

North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics

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**National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research
Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University,
Islamabad - Pakistan
2020**

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NIHCR Publication No.223

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Published by

Muhammad Munir Khawar, Publication Officer.

Printed at

M/s IF Graphics, Blue Area, Islamabad - Pakistan.

First Edition:	2007
Second Edition:	2012
Third Edition:	2017
Fourth Edition:	2020

	Price Pak:	Rs. 450/-
	SAARC Countries:	Rs. 1000/-
ISBN: 978-969-415-084-0	US:	\$. 25/-

**Dedicated with love
to
my children
Pashmina, Zalanda
Zalan Shah and
Roshaana**

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Preface to First Edition

The present book brings together eight articles on various aspects of the history and politics of the North-West Frontier Province, published in major national and international journals and books during 1985-2005. Some editing has been done to bring the articles in conformity with each other. A detailed introduction explains their contents and significance which is produced here in the subsequent pages for the benefit of scholars, students and those who are interested to know more about the NWFP.

I am grateful to Dr Sikandar Hayat for helping me in the selection of these eight articles from many others. In fact, the idea of publishing the articles in a book form came from long discussions with him. He also read the manuscript and made valuable suggestions regarding the style and presentation. My special thanks, however, go to Dr Naeem Qureshi who, despite his other pressing engagements, revised and edited the whole manuscript and moulded it into readable form. I am indebted to Dr Riaz Ahmad for accepting the book for publication under the auspices of National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research. Mr Naeem Khan typed the first draft and was always available for necessary input. I am thankful to him and to Mr Himayatullah and Mr Altafullah for their support and help during the preparation of this book. Mr Muhammad Munir Khawar and his staff at the NIHCR also deserves special thanks for their interest and help. Dr Shah Jehan and Tajdar Shah, my uncles, deserves a mention for their encouragement. Among my friends Dr Fazalur Rahim Marwat, Dr Abdul Karim Khan, Dr Qasim Jan, Dr Nasir Jamal Khattak, Dr Nasir Ali Khan, Dr Javed Haider Syed, Mr Farooq Ahmad Dar and Mr Ilhan Niaz showed special interest in the publication and completion of this book and, therefore, deserve special thanks.

My three months' stay in the summer of 2006 at History Department of South Asia Institute in University of Heidelberg (Germany), enabled me to go through the entire draft of the book and improve some of the articles. I must admit that I and my family always find Heidelberg as our second home. Few individuals, however, deserve special thanks for making our stay in Heidelberg pleasant and productive. They include Professor Dietmar Rothermund and his family, Professor Gita Dharampal-

Frick, Ms Claudia Theis Passaro, Mr Manfred Hake, Miss Ursula Rott and Frau Michael and the support staff at the SAI. I must also thank Dr Gabi Thiokotter and her staff at the Heidelberg University Guest House, Sheerin Gardewal and family, Dr Inayatullah Baloch, Masood Mirza, Hidayat Bangash and his wife Anna Khan, Zarin Anzoor and family and Zeb's family at Trier. Without their encouragement this book would not have been completed. It is unfair not to mention the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Germany) for their generous grant for our three months stay at the University of Heidelberg on many occasions which enabled me to complete this book. Besides *Pashtaney* (Islamabad, 2006), this is my second book which I completed during my stay in Heidelberg. Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, therefore, deserve special thanks in providing these opportunities.

Finally, a word of appreciation and gratitude to my wife and children without whose patience, encouragement and constant support, this work would never have seen the light of the day.

Islamabad
May 2007

Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah

List of Abbreviations

AICC	:	All India Congress Committee
AIML	:	All India Muslim League
CID	:	Central Intelligence Department
CLA	:	Central Legislative Assembly
CP	:	Central Provinces
CWC	:	Congress Working Committee
FCR	:	Frontier Crimes Regulations
FPCC	:	Frontier Province Congress Committee
HMG	:	His Majesty's Government
INC	:	Indian National Congress
K. B	:	Khan Bahadur
MIP	:	Muslim Independent Party
MLA	:	Member Legislative Assembly
N-WFP	:	North-West Frontier Province
R. B	:	Rai Bahadur
R.S	:	Rai Sahib
RTC	:	Round Table Conference
UP	:	United Province
USA	:	United States of America

Introduction

This book deals with the complex historical and political developments in the North-West Frontier Province of India before its partition and the establishment of Pakistan. The province is inhabited by people who are known as Pashtoons. They are all Muslims and have a kind of particularism that inculcates in them not just the feelings of identity and a passion for Islam but also a strong aversion for all kinds of domination. This is what impelled the Pashtoons to join their co-religionists in other parts of British India in the struggle for freedom during the crucial years before partition. The main concern here is to examine the growth of mass politics and study its impact on the people of the province by focusing on various phases of the history of the NWFP. The book, in fact, is a collection of articles published by the author in various journals or contributed to edited works in the course of several years. Keeping in view the importance of the subjects covered and the fact that most of the articles are now out of print, it was suggested by my colleagues to reproduce them in a book form so that scholars, students and those working on the region may benefit from them.

The NWFP is situated between the parallels 31.4 and 36.57 north latitude and 69.16 and 74.4 east longitude. Its extreme length is 652.8 Kilometres (408 miles) and its greatest breadth is 446.4 Kilometres (279 miles), giving a total area of approximately 39,900 square miles. In the north of the NWFP lies the Hindu Kush range, to its south are located Balochistan, to its east are Kashmir and the Punjab and on the west it is bordered by Afghanistan. The province has three main geographical divisions: (i) the cis-Indus district of Hazara; (ii) the settled districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan; and (iii) the rugged mountainous region between these districts and the border with the neighbouring Afghanistan, known as the tribal belt. The province was originally divided into five administrative districts, namely Hazara,

Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan (which have now increased to 24 districts), each under a deputy commissioner and a trans-border tribal belt made up of five political agencies (now eight) subject to the control of the chief commissioner in his capacity as agent to governor-general and administered by a political agent.

As the NWFP is located on the 'highway of conquest', it was overrun again and again by successive invaders, beginning with the Aryans more than five thousands years ago. Then came the Persians, the Greeks, the Mauryans, the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians, the Kushanas, the White Huns and the Guptas. In the middle of seventh century, the Pashtoons came into direct contact with the Muslims. By the tenth century the Muslim Turks had established themselves in the region and drove the Hindu Shahiya Kings of Kabul towards the south. Throughout the medieval period until the middle of eighteenth century, the province remained part of the Muslim empires of north India. In the second half of the eighteenth century the area came under the control of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who established the first national state of the Pashtoon, i.e. modern Afghanistan. The region remained part of Afghanistan till 1818, when the internal feuds for supremacy among various Pashtoon clans provided a chance to Ranjeet Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, to conquer and subjugate the trans-Indus region as far as Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu. Then, Peshawar was taken in 1834 and the Sikhs remained the lords of the region until 1849 when they were defeated by the British and the Punjab annexed to the Raj along with the NWFP. The region remained part of the Punjab till 1901 when Lord Curzon, the viceroy of India, separated the five settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan and joined them to the five agencies of Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan, to form a separate Chief Commissioner's province called the North-West Frontier Province of India.

The total population of the province, according to the *Census Report of 1921*, was 50,76,476. Of these about 93 percent were Muslims while the remaining 7 per cent were non-Muslims. Numerically, the Pashtoons dominated the province. However, in Hazara, and in urban Dera Ismail Khan, the Pashtoons formed part of a mixed population of the Awans, the Gujars, the Jats and the

Baloch. Pashto, the language of the Pashtoons, was spoken by over fifty six per cent of the population of the province. However, if one includes the tribal territory, then there is a preponderance of Pashto-speakers. So far as the socio-political arithmetic of the province is concerned, there was hardly any educated urban middle class among the Pashtoons. As such, unlike the rest of India, the nucleus of power, so necessary for political mobilization, rested with the elite in the rural areas—big landowners and the titled gentry, the '*ulama* and the *sajjada nashins*. They were followed by the educated elite in the urban areas which included lawyers, journalists, teachers and students.

Being an overwhelmingly Muslim majority province, Islam constituted an integral part of the Pashtoon society. To the Pashtoons the Muslim way of life corresponded with the Pashtoon culture and lifestyle. As such, religion in the Frontier was a part of the Pashtoon identity that encouraged and sustained movements against the British. Unlike in the Punjab and some other Muslim majority provinces, the '*ulama* in the NWFP generally were anti-British, always preaching *jihad* against the foreigners and remained in the forefront of political movements. Yet, there was communal harmony in the province. The Muslims, who were 93 percent of the population, had no threat perceptions from the minority community, most of whom were traders and businessmen. This was one of the reasons that the fear of 'Hindu domination', which was endemic in other provinces, found no acceptance in the NWFP. The British initially failed to exploit the religious sentiments of the local population and during the early decades of twentieth century communal politics simply had no place in the province.

The strategic location of the NWFP had made the province a 'hunting ground' for the British colonial army. Alarmed by the expansionist policy of Tsarist Russia and later of the Soviets, the British regarded the province as the most important area in terms of the defence of the Raj and jealously guarded it against all would-be invaders. To keep a close watch on the Frontier tribes and to provide the area an 'efficient administration', the Government of India constituted in 1901 a separate province of the NWFP. Special legislations were introduced and the province was given over to the charge of a chief commissioner. Henceforth,

because of its 'peculiar situation', the province was denied all constitutional reforms that were enacted in other provinces of British India.

The twentieth century saw the rise of regionally specific political movements against the Raj. The Khudai Khidmatgar movement, in a way, was a continuation of the religio-political movements of 1890s and the 1910s but with one clear difference: while the earlier movements advocated armed resistance, the Khudai Khidmatgars adopted non-violence as their creed. Abdul Ghaffar Khan (affectionately known as Bacha Khan) who founded the movement, combined Islamic values with the Pashtoon passion for freedom and utilized this combination to develop his movement. The Khudai Khidmatgars became very popular in the Pashtoon majority areas, especially in the rural population of the province. There were many reasons for the popularity of the Khudai Khidmatgars. In the first place, their programme was attractive and had the capacity to absorb a variety of interpretations. Secondly, it emphasized the revival of the Pashtoon culture with its distinct identity and addressed the problem of blood feuds that had ailed the Pashtoon society. Thirdly, its anti-colonial stand appealed to the man in the street as well as to the '*ulama*' who regarded the British rule as a 'curse'. Lastly, the movement was taken as a demand for the introduction of reforms so as to bring the Frontier at par with the other provinces of British India. The year 1930 saw the NWFP in turmoil because of the Congress demand for complete independence for India through civil disobedience. Abdul Ghaffar Khan's anti-British stance and his anxiety to get rid of the colonial rule brought the Khudai Khidmatgars into a direct clash with the British authorities. In April, it led to carnage in Peshawar when more than two hundred unarmed Khudai Khidmatgar volunteers were mowed down by indiscriminate firing. The tragedy was second only to the massacre at Amritsar in 1919. It was followed by more cases of police firing, intimidation, detentions and arrests. But it could not break the will of the Khudai Khidmatgars. At this point Abdul Ghaffar Khan decided to affiliate the Khudai Khidmatgars with either the Muslim League or the Congress. The League did not respond positively but the Congress did.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan gave the Congress not only a foothold in the NWFP but also provided an opportunity to block the Muslim League effectively. The situation did not change until after March 1940 when the League adopted the Pakistan Resolution. The drive towards the centralization of Muslim politics gathered momentum after the Cripps Proposals of 1942, which seemed to concede the possibility of a separate 'Pakistan'. For its resource mobilization, the League depended on its promise to establish autonomy in the Muslim majority provinces with an accent on Islam as an additional prop. While this strategy succeeded in the Punjab, Sindh and Bengal, it failed to work in the NWFP because there were too few Hindus in the province. However, the events of the last few years before partition changed the whole political scenario. The 3 June Plan and its acceptance by the Congress threw the majority of the Frontier nationalists in a quandary. But by then, it was too late for them to reach a settlement with the Muslim League. After the 3 June Plan, the NWFP had lost its importance with the Congress leadership and it did not hesitate to sacrifice its Pashtoon comrades-in-arms. Eventually, the trans-regional forces represented by the Muslim League were able to bypass the Frontier's ethnic specificity and inaugurated a new phase of politics. Following the referendum of July 1947, the Khudai Khidmatgars were overtaken by political events from across the Indus and the NWFP became a part of the new state of Pakistan.

The North-West Frontier region has a special significance not only due to its strategic location but also because of the ten million Pashtoon population. Who are the Pashtoons? Are they locals or migrants from elsewhere? Chapter I discusses the theories that have been put forward to explain the origin of these people. Their origins have been traced to Bani Israel and Armenia and some identify them as the descendants of Abraham or Bani Solymis and even the Aryans. The arguments for and against these theories have been examined threadbare with the support of evidence put forward by various scholars. Till recently, the origin of the Afghans was a highly politicized topic in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Scholars from both countries who enjoyed official patronage pursued their respective point of view with enthusiasm. The majority of the scholars from Pakistan argued in favour of the Bani Israelite origin of the Pashtoons while those from across the

Durand Line considered the Afghans as Aryans, originating from Bakhtar, the present day Afghanistan. I have given a careful consideration to all these theories but have preferred the 'Mixed Race Theory'. According to this scientific theory, the Pashtoons are Aryans. In the course of time, different people such as the Greeks, the Persians, the Turks, the Mongols, the Arabs, and others intermingled with the local population and left their permanent imprint on the area.

Chapter II provides details of the Khilafat and Hijrat movements and their impact upon the Frontier province. On the outbreak of the First World War, Turkey made her choice of taking sides with Germany against Great Britain and the Allied Powers. For the Indian Muslims who had religious ties with the Ottoman caliph but were living under the British rule it was a complex situation. The Allies gave them assurance that the Holy Places of Makkah and Madina and the shrines in Mesopotamia (Iraq) and the port of Jeddah would be immune from attack or molestation which brought relief to the Indian Muslims. Secretly, however, the British and their Allies had entered into pacts with Greece, Russia, France and Italy for dividing the 'bear's skin before the bear was slain'. This meant a virtual dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the Balfour Declaration of November 1917, promised a 'national home for the Jewish people' in Palestine while the Arabs under Sharif Hussain, the hereditary Arab caretaker of Makhah, were incited to revolt against the Ottomans. The Allied intention was to confine the Turks into a petty fiefdom of Anatolia. The Muslims of India were deeply affected by these events and in 1919 they launched the Khilafat Movement, which emphasized the freedom of the caliphate from foreign control. Muslim scholars, especially Abul Kalam Azad and Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal, supported the movement. A Khilafat delegation, which included prominent Muslims like the Ali brothers, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Hasrat Mohani, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Hakim Ajmal Khan, met the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford on 19 January 1920 and expressed their apprehension and resentment. Interestingly, M. K. Gandhi, the influential Hindu leader, also decided to support the Muslim cause. In May 1920, the proposed peace terms with Turkey were announced which sealed the fate of the Ottoman Empire. According to Lloyd George, the British premier, all vanquished

powers, Muslim or Christian, would be treated alike. But the whole thing depended on the will of the victors who were to demarcate the frontiers of Turkey. The Khilafat leaders decided to put more pressure on the British government. Gandhi advised the Khilafatists to launch non-co-operation against the British government at all levels. The movement spread quickly. Soon, the NWFP became the storm centre of the agitation. Following the directives of Gandhi, some title-holders renounced their honours and titles. Resignations from government jobs were also reported. However, the movement received a setback when Gandhi decided to withdraw from the projected civil disobedience that had been announced earlier. The abolition of the caliphate by Mustafa Kamal Atatürk in 1924 put an end to the Khilafat movement.

An offshoot of the Khilafat movement was the Hijrat movement. Some *'ulama* declared India *dar-ul-harb* and advised the Muslims to fulfil their religious obligation by migrating to a *dar-ul-Islam*. When Amir Amanullah Khan, the young anti-British king of Afghanistan, offered asylum to the intending *muhajirin* the floodgates of the *hijrat* were suddenly flung open. The *muhajirin* from all over India started pouring into Peshawar which because of its being the major town on the Afghan frontier became the hub of the movement. The local inhabitants facilitated the stay of the *muhajirin* in Peshawar. They regarded it as their religious duty and performed it with great zeal and fervour. The local *'ulama* took an active part in preparing the people for *hijrat*. The movement affected the whole province. There is evidence that in some cases the government also encouraged people to migrate to Afghanistan in large numbers. By doing so they hoped to get rid of the active political workers and at the same time pass on the burden to a hostile Afghanistan, which had then meagre resources. According to a careful estimate about sixty thousand people migrated to Afghanistan. Amanullah welcomed them and wanted to give them cultivable lands, employment in different branches of the government and shares in the trade but they refused and insisted on waging war against Britain. On his refusal, they accused him of being a British agent and started the journey back to India. In desperate conditions, many died on their way to India. They lost their property, honour, dignity and wealth. The *hijrat* movement

ended in a fiasco but it provided political consciousness to the Frontier Muslims.

