

The following papers are in two parts.

The First Part contains a submission dated 24 February 1947 to the British Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs Arthur Bottomley by the Jamiat ul Ulama North Arakan seeking an extension of the agreement reached at Panglong on 12 February 1947 to the Muslim community of North Arakan.

The copy of this submission attached is that sent to the Governor of Burma, Sir Hubert Rance. It is not known what happened to the other copies, including (presumably) the top copy sent to Arthur Bottomley (which might be found in the British Library or National Archives in London).

There is no evidence that any response was ever sent by Arthur Bottomley, either directly or through the Governor. The papers include an assessment ("The memorialists state that they were given pledges....") by a senior, but unidentified official in the Governor's Office: his initials and date appear to be "AR - 24.3.47". His assessment is countersigned by "EN Larmour" who was Edward Noel Larmour (later Sir Edward Larmour) known generally (obituary at [this link](#)) as "Nick" Larmour and whom I later knew as an Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Derek Tonkin
11 February 2019+

The Second Part contains papers relating to correspondence with the AFPFL in Buthidaung and the Home Department of the Government of Burma on related matters, including the secession of part of Arakan to the planned new State of Pakistan.

From

MR. SULTAN AHMED B.A. B.L.

PRESIDENT

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Jamiatul-ulama, North Arakan.

Head Office :- MAUNGDAW.

Ref No :- 420

Dated, the..24-2-.....1947.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF BURMA,

MAUNGDAW.

Str,

I have thencur to submit herewith a copy of the Memorandum submitted to the Honourable A.G.Bottomley, His Majesty's Under Secretary for Dominions, for favour of Your Excellency's kind perusal, and necessary action.



I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sultan Ahmed

President

Jamiatul Ulema, North Arakan.

PRESIDENT
SECRETARY, **Jamiatul-ulama, North Arakan,**
Head Office :- MAUNGDAW.



Ref No :-

Dated, the 21-2-194

To THE HONOURABLE A. G. BOOTHBY,
HIS MAJESTY'S CHIEF SECRETARY FOR INDIA, NO.,
Str, CAGE OF THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA,
RAJAHMUNDRAM.

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 Kathadaung, Duthidaung townships and that portion of Kathadaung 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 rule, some of whom, being influenced by Islamic culture, adopted Arabic 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 reports 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 Myab 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~~ 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 Burma is 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 Muslims 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 to separate North Arakan accordingly.

WHICH ACT OF JUSTICE WE SHALL EVER PRAY.



We the undersigned beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

Dulhan Ahmed

Qureshi

It. Gh. H.

Hawane Ahmed

M. A. Basim: writing

M. M. ...

Habibullah

H. M. ...

U. M. ...

H. ...

Habib-ur-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, Myan.
6. The Editor,
the Voice of
Rangoon.
7. The Editor,
The Statesman,
Calcutta.
8. The Editor,
The Dawn, Delhi.



Office of the Military Administration, North Arakan.

ORDER.

No. 110A-CC/42, dated the 31st December, 1942.

In supersession of all previous order on the subject, the following provisional arrangements are prescribed for the administration of the Muslim Area of North Arakan.

2. The Muslims Area of North Arakan comprises the whole of the Maungdaw and Buthidaung townships and that portion of the Rathedaug township which lies to the west of Mayu river. This area is under the administrative control of the Military Administrator (Lt. Col. D. C. P. Phelps) whose headquarters are at Maungdaw. The Military Administrator is assisted in the execution of his duties by the Civil Adviser (Mr. A. A. Shah, ICS).

3. The Muslim Area of North Arakan is divided into two sub Areas, viz. (i) The Maungdaw Sub Area. (ii) The Buthidaung Sub Area.

4. The Maungdaw Sub Area comprises the whole of the Maungdaw Township and that portion of the Rathedaug township which lies to the west of the Mayu range. This Sub Area is under the immediate administrative control of the Deputy Military Administrator (Maungdaw) (Capt. G. L. Merrells) whose headquarters are at Maungdaw.

