and equitable share and shall be adequately represented in every cadre, grade or class of services so that the ratio of Muslims to Non-Muslims in each cadre, grade or class of services bears as nearly as possible the same ratio as the total Muslim population bears to the total Non-Muslim population in the State; and that early and effective steps shall be taken and endeavour shall be made by the State to enable Muslims to receive their due share in the services and to remove the present gross disparity as early as possible by making necessary exemptions or concessions to Muslim candidates for filling the quota reserved for Muslims in the services. In filling the Muslim quota, Muslim candidates shall compete only among themselves.
- (XII) That in administering the State, predominantly Muslim areas shall be administered through officials the majority of whom shall be Muslims and that highest Police and Executive Officers posted in the predominantly Muslim areas shall be Muslims.

- (XIII) That with a view to eliminating malpracticers in the preparation of Electoral Rolls and Census returns throughout the State, or for any area within the State, both Muslim and Non-Muslim employees shall be employed in pairs to carry out the work jointly so as one may be a check on the other.
- (XIV) That the State Government shall promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the Muslims and other minorities in the State and shall protect them from social injustice and exploitation. In order to liquidate illiteracy among the Muslims who have lagged far behind in education, the State Government shall provide as early as possible ample educational facilities for male and female education in Muslim areas and Muslim pockets until the present disparity is removed altogether, and shall also offer scholarship and stipends in adequate number to Muslim students by way of encouragement.
- (XV) That in the expenditure of State Revenues and contributions received from the Union Government allotments should ordinarily be made to Muslim and Non-Muslim areas in proportion, as nearly as possible, to the population of such areas.

(XVI)

- (a) That no person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony of worship relates to a religion other than his own.
- (b) That no religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in any educational institution maintained wholly by that community or denomination.
- (c) No citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution receiving aid from public revenues on the ground only of race, religion, caste or place of birth provided that nothing in this Article shall prevent any public authority from making provision for advancement of any society or educationally backward class of citizens.
- (d) In respect of any religious institution, there shall be no discrimination against any community in the granting of exemption or concession in relation to taxation.
- (e) Every religious community or denomination shall have the right to establish and maintain educational institution of its own choice, and the State shall not deny recognition to any such institution on the ground only that the management of such institution rests in that community or denomination.
- (f) That the Muslim shall enjoy full opportunities and complete freedom to preserve and develop their distinct language, script or culture and to practise and propagate their religion.

(XVII)

- (a) The Head of the State shall, whenever called upon by the majority of the Muslim members of the State Council, appoint a Commission to investigate economic, social and educational conditions of the Muslims in the State and make recommendations as to the steps to be taken and grants to be made by the State Government to improve their conditions.
- (b) The Commission appointed under the clause (a) above shall investigate the matters referred to them and submit a report to the Head of the State with such recommendations as the Commission think fit, and copies of the report shall be laid before the State Council.

(XVIII)

- (a) There shall be a Special Officer for the Muslims in Arakan State to be appointed by the Head of the State on the advice of the Muslim members of the Council.
- (b) It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Muslims in the State Constitution, to investigate the extent to which any recommendations of the Commission appointed under Article (xvii) (a) above are carried out, and to submit quarterly reports of his findings to the Head of the State who shall cause all such reports to be laid before the State Council.
- (XIX) That any provision of law which has the effect of abridging or nullifying any special rights or privileges conferred on the Muslims of Arakan as contained in these Articles shall be void.
- (XX) That after a period of ten years from the formation of the Arakan State any of the component regions forming the State shall be at liberty to secede from the State in order to merge with Burma Proper or to secede to any other State within the Union or to form a new State with the Union, and for the purpose of this Article the Mayu Frontier District shall be deemed to be a component region:

Provided that any component region desiring to leave the State should give at least six months' notice of its intention to leave the State.

(XXI)

(a) That the State shall not carry on any large-scale movement of population from any area within the State to any other place unless compelled to do so on account of any grave emergency such as war or devastating floods or earthquakes and shall always endeavour to maintain the present status quo as regards the distribution of population on communal basis.

- (b) That in rehabilitating Buddhist migrants from Pakistan the State shall settle them in Non-Muslim areas in the State.
- (XXII) That when the Frontier Areas Administration ceases to function in the Mayu Frontier

 District and its administration is taken over by the Arakan State, it shall be administered as
 a separate district, and the present arrangements for effective Civil Administration shall not
 be altered or interfered with.

The above points were reproduced in a letter which the leaders of the Arakanese Muslim community addressed to the Consultative Committee last week when it visited Akyab to ascertain the wishes of the people resident in Arakan.

The letter affirmed the desire of the Arakanese Muslims to fall in line with the policy of the Prime Minister with regard to Statehood for Arakan but pointed out at the same time that "racial rivalry, hatred and animosities still lingered between the two major communities after a lapse of nearly two decades since the blood bath of 1942".

Three alternatives were suggested as likely to help establish harmony and understanding between these two communities.

One solution was to create two autonomous States – an Arakanese Muslim State comprising the Mayu Frontier District and an Arakan State comprising the rest of Arakan.

Another was to create one autonomous Arakan State including Mayu Frontier District with adequate and effective safeguards for Muslims guaranteed in the Constitution of the State.

The third was to leave out the Mayu Frontier District from the proposed Arakan State.

The letter pointed out however that the last alternative was unthinkable since it would mean denial of autonomy to the Muslim majority area while the Arakanese Buddhist areas forming the rest of Arakan would be enjoying autonomy.

The first alternative was considered to be the ideal solution.

"Although the Muslims never set up a Kingdom in Arakan, a reference to the History of Burma or to Burma Gazetteer, Akyab District, Vol. A, would clearly reveal that at one time Muslims were king-makers in Arakan and Min Saw Mun, King of Arakan, who took refuge in Bengal was restored to his throne with the help of a Muslim Army. It is also recorded in history that the Muslim General Shayista Khan once invaded and occupy part of Arakan. The Muslim of Mayu Frontier District are very energetic, enterprising and hard working and are in no way inferior to the hill tribes now enjoying autonomy. Evidently, therefore the Muslims have a strong case for a state of their own, which, if granted, they can no doubt run with great efficiency," the letter to the Committee stated.

However, "in view of the conciliatory attitude adopted by the Arakanese Buddhist leaders towards the Muslims," if the Muslims' legitimate rights and privileges could be effectively safeguarded for all time to

come, the Arakanese Muslim leaders agreed that it would be in the best interest of all concerned, including the Muslims on accounts of its greater resources and larger size, would have a better chance of survival.

The second solution suggested above would therefore be acceptable if the safeguards sought by the Muslims could be guaranteed.

"Until and unless we are apprised of the acceptance of our terms (by the Arakanese Buddhist leaders) we are afraid that we and the Muslim community will not be in a position to say yes or no to the demand for Statehood," the Muslim leaders informed the Consultative Committee.