Chapter III, entitled 'Redefining Constitutional Politics: the NWFP and the Raj, 1901-1932', focuses on the constitutional development in the NWFP. It is argued that the Raj treated the NWFP in a 'special way' due to its peculiar circumstances. Security was given preference over all other things, including reforms. While the British introduced constitutional reforms in other provinces of India, the NWFP was ignored for a long time. The colonial administration denied the province its share in all kinds of socio-economic and political reforms. According to a popular view, one of the major reasons of the formation of the NWFP as a separate commissionerate province in 1901 was to deny constitutional reforms intentionally, including those of 1909 and 1919. The main argument put forward by the officials of the Raj was that the 'strategic location' and internal instability of the region had compelled the government for not introducing the reforms unlike in other provinces of British India. The educated and the political-minded people of the NWFP were perturbed over their exclusion from the reforms and strongly advocated their introduction in the province. They tried to mobilize public opinion in their favour through the provincial and central legislatures. However, the Hindus of the Frontier did not like this move and they began to counter it by drumming up support among their co-religionists. They also demanded the amalgamation of the NWFP districts with the Punjab, which was bitterly opposed by some prominent legislators, including M.A. Jinnah, the League leader. He argued that linguistically, ethnographically, geographically and in every other sense the people of the NWFP were different from those of the Punjab, and as such they must not be forced to re-amalgamate.

The other person who took pains to fight the Frontier's case was Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum. He tried to convince the government that it was in everyone's interest to introduce educational and constitutional reforms in the province. To the utter surprise of the NWFP people, the statutory commission that visited India in 1928 also failed to recommend the grant of constitutional reforms to the province. Instead, it argued for some 'special arrangements' for the province. Sir Sahibzada took exception to

this line of argument and pressed on with the demand for reforms. The reforms controversy continued for another couple of years. The Muslim League and the Congress, the two major political parties in British India, were convinced that without bringing the NWFP at par with other provinces of British India. The reforms could not be introduced. This prompted the public opinion within the Frontier province to build up pressure for reforms. But unlike the 'loyalists', they did it through agitation and protest. The Khudai Khidmatgars, for instance, protested over the continuation of 'black laws' as against the introduction of reforms. The popularity of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was probably one of the main reasons of unrest in the NWFP, a view shared and supported by the colonial officials. In the 1930s, during the various sessions of Round Table Conference in London, the issue came up for discussion. Eventually, the long-awaited demand of the Frontier people was given consideration and on 1 December 1931, at the concluding session of the RTC, Premier Ramsay MacDonald announced the elevation of the province to the status of a full-fledged governor's province like other governors' provinces of British India.

Chapter IV deals with the life and times of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The study is an attempt to analyze in detail the part played by him in the freedom struggle and determine his role as a social reformer and political leader in the revival of Pashtoon nationalism. The analysis also looks at his relations with the Congress and other major political parties on an all-India plain and his contribution to the promotion of non-violence among the Pashtoons. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was born in 1890 at Utmanzai in a traditional land-owning family. Unlike many conservative Pashtoons, his father sent him to Peshawar to get modern education and then planned to send him to England where his elder brother was preparing to become a doctor. But the young man's mother did not allow him to proceed abroad. Following the tradition of the elite families, Abdul Ghaffar Khan applied for a commission in army but when granted he did not join. This was mainly due to the influence of the anti-British activists-'*ulama*' such as Haji Sahib of Turangzai and Mahmud Hassan of Deoband who were planning to establish a centre of their activities in the tribal areas. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was too young at that time to

play any major role in it but later he did participate in the Khilafat and Hijrat movements and like many other political activists migrated to Afghanistan. On the failure of the Hijrat movement, he came back to the NWFP and resumed his educational activities. Eventually, his labours resulted in the establishment of the Anjuman-i-Islahu'l-Afaghana in April 1921. The main objectives of the Anjuman were the eradication of social evils, promotion of unity amongst the Pashtoons and the revival of the Pashto language. Another aim of the Anjuman was the formation of an Azad Madrassah at Utmanzai, followed by branches in the rest of the province. The government officials were not happy over the activities of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his associates. Therefore, he was arrested in December 1921 and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. In his absence, his associate of the Anjuman kept up the work of mobilizing the Pashtoons.

In May 1928, Ghaffar Khan decided to publish a journal in Pashto. The first issue of the *Pukhtun* came out with a variety of subjects, including politics, patriotism, history, gender issues, Pashto literature, social problems and Indian affairs in general. Another significant development was the formation of Zalmu Jirga (Youth League) in September 1929 on the pattern of the Young Afghans, the Young Turks, the Young Khivans, the Young Bukharans and similar other organizations outside India. To accommodate the aged and illiterate sympathizers of the Pashtoon cause, the Khudai Khidmatgar organization was formed in November 1929 which later became very popular and all other organizations were merged into it. The new organization attracted membership from the cross-section of the Pashtoon society: the intelligentsia, lesser known khans, the *'ulama*, peasants, artisans and other anti-British people flocked into its ranks, raising its membership reportedly to fifteen hundred. The details concerning the ideology of the Khudai Khidmatgars forms an important part of the present study and will be discussed in detail. The events took an abrupt twist in April 1930 when the Khudai Khidmatgar organization, following the gory Qissa Khwani Bazar firing, was banned and its entire leadership incarcerated. A prolonged regime of repression followed and the Khudai Khidmatgars were often subjected to violence and humiliation and even were linked with the Bolshevik conspiracy. But instead of retaliating, they generally

responded with non-violence. At that critical juncture, the Khudai Khidmatgars decided to associate themselves with one of the political parties of the country. Both the Muslim League and the Congress were approached. The Muslim League refused but the Congress responded favourably. This close association between the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Congress remained in place until the partition of India. As a result, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was accused by the opponents of harming the Pashtoon cause by accepting Hindu domination. For his part, Abdul Ghaffar Khan justified his alliance with the Congress by citing examples from early Islamic history when the Holy Prophet entered into pacts with the Jews and the Christians at Madina against the Quraish of Makkah. He thus argued that far from harming the Pashtoon cause he was providing them strength.

By following the creed of non-violence, Abdul Ghaffar Khan came closer to Gandhi. However, unlike many other Congressmen he did not believe in the politics for the sake of capturing power and authority. This was precisely the reason that he declined to become the Congress president when offered. He told Gandhi that he believed in serving the humanity selflessly and the acceptance of the offer would hinder him from treading the right path. And yet Abdul Ghaffar Khan developed differences with the Congress high command on the question of offering conditional support to the Empire during the initial days of the Second World War. As a Khudai Khidmatgar he was pledged to follow non-violence and would not endorse the Congress decision. He decided to resign from the Congress working committee and returned to the fold only when the Congress reversed its decision. Abdul Ghaffar Khan also shunned public offices and though the Frontier Congress remained in power three times, he never accepted any position in the ministry. He also abhorred all kinds of communal violence and during the autumn of 1946, he went about visiting the riots-affected areas in Bihar and Bengal as an exercise in confidence building among the Muslims. He was generally perturbed by the communal carnage, which he termed as ‘darkness reigning over India’.

Events on the all-India plane changed rapidly following the 3 June Plan (1947) which proposed the partition of India and, subsequently, 15 August was fixed as the date for the transfer of

power from British to Indian hands. The Plan also proposed a referendum to decide the future of the NWFP whether it was to join India or Pakistan. The Khudai Khidmatgars were indignant because, according to them, during the elections of 1946 they had obtained an overwhelming majority over the Muslim League on the issue of united India or Pakistan. Moreover, the Congress high command had assured them that they would never agree to the division of India and now, to their utter disappointment, they had accepted the partition plan, including a referendum in the NWFP, without even consulting their Frontier comrades. Abdul Ghaffar Khan thought it was treachery on the part of the Congress and he and his organization decided to boycott the referendum. Nevertheless, the referendum took place as scheduled and as a result the NWFP joined Pakistan.

In February 1948 Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in his capacity as a member of the constituent assembly of Pakistan, attended its session at Karachi and formally took oath of allegiance to Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah was overwhelmed by this and a new phase of good relations and confidence was inaugurated. But, unfortunately, it did not last long. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the provincial chief minister, who had already started a campaign of intimidation against the Khudai Khidmatgars, succeeded in creating misunderstandings and distrust between Jinnah and the Khan brothers. From then on, Abdul Ghaffar Khan tried unsuccessfully to organize the 'real opposition' in Pakistan. Later, he led those who opposed the merger of smaller provinces into the 'One Unit'. Time and again he was arrested and put into prison. The details form part of this chapter.

Chapter V deals with Mian Akbar Shah, another veteran freedom fighter of the Frontier. It provides details about the situation in the province following the First World War, especially over such issues as the Rowlatt Act and the future of Turkey. Generally, the intelligentsia was perturbed over the political situation in India and particularly the young students of the Islamia College, Peshawar, were thinking of taking practical steps towards the liberation of their homeland. Like many other Pashtoons, they were convinced that they would not be able to wage a holy war against British imperialism without the support of the Amir of Afghanistan. As a result, some of the students left Peshawar, went

to Charsadda and discussed their future plans with Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Then, with the help of Haji Sahib of Turangzai, they reached Afghanistan. Meanwhile, the Khilafat and Hijrat movements had started in India. Akbar Shah and his friends were in Jabal-us-Siraj when the *muhajirin* from the subcontinent started coming to Afghanistan. It is a different story how misunderstandings arose between the Indian *muhajirin* and Amir Amanullah Khan and how the former decided to leave Afghanistan? The majority returned to India while some chose to go to Turkey to fight for the Turks against the Allied Powers. Akbar Shah and his friends decided to go to the Soviet Union to seek the Bolshevik help against the British. With much difficulty they crossed the Oxus and entered Soviet Central Asia. Akbar Shah and thirty-six other Indian *muhajirin* were given admission in the Turkestan Lenin Academy. He himself got training in aviation and in organizing 'subversive activities'. Later, these Indian revolutionaries were moved to Moscow and placed in the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, Moscow. After necessary training, Akbar Shah and his friends were sent back to India via Iran. On their arrival, however, they were arrested and tried under Peshawar Conspiracy Case. After his release, Akbar Shah resumed his studies and did his graduation in law from the Aligarh Muslim University. Then, he returned to the NWFP and helped Abdul Ghaffar Khan in his socio-political activities. He was a sincere Khudai Khidmatgar and, except for a very brief period when he developed differences with Abdul Ghaffar Khan, he remained a committed follower of the movement.

An interesting episode in Akbar Shah's life was his help to Subhas Chandra Bose in escaping from British India to Kabul. This he did at considerable risk to his own person because the British Indian police and secret agencies were constantly shadowing him. At the outbreak of the Second World War, Bose was convinced that they could get rid of the British imperialism only through an organized armed struggle with some outside help. He, therefore, decided to establish direct contact with the Axis Powers with a view to seeking their help in the war of liberation. To Bose the time was ripe as Britain was vulnerable to pressure from outside. Bose contacted Mian Akbar Shah for he had experience of such journeys. Akbar Shah agreed to organize his

escape from India via Peshawar. The Congress leader arrived in Peshawar, remained there for few days, and was then sent to Kabul, escorted by a trusted guide. These hitherto unknown details are a part of the present study.

Chapter VI focuses on Women and Politics in the Frontier province during the 1930-1947 period. Apart from discussing the condition of women in a male-dominated society like the Frontier, this chapter highlights their role in the socio-political life of the province. It is significant that in spite of some age-old taboos, the NWFP women did play an important role in the freedom struggle and participated both in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement and the Frontier provincial Muslim League politics. The role of these women in the social, educational and political uplift of the NWFP had hitherto been overlooked. In the present study an effort has been made to provide the details as to how some women were able to break free from encumbrances of the traditional Pashtoon society and despite the lack of help from the government accomplished the difficult task of the uplift of the Pashtoon women. In their work, they did receive encouragement and sustenance from Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his associates and thus contributed enormously to the development of the region.

Such efforts, however, were not confined to the Khudai Khidmatgars. The Frontier Muslim League also took keen interest in the development of women. Considerable efforts are on record on the part of the League to organize the Frontier women on the pattern of the work done in the Punjab. Initially, it encountered a slow response from the local leaders but later, especially during the elections of 1945-1946, the women came out openly in support of the League candidates. Then, in the early months of 1947, they became involved in developing agitation against the provincial ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib. As the Pashtoon values prevented the provincial authorities from using force against women, the League workers got a free hand by default to utilize the occasion against the ministry. Jinnah appreciated the work done by the provincial League and considered it a remarkable leap forward in achieving 'civil liberties' in the NWFP.

Chapter VII analyses the role of Amin al Hasanat, the Pir of Manki Sharif, in the making of Pakistan. The story begins with the Simla Conference of 1945 which was convened by the

Government of India to resolve the tricky Indian problem by creating a favourable political atmosphere in the country. But the conference proved a failure. The sticking points were the composition and the formation of the viceroy's executive council and the shares of the Muslim League and the Congress. The latter considered itself an all-India organization representing both the Hindus and the Muslims while Jinnah took the stand that the Congress represented only the Hindus and the real voice of the Muslims was the League. The differences between the two parties led to the failure of the conference and it broke up without achieving its aim.

The Frontier politicians had been looking eagerly towards the deliberations at Simla. The failure of the conference had an adverse effect on the communal feelings in the province. This helped the League to increase its vote bank by getting an endorsement for a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims. Amin al Hasanat was one of those leaders who espoused the League cause with enthusiasm. He was convinced that the time had come to share responsibility with the other Frontier Leaguers in developing support for Pakistan. The Pir sahib convened a conference of the like-minded *pirs* and *sajjada nashins* at Manki Sharif. Before committing themselves, however, the *pirs* asked their convenor to obtain a clarification from Jinnah regarding the role of Islam in future Pakistan. Jinnah could not let the opportunity slip by and told them that when Pakistan was finally established the framing of the constitution would be entirely the responsibility of the people of Pakistan, an overwhelming majority of whom would be Muslims. This was how the state of Pakistan would function. Jinnah's assurance settled the argument and the *pirs* came out in full support for the demand of Pakistan. The Pir of Manki Sharif dedicated himself heart and sole to the cause of Pakistan and did not rest until the objective was achieved. The main source of the study is the unpublished correspondence between the Pir sahib and the Quaid-i-Azam some of which is in the custody of his sons and no other scholar has yet been given access to it.

The last Chapter, entitled 'Jinnah's Frontier Visits (1936 and 1945) and their Impact on the Provincial Politics of the NWFP', provides details of Jinnah's two Frontier visits and their impact on

the local politics. Despite being a Muslim majority province, the NWFP Muslims initially had given a cool response to the League ideology. Several causes contributed to this lukewarm attitude. The main reason was that unlike in the Muslim minority areas of central and northern India, the Pashtoons of the Frontier were free from the fear of Hindu domination. Moreover, the popularity of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgar movement with its emphasis on Pashtoon particularism worked against the Muslim League. Additionally, the anti-government colour of his movement, which appeared to resist British imperialism and its local henchmen, also gave the Khan brothers a certain edge over others.

Jinnah began to take interest in the Frontier soon after taking over as president of League in October 1936. There is evidences that he did not succeed in his objectives, at least for the time being. He undertook a second visit in November 1945. It provided a boost to the provincial League electioneering and resulted in the party winning a sizeable number of seats in the provincial legislature. This chapter, in addition to providing details of these visits, elaborates their impact, particularly of the second one that he undertook during the crucial years before partition. Apart from the League-minded Muslim intelligentsia, the provincial League organization was joined by some Congress deserters, like Abdul Qaiyum, Ghulam Muhammad Khan Lund Khwarh, Arbab Abdul Ghafoor, Mohammad Abbas Khan and Rab Nawaz Khan. Moreover, some *ulama* and *mashaikh* also decided to support the Muslim League on the Pakistan issue. Jinnah took the opportunity to make contacts with the tribesmen, which helped him enormously later on. These new entrants converted the Frontier Muslim League into a mass organization and helped it to achieve Pakistan.

CHAPTER 1

The Origin of the Afghans*

‘No ethnological problem is more complicated and intricate’ writes C. C. Davies, ‘than that which is presented by the North-West Frontier of India. Hidden away in dark, in-hospitable [*sic.*] nullahs and still darker ravines, in lonely mountain passes and on barren, windswept plains, dwells a people, the human flotsam and jetsam of the past’.¹ More than ten million people inhabiting Afghanistan, Pakistan and India are known variously as Afghans,² Pathans and Pashtoons. It is not yet clear who these people are. Numerous theories have been put forward to explain the origin of the Afghans. They have been traced as Jews, Armenians, descendants of Hazrat Ibrahim, Bani Solymi and the Aryans.