5. The Buthidaung Sub Area comprises the whole of the Buthidaung Township and that portion of Rathedaug Township which lies to the west of the Mayu river and to the east of the Mayu range. The Sub Area is under the immediate administrative control of the Deputy Military Administrator (Buthidaung) (Capt. J. McTurk) whose headquarters are at Buthidaung. The Deputy Military Administrator (Buthidaung) is assisted in the execution of his duties by the subdivisional officer (Buthidaung) (U Ba Thin (6)).

6. For the purpose of general administration the Maungdaw and Buthidaung Sub Areas are divided into circles as follows:-

The Maungdaw Sub Area -
(i) The Northern Circle.
(ii) The Bawli Bazaar Circle.
(iii) The Central Circle, Maungdaw.
(iv) The Southern Circle.

The Buthidaung Sub Area -
(i) The Buthidaung Circle.
(ii) The Kungchaung Circle.

7. The Northern circle comprises all that portion of the Maungdaw Township which lies to the north of the Loibaw Khal on the west side of the Kruma (or Purma) river and to the north of the Fadega Khal on the east side of the said river.

The Circle is under the immediate administrative control of the Township Officer, Northern Circle (Mr. Mohamed Luqman) whose headquarters are at Shabe Bazaar.

8. The Bawli Bazaar Circle comprises all that portion of the Maungdaw Township which lies north of the Mingala Khal excluding the area comprised by the Northern Circle.

The Circle is under the immediate administrative control of the Township Officer, Bawli Bazaar Circle (Mr. Farooque Ahmed B.Sc., B.L.) whose headquarters are at Bawli Bazaar.

The Township Officer, Bawli Bazaar Circle, is assisted in the execution of his duties by the Additional Township Officer, Bawli Bazaar Circle (Mr. Abul Boshar

9. The Central Circle, Maungdaw, comprises all that portion of the Maungdaw Township which lies between the Mingala Khal on the north, and, on the south, the khal which flows under the second wooden bridge to the south of the iron bridge on the road leading from Maungdaw to Alethengyaw.

The Circle is under the immediate administrative control of the Township Officer, Central Circle, Maungdaw (Mr. Care Leah) whose headquarters are temporarily in Napitadil village near Maungdaw Town.

The Township Officer is assisted in the execution of his duties by the following Additional Township Officers :-

Mr. Munif Khan. (Municipal Affairs).
 Mr. Nur Ahmed (Judicial)
 Mr. Sultan Ahmed, B.A., B.L. (duties).

10. The Southern Circle comprises

(i) all that portion of the Maungdaw Township which lies to the south of the khal which flows under the second wooden bridge to the south of the iron bridge on the road leading from Maungdaw to Alethengyaw.

(ii) all that portion of the hatchedung Township which lies to the west of Mayu range.

This Circle is under the immediate administrative control of the Township Officer, Southern Circle whose headquarters are at Alethengyaw. The Township Officer, Southern Circle, is assisted in the execution of his duties by the Additional Township Officer, Southern Circle.

(Mr. Mohamed Suliman, B.A.B.L. and Mr. Ali Ahmed, B.Sc. have been selected to fill these two posts, but the question of which gentleman shall fill which post is still under consideration

11. The Buthidaung Circle comprises the whole of the Buthidaung Township.

The Circle is under the immediate administrative control of the Township Officer, Buthidaung, (Mr. Abdul Gaffar) whose headquarters are at Buthidaung.

The Township Officer, Buthidaung, is assisted in the execution of his duties by the Additional Township Officer, Buthidaung, (Mr. Abul Bashar).

12. The Laungchaung Circle comprises that portion of the hatchedung Township which lies to the west of Mayu River and to the east of Mayu range.

Pending the appointment of the Township Officer, Laungchaung the Circle is under the immediate administrative control of the Subdivisional Officer, Buthidaung.

13. The Civil Police of the Muslim Area of North Arakan will be under the control of the District Superintendent of Police (Mr. C.B. Orr).

He will be assisted in the execution of his duties by the Additional Superintendent of Police (Mr. J.A. Edwards).