Several Pashtoon historians are of the opinion that the Pashtoons originated from Israelites. The first one who pleaded for the theory was Khwaja Ni’mat Ullah. According to him it so happened that once in the reign of Jahangir — the Mughal King, the question of the origin of the Afghans was discussed. The Persian ambassador spoke ill of the Afghans as descended from *devs* and amused the king by giving him the following account:

‘Book of authority’, he said, ‘recounted that once King Zuhak, hearing of a race of beautiful women that lived in some far-off western countries, sent an army thither, which army was defeated by the beautiful women, but afterwards, a stronger expedition being sent under Nariman, they were reduced to sue for peace and gave in tribute a thousand virgins. When, on its return march, the army was one night encamped close to a wild mountainous country, there suddenly came down upon it a phantom, smote and scattered the troops in all directions, and then, in that one night, ravished all the thousand virgins. In due time all became pregnant,

* *Afghanistan and the Frontier* (Peshawar, Enjoy Books International, 1993) pp: 149-158

and when Zuhak learnt this, he gave orders that the women should be kept in the remote deserts and plains lest the unnatural offspring should breed strife and tumult in the cities. This offspring was the race of the Afghans.³

After hearing the disgraceful story of the origin of the Afghans, Khan Jahan Lodhi, himself an Afghan *amir*, asked his secretary Ni'mat Ullah to collect the account of the history of Afghans. Ni'mat Ullah sent five⁴ of his servants to Afghan country for the purpose of making inquiries of the origin of the races and from the information they gained they pleaded for the Bani Israelies origin of the Afghans. After their expulsion from their native land (Jerusalem) by Nebuchadnasser (Bakhtnassar) they took refuge in the 'Kohistan-i-Ghor' and 'Koh-i-Ferozah'. With increase in their number they started subduing the neighbouring countries and became the masters of the country. With the passage of time their frontiers extended up to Kohistan-i-Kabul, Kandahar and Ghazni.⁵

Khalid bin Walid, one of the most prominent generals belonged to the same tribe of Bani Israel, as did the Afghans. After his acceptance of Islam, he invited his brethren and informed them of the appearance of last of the Prophets — Muhammad⁶ (PBUH). They started for Arabia under the leadership of Kais and on reaching there, after prolonged deliberations, accepted Islam.⁷ Kais married Sara, the daughter of Khalid and became father of three sons, Saraban, Ghorghust and Baitan.⁸ Many historians have presented numerous arguments in favour of the theory. Hafiz Rahmat Khan, in his *Khulasat-ul-Ansab*, has given a complete list of the genealogical table of the Afghans descended from Talut,⁹ — a prominent figure in the annals of Bani Israel.

According to Sir William Jones, the Afghans are the lost ten tribes of Bani Israel mentioned by the Prophet Isdras as having escaped from captivity and taken refuge in Asarah, identical with the modern Hazarajat in Afghanistan.¹⁰

Alexander Burnes was of the opinion that the Afghans had strong prejudices against the Jews, and it was impossible that without a just cause they desired to claim a descent from the Hebrews.¹¹ H. G. Raverty, referring to Cyrus, the Persian king, made it clear that it was customary for that great king to transport a whole tribe or nation from one place to another. The Jews had proved themselves to be a troublesome nation, so there were

possibilities if he had ousted them from his Empire and they settled in the Satrapies of the Persian Empire.¹² It is also stated in *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* that in the time of the Shansabi dynasty, there were people known as Bani Israel living in that country, engaged in trade with the neighbouring countries.¹³

The Afghans have an unwritten law known as *Pashtoonwali*, which is very similar in character and principle to the laws given by Moses to his people.¹⁴ There is a resemblance in their names with the Hebrews like Yusufzai, Daudzai, Sulamanzai and Musakhel.¹⁵ Qazi Ata Ullah had narrated that on the arrival of Nadir Shah, the King of Persia, in Peshawar, the Yusufzais presented him a manuscript of the Bible. The Bible was written in the Hebrew language. The Jews that formed a part of Nadir's army acknowledged it as a part of Judaism and Hebrew language.¹⁶ According to Maulana Abdul Qadir, there are several clans (Mongol and Tartars), which resemble in features with the Israelites.¹⁷

There are several arguments that may be put against the theory. Has a Jew ever forsaken his Jewish faith? The theory would make us believe that the sons of Afghans who went to Makkah, remained true to their faith, but not the ones who went to Ghor. Nobody has ever told us about the religion of those Afghans living in Ghor whether they were practising Judaism or any other religion till the time of their conversion to Islam.¹⁸ Apart from some Afghan historians, all other Muslim traditions state that Khaild bin Walid belonged to Bani Makhzum of the Quraish.¹⁹ The resemblance of names between the Jews and the Afghans was probably the result of Arab influences in the Subcontinent.²⁰ The Holy Prophet himself adopted many customs from the Jews living around him. To quote Percy Sykes, 'Actually this theory is of purely literary origin and is merely an example of the widespread custom among Muslims of claiming descent from some personage mentioned in the Koran or other sacred work.'²¹ It seems incredible that the whole race has, in course of time, completely changed their language without trace. 'They can adduce, however, no authentic evidence', says H. W. Bellew, 'in support of their claim to so honourable a lineage. All their records on this subject – and they are mostly traditionary and handed down orally from generation to

generation — are extremely vague and incongruous and abound in fabulous and distorted accounts...²²

Some people believe that the Afghans belong to Caucasia. An Armenian informed Mounstuart Elphinstone that the Afghans belonged to their race. Elphinstone compared a vocabulary of Pashto with Georgian and other languages of Caucasian tribes but found no resemblance between them.²³

Some are of the opinion that the Afghans descended from Bibi Qatoora, the wife of Hazrat Ibrahim. According to them, after the death of Bibi Sara, Ibrahim married Bibi Qatoora from whom he had six sons.²⁴ Ibrahim distributed his belongings among his sons and said goodbye to them. He sent all of them towards the east. They settled in Turan – a place in the North-West of Iran, where their brethren, expelled by King Talut, joined them. All of them established themselves in Pasht. The same Pasht, according to them, was Parthia, known as Tabaristan in Islamic times. Slowly and gradually they were termed as Pashtin and lately as Pashtoon and Pashtaneh.²⁵

The Muslims of the Asia Minor and the western countries usually call the Afghans Sulemannis, apparently from the supposition that they dwelt on the Suleman range of mountains.²⁶ If so, the name is misapplied for there are no Afghans settled on that range. To some they originated from the Albanians of Asia, who were exiled from Persia as far as Khorassan.²⁷

But to a large group of historians the Afghans are believed to be the Aryans. About 1500 BC they laid the foundation of a new and fairly advanced culture.²⁸ Historians differed on their early homeland. Some considered them Northern European people while some are of the opinion that the northern bank of Black Sea was their original homeland. Some traced their origin to the southern territories of Russia while others considered Mongolia and Chinese Turkistan as their birthplaces. However, most modern researchers agree on their birthplace somewhere between the Pamirs and Oxus, which is known as Bakhtar.²⁹

In the fields of Bakhtar they grew slowly and gradually. When their number increased they started moving out of the green fields of Bakhtar. One of their main groups, which is known as Indo-Aryan, crossed the Hindu Kush³⁰ and settled in the valleys of Laghman and slowly and gradually reached up to the valleys of

Swat and the Indus River. They crossed the Indus and settled in the Punjab. Some of them crossed the Khyber Pass and joined hands with their kinsmen in the Punjab. They spread further and reached the valleys of the Ganges and the Jamuna. The Aryans subjugated the inhabitants of the areas – the Dravidians – and most of them left their lands and migrated to other parts of India. A second group of the same Aryans, crossed Herat and formed the present day Iran. When two of the large parts of the Aryans had migrated from Bakhtar, the lands were now then plenty for the remaining ones who were known as the Central or Bakhtar Aryans.³¹

According to some historians these Central or Bactrian Aryans were the ancestors of the Pashtoons. They had settled in the areas of Balkh, Herat, Kabul and Gandhara. They gave it the name of Aryana. In the hymns of *Reg Veda*,³² there was a clear cut indication of Sindho (Indus), Kubha (Kabul) Kuruma (Kurram), Gumati (Gomal) Suvastu (Swat) and other rivers of the area. According to Bahadur Shah Zafar, the philologists agree that Pashto joined hands with the Aryans group of languages.³³ Abdul Haye Habibi, the most eminent scholar on this subject, has given a list of Pashto words which resemble words in other languages of the House of the Aryans.³⁴ The Aryans were white with a stout physique and free from physical diseases. The Afghans are also stout and most of them have a fair complexion.

Various scholars have presented a new theory on scientific lines about the origin of the Afghans. Fraser Tytler, for instance, pleaded for the mixed race theory. According to this the Pashtoons are Aryans by origin but have intermingled with elements of Turkish, Mongol and other strains, which have at different times infiltrated into them.³⁵ He was supported by Charles Miller who believes that ‘they had been on the scene for centuries, by a bubbling ethnic stew of Persian, Greek, Scythian, Turk and Mongol to mention only a few of the invading and migrating peoples who contributed their racial ingredients to the Afghans stock’.³⁶ Abdul Ghani Khan, who shares the same opinion, considers the Afghans a mixture of many races that came through their areas from Central Asia.³⁷ Saddum and Khyber are two places which, according to Bahadur Shah, resembled the names of Bani Israel.³⁸ Mir Afzal Khan Jadoon is of the opinion that the features as well as the habits of the Afghans resembled those of the Jews.

Such clans as Karlanis, Matis, Tannawalis, Swatis and Jadoons, all resemble with the Jews in their dwelling as well as clothes.³⁹

Many relics of the Syriac language were found during the excavations at Taxila, Laghman, Gandhara and Kandahar. The evidences shows that all of the Syriac people were ruling Aryana at one time or the other. With the passage of time they had mixed with the indigenous population.⁴⁰ In the fifth century A.D. 'Hind' was invaded by a wild race known as the 'White Huns' or 'Epthalites' and though they had not established themselves firmly, yet one can easily find their remnants among the Gujars of the hilly areas.⁴¹ During the Ummayad reign, the Arabs came to Afghanistan. With the passage of time they were absorbed in Afghanistan.⁴² In the beginning of 13th century, Changez Khan invaded Afghanistan. Thereafter, the 'Yellow' race got mixed with the Afghans. There is much similarity among the Hazaras of Afghanistan and the Mongols.⁴³

To conclude, this is clear by evidence that the Pashtoons are Aryans but with the passage of time many foreign strains mixed with them. The Pashtoons of hilly areas are considered purer as compared with their brethren in the plains because of inaccessibility of those mountains.

References and Notes

1. C. C. Davies, *The Problem of the North West Frontier 1890-1908* (London, 1974), p. 37.
2. The derivation of the word 'Afghan' incidentally is unknown, though it was first used in a work called *Hudud al-Alam* by an anonymous Arab geographer, written about A.D. 982.
3. Mohammad Hayat Khan, *Hayat-i-Afghani*, tr. Henry Priestly as *Afghanistan and its Inhabitants* (Lahore, 1981), p. 53.
4. They were Qutab Khan, Sarmast Khan Abdali, Hamza Khan, Umar Khan Kakar and Zarif Khan.
5. H. W. Bellew, *Afghanistan: The Country and People* (Lahore, 1978), p. 52.
6. Ni'mat Ullah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, tr. Bernhard Dorn, *History of the Afghans* (Karachi, 1976), p. 37.
7. Mohammad Arif Khan, *The Story of Swat as told by Its Own Founder Miangul Wadood Badshah Sahib* (Peshawar, 1963), pp. xxiv-xxv.

8. According to the traditions, Khalid bin Walid invited his brethren to accept the great faith. The elders of the Afghans, more than forty in numbers under the leadership of one Qais, started for Arabia. On reaching there, they were presented before the Holy Prophet who invited them to accept Islam. After discussing the matter together, they accepted it. The Prophet became very pleased and conferred on Qais the title of Abdur Rashid. When the delegation left the city, the Holy Prophet addressed them with these words: 'Haza Batany Deen'. Batan meant the rudder of the ship. Khushal Khan added that, the title of Batan was conferred on Afghans by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi after performing courageous deeds in the battle of Somanath. See Dost Mohammad Kamil, *On a Foreign Approach to Khushal* (Peshawar, 1968), p. 119.
9. H. W. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan* (Lahore, n.d.), p. 19.
10. Hafiz Rahmat Khan, *Khulasat ul Ansab* tr. Mohammad Nawaz Tair, (Peshawar, 1973), pp. 49-97.
11. Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* (London, 1964), p. 5.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, p.15.
15. H. W. Bellew, *Afghanistan and the Afghans* (Lahore, 1979), p. 213.
16. Roshan Khan, *Tazkira* (Urdu) (Karachi, 1982), p. 407.
17. Qazi Ata Ullah, *Da Pakhtano Tarikh* vol.1 (Peshawar, n.d.), p. 2.
18. Maulana Abdul Qadir, *Da fiqr Yun* (Peshawar, 1964), p. 96.
19. Caroe, *The Pathans*, p.6.
20. *Ibid.*, p.7.
21. Mounstuart Elphinstone, *The Kingdom of Caubul* (Karachi, 1972), p. 208.
22. Percy Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* vol. 1 (Lahore, 1979), p. 13.
23. Bellew, *Afghanistan: The Country and People*, pp. 46-47.
24. Elphinstone, *The Kingdom*, p. 206.
25. According to Bible their names were: Zumran, Yuqsan, Medan, Madyan, Asbaq and Sookh.
26. Bahadur Shah Zafar, *Pashtane Da Tarikh pa Ranha Key* (Peshawar, n.d.), pp. 62-65.
27. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, p. 24.
28. Mohammad Yunus, *Frontier Speaks* (Lahore, n.d.), p. 10.
29. S. Abid Hussain, *The National Culture of India* (Bombay, 1961), p. 33.
30. Bahadur Shah, *Pashtane Da Tarikh*, p. 68.
31. The name, by tradition, means 'Hindu Killer', and derives from the fact that in previous centuries thousands of slaves brought from India died in its snow blocked passes. The Hindu Kush was known to the Greeks who called it 'Paropamisus'. It is a great range, 600 miles long, with its main ridges reaching 15,000 and even 20,000 feet and the subsidiary ridges running off both to north and south. The main passes of Hindu Kush are the Khawak Pass at 11,640 feet, the Ak Robat at 12,560 feet and the Qipchak at 13,900 feet. It was also called the 'Indian Caucasus'.

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32. Bahadur Shah, *Pashtane Da Tarikh*, pp. 69-70.
 33. *Reg Veda*, The Book of knowledge consists of more than a thousand wonderful hymns of different ages arranged into ten books. It is regarded as the earliest document of Indian history. The hymns of *Reg Veda* composed in between 1500 BC and 1000 BC. According to the scholars of the Vedas, the hymns were composed in the vicinity of the Hindu Kush and the plains of the present day Pakistan.
 34. Bahadur Shah, *Pashtane Da Tarikh*, pp. 73-101.
 35. Abdul Haye Habibi, *Da Pashto Adbiyato Tarikh* (Kabul, 1946), p. 15.
 36. Fraser Tytler, *Afghanistan* (London, 1958), p. 49.
 37. Charles Miller, *Khyber* (London, 1977), p. 8.
 38. Ghani Khan, *The Pathans – A Sketch* (Peshawar, n.d.), p. 5.
 39. Bahadur Shah, *Pashtane Da Tarikh*, pp. 143-144.
 40. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
 42. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
 44. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

CHAPTER 2

Redefining Constitutional Politics: the NWFP and the Raj, 1901-1932*

Due to its strategic location, especially in view of the Great Game, the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of British India had been of special importance to the colonial government. All the way from the 1840s to 1940s, it has remained a subject of special interest for historians, travellers, politicians, military men and administrators. It is still a rich field of research for political scientists, anthropologists, sociologists and other scholars, though there is a dearth of scholarly studies in certain areas. Although some of these studies provide a fairly interesting account of the contemporary provincial politics, none of these include details on reforms and the constitutional processes, essential for studying political developments. Instead, most of these concentrated on the personalities and political parties.¹ The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the efforts in connection with the grant of reforms to the NWFP and thereby help provide a new understanding of the constitutional politics in the province. An attempt is, therefore, made to provide a detailed and accurate account of the efforts in that regard by utilizing both primary and secondary sources. The focus will be on the interplay of regional and trans-regional forces and eventually the grant of reforms to the NWFP to bring it at par with other provinces in British India.

Before we analyze the movement for reforms in detail it will be useful to mention that the present research has been divided into sections starting from a brief background of the formation of the province, i.e. administrative divisions into settled and tribal areas, denial of reforms for 'specific' reason, efforts by the

* *The Calcutta Historical Journal*, (Department of History, Calcutta University), vols. xxi and xxii, Special Number 1999-2000, pp. 115-137.

Frontier Muslims for reforms, responses from various sections in India, the discussions on reforms in the Central Legislature, official position, and the Indian Statutory Commission and the NWFP affairs. It also touches upon themes such as the Khudai Khidmatgars and the reforms controversy; the Round Table Conferences and the eventual introduction of the reforms. From the British annexation of the Punjab in 1849 until 1901, the five districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan remained within the Punjab province, which held control over the adjoining border tracts. As the Punjab in the successive decades grew more 'settled' with the new developments such as the introduction of canal system, the local authorities found it inconvenient to give more time to the affairs of the NWFP. As stated earlier, the colonialists treated the NWFP in a 'special' way because of its peculiar circumstances. It was probably one of the few spots of the British Empire where it was vulnerable.² Therefore, security considerations retarded the pace of socio-economic and political reforms. While the British introduced reforms and certain other measures required for good governance in the rest of India, the NWFP was governed through 'Special Ordinances'; implemented from time to time. The main aim of the colonial administration was to restrict all kind of such activities of the local inhabitants, which might lead to the demand of status quo.