There shall be Police Stations at the following places

Shabe Bazaar)	
Lawli Bazaar.)	
Maungdaw.)	Maungdaw Sub Area.
Alethengyaw.)	
Madin.)	
Laung Bazaar.)	
Buthidaung.)	Buthidaung Sub Area.
Kwason.)	
Laungchaung.)	

There shall be Out Post at Fakira Bazaar (Maungdaw Sub Area) at Panzai Bazaar (Buthidaung Sub Area). The boundaries of the Police Stations and Out Posts shall be laid down by the District Superintendent of Police in consultation with the Military Administration.



15. Township Officers shall perform the functions of Township Magistrates and Township Judges.
 Additional Township Officers shall perform functions of Additional Township Magistrates and Additional Township Judges.

16. Until further notice and Arakanese Buddhist who was not ~~xxxxx~~ resident in the Muslim Area of North Arakan on the 1st. of January 1945 shall Not be permitted to enter or remain in such area without the permission in writing of the Military Administrator or of a Deputy Military Administrator,.

Note 1. An Arakanese Buddhist is colloquially known as a "Kugh" by the local Muslims.

Note 2 . The above prohibition shall not apply to hill tribes men.

Until further notice a Muslim who was not resident in the Arakan Division (excluding the Muslim Area of North Arakan) on the 1st. of January 1943 shall not be permitted to enter or remain in such area without the permission in writing of the Military Administrator or of the Deputy Military Administrator.

SO.

Lt.Col.
 Military Administrator, North Arakan.

DISTRIBUTION :-

- File 1
- D.M.A(M). 1
- D.M.A. (B) 3
- D.S.P. 2
- Civil Surgeon 1
- T.Cs Mgdaw area 4
- H.Q. 14 Ind.Div 5 (2 for Eastern and Burma Government)





141
GOVERNOR'S CAMP.
BURMA.

Rangoon, the 13th March 1947.

0/15
14/3
No. 6 GSO 47

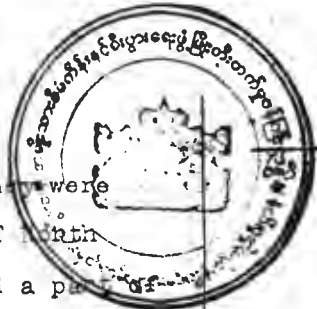
The Memorandum from Mr. Sultan Ahmed, President, Jamiatul-ulama, North Arakan addressed to His Excellency is forwarded for disposal. His Excellency would like to be informed in due course of the action taken.

(R. J. D. Fowler.)
Addl. Governor's Secretary.

Chief Secretary.



Continuation notes, precis, draft etc.



The memorialists state that they were given pledges by Military Administrator of 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

P. T. O

Continuation notes, precis, draft etc.

of the Arakan Muslims is endorsed, there is bound to be serious administrative complications. ~~the Chettiya~~
~~in the Delta may one day claim for an independent~~
~~Chattiyar 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



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

Hru sev 1 Suggot See Use Pbd.

G.L. Anon
2/8

C.



P. T. O.

This Second Part contains papers relating to correspondence with the AFPFL in Buthidaung and the Home Department of the Government of Burma on related matters, including the secession of part of Arakan to the planned new State of Pakistan.



File No. 93 H 134

L.A.P. 2-21A3

1947

Govt. of Burma
Home Department
Appeals and Proceedings

(2)

Proc. No.
Serial

Subject

Representation by the Muslims of North Arakan
claiming for an autonomous State in the
Buthaung and Mawngdaw Areas

Previous References

Letter References

(26)



25 [93.H.1847]

Letter No. 6(C), dated the 30.4.47 from AFP.
Buthidaung.

1355.

The subject matter of SN below relates
to Home Department and SN may be sent to that
Department for disposal.



For favour of acceptance of transfer.

[Signature]

(Shw. Baw)
Secretary,
Dept of Foreign Affairs.

Home Department
U.O.No. 430 EA 47, dated the 5th June 1947.

→ P.O.

Continuation notes, precis, draft etc.

S. N. 1
1432

Memo NO. 32 LA 47 (1116) dated w/c 9.6.47,
from w/c 9. + 2. 8-4-47 out.