The NWFP was an overwhelmingly Muslim majority province with 93% of the population being Muslim. The specificity of the Pashtoon identity, with its combination of religion and nationalism, made it distinct from other parts of the South Asia. For about a quarter of a century the NWFP remained a battleground for the colonialists and the local population, majority of whom were the Pashtoons. They always resisted the British rule at all levels. With the advent of the Twentieth century the traditional techniques of war changed and the armed resistance in the settled districts at least against the Raj, gave way to the opposition through non-violent methods. The Pashtoons resented the official treatment and demanded political representation. Interestingly, the 'collaborators' of the Raj in the Frontier also demanded constitutional reforms for their province and contacted other like-minded people in the legislatures to support them in their struggle

for the introduction of reforms. Initially, the demand for the reforms fell to a deaf ear but eventually the government agreed and reforms were introduced in the NWFP, thus bringing it at par with the other provinces of British India.

Lord Curzon, the new Viceroy, on assuming the office in January 1899 noticed the lukewarm attitude of the Punjab officials towards the Frontier. He criticised the Punjab administration which, according to Curzon, had no idea or interest in the Frontier affairs.³ To him, the only solution to the problem lay in the detachment of certain areas from the Punjab to form a new province.⁴ Curzon left no time in giving his ideas a practical shape. On November 9, 1901, the North-West Frontier Province came into being as a province headed by the Chief Commissioner. The formal inauguration took place five and a half months later on April 26, 1902. Curzon pointed out the merits of the scheme besides giving 'peace and tranquillity and contentment' to the Frontier, as 'Business will be better done and more quickly done, and there will not be long and vexatious delays....Merit will be better known under the new system, service will be more quickly rewarded, abuses will be more promptly checked, responsibility will be more strictly enforced and punishment, when punishment is needed, will be more swift.'⁵

The newly created Frontier Province, consisting of the districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan and the political agencies of Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan, was placed under the charge of a Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, appointed and directly responsible to Government of India. This dual charge of the Chief Commissioner included his duties and responsibilities in the civil administration like the heads of other provinces as well as the control of political relations with the tribes. The Chief Commissioner's principal advisors were the Judicial and the Revenue Commissioners. Each of the district remained as earlier under a Deputy Commissioner while the Political Agents were his representatives in the tribal belt. The peculiar feature of the judicial administration was the Frontier Crimes Regulations, which was regarded by the India Office as 'an exceptional and somewhat primitive' regulation.⁶

On the formation of the NWFP and by separating the five settled districts from the Punjab, these areas did not experience the benefits of the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. The strategic location and the internal instability were regarded the main cause of keeping it away from the reform schemes introduced in other provinces of British India. The tribal territories were considered inseparable from the settled districts.⁷

On August 20, 1917, the Secretary of State for India, announced the policy of HMG's as that 'of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire...'⁸ E. S. Montague, the Secretary of State and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy were given the task to prepare a report in that connection. They prepared and submitted the report on August 22, 1918, recommending reforms for other parts of India but denied them to the NWFP because 'political questions are of preponderant importance', and also because the province in question 'lack[s] the financial resources and powers which more settled provinces enjoy.'⁹ It did not suggest any changes in the existing system of administration. However, they proposed an advisory council to the Chief Commissioner.¹⁰ Sir George Roos-Keppel, then Chief Commissioner of the Frontier, opposed the idea of consultation with the advisers in a 'semi-public Council'. All important matters of the province, in his opinion, were apolitical in nature as it involved the relations of the British government either with Afghanistan and the Frontier tribes or were subject to influence 'from the effect of events in Central Asia and Persia on the tribes'. These matters, according to him, were confidential and could not be discussed openly. Keeping in view the opposition of Roos-Keppel, the Government of India decided to 'shelve the issue for the moment' and considered it best to wait and see the results of the introduction of those reforms in other provinces of British India.¹¹ The 'unsettled conditions' of the province had thus 'prevented' the government from taking any further action in that direction.¹²

The educated and the political-minded people of the province were disturbed at their exclusion from the reforms and advocated for the introduction of the constitutional reforms in the Frontier Province at par with other provinces of India. 'If the constitutional reform', they argued, 'is good for the rest of India, why is it not good for us?... The best way to encourage in the Pathan a greater respect for law is to treat him as a responsible citizen and to give him a vote. Surely the millions who inhabit the North-West Frontier Province cannot be permanently denied their share in the constitutional advantages which the rest of India enjoys?'¹³

In the NWFP some 'communal-minded' Hindus opposed the introduction of all such reforms. They pleaded for the strengthening of the power and authority of the executive. They felt further insecure and threatened by the armed tribesmen and looked for official protection. They were convinced that the only remedy was in re-amalgamation with the Punjab. This was all due to their fear of losing a voice in a 93% Muslim majority province as well as their desire of strengthening their co-religionists in the Punjab by giving them a stronger position in that province. Moreover, the separation deprived them of all those reforms and other benefits which from time to time were introduced by the Government of India in other provinces of British India.

To put more pressure on the government, the minorities in the NWFP turned to the Hindus and Sikhs in other provinces and asked them to bolster their stand on the re-amalgamation demand. Lala Lajpat Rai, the noted leader from the Punjab, was invited by the Arya Samajists of the NWFP to participate in the anniversary celebrations of the Peshawar Arya Samaj School, established in June 1895. He visited Peshawar in October 1905. After the formal function was over, he was requested by his co-religionists 'to raise his powerful voice against the division of Punjab', to which he promised his full support.¹⁴

The question of re-amalgamation came under discussion in the Punjab Legislative Council. Malik Feroz Khan Noon moved the resolution against re-amalgamation of the Frontier districts with the Punjab. He demanded from the Central Government 'that they must bring about a change in the five settled districts by bringing a change internally and not by amalgamating it with the

Punjab'. Speaking on the milieu of the people of the NWFP he remarked '...it is very desirable to allow them to develop on their own customs and according to their own habits. Their language is different, their blood is different, and geographically they are differently situated from us.'¹⁵ The Council divided on communal lines. The Muslim members of the Council supported the resolution while the Hindus and Sikhs opposed it as they were advocating and supporting the idea of re-amalgamation.¹⁶ The situation, however, changed gradually. The Punjab Hindus, who had earlier pressed very strongly for the amalgamation of the Frontier districts with the Punjab realised that if this was done the Muslims would be in a still more overwhelming majority in the Punjab than before, and it would definitely upset the balance of power in favour of the Muslims. So this idea of re-joining the Frontier districts to the Punjab gradually faded into oblivion and nobody pressed it hard furthermore.

While some members of the Hindu community in the region were engaged in contacting their sympathisers for support on an all-India level and were goading the Muslims of the Frontier Province by issuing provocative statements, some Hindu members in the CLA showed their sympathy with the cause of the NWFP. Dr Nand Pal asked the government why the NWFP was kept away from the benefits of the reforms? The official reply was that at the time of the introduction of the scheme it was considered desirable that the administration of the Frontier 'should remain in the hands of the Government of India.'¹⁷

Keeping in view the importance of the matter and the viable and persistent demand of the educated Muslims of the NWFP, the government, in April 1922, appointed an Enquiry Committee under Sir Dennys Bray, the then Foreign Secretary of Government of India. The task given to the Committee was to enquire into the reform controversy and the re-amalgamation of the NWFP with the Punjab. The report was submitted in October 1922. The differences of opinion on 'communal lines' were noticed in the report of the Committee.¹⁸ The three Europeans joined the three Muslims in recommending a legislative council for the province.¹⁹ Moreover, to secure the interests of the minorities, it was recommended to allot to them double the number of seats to which their numerical strength would entitle them.²⁰ The

government, at least for the time being shelved the recommendations of the Committee sensing an air of communal frenzy in it which it considered harmful for the country. It postponed its decision for the time being and later on in 1925 officially gave its verdict against the re-amalgamation.²¹

The Frontier Muslims, exasperated at the efforts by the Hindus against the reforms, approached their co-religionists for help and support. Muslim political organisations all over India showed their solidarity with the former. The All-India Muslim League, expressing its solidarity with their fellow-Muslims in the NWFP, campaigned for the reforms. In its fifteenth session, held at Lahore on May 24, 1924, resolutions were carried demanding their due share in the reforms scheme for the NWFP.²² The same demand was repeated in its session held at Bombay on December 30-31, 1924.²³ They reiterated that the Frontier Muslims be given the rights at par with the other provinces of India,²⁴ but the government ignored these demands, at least for the time being.

The educated Muslims of the NWFP did not lag behind their co-religionists of the rest of India in either political acumen or farsightedness. Representing their view point in the CLA, Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, himself from the NWFP, presented his case before the House. He asked the government whether the inhabitants of the NWFP were backward in education, proved troublesome, or that there was no money in the treasury to finance the machinery of a Council in the NWFP, or that there was at all no demand for reforms in the Frontier. Elaborating on the same points, he assured the audience of the great advance in education. Commenting on the turbulent nature of the Pashtoons, Sir Sahibzada cited the example of the Bengalis. 'They go in for murders and dacoities', he said, 'not for gain but simply for political reasons... We only raid and commit offences when we want to get something to live upon, and when we have plenty to eat we do not go in for these offences.'²⁵ He warned the government not to wait 'for the time when the people should protest about it in the form of a *hijrat*, or something of that sort'. Sir Sahibzada made a fervent appeal to the members of the House to support him otherwise they 'will be lacking in patriotism in regard to a province which claims to be a part of British India. If you are asking for further reforms for yourselves without our being given

an opportunity to try the present reforms, I am not going to support your demand. So long as my province is left out, I do not believe that the rest of India deserves any advance...²⁶

The Hindu communalists in the Frontier criticised the endeavours of Sir Abdul Qaiyum and the like-minded Muslims. The Hindu Sabha of D. I. Khan met on February 1, 1926, and passed resolutions condemning the 'attempt being made by a clique' for the introduction of reforms in the NWFP. Citing the strategic importance of the province and 'the facilities with which raids, dacoities, kidnapping, murder, and other serious crimes against Hindus are committed with impunity by trans-border people with the active assistance or connivance of local Pashtoon Pathans... the existence of revolutionary societies; the open advocacy by Muslim Press of Muslim Raj with the help of Afghanistan; and the dream of pan-Islamism engendered by recent events in other Muslim lands'... led to their strengthening the hands of the executive of the province as well as to their belief that the 'introduction of elective system is sure to aggravate faction feeling and promote riots & disturbances.'²⁷

To counter the 'negative' propaganda of the Hindu Sabha, the Muslim Association of D. I. Khan met on February 4, with Nawab Saifullah Khan in the chair and condemned the goading attitude of the Hindu Sabha. They considered it as 'one of a series of mischievous activities systematically carried on by a section of the Hindu residents of this province, with a view to totally obstruct or at least delay the introduction of Reforms...'²⁸ In an editorial note the *Observer* of Lahore, under the caption of 'NWF Province and Reforms', espoused it and criticized the attitude of the Hindu community towards it. 'Surely ninety five, or even more, percent of the population of the Frontier Province cannot be kept in permanent slavery by any Government simply because the remaining five or less than five per cent of the population chooses to create for itself a bogey of all sorts of imaginable mishaps... No minority has however any right to seal the political doom of a majority; and a minority representing no more than 4 or 5 per cent of the population would simply make itself the laughing stock of every thinking man, if it claimed as the Dera Ismail Khan Hindus have done, to exercise such a right against the remaining 95 percent of the population.'²⁹

The reforms controversy was re-started in the Assembly. On February 16, 1926, Syed Murtaza Bahadur belonging to Swarajya Party and AIML Council moved a resolution in the assembly demanding the extension of reforms to the NWFP, and the protection of the minorities.³⁰ Murtaza pointed out that the 'Government themselves say that the people of the Frontier are the gate-keepers and that they have been proving themselves loyal from time to time, yet nothing has been done for them'; opposition to reforms in the NWFP meant, according to the mover of the resolution, putting obstacles in the way of getting freedom for Mother India.³¹ The resolution aroused mixed feelings in the Assembly. Sir Sadiq Hussain criticized the abysmal attitude of the non-Muslims in regard with the matter of reforms introduction in the NWFP. 'It will be a dangerous doctrine', he said, 'if such a small minority can dictate that the progress of the country should stop. They have every right to demand full protection for their rights and we are prepared to ask it for them. But a minority forming 6 percent of the population certainly has not the right to bar the progress of the whole population.'³²

Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum insisted on his being Indian and elaborated on the connection of his province with the rest of India saying, that

Can the Hon'ble Members occupying the opposite Benches say that we are not Indians, that we are not part and parcel of India, that we have our sympathies more with the Afghans than with the peoples of these parts? Have we not fought against the Arabs? Have we not fought against the Turks? Have we not fought more than once against the Afghans themselves? Who defended the borders of India in 1919 and who has got the credit for it? In these circumstances will you not call me an Indian, even if I happen to oppose you? How many lives have we sacrificed for the purpose of defending the frontier of India? Are not the bones of my forefathers lying in the soil of Delhi? Are not the bones of thousand and one Pathans and other tribes lying in Delhi? Have not the Lodhis, Shershahis, Sherwanis and other tribes settled down in India? Then, why cannot a man coming from Peshawar be called an Indian if those people can be called Indians? ... I claim to be an Indian, and I claim my province to be a part and parcel of India. I have submitted to all your laws including the Indian Penal Code. All that I now ask is this. Why do you not apply another act to our province, which is called the Government of

India Act. What is there to prevent you from applying it to our province? You call this Act the Government of India Act. Why should you not extend it and apply it to the frontier when you can apply the Indian Penal Code to us?³³

Col. J. D. Crawford endorsing Sahibzada's views said: 'we have on our frontier really loyal servants of India and if we could interest them in the development of the province and in India itself, you would possibly have a sure buffer in the defence of India.'³⁴

The *Sarhad*, a fortnightly newspaper from Peshawar, repeated Sahibzada's argument. In its editorial on the reforms it cited many examples of the loyalty of the Frontier Muslims towards the British Indian government and demanded from the concerned authorities removal of the hurdles in the introduction of the reforms in the NWFP.³⁵

Surprisingly, Bipin Chandra Pal, a noted Hindu leader from Calcutta, supported the resolution in favour of the reforms scheme, and advised the minority communities in the NWFP to accommodate themselves to the majority of the province like the Mussalmans of Madras had accommodated themselves to the majority Hindu community there. Giving emphasis to the education of the Frontier people he expressed his fears that unless the Frontier was given some reforms and brought into the line with the rest of India, it would always stand as a permanent menace to the peace and progress of India.³⁶ But his was the solitary voice as other Hindu members of the House continued their support to the Hindus of the Frontier Province. Pandit Madan M. Malaviya, the veteran Hindu leader, came out with a tirade against the reforms. He warned the government that 'the Frontier Province is a place which has to be specially guarded if India has to be properly defended.'³⁷ P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, made an analogous speech. To him in the Frontier Province the conditions necessary for the introduction of popular control over the Government of the Province did not exist.³⁸

On the resumption of the debate on the second day Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, K. B. Ghulam Bari, Abdul Haye and Sir Darcy Lindsay supported the resolution. M. A. Jinnah while giving his full support to the resolution asked those who were opposing the reforms for Frontier Province whether they were changing their

stand for the attainment of freedom for India? Why they were not treating the question of the NWFP on the same footing as they were demanding for the other parts of India. He opposed the re-amalgamation of the Frontier with the Punjab as 'The people of the North-West Frontier Province linguistically, ethnographically, geographically and in every other sense are different from the Punjab people, and why are you forcing these people, against their will and against the will of the Punjab itself, to be re-amalgamated with the Punjab?' By accentuating the demand for the reforms he said, '...either amalgamation or, if no amalgamation, reforms must be given' to the NWFP. 'What benefit would you get' asked Jinnah, 'if no reforms are given to this province and what prejudice, what harm will be caused to the Hindus if the reforms are given to this province?.' 'Is there one principle for the people in India', asked Jinnah, 'and another for the people in the North-West Frontier Province of India? You say they are not fit; you say they are incompetent; so the rest of India will keep the North-West Frontier Province under your heels and under your subjection.'³⁹

The debate continued for the third day. The discussion took a communal shape. The Muslims supported the resolution, of course, some noted Europeans also sided with them. The majority of the Hindus on the other hand came out openly opposing the resolution. Jinnah's views were endorsed by Lt. Col. H. A. J. Gidney, who was familiar with the affairs of the NWFP. He expressed his astonishment over the attitude of the Nationalists and even some Independents. 'I cannot understand', remarked Gidney, '... how, with one breath they cry out for a Royal Commission to give a further advance in Reforms to this country, while with the other they decry and oppose the introduction of Reforms for another part of India, the North-West Frontier Province.'⁴⁰ To him '... this province, being one that can look after itself and defend itself, is in a more fit condition to receive self-government than one not so qualified...since we have given reforms to other provinces of India', he added, 'I see no reason why we should not give it to a province which is wanting it.'⁴¹ Though officially the Swarajiya Party did not 'embroil itself with the conduct of one of its members',⁴² Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the party fully supported the demand for the introduction of reforms in the NWFP. The NWFP, he stated, 'is an integral part of British India

and cannot be excluded from any scheme of reforms.’⁴³ The resolution was put before the House and despite being opposed by some of the Hindu members, it was carried.⁴⁴

However, the government was still reluctant in the introduction of reforms in the Frontier Province. In one of its sessions (Delhi, December 23-31, 1926), the League urged the government that it ‘should give effect to the recommendations of the Majority Report of the Bray Committee and thus allay the feelings and misapprehensions of the Mussalmans not only of the North-West Frontier Province, but of all India, regarding this matter.’⁴⁵ To sum up, the question of the introduction of reforms in the Frontier Province became one of the most important and crucial issues for the government as well as for the educated and politically-minded there in the 1920’s. As stated earlier, the matter took a communal shape. The Muslim MLA’s, supported by European members of the House, advocated the introduction of reforms, while some Hindu members showed their resentment to any such scheme. While the AIML initiated a campaign in favour of the introduction of reforms in the NWFP on the same footing as were introduced in other provinces of British India, the INC, interestingly, for the time being took very little interest in the debate. Most probably this was due to its non-effective organisation in the Frontier Province or because during this period there were a lot of organisational changes in the Congress⁴⁶ and was unable to pay much heed to the affairs of the NWFP.

Indian Statutory Commission and the NWFP Affairs

On November 27, 1927, the formation of an Indian Statutory Commission was announced. The main purpose of the Commission was to re-examine the constitutional development of India and the working of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms. The Commission was kept confined to the members of the two Houses of the British Parliament and Sir John Simon was made its chairman.⁴⁷ In India, the ‘all white’ character of the Commission aroused ‘a storm of indignation and protest’. The non-inclusion of any Indian member to the Commission was considered ‘an insult to Indians and an arrogant repudiation of the claim which had been

put forward that they should be given a predominant voice in the determination of the future constitution of their country.⁴⁸

A significant section of the political-minded people in India boycotted the Commission. The boycott began with the observation of an all-India *hartal* on February 3, 1928, the day the Commission landed in Bombay. During their stay in India, wherever the Commission went, the members were greeted with the slogans of 'Simon Go Back'. There were demonstrations in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, Lucknow, Patna and many other big cities.⁴⁹ The majority of the people were against any sort of co-operation with the Simon Commission. Even the 'loyalists' refused to support it.⁵⁰

However, on February 22, with the endeavours of Lord Irwin, the Council of State decided to form the Indian Central Committee.⁵¹ The main task of the Committee was to help and collaborate with the members of the Statutory Commission from the Indian side and to provide them the opportunities for the free and impartial exchange of views on the future constitution for India.

The Commission arrived at Peshawar on November 17, 1928, and remained there till 20 November.⁵² There was a 'great demonstration' on its arrival. Activists from the districts of Hazara, Kohat, Bannu and D. I. Khan gathered in Peshawar to participate in the anti-Commission demonstrations. The group leaders organised demonstrations in Peshawar. The Commission members were greeted by black flags amidst the slogans of 'Simon Go Back'.⁵³ 'The route', as reported, was 'well-guarded by the bayoneted police. Placards were posted all over the city exhorting the people to join the crowd at station....'⁵⁴ However, the demonstration remained peaceful and no untoward incident was reported from Peshawar on that day.

On November 19, a day after the commission's arrival, it received a deputation of leading loyalist Khans led by K. B. Ghafoor Khan of Zaida.⁵⁵ They apprised the members of the Commission of their demand for the introduction of reforms in the Frontier Province. The Khans asked for a legislative council and insisted on having the same powers for the council as were enjoyed by other provinces. It should consist of two-thirds nominated and one-thirds elected members. 'The Reforms', remarked Ghafoor

Khan, 'are a step in the direction of enabling the people of the country to have a fairly large share in the administration of their own affairs. Therefore, on that account', he demanded, 'irrespective of the fact that we have great confidence in our European officers and in the Government, we still think that we should have a share of all those Reforms which had been introduced before, but from which, somehow or other, we have not yet been benefited, and therefore we want the Reform.'⁵⁶ Keeping in view the past services, which the Khans rendered to the Raj, they demanded four seats in the assembly and three in the council. They further demanded that in the higher appointments in the government departments special regard should be given to the Khans. Referring to question of minorities, they promised safeguards for their interests and suggested their representation in the province's council according to their percentage.⁵⁷

Educated Muslims of the NWFP, eager since a long time to see their province to advance to the point reached by other provinces,⁵⁸ were looking with great expectation towards the Statutory Commission. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, a prominent lawyer of Peshawar, emphasised the need of the reforms in the Frontier Province. By citing the examples of their close neighbours, the Punjab on one side and Afghanistan on the other, he made them aware of the 'tremendous advancement' in Afghanistan, where 'Western ideas of democracy and Western influences are strongly at work' and that when 'we see that there is awakening on the one side and reforms on the other, there is no reason why we in the middle should be left alone.'⁵⁹ He favoured separate representation and safeguards for the minorities and recognised the minority rights and ratio in all the representative institutions on the same basis as was given to the Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces in the rest of India. A group of influential Khans endorsed the views of Aurangzeb.⁶⁰ Some leading Khans, however, opposed the grant of such reforms as they saw in them the destruction of their own authority and power.

The main opposition to the introduction of reforms came from the deputation of the Provincial Hindu Conference. Led by R. B. Thakur Datta (D. I. Khan) they stressed the need for strengthening the provincial executive authorities, the weakening of which they considered detrimental not only to the NWFP but to

the entire Empire in India 'by reason of its contiguity to Afghanistan and the tribal territory populated by fanatical Pathans who held the infidel Hindus in contempt and hatred.' Moreover, according to them, the members of the dominant community in the province had not yet reached the stage of political advancement where one could disassociate politics from religion and religion from the affairs of public life.⁶¹ The minorities in the NWFP were apprehensive of the reforms as it was leading towards the undermining of the executive authority and in no way they were prepared for it.⁶² Ahmad Nawaz Khan, the Nawab of D. I. Khan, espoused the minority cause and wrote in favour of bolstering the hands of the executive in giving them more and more powers in all of the military, political, administrative, legislative, executive and judicial matters.⁶³

Mehr Chand Khanna, the honorary secretary of provincial Hindu Sabha, opposed the reform scheme altogether. Owing to the 'peculiar' condition of the NWFP, he mentioned E. H. Kealy, the former secretary to the Chief Commissioner, who regarded the NWFP as 'a powder magazine' and advised that 'even at the cost of sacrificing the ideas of theoretical liberty, it is essential to keep the match away from the powder'. According to Khanna, the province 'is mainly Pathan in constitution, where blood feud is endemic and where the people can be easily excited in extremes for weal and for woe'. 'I am of considered opinion', he added, 'that it will be a great political suicide to introduce in this province at this time any Reforms whether in the form of democratic institutions or otherwise.' He inextricably linked the finances of the Frontier Province with the rest of India. 'The province is too small in size', remarked Khanna, 'and the revenue already cannot balance its expenditure. In case the reforms are introduced it will be a still further drain on the Indian exchequer. Why should the rest of India [predominantly Hindus] pay for Reforms in this Province which will make the state of Hindus here rather worse.'⁶⁴

Hindu opposition for the introduction of reforms in the NWFP was based mainly on two reasons: one, they were afraid of the overwhelming majority of the Muslims in the Frontier Province. Their fears of the intended support of the Muslims of the settled districts with their co-religionists across the border, who, according to the popular notion of Hindus, always took delight in

the plundering and looting the properties of the non-Muslims and were ever ready to kidnap them to the 'No-Mans Land'. They were under the un-ending powerful influence of the 'fanatical' *maulvis* who always were preaching against the non-Muslims inhabiting the NWFP. Secondly, they formed a minority of only 7 per cent in the Frontier Province and were dependent on the behaviour of the Pashtoons towards them, unlike their fellow Hindus, who, in most parts of the sub-continent were in majority. They demanded representation in the future council far greater than their numerical strength because of their importance in the commercial, political and educational life in the province.

The Sikh deputation, led by Sardar Raja Singh, favoured the reform scheme with certain reservations for their community. They demanded joint electorates with a reservation of seats and wanted for themselves, who numerically were only 1 percent; 25 percent seats in the Council. They asked for the same percentage in all of the departments of the administration for themselves.⁶⁵ The official view was presented by H. A. Metcalfe, the deputy commissioner, Peshawar. He favoured the reforms giving much importance to the Khans and other loyalists, whom he regarded as a source 'of great assistance to the district officers in preserving law and order and in deciding difficult questions connected with the matter.'⁶⁶ However, Sir William Barton, who represented the Raj in the Frontier in various capacities made it clear that 'You have five millions of Pathans in the political boundary of India with their traditions, inclinations, and national feeling drawing them away from India. Can you afford to make dangerous experiments in that explosive country? Administrative inefficiency would have its reactions across the border involving expensive military operations and possibly the increase of the permanent garrison of the Frontier. He termed it as an 'all- Indian problem' by linking it closely with the foreign and diplomatic policy and the imperial defence.⁶⁷

The Commission did not reply to all these representations and left Peshawar with politicians behind it conjecturing and speculating about the outcome of their meetings, discussions and recommendations. It recommended for the NWFP the reforms on the lines of Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, to be reviewed after 10 years.⁶⁸ The Committee further recommended that in the

Central Legislature, the Frontier Province should be given 6 seats in a total of 273.⁶⁹ In 1928, Pandit Motilal Nehru the veteran Congress politician in the all-Parties Conference held at Bombay on 19 May, presented the famous Nehru Report of the Congress constitution for India. The introduction of reforms in the Frontier Province formed a part of the Congress demands.⁷⁰ Similarly, the nineteenth session of the AIML held on 30-31 December-1 January 1928 at Calcutta, reiterated its stand for the workable and sound solution of the reforms controversy in the NWFP and demanded its extension to the Frontier Province at par with other provinces of British India.⁷¹

In May 1930, the Simon Commission made its recommendations public. In the case of the NWFP, in view of its 'peculiar character and the special military and political difficulties' associated with it, the commission regarded it administratively impossible to separate the government of the NWFP from the control of its tribal tracts.⁷² The Commission shared the view of the Bray Committee that a provision be made for the constitutional advance of the NWFP. It formulated a scheme agreeing that 'the situation of the province and its intimate relation with the problem of Indian defence are such that special arrangements are required' and 'the proposals which we are going to make endeavour to meet these claims as far as they can be met, but it is not possible to change the plain facts of the situation. The inherent right of a man to smoke a cigarette must necessarily be curtailed if he lives in a powder magazine.'⁷³ The Commission recommended a council, with elected and nominated members in about equal proportion. The elected members would be chosen by a special constituency of big land holders, the Khans, and the members elected by municipalities and district boards and of ex-soldiers. The nominated members would be upon the selection of the Chief Commissioner, and would consist partly of officials and partly of non-officials. In addition, due provision be made for the representation of the minorities including Hindus and Sikhs. The legislative powers of the council were to be limited, with law and order as a reserved subject. The Chief Commissioner was given the power to preside over the provincial legislative assembly.⁷⁴

The recommendations were criticised by a circle of Muslim intelligentsia who regarded them as 'in-adequate'. Mohammad

Yamin Khan, a central assembly member from the UP, while condemning the recommendations, stressed on the need of the introduction of same constitution in the Frontier province as was given to the other provinces of British India.⁷⁵ Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum was exasperated at the recommendations of the Commission. He considered it as 'most disappointing' which had created great discontent in the already aggravated serious situation of the province. Instead of securing the co-operation of the peoples, it had strengthened the hands of the administration.⁷⁶ Resenting on the use of the phrase of the 'gunpowder magazine' for his province the Sahibzada remarked in the assembly:

Let it be granted that the North-West Frontier Province is a gun-powder magazine and that we, the unfortunate inhabitants of that province, have the inherit right to smoke, and that we must be careful not to use a lighted match then I do understand that these reforms are like lighted matches and will set the North-West Frontier on fire if extended to that province?... Perhaps the Government has got some experience of these reforms in the rest of India, where they have proved to be lighted matches, I mean in Madras, Bengal, Bombay etc. And they perhaps think that, if they were to apply them to our province, they would result in a conflagration in the country. If that is the position, let them say so and we shall not be sorry for losing these reforms, but we, shall expect them to be withdrawn from the rest of India too.⁷⁷

Endorsing the views of Sahibzada and other Muslims, the AIML, in its session at Allahabad on 29-30 December 1930, reiterated its earlier demand on the introduction of reforms in the NWFP, pointed out to the government the particular conditions in the province and opined that 'the continued political dissatisfaction in the province cannot be removed nor can the local aspirations be satisfied with any scheme of administration which gives an inferior place to the province in comparison with other provinces in the country.'⁷⁸

The discussion continued on whether to grant full-fledged reforms to the NWFP or to leave it in the same position as it was since its formation in 1901. AIML and INC, both major political parties of India by now realised the importance of the demand and supported it from their platforms. The 'loyalists' and the educated

inhabitants of the Frontier were time and again reminding the Raj of their past services to the British imperialism and wanted in lieu of their services reforms for NWFP. By now various other groups and organisations emerged in the Frontier who resented on the exclusion of their province from the various reforms scheme implemented from time to time in the rest of India. They too demanded the introduction of reforms in the NWFP but the method was totally different: they did it through agitation and protests and by defying the government authority.

Khudai Khidmatgars and the Reforms

After the failure of *Hijrat* movement, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a prominent social worker of Charsadda well-known for his active support of Haji Sahib of Turangzai who led the anti-British movement during the first two decades of the twentieth century, concentrated on Pashtoon politics. He contacted the like-minded people and succeeded in bringing them together on a common platform to struggle for the purification of the Pashtoon society. The formation of the Anjuman-i-Islah-u'l-Afaghana (Society for the Reformation of the Afghans) [April 1921], the Zalmu Jirga (Afghan Youth League) [September 1929], and eventually the Khudai Khidmatgar movement [November 1929], was aimed at creating political awareness amongst the Pashtoons for the eradication of social evils, promotion of unity among them and encouragement of the Pashto language and literature. Furthermore, they demanded attainment of complete independence for Hindustan by all peaceful means. The Frontier nationalists criticised the 'Special Regulations' enacted in the NWFP and demanded equal status for their province at par with other provinces of British India.⁷⁹

In December 1929, the Congress, at its annual session at Lahore, pledged itself to the attainment of complete independence.⁸⁰ A large number of politically-minded people from the NWFP, including several prominent Khudai Khidmatgars, attended the Congress session at Lahore. The main objective of the Frontier delegates was to attract the attention of the Indian leaders to the 'cramped' Frontier atmosphere caused by the oppressive laws and the humiliation the Pashtoons suffered in consequence of

having been denied even the ordinary reforms.⁸¹ The Congress leaders were apprised of the latest Frontier situation and they promised to send a committee to enquire into the grievances of the Frontiersmen.

The year 1930 saw India in political turmoil. The Congress had launched its Civil Disobedience movement against the British Indian government to attain complete independence. To achieve that end there were demonstrations, protests and strikes in various parts of India. As directed by its central organisation, the local Congress gave a call for civil disobedience against the provincial government. They requested Abdul Ghaffar Khan to utilise his influence and to support the Congress to which he agreed. Meanwhile, the members of the Congress Enquiry Committee were prevented from entering the NWFP, which aroused anti-government sentiments amongst the local political workers. On April 23, 1930, there was an indiscriminate firing on unarmed Congressic/Khudai Khidmatgar volunteers in the Qissa Khwani Bazar of Peshawar, resulting in the deaths of about two hundred on the spot and again on May 31, killing 12 persons. Already, on 16 May, Utmanzai, the hometown of Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been ravaged by the troops. On 25 May Takkar, a village in Mardan was attacked by the troops and the Khudai Khidmatgars were incarcerated. On 24 August a protest meeting at Hathi Khel (Bannu) was fired upon and 70 persons were killed. To sum up, during the civil disobedience movement the Khudai Khidmatgars were beaten, their clothes were torn off, their property looted and houses set ablaze, the sanctity of four walls violated, and many more were handled roughly in their private parts. A ban was put on the Khudai Khidmatgars and its affiliated bodies followed by Martial Law in the province. The government also tried to link the Khudai Khidmatgars with the Bolsheviks and accused them of being the Russian agents. The Khudai Khidmatgars were left with no other option but to affiliate themselves with an all-India organisation. Their first choice was the AIML. But to their utter despair the League flatly refused to support them against the Raj. Their next choice was the Congress which was also undergoing the government suppression. It readily agreed to support the Frontier nationalists in their anti-imperialist struggle. In March 1931, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other Khudai Khidmatgars were released under

Gandhi-Irwin Pact and were invited to the Congress session at Karachi. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was asked to declare his association with the Congress openly, which he did accordingly. In August 1931, the Khudai Khidmatgar organisation was formally amalgamated with the Congress though it retained its separate identity.⁸²