The request of the Muzium Muslems
to get Mangless and Poutin Lamy included
in Frontier Areas has been received in
this department and the papers are in
submission to Add. Secy.

The second request seems
to be unauthorized. Mr. Jinnah is
leader of the Muslims in India has
already declared that he has no
intention of including any part of
Burma to his Pakistan scheme.
No action seems to be necessary
on S.N. which may be filed.

Paras.

R
10/6/47

E. L. Anwar
18/6

cl

1/6

18/6



Memo: NO. 93424/ dt. 18.6.47. to Secy, AFPPL - N.2
Barkhedar
Dist. of Dist.

P. T. O.

Refr. S.N.

There are no proposals made by Govt. to exclude

Bonthidam & Dainford from the former paper. A
representative had, however, been selected from the Arakans
Muslims to have a separate Sovereign State in Arakan,
comprising Bonthidam & Dainford. The paper
with the Odd. Secy. may put away.

14/6/61

14/6/61

[Handwritten signature]

Little as at A class
of
net

Draft sent for approval.

14/6





5712

S. S. (Small)

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION OFFICE

File No. 93.H.P.47(1357)
Serial No.

No. 111/118 June 1947.

In his letter No 6(8), dated
 the 20.4.47, regarding the alleged
 claims of the Andaman Islanders
 to include Bonthidang and Manglar
 from the former part of the
 islands then in the frontiers,
 the Secy, AFPEL, Bonthidang, is
 informed that there are no
 proposals made by Govt. to
 include Bonthidang as
 Manglar from the former part and
 to include them in frontiers areas.
 Secy,
 AFPEL, Bonthidang,
 Benthidang Dist.

for Secy,
 W
 16/5

16/5
 16/5



GOVERNMENT OF BURMA
HOME DEPARTMENT.

No. 93 HB 47 (1369)

Rangoon, the June 1947.

MEMORANDUM.

With reference to his letter No. 6(8), dated the 30th April 1947, to the Secretary, APPFL, Buthidaung, is informed that there are no proposals made by Government to exclude Buthidaung and Maungdaw from Burma proper and to include them in the Frontier Areas.

etc
(E.W. LARKOUR)
for Chief Secretary,
Home Department.
Tel: South 114.

Secretary,
APPFL, Buthidaung,
Akyab District.

KK.

No.32 LA 47(1146)
GOVERNMENT OF BURMA
INDUSTRY & LABOUR DEPARTMENT.

MEMORANDUM.

Dated the 9th June 1947.

An extract from the fortnightly report dated the 15th
May 1947 of the Immigration Inspector, Maungdaw, is forwarded to
the Home Department for information and such action as
may be deemed necessary.

Lawrence

for Secretary,
Industry & Labour Department.
Tel:South 657.

Home Department.

MS.

A.G.
1432
17-6-47



AN EXTRACT FROM FORTWIGHTLY REPORT DATED 13-5-47
OF IMMIGRATION INSPECTOR
MAUNGDAW.



X

X

X

X

X

General. Muslims of this area are still sticking to their demand i.e. to get Maungdaw and Buthedaung Areas declared as Frontier Areas, or included into the Area of Eastern Parkistan.

No.1514/57 CI/47

Dated Rangoon, the 31st May 1947.

Copy of the above extract is forwarded to the Secretary, Industry and Labour Department, for information.

Sd. TUE NYOE.
Controller of Immigration,
Burma, Rangoon.

M.

Appt II 10. 20

The constituent
Assembly at its
session approved
the draft of the
Constitution for Bama.
Can we get a
copy or is it still
Secret or Confidential.



~~29/9/49~~
29/9/49

Resubmitted.

No copy is available in branch, but it is
understood from the Secy Br. that - 1.
each has been supplied to the officer

Secy
A.P.K.

No action seems to be
necessary Play that away.

21/11
(Left copy
from the
Gen. Secy
to Panilla)

Add Secy

Attache
24/1/48

11: Where the
Secretary H.M. does not
think to M.H. that see
10: Play that away 25/2/48
B.P.S.