From the inception of the nationalist movement in the NWFP, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the other like-minded people felt the need of the extension of political reforms to their province. They accused the government of intentionally keeping them backward under the 'black laws' like the Frontier Crimes Regulations and not giving them any share either in the reforms of 1909 or that of 1919.⁸³ Apart from many other causes of the agitation in the Frontier Province during the 1930's, one basic reason was the continued refusal of reforms in the Frontier Province. During and after the agitation, the Muslim intelligentsia of the NWFP supported the Khudai Khidmatgars as they considered it as an insult to the Frontier Muslims that they were not considered fit for the introduction of reforms therein. The adjoining province of the Punjab was fully enjoying its share in the reforms scheme. The legislative council of the Punjab played a vital role in the progress of that province. This sense of deprivation in regard to the political future of the NWFP compelled the educated and politically-minded people of the province to think about the future course of action and this was responsible for the Khudai Khidmatgars' support in the agitation against the government. They saw no justification in the government's reasons for withholding the reforms.⁸⁴ Emerson, one of the prominent officials of the Raj, then posted in the Frontier, agreed with the proposal of H. B. Howell, who in his note dated May 24, 1930, strongly pleaded for the introduction of reforms in the Frontier province and said that 'As soon as this is known that a reasonable measure of reforms will be given to the province not only will internal influence favourable to Government come into operation but Mohammadan influence outside the province will be exerted in favour of the constitutional methods'.⁸⁵ Emerson's views were shared by the deputy commissioner of Peshawar who in his Memorandum to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the NWFP, acknowledged the fact that one of the main reasons of the

unrest in 1930 was the failure of the Government of India to grant any sort of reforms to the Frontier Province. 'This failure', according to him, was felt by 'members of the bar in different places and by the saner elements of the educated classes'.⁸⁶ The Chief Commissioner, confirmed the views of Howell and Emerson. In his report to the Government of India on the causes of the disturbances in Peshawar and other districts of the Frontier Province, he commented that the urban and educated classes in the province were discontented at withholding of the political reforms introduced in other provinces of India the 'inhabitants of whom were regarded by the Pathan population as by nature less competent than themselves to manage their own affairs.'⁸⁷ After his release under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in his meeting with Emerson on August 29, 1931, discussed the question of reforms. According to Emerson, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was 'quite candid and said that if the Frontier get what they want at the Round Table Conference then there would be no further necessity for his movement but in case they did not get what they wanted, then they would renew the struggle with Government, always of course through non-violence.'⁸⁸

The Round Table Conferences and the NWFP

To meet India's widespread desire for more political reforms, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy announced the convening of the Round Table Conferences (RTC) at London. The first one in the series was held from November 12, 1930 to January 19, 1931, the second session of the Conference was held from September 7, and December 1, 1931,⁸⁹ while the third one from November 17, 1932, to December 24, 1932. The deliberations of the first session were started on November 12, 1930.⁹⁰ The Congress boycotted it and did not send any of its members to London.⁹¹ Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum was the sole representative of NWFP. The deliberations of the conference went on for several days. On December 16, 1930, various Sub- Committees were constituted to consider separately the questions of Federation, Provincial Constitution, minorities and the NWFP affairs. The Sub-Committee No. V was appointed, with Arthur Henderson as its Chairman, 'To consider what modifications, if any, are to be made in the General Provincial

Constitution to meet the special circumstances of the North-West Frontier Province.⁹² The Sub-Committee held its meetings on December 18 and 30, 1930, and submitted its report on January 1, 1931. The members were unanimous in their recommendations on the introduction of reforms in the NWFP. They advised to give the province the status of governor's province like other governor's provinces in the British India 'subject to such adjustment of details as local circumstances require and the extent of the all-India interests in the Province necessitate.'⁹³ Further, it proposed a legislative council with elected as well as nominated members, with a sufficient number to be given to the minorities. The governor was to be the executive head of the province assisted by two ministers, one of whom must be an official. Support to the introduction of reforms in the Frontier also came from some British legal experts. They recommended to the government that 'if you are going to give reforms to India, you must give some reforms to the North-West Frontier Province. They are the very finest class of people. To refuse them altogether would not be fair of politic, because though we must for strategic reasons keep control over that province, it would be far worse for the whole Province to be seething with discontent when trouble arose'.⁹⁴

In May 1931, the Government of India constituted a Subject Committee (the Haig Committee) to probe further into the classification of subjects and the financial matters between the provincial and central Government.⁹⁵ The Haig Committee, after careful considerations, made a report on June 23, 1931, recommending a full-fledged province for NWFP which was hitherto worked only as an administrative unit.⁹⁶

The Congress, however, rejected the decision arrived at the RTC. Its Working Committee met at Allahabad on June 21, 1931, and condemned the declaration of the British Premier as 'too vague and general to justify any change in the policy of the Congress.'⁹⁷ In January 1931, as a good-will gesture the government released Gandhi and other members of the Congress Working Committee. The Viceroy met Gandhi on February 17 and discussed the details of a truce between the Government of India and the Congress. On March 4, 1931, the truce known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed by which the Congress called-off its civil disobedience movement, while amnesty was granted and prisoners arrested

during the movement were released. Gandhi agreed to represent the Congress at the Second RTC. He was the sole spokesman from the Congress side.⁹⁸ During his speech at the Plenary Session of the RTC on December 1, 1931, Gandhi was reminded by Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, who had been the representative of the Frontier Province, that he should support him and say few words about the Frontier reforms. Gandhi replied, 'I will [say] and it is this. Let India get what she is entitled to and what she can really take, but whatever she gets, whenever she gets it, let the Frontier Province get complete autonomy today.'⁹⁹ The Second RTC broke up in December 1931, without any reconciliation reached between the Congress and the British Government. Gandhi started his journey back to India and reached Bombay on December 28, 1931, 'empty handed'.

The unanimous demand of the various quarters of the NWFP was fulfilled on December 1, 1931, when Ramsay MacDonald announced at the concluding session of the second RTC, the elevation of its status to that of a governor's province like other governor's provinces in British India.¹⁰⁰ Under the new arrangements, on April 18, 1932, Sir Ralph Griffith, the then Chief Commissioner NWFP, was made the first Governor of the Frontier Province. On the same day, Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy of India inaugurated the NWFP legislative council.¹⁰¹ The council consisted of a total of 40 members: 28 elected and 12 nominated. Among them 22 were to be Muslims, 5 Hindus, and 1 Sikh. The nominated members comprised of 5 Europeans, 1 Muslim, 1 Sikh official, 4 non-official Muslims and 1 Sikh non-official. Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum was appointed the Minister in charge of the Transferred Department, K B Ghafoor Khan of Zaida, a nominated member, was made the first president, K B Abdur Rahim Khan, an elected member, became deputy president, and Sheikh Abdul Hamid, a member of the provincial civil service, was appointed as the Secretary of the council.¹⁰² However, it was made clear that the Council or the Ministers had no say in the administration of the tribal areas. Those continued to be administered by the Governor himself, subject to the final control of the Central Government.

Thus the long-standing demand of the Muslims of the NWFP was fulfilled. In demanding the reforms for their province at par with other provinces of the British India, various sections of

the Frontier society contributed positively. While the Khudai Khidmatgars asked for it through agitational politics and the 'extra-constitutional' means, the loyalist Khans and the other groups of the Muslims intelligentsia petitioned the government or used other constitutional methods. The Muslim League supported the demand for reforms from its various platforms. The Congress, though initially it gave a luke-warm response to the demand, subsequent upon its alliance with the Khudai Khidmatgars, wholeheartedly supported it and pressed the British government for reforms. Although a small section of the Frontier Hindus opposed the reforms for various reasons, the reforms enabled the province to raise further its political profile.

References and Notes

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2. J. Coatman, 'The North-West Frontier Province and the Trans-Border Country Under the New Constitution', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. xviii, July 1931, part. III, p. 335.
3. Curzon to George Hamilton, 9 March 1899, quoted in Lal Baha, *NWFP Administration Under the British Rule 1901-1919* (Islamabad, 1978), p. 18.
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5. Summary of Curzon's Administration, Foreign Department, N-WFP and Baluchistan part II. p. 21, quoted in Baha, *NWFP Administration*, pp. 25-6; David Dilks, *Curzon in India* (London, 1969), I. p. 229.
6. India Judicial and Public Proceedings., 1901, Reg. No. 1815, India Office Comment on the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901, as quoted in Baha, *NWFP Administration*, pp. 30-31.
7. 'The Problems of Law and Order Under a Responsible Government in the North-West Frontier Province', Sir William Barton, *Journal of Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. xix, January 1932, part I, p. 17.
8. *Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms* (Calcutta, 1918), p. 1.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
11. Baha, *NWFP Administration*, p. 229.

12. M. S. D. Butler to Ahmad Bakhsh, 9 July 1923, *Legislative Assembly Debates* [herein after CLAD] (Simla, 1923), p. 4338.
13. Demands of the Muslim Delegates Presented Before the Simon Commission quoted in *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission Vol. I: Survey* [hereafter Simon Report] (London, 1930). p. 323-4.
14. Amir Chand Bombwal, *Punjab Kesari: Lala Lajpat Rai: Some Reminiscences* (Dehra Dun, 1962), p. 4.
15. *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, vol. IV. 2 August 1922 (Lahore, 1923), p. 139.
16. *Ibid.*, 3 August 1922, p. 195. The motion was carried by 38 to 23 votes. For more details see 2 August 1922, pp. 186-97.
17. Sir William Vincent's reply to Dr. Nand Pal, CLAD, 19 September 1921, pp. 426-27.
18. Other members of the Committee included two other Europeans, Sir H. N. Bolton, the Chief Commissioner NWFP, A. H. Parker, District and Session Judge, Punjab, three Muslims Sayyid Raza Ali, Member Council of State, Ch. Shahabuddin, President Punjab Legislative Council, K B Abdur Rahim Khan, Bar-at-Law and two Hindus, R B Rangachariar and Mr. Samarath, members of the Legislative Assembly, Obhrai, *The Evolution*, p. 111.
19. Extracts from the *Frontier Enquiry Committee Report*, File No 206, Archives of Freedom Movement, Karachi, pp. 14h-14i.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
21. CLAD, 19 March 1926, pp. 2767-2768.
22. Liaquat Ali Khan, *Resolutions of All-India Muslim League from May 1924 to December 1936* (Delhi, n.d.), p. 1.
23. S. S. Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan* (Karachi, 1969), II. p. 26.
24. Liaquat Ali, *Resolutions*, p. 18.
25. Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, CLAD, 8 September 1925, pp. 978-980.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Copy of Resolution passed by the Hindu Sabha, Dera Ismail Khan, 1 February 1926, F. No. 206, AFM, p. 14c.
28. Copy of Resolution passed by the Muslim Association of Dera Ismail Khan, 4 February 1926, *Ibid.*, p. 14a.
29. *Observer*, Lahore, 7 February 1926, *Ibid.*, p. 14d.
30. CLAD, 16 February 1926, (Delhi, 1926), pp. 1296-1300.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 1302.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 1305-1306.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 1310.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 1318.
35. *Sarhad*, Peshawar, 1 January 1927, A. B. Yusufi Private Collection, Karachi.
36. CLAD, *ibid.*, p. 1333.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 1334-1341.
38. *Ibid.*, 8 March 1926. pp. 2736-2737.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 2742.
40. *Ibid.*, 19 March 1926, p. 2782.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 2783.
42. A. C. Bombwal, *Pandit Motilal Nehru: A Great Friend of the Frontier People: Some Reminiscences* (Dehra Dun, 1963), pp. 5-7.
43. *The Hindustan Times* 19 March 1926, quoted in Ravinder Kumar, Sharma ed. *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru*, V (Delhi, 1993), p. 467.
44. *CLAD*, 19 March 1926, p. 2800.
45. Liaquat Ali Khan, *Resolution*, pp. 29-30.
46. Gopal Krishna, 'The Development of the Indian National Congress as a Mass Organisation, 1918-1923', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. xxv. No. 3. (May 1966), pp. 413-30.
47. Other members of the Commission included H. L. Webster, A. S. Palmer, E. C. G. Cadegan, S. Walsh, C. G. R. Attlee. *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission 1928-29 Volume I*, p. xiii.
48. *Report of the Indian Central Committee, 1928-1929*, (London, 1929), pp. 6-7.
49. B. Pattabhi Sitaramaya, *The History of the Indian National Congress, volume, I (1885-1935)* (Bombay, 1946), pp. 320-321.
50. *Report of the Indian Constitutional Committee*, p. 7.
51. They elected Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Arthur Froom and Raja Nawab Ali Khan to share the labours of the Commission. A fourth member, Sardar Bahadur Shivdev Singh Uberoi, was nominated by the Viceroy to present the Sikhs. Another group of five members was added by Lord Irwin from the CLA. They included Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy, Kikabhio Premchand, Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja and Sir Hari Singh Gour to form the Indian Central Committee. *Indian Central Committee*, p. 7.
52. J. Simon to N. Bolton, 28 October 1928, MSS. EUR. F. 77/16, India Office Records and Library, London [henceforth IOR&L], Simon Collection, p. 11.
53. They were Mian Jaffar Shah, A. B. Yusufi (Peshawar), Maulvi Ahmad Gul (Kohat), Habibullah Khan (Bannu) and Malik Khuda Bakhsh (D. I. Khan). See A. B. Yusufi, *Sarhad Aur Jaddo Jehadi Azadi* (Karachi, 1989), pp. 512-513; Bombwal, *Punjab Kesari*, p. 7.
54. *Indian Annual Register* [henceforth *IAR*], vol. II, July-December 1928, (Calcutta, n.d.), p.136.
55. They included Nawab Dost Mohammad Khan of Tehkal (Peshawar), K B Mian Musharaf Shah (Nowshera), K B Sarfaraz Khan (Mardan), Nawab Habibullah Khan (D. I. Khan), Nawab Allah Dad Khan (D. I. Khan), Baz Mohammad Khan of Teri (Kohat), Raja Haider Zaman Khan (Hazara), K B Khair Mohammad Khan (Bannu), K B Arbab Mir Ahmad Khan of Landi Arbab (Peshawar) and Nawab Habibullah Khan Toru (Mardan).
56. Abdul Ghafoor Khan before the Chairman and the members of the Simon Commission, 19 November 1928, Simon, F 77/133, pp. 8-9.

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57. *Ibid.*, F 77/132, p. 19.
 58. Citing the examples of the students of Islamia College and Edwardes College, Peshawar, J. Coatman stated that he was struck by the desire of these young men from these colleges for the introduction of reforms in the NWFP bringing it at par with other provinces of British India. For more details see J. Coatman, *Journal*, pp. 335-348.
 59. *Simon Commission Proceedings*, F. No. 77/132, p. 98.
 60. They included K B Abdul Jabbar Khan (Matta), K B Saadullah Khan (Umarzai), K B Ghulam Haider Khan (Sherpao), K B Mir Alam Khan (Tangi), K B Sultan Mohammad Khan (Hazara) and Mohammad Zaman Khan (Hazara). *ibid.*, p. 61.
 61. They were R S Mehr Chand Khanna (Peshawar), R S Ramnath Lamba (Peshawar), Ram Das Bagai (D. I. Khan), Ruchi Ram (D. I. Khan), Seth Ram Chand (Kohat), R B Diwan Chand (Hazara), R S Parmanand (Hazara) and R S Kishan Chand (Bannu). Obhrai, *Evolution*, p. 125.
 62. Memorandum of Gurdit Singh, Secretary Hindu Sabha, Kohat, 30 May 1928, F 77/170, p. 3.
 63. 'A Scheme of Special Reforms for the North-West Frontier Province', by Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Nawab of D. I. Khan, F 77/132, pp. 7-8.
 64. Mehr Chand Khanna to J Simon, 26 March 1928, *Ibid.*, F. No. 77/132, *Simon*, IOR&L, pp. 31-32.
 65. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
 66. *Ibid.*, F 77/133, p. 231.
 67. 'The Problems of Law and Order Under a Responsible Government in the North-West Frontier Province', Sir William Barton, *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. xix, January 1932, part. I, p. 12.
 68. *Report of the Indian Central Committee, 1928-29* (London, 1929), p. 60.
 69. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
 70. *IAR*, vol. I, January-June 1928, (Delhi, 1990), p. 59.
 71. Liaquat Ali, *Resolution*, p. 36.
 72. *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission Volume II Recommendations*, (London, 1930), p. 101.
 73. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.
 74. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.
 75. *CLAD*, pp. 103-104.
 76. *Ibid.*, 12 July 1930, p. 196.
 77. Sahibzada further informed the House of the great interest of the people of the NWFP in the all-India affairs. Whether it was Rowlatt Act agitation or *Hijrat* movement; Non-Co-Operation or the Congress, the inhabitants of the Frontier Province participated with great interest in all those movements, which entered the area from the south. 'So I do not know what difference there is between us and the rest of India, and why the poor Pathan should be fighting for his ordinary rights of Indian citizenship, rights which are given to the Bhils in Central India and the depressed classes and the untouchables in the south of India without their even

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- asking for them. Why should we have to shed our blood for those ordinary right's', he concluded. *ibid.*, pp. 197-198.
78. Liaquat Ali, *Resolution*, p. 48.
 79. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Karachi, 1999), pp. 22-29.
 80. Sitaramaya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, I, pp. 339-361.
 81. Amir Chand Bombwal, *Turbaned Brothers of the Frontier Pathans* (nd. np), p. 3.
 82. For more details see Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 32-38 and 251-259.
 83. See Abdul Ghaffar Khan's detailed speech in *Pukhtun*, Utmanzai, June-July 1931, pp. 13-21 and pp. 24-29.
 84. 'A Note on the Political Situation of the North-West Frontier Province', by H. W. Emerson, 26 May 1930, F No. 206/1930 (Home/Poll), National Archives of India, New Delhi, pp. 1-9.
 85. *Ibid.*
 86. 'Memorandum from the Deputy Commissioner Peshawar to the Secretary of Chief Commissioner, NWFP', No. 976, dated 9 September 1930, F No. 22/37 KW 1931, NAI, pp. 4-5.
 87. Report on the Causes of Recent Disturbances in Peshawar and the Other Districts of the NWFP, Confidential Letter from the Chief Commissioner, N-WFP to the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, New Delhi, no. 602 PC, dated Peshawar, 13 February 1931, F No. 22/37 KW 1931, NAI, p. 1.
 88. Record of a Meeting Between Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Emerson, 29 August 1931, S. No. 3, Part II, Tendulkar Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, p. 876; Robert Bernays, *Naked Faqir* (London, 1931), p. 328.
 89. *IAR*, July-December 1931, p. 428.
 90. *Ibid.*, July-December 1930, p. 287. For full list of the delegates of the First Round Table Conference see, *ibid.*, p. 286.
 91. Sitaramaya, *The History of Indian National Congress*, I, p. 423.
 92. *IAR*, *ibid.*, p. 293. Other members of the Committee included Lord Zetland, Lord Lothian, Lord Reading, Sir Samuel Hoare, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Cap. Raja Sher Mohammad Khan, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Sir B. N. Mitra, Raja Narendra Nath, H. P. Mody, Sir A. P. Patro, Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, Sir Mohammad Shafi, Sardar Sampuran Singh, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Mr C. E. Wood, Lord Russell and Mr Zafarullah Khan, *ibid.*, p. 310.
 93. *Ibid.*, p. 410.
 94. General Sir George Barrow's comments in 'The North-West Frontier Province and Trans-Border Country Under the New Constitution', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. xviii, July 1931, part. III, p. 335.

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95. With H. G. Haig as its Chairman, other members of the Committee included Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, C. Latimer, K B Nawab Hamidullah Khan, Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar, R B Lal Thakur Datta, Mohammad Yunas Khan, Mian Ahmad Shah Bar-at-Law, E. T. Coates and R B Lehna Singh as its secretary. Shakeel Ahmad, *Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Life and Work* (Peshawar, 1989), p. 180.
 96. Obhrai, *Evolution*, p. 180.
 97. Sitaramaya, *The History of Indian National Congress*, pp. 424-5.
 98. *IAR*, vol. I, January-June 1931, p. 255.
 99. Proceedings of the Plenary Session, 1 December 1931, *Gandhi Collected Works*, 48, (Ahmadabad, 1971), p. 367.
 100. *IAR*, vol. II, July-December 1931, pp. 445-446.
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CHAPTER 3

North-West Frontier and the Khilafat and Hijat Movements*

After the Balkan war (1912-1913) another shock was unbearable for Turkey. She needed a long time to recover. Her administration was mostly in the hands of the Germans. It was difficult for her to make her entry in the First World War because with her were linked the fortunes of the Muslim world.¹ But in November 1914, Turkey made her choice of assisting Germany in the war, proclaiming it a *Jihad*.²

It was now quite difficult for the Indian Muslims to analyse the situation arising from Turkey's entry into the war. The British were well aware of the situation. They immediately reassured the community in a public announcement, apparently dictated from London, which declared:

In view of the outbreak of the war between Britain and Turkey... the Viceroy is authorized to make the following public pronouncement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia, including the holy shrines of Mesopotamia and the port of Jeddah, in order that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of His Majesty's most loyal Muslim subjects in the war... These holy places and Jeddah will be immune from attack or molestation by the British naval or military forces so long as there is no interference with pilgrims from India to the Holy Places, and shrines in question. At the request of His Majesty's Government, the Governments of France and Russia have given similar assurances.³

Earlier and secretly, by a treaty in 1915, Britain had started 'dividing the bear's skin before the bear was slain'. She made different promises such as Constantinople would go to Russia but

* *Central Asia*, No 20, Summer 1987 (pp: 121-139), Journal of Area Study Center, University of Peshawar.

after the fall of Tsardom she promised it to Greece. Similar promises were made to Sherif Hussain⁴ of Makkah. But the commitments with him were at variance with the Balfour⁵ Declaration of 1917. When these transactions became public, the Muslims realised the seriousness of the situation in case of Turkey's defeat.⁶

In addition to fulfilling the British objectives, the peace terms (division of Ottoman Empire) would have satisfied the Russian interests in Armenia, the French interests in Syria and Cilicia, the Italian interests in the region of Adana and the Greek interests on the sea board.⁷ To get rid of the great Ottoman Empire by confining Turkish Government to a petty kingdom of Anatolia, they deemed it necessary to divide it among the tribal chiefs of Arabia as well as the other Allied Powers.⁸ The Muslims of India had great sympathy with the Turks, so they started the Khilafat Movement to help them out.⁹ The Khilafat Movement emphasized the freedom of the universal *Khalifa* from foreign control.¹⁰ The Muslims of India had religious ties with the Khilafat. Naturally when they heard about the harsh treatment of Turkey by the British and her Allies they felt uneasy. Many divines and Muslim scholars expressed their views on the question of the Khilafat. According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, 'the foundations of a Pan-Islamic Society rest on five pillars: adherence of the *Jam'a* to one *Khalifa* or *Imam*; its rallying to the call of the *Khalifa*; its obedience to the *Khalifa*; *Hijrat* or migration to the *Dar-ul-Islam*, which can take many forms; and *Jihad* which can also take many forms'.¹¹

Political loyalty was due to the Ottoman *Khalifa* who, unlike the Pope, was not a spiritual but a temporal head, as, in Islam, spiritual leadership is the privilege of God and his Prophet alone. Obedience to the *Khalifa* was therefore, binding on all Muslims though not to the degree as that of God and His Prophet. The *Khalifa* could be disobeyed when he acted contrary to the injunctions of Quran and Sunnah.¹²

In addition to this, some Indian Muslims with the Afghan encouragement, started a campaign of recruiting an army which they termed 'the Army of God', with a view to enabling themselves to wage a holy war against the British.¹³ Some of them, including Maulana Mahmud Hasan, left India for Makkah in September 1915 in order to get support for the Turks from the

King of Afghanistan as well as leading Arab notables.¹⁴ But, according to Ch. Khaliquzzaman, 'while we were engaged in defending the Muslim position in regard to the Khilafat and the preparation of the *fatwa*, our missions in Kabul and Makkah led by Maulana Obeidullah and Maulana Mahmud al-Hasan had failed to win over the King of Afghanistan'.¹⁵ Amir Habibullah Khan, for his part, proclaimed his country's neutrality for 'as long as the honour, existence, independence, and freedom of Afghanistan were in no way jeopardized or threatened'.¹⁶ Maulana Obeidullah had to leave Afghanistan, while in Arabia, Sherif Hussain handed over Maulana Mahmud Hasan and his comrades-in-arms, namely Maulana Uzer Gul, Hussain Ahmad Madani and others, to the British who sent them to Malta as internees.¹⁷

Despite the promises made by the British Government about the fate of Turkey during the long course of the war, she was victimized once the war was over. The British Premier, Lloyd George, did his best to crush her and said that the 'Khalifa should be Vaticanized'. It was crystal clear that the victors had decided to reduce Turkey to the status of a fourth-rate power. Hindus as well as Muslims in India joined hands to save Turkey from its forthcoming treatment.¹⁸ Hindus, who constituted a strong majority stood shoulder to shoulder with their countrymen on the question of Turkey. Soon Mohammad Ali Jauhar, the most influential Muslim leader, was in a position to win over such prominent Hindu leaders as Mahatma Gandhi and Lokmanya Tilak to their side in support of their claims on the question of Khilafat.¹⁹ The issue offered the best opportunity to both the major communities of India. For the first time in history different communities came to a joint platform to fight against their common enemy—the British.²⁰ On October 17, 1919, the Muslims observed the Khilafat day suspending all kinds of business. They offered prayers and observed fasts. The official Peace Celebrations were fixed for the week beginning from December 13. The leaders advised the public to abstain from the rejoicing.²¹

On January 19, 1920, deputation of the Khilafatists led by Maulana Mohammad Ali, including 34 leaders including Mahatma Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, President of Khilafat Conference, Hakim Ajmal Khan, President of All India Muslim League, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Abul

Kalam Azad, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Swami Shardanand and others met the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and showed their resentment to him. They decided further to send a delegation to London.

The Khilafat delegation led by Maulana Mohammad Ali left in an Austrian steamer 'Trestino' which sailed from Bombay on February 1, 1920.²² Other members of the delegation were: Syud Hossain, Sulaiman Nadvi and Hasan Mohammad Hayat. Though Llyod George met them, they realized that they were not treated in a proper way. Meanwhile, the victors had continued preparations of a treaty known as the 'Treaty of Sevres' in order to decide the fate of Turkey.²³ The interview with Llyod George took place on March 19. Maulana Mohammad Ali acted as the spokesman of the Indian delegation. After his speech, Llyod George read a prepared speech in reply, which took no account of the demands made by the Indians. He said bluntly that all vanquished powers, Muslims or Christians, would be treated alike. No exceptions could be made in the case of Turkey. The Turks had fought against the British and had been defeated in the war. They must therefore be prepared to bear the consequences of their defeat.²⁴ How to demarcate the frontiers of Turkey depended wholly on the sweet will of the victors.

The deputation came back without any success. They decided to hold *hartals* and boycott the foreign goods as a protest against Britain's treatment with Turkey. On the strength of his alliance with the Khilafat leaders, Gandhiji formally inaugurated his Non-Co-operation Movement on August 1, 1920.²⁵ After adopting his new policy, Gandhi became the accepted leader of a United India and under his guidance the movement began to spread, like wild fire.²⁶

A clash between the masses and the government was inevitable. Leaders of All India fame like Gandhiji, the Ali Brothers accompanied by other Khilafatists such as Maulana Abdul Majid Badayuni and Mian Ferozuddin (known as Naqeeb-e-Khilafat) toured the country to infuse a new spirit among the masses against the government in favour of Khilafat. The resentment of the people reached its zenith when some of their leaders like C. R. Das, Rajendra Prasad, Mazhar-ul-Haq, Seth Yaqub Hasan and Lajpat Rai were restrained in certain areas.²⁷ A

Khilafat Conference was held at Karachi on 8 July 1921. The Ali Brothers made inflammatory speeches, defying the government orders. In their speeches they advised the Muslim soldiers not to serve the army of the British government, as they were hostile to the caliph of Islam. They were arrested, tried and given long sentences for inciting disaffection among the Indian troops.²⁸

Gandhi used all his influence to persuade the Congress to join hands with the Muslims in their hour of trial. There were certain Congressites who were opposed to it they considered it simply a religious question, exclusively concerning the Muslims. But Gandhi did his best to convince his party men to assist the Muslims in the Khilafat Movement. For him it was such an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Mohammadans as 'would not arise in a hundred years'.²⁹ But after sometime, the abolition of the Khilafat by Mustafa Kamal in 1924 affected Indian Muslims politically more than any other Muslim community of the world.³⁰ Maulana Mohammad Ali strongly condemned the action of the Turks in deposing the *Khalifa* and abolishing the *Khilafat*.³¹ Apart from Maulana Mohammad Ali, other Muslims also showed great resentment on the abolition of *Khilafat*. To Sayyid Amir Ali, 'the *Khilafat* is not a national institution, the property of a single state, to be abolished at its free will. It is an integral part of the Sunni system. Any nation is free to abandon Islam, but no nation or state can arrogate to itself the power to alter or abolish its institutions so as to affect other Muslim Communities'.³² Maulana Abul Kalam Azad interpreted the abolition in different way. To him the *Khilafat* was an institution which nobody, not even Ataturk could abolish. What had been abolished was the monopoly of the Ottomans. This monopoly was contrary to *Shariah*. The sooner it ended the better. People had the power to choose a *Khalifa*. After dethroning the Ottoman caliph, the Turkish president had automatically become the *Khalifa*. Therefore 'we cannot say that the *Khilafat* has been abolished. The most we can say is that the regime has been changed'.³³

The Khilafat Movement and North-West Frontier

The Khilafat Movement from across the Indus spread far and wide in the whole province. The Indus could not be the barrier

for the ideas coming from beyond it.³⁴ As the events progressed in India, the interest in the agitation had also arisen in the villages and towns of the NWFP. Following the dictates from the down country, the citizens of Peshawar city did not participate in the official Peace Celebrations for the simple reason that 'the fate of Turkey was still unsettled and it should be a time of mourning rather than merry-making'.³⁵

On March 19, 1920, a Khilafat *hartal* was observed in Mansehra town and Peshawar city. After Friday prayers a Khilafat meeting was organized in *Idgah*, which was addressed by public leaders of all communities. A Hindu from the Punjab emphasized Hindu-Muslim unity at this critical juncture. Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor of Peshawar city, who was the most influential leader organizing the Khilafat demonstrations, put up a few resolutions. Apart from other synonymous demands with the rest of India, he instructed all *Mullahs* to pray for the victory of the Turkish Sultan and emphasized the boycott of British goods. The resolutions were carried and two telegrams were dispatched. The first one was from Abdul Qaiyum, a IV year student, on behalf of other students of Islamia College, Peshawar, and was addressed to the Secretary of State for India in London. It said:

Students Islamia College Peshawar strongly protest against proposed dismantlement of Turkish Empire. Condemn agitation for expulsion of Sultan from Constantinople. Earnestly urge Holy Places should continue under direct control of Khilafat.³⁶

A Sarhad Khilafat Committee was founded. The office-bearers were: Agha Syed Maqbool Shah (President), Babu Zakariya Khan (Vice President), Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh (General Secretary) and Chacha Abdul Karim (Joint Secretary).³⁷ Thus started the Khilafat movement in the NWFP which soon reached its climax. There were demonstrations and protest meetings all over the province. Boycott of British goods and *hartals* resulted in British atrocities on the inhabitants of the NWFP. The members of Khilafat Committee were tortured and put into prison. Some of the prominent Khilafatists were treated harshly by the British authorities.³⁸

While the Khilafat leaders including Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Mahatma Gandhi were busy in preparing ground for the All India Khilafat agitation, their 'patriotic comrades' such as Syed Ali Abbas Bokhari, Qazi Mohammad Wali Khan, Hakeem Mohammad Amin, Maulvi Abdullah Jan, who were later labelled as fire-brands became targets of British atrocities for organizing public opinion as Mohammad Ali was himself doing in other provinces of India.³⁹

The Khilafatists took an active part in the non-co-operation movement and provoked anti-government sentiments all over the province. The inhabitants of Peshawar, Bannu and Hazara responded to their call. Quite a few persons renounced honours and titles conferred on them, as well as resigned government jobs. According to Lal Baha, there were sixty resignations in police, thirty-one in Mohmand Militia, seventy-one among other employees, sixty-eight among *patwaris* in the Charsadda *Tehsil* and many in the Peshawar *Tehsil*.⁴⁰ The arrest of the local leaders and volunteers proved to be a set-back to the Khilafat movement in the NWFP. In addition to this, many other factors too were responsible for the downfall of the movement in the Province. The most important among these were the collapse of non-co-operation movement in 1922, the revival of Turkey under Mustafa Kamal in 1922, deposition of the Sultan in 1923 and abolition of Khilafat itself in 1924. Though the Khilafat movement collapsed, certain Khilafat Committees remained in existence for a few years.⁴²

The Hijrat Movement and North-West Frontier

An offshoot of the Khilafat agitation was the *Hijrat* movement. Many Indian Muslims decided to leave their country as a protest against the British policy meted out to the Ottoman caliph. India was dubbed as *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of war) and it was now a religious obligation to give up every thing and seek refuge in *Dar-ul-Islam* (land of Islam).⁴³ Such great scholars as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Abdul Bari of Firinghi Mahal, Lucknow, issued *fatwas* in this regard.⁴⁴ According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, 'After examining all the reasons contained in the *Sharia*, as well as contemporary events, interests of the Muslims, and pros and cons of political issues, I feel definitely

satisfied that from the view-point of the *Sharia*, the Muslims of India have no choice but to migrate from India. All Muslims who would like to fulfil Islamic obligations must quit India. Those who cannot migrate immediately should help the migrants as if they were themselves migrating from the country. The *Sharia* gives us no alternative course, except migration'.⁴⁵ Mohammad Ali explained the same to the Viceroy that 'when a land is not safe for Islam, a Muslim has only two alternatives *Jihad* or *Hijrat*. That is to say, he must either make use of every force God has given him for the liberation of the land and the ensurement of perfect freedom for the practice and preaching of Islam, or he must migrate to some other and freer land with a view to return to it when it is once more safe for Islam. In view of our present weak condition, migration is the only alternative for us'.⁴⁶ About the same time, after hearing the disgraceful condition of the Indian Muslims, Amir Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan encouraged the *Hijrat* movement by 'offering an asylum' to intending *Muhajirin*.⁴⁷ The Mullahs in the NWFP issued a forceful *fatwa* by saying 'Any man who does not go on *Hijrat* will have to divorce his wife'.⁴⁸ Finally, the people decided to leave 'the land of war' and seek sanctuary in the neighbouring Afghanistan, 'the land of Islam'.

In April 1920, the *Khuddam-ul-Muhajirin* (Society for the assistance of Emigrants) had been formed at Delhi. A member of the society sent on April 26, 1920, a telegram on 26 to the Viceroy informing him of their decision to undertake *Hijrat* to Afghanistan. They put up their case in the following words:

Islamic injunctions make it impossible for the faithful any longer to remain under British peacefully. We have decided, therefore, regretfully, to quit this country in peace. We hope your government shall not be adverse to our determination and will allow us to quietly migrate to Afghanistan, thus carrying out the sacred commandments of Allah the Mighty.⁴⁹

Writing under the caption, "Hijrat and Its Meaning" in *Young India* on July, 21, 1920, Gandhi said:

India is a continent. Its articulate thousands know what its inarticulate millions are doing or thinking. The government and the educated Indians may think that the Khilafat movement is merely a passing phase. The millions of Mussulmans think otherwise. The flight of the Mussulmans is

growing apace. The newspapers contain paragraphs in out-of-the-way corners informing the readers that a special train containing a barrister with sixty women, forty children including twenty sucklings, all told 765, has left for Afghanistan. They are cheered en route. They were presented with cash, edibles and other things, and were joined by some *muhajirin* on the way. No fanatical preaching by a Shaukat Ali can make people break up and leave their homes for an unknown land. There must be an abiding faith in them. That it is better for them to leave a state which has no regard for their religious sentiment and face a beggars life, than to remain in it even though it may be in a princely manner. Nothing but pride of power can blind the Government of India to the scene that is being enacted before it.⁵⁰

The destination of the *Muhajirin* was Afghanistan, with which they had cultural, political, religious and ethnic bonds for centuries. They had decided to follow the main route through Lahore, Peshawar, the Khyber Pass and then into Afghanistan. As Peshawar was the main city on the way to Afghanistan, it became 'the hub of the movement because it was the tail-end where *qafilas* were received, entertained and after final preparations sent off to Afghanistan'. In early May, signs of feverish *Hijrat* activity appeared in Peshawar. Abdul Karim, a fruit-seller from Lahore was found distributing *Hijrat* handbills in the city. He was expelled from the province under Section 3(a) of the Defence of India Rules. On 14 May, a meeting was held after Friday prayers in the Qasim Ali Mosque, which was addressed by Ghulam Mohammad Aziz popularly known as Aziz Hindi of Amritsar. He came to Peshawar in order to give a definite shape to the *Hijrat* movement by setting up *Hijrat* committees.⁵¹ Haji Jan Mohammad, a wealthy contractor, was made president of the *Hijrat* Committee. His associates were Agha Syed Maqbool Shah, Maulana Abdul Karim, Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor, Ali Gul Khan, Mirza Tila Mohammad, Agha Lal Badshah and many others. Meanwhile, the *Muhajirin* had started their long journey to Afghanistan. The first batch of the *Muhajirin* arrived in Peshawar on May 7, 1920. Gradually, their number increased and, according to Naeem Qureshi, reached some sixty thousand.⁵² They were drawn mostly from the Central Punjab Districts, Delhi and Peshawar city.⁵³

The caravan from Sindh started under Barrister Jan Mohammad Junejo. They had reserved a special train for that purpose. They had even garlanded the engine. The participants were mostly common masses of Sindh who were not in the habit of cutting their hair or shaving their beards. A common misconception spread that the Sikhs had also started migrating to Afghanistan. Many interpreted this as a result of Baba Guru Nanak offering prayers in Kaaba which had been endangered by the British and it was sinful to live in India any more. After narrating such stories the speakers usually appealed to the people to assist them in *Hijrat*.⁵⁴

Salt market, a big business centre in the Peshawar city, provided room for the incoming people to Peshawar. A large number of *Hijrat* volunteers were ever ready to perform their duties to assist the strangers, and provide them food and shelter. They considered it their religious duty to do that. Haji Jan Mohammad opened his office in one of the *serais* of the Salt market and employed more than a dozen office assistants who were given the duty to manage the *Hijrat* funds, register the names of the intending emigrants, and apply to the Afghan Agent for passports.⁵⁵

The Pashtoons, known for their hospitality, had sacrificed everything for the *Muhajirin*. The wealthy persons had donated large amounts while the poor had their own duty of serving the *Muhajirins*. It is interesting to note that even the *tonga-walas* who carried them from the station to the *serais*, did not take a penny from them. The *Hijrat* volunteers toured in and around Peshawar and collected funds for them in cash or kind or in such items as jewellery, clothes and even sacrificial animals for food.

In the beginning, the authorities discouraged the people from going out on *Hijrat* to Afghanistan but later on they encouraged people to migrate to Afghanistan in large numbers. The idea was to have double advantage: get rid of the active political workers in India and, at the same time, over-burden Afghanistan with a vast additional population. The British government also sent their agents as spies with the *Muhajirin* who preached against the Afghan government.⁵⁶ Zafar Hasan informs us of such spies, namely, Abdul Haq and Abdur Rahman, who on behalf of the British Government were sent with the *Muhajirin* in

order to create disorder and panic in their rank and file.⁵⁷ There was a group in Kabul, too, who was against the *Hijrat* and secretly did its best to turn it into a failure.⁵⁸

The movement affected all of the districts of the NWFP. In Swabi and Charsadda there was a much greater move towards Afghanistan in order to fulfil the 'order of God'. Most of the inhabitants of Bannu also had left their belongings in that 'great service to Islam.'⁵⁹ The people left all their belongings. They started for Kabul in a very desperate condition.⁶⁰ The property, which was (and still is) considered by the Pashtoons as the most precious thing, was now a valueless thing. They sold it at nominal prices and started for Afghanistan. The feelings of the *Muhajirin* were enhanced by emotional poetry. The following verses were recited by *Muhajirin* in chorus:

برباد ہوں پرواہ نہیں ناشاد ہوں پرواہ نہیں

اے دوستو جو کچھ بھی ہو کابل چلو کابل چلو⁶¹

For destruction, we don't care

For unhappiness, we don't care

O Friends, come what may proceed to Kabul

برادران ہنود! تم کو رہے مبارک وطن کی راحت

غریب مسلم، شکستہ خاطر وطن کی الفت لٹا رہے ہیں

⁶² امیر صاحب بلارہے ہیں۔ امیر صاحب بلارہے ہیں۔

Hindu Brothers! Be happy with the joys of the Motherland- Poor Muslims, broken hearted, are squandering their love of the Motherland.

The Amir (of Afghanistan) is summoning us...

The Amir (of Afghanistan) is summoning us.

The local populace entertained the early *Muhajirin* on all the way to Kabul. They were offered meals and were given hospitality by the Afridis and Shinwaris of Landi Kotal. On reaching Afghanistan, they were welcomed by Amir Amanullah Khan. He wanted to give them cultivable lands, employment in different branches of the government and a share in the trade but, unfortunately they were misled by the British agents, who had been sent along with the *Muhajirin*. As a result, they refused those things and insisted on waging *jihad* against the British. Amir Amanullah replied, 'I have no strength to wage a war against the

British, but I shall allot a colony to you. You generate strength in you to wage a war with the British. I shall extend all help to you because the British are like a black cobra that does not allow me to rest in peace'.⁶³ According to Mian Akbar Shah, who had gone to Kabul in May 1919,⁶⁴ the *Muhajirin* were quarrelling among themselves on minor things. Many of them were rude and uneducated. The necessity of forming a Committee was felt and after discussion a *Jirga* was formed of which Mohammad Akbar Qureshi was made the president.⁶⁵ When the number of *Muhajirin* increased in Kabul, they were shifted to other parts of Afghanistan. In Jabal-us-Siraj a colony for their settlement was allotted. The Indian Emigration Committee consisted of the following members:

Dr. Abdul Ghani, Mohammad Akbar, Hakim Mohammad Aslam, Dr. Nur Mohammad, Arbab Mohammad Fida, Ghulam Mohammad Aziz, Preya-Waran, Mohammad Iqbal Shedai, Mohammad Zakirya, Pir Uthman Shah, Obeidullah, Jan Mohammad Junejo, Abdul Ghafoor, Sheikh Abdul Haqq, Mohammad Abbas, Mohammad Ali Qasuri, Faqir Abdul Rahim Bashir, Maulvi Shams-ul-Qamar, Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Abdul Karim, Sher Mohammad Khan, Syed Qamash and Mir Rahmatullah.⁶⁶

The Committee formed a central fund. The *Muhajirin* contributed large sums of money for the help and support of the needy ones. Another great task was about the military training of the *Muhajirin*. Abdur Rahim, who had got the essential military education in the Punjab University, was made the Commander. Since the *Muhajirin* were burning with the desire to fight, so they participated in the training programme with great enthusiasm. However, instead of guns, dummy guns made by sticks were used. Only sick and old people were exempted from compulsory military training and drill.⁶⁷

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who later, became the most influential leader of the Pashtoons, also migrated to Afghanistan during the movement.⁶⁸ While in Kabul he had an interview with Amir Amanullah Khan who knew several languages but not Pashto. Abdul Ghaffar Khan referred to the King's ignorance of Pashto – the mother tongue of the king as well as the national language of Afghanistan. He seemed embarrassed and soon started learning Pashto. Similarly, Abdul Ghaffar tried to convince the

King's ministers as well as the university students to give special attention to Pashto.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, with the increase in the number of *Muhajirin* and the limited resources of Afghanistan, the Amir of Afghanistan was compelled to announce a halt to *Hijrat*. The *Muhajirin* already in Afghanistan submitted the following representation to the Amir:

As our brethren, the Indian emigrants, are coming to Afghanistan in great numbers through different routes without informing us of their number and without paying any attention to the notices given, and as it is necessary to arrange for accommodation and comforts before the setting in of the winter for about forty thousand men, it is therefore notified that hereafter until completion of arrangements for the emigrants who have already arrived in Afghanistan, other *Muhajirin* should be stopped from entering the Afghan territory, till further orders about the emigration are issued. Because it is necessary to make proper arrangements for those who have already come in, and when arrangements have been completed for those who have already reached, information will be given that so many *Muhajirin* should come. Nobody will be, allowed admittance into Afghanistan if he comes against provisions of these rules.⁷⁰

On August 13, Amanullah Khan issued a *firman*, announcing absolute stoppage of *Muhajirin's* entry into Afghanistan. The Afghan Agent at Peshawar went in person to Jamrud in order to dissuade the people from entering Afghanistan. He was stoned and even abused by the people waiting there for their entry into Afghanistan. The Secretary of Khilafat Committee, Peshawar, and others proceeded there but they also were dubbed as British agents.⁷¹ When asked by Sheikh Ghulam Sarwar, a prominent Khilafatist of Bannu about the ban on *Hijrat*, Amanullah Khan replied that he had not banned the *Hijrat*, but had only postponed it for a certain period. The Afghan government would resume the *Hijrat* when it was in a position to deal with the *Muhajirin* properly.⁷²

The British spies began to spread propaganda against the Afghan monarch. Most of the *Muhajirin* started back to India. On their return journey from Afghanistan, they were faced with a desperate condition. Many died on their way to Peshawar. They had lost all their property, honour, dignity and wealth. According

to Shad Mohammad, he witnessed many honourable families begging for a piece of bread. 'I still remember the days when on their proceeding to Afghanistan, the *Muhajirin* were honoured but on their return journey to India, not only were they dishonoured but were put to every type of shame, and disgrace'.⁷³ The road from Kabul to Peshawar was full of graves of old men, women and children who died as the result of the difficulties and hardships of the return journey.⁷⁴

To ease the conditions of the destitute and impoverished *Muhajirin* the NWFP administration gave them utmost attention.⁷⁵ It was Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum who tried his best to restore the property of those *Muhajirin* who were at that time deprived of it. The resignations of the government servants were withdrawn. To quote Lal Baha, 'The *Hijrat* movement ended in fiasco; a strange case of depression and disillusionment. The Muslim religio-political leadership, being unaware of the practical realities, exploited the religious feelings of the Muslims to such an extent that they awakened forces, which they could not control, a sad commentary on their leadership. Consequently, the *Muhajirin* had set out on an adventure which proved too costly for them'.⁷⁶

The Khilafat and *Hijrat* movements were the very first organized movements of Frontier Muslims, though they failed to achieve their goal, they gave political consciousness to the Frontier Muslims as well.⁷⁷ Strangely, the people who preached *Hijrat* did not actually participate in it. But the Pashtoon, who were (and still are) staunch supporters of Islam than any other communities of the world, were victims of destruction and destitution. After the failure of the *Hijrat*, the Khilafatists were split into two camps: one supporting the Muslim League and the other joining hands with the Congress; slowly and gradually both the groups merged in the above mentioned parties.

References and Notes

1. Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India* (Lahore, 1971), p. 108.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

4. Instigated by a host of British agents including Gilbert Clayton and T. E. Lawrence *alias* Lawrence of Arabia, who is said to have played an important role in dethroning Amir Amanullah Khan in 1929, in June 1916, Sharif Hussain of Makkah successfully revolted against the Turks. He was the hereditary caretaker of the Kaaba and came from the Quraish tribe to which the Holy Prophet himself belonged.
For a considerable period in the past, the Hejaz acknowledged the Caliphate of the Sultans of Turkey in return for general protection and heavy subsidies. The Muslims of India were shocked at the rebellion, particularly because the rebels were supported by British warships. Immediately after the destruction of Turkish authority, Hussain, with British concurrence, assumed the title of 'King'. The Sultans of Turkey had never assumed the 'kingship' of Arab lands. They had been content merely to call themselves the 'servants of the holy places'. Sharif Hussain lost no time in releasing a long charge-sheet against the Turks, blaming them for irreligion and departure from the principles of the Holy Book. The statement was plainly inspired by Hussain's new masters. It was also clear that he was totally incapable of maintaining an independent state. Muslim opinion condemned the Arab rebels headed by Sharif Hussain of Makkah and their sympathizers as enemies of Islam.
5. The British High Commissioner in Cairo, Sir Henry Macmohan, in his letters to Sharif Hussain of Makkah between August 1915 and January 1916, promised to treat Palestine as falling within the area of Arab independence. In Spring 1916, Britain, France and Russia entered into a secret agreement for the division of the Ottoman empire. The Sykes-Picot Agreement was a stab in the back of the Arab leaders, including that of Britain's chief Arab ally, Sharif Hussain of Makkah. According to the agreement, Palestine was reserved for a special international regime of its own. At the end of 1916, when the second coalition government was formed with Lloyd George as Prime Minister and Balfour as Foreign Secretary, Sykes was authorized to negotiate with Zionist leaders. After some preliminary talks between Weizmann and Sykes, a meeting was arranged at the home of Dr. Moses Gaster in London. This meeting, to which the leading British Zionists were invited, may be regarded as the first official discussion between the British government and the Jews, which led to the British government undertaking the responsibility for Palestine. The Balfour Declaration (2 November 1917) which pledged the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, was no sudden decision. It resulted from the confluence of the British and Jewish interests centering around Palestine. (*Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies*, vol. I. (New Havens, 1949), p. 90.
6. Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, p. 120.
7. Afzal Iqbal, *The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali* (Lahore, 1974), p. 163.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Abdur Rab Nishtar, *Azadi Ki Kahani Meri Zubani* (Karachi, nd.), p. 15.

10. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Lahore, 1970), p. 65.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
12. *Ibid.*.
13. Iqbal, *Life and Times*, p. 173.
14. Choudhry Khaliqzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore, 1961), p. 33.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
16. Vartan Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan* (California, 1969), pp. 216-17.
17. Khaliqzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, p. 42.
18. Allah Buksh Yusufi, *Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar* (Karachi, 1986), pp. 73-74.
19. Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (Bombay, 1964), p. 8.
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30. Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 65.
31. K. K. Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement, 1915-1933: A Documentary Record* (Karachi, 1972), p. 289.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
33. Mushir-ul-Haq, *Muslim Politics in Modern India 1857-1947* (Lahore, nd.), pp. 102-103.
34. Abdul Qaiyum, *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier* (Bombay, 1945), p. 28.
35. Lal Baha, 'Khilafat Movement and the North West Frontier Province', *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* vol. xvi, July 1979, p. 5.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
37. Farigh Bukhari, *Bacha Khan* (Peshawar, 1957), pp. 57-58.
38. They included Haji Jan Mohammad, Syed Maqbool Shah, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor, Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi, Agha Syed Lal Badshah, Ali Gul Khan, Syed Qasim Jan, Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, Mirza Mohammad Salim Khan, Maulvi Mohammad Said, Mirza Abdul Karim, Maulana Abdul Hakim Popalzai, Mian Abdul Karim, Haji Abdur Rahim, Chacha Abdul Karim, Maulvi Mohammad Ishaq, Maulana Abdur Rahim, Mian Mohammad Nawaz, Ghulam Ghaus, Yousaf Ali Khan, Hakim Qutab Alam, Taj Mehar Shad, Ghulam Rabbani Sethi, Haji Karam Elahi, Khwaja Mohammad Usman, Hafizullah Khan, Rahim Bakhsh Gora,

- Abdul Aziz Khushbash, Ghulam Mohammad, Buzurg Shah, Mullah Jan Mohammad, Agha Mohammad and Juma Khan. Malik Shad Mohammad, 'Deed-wa-Shuneed' (Unpublished autobiography), p. 32.
39. Yusufi, *Maulana Mohammad Ali*, p. 307.
 40. Baha, 'Khilafat Movement', p. 11.
 41. During the whole period of non-co-operation with the government, Gandhi, the undisputed leader of the Khilafat movement, preached non-violence and peace. But the tragedy of Chauri Chaura, in which angry mob attacked a police station and set it on fire resulting in the death of more than twenty persons made Gandhi announced the postponement of the civil disobedience movement which according to him, had turned to violence.
 42. Baha, 'Khilafat Movement', p. 14.
 43. D.G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan* (Bombay, 1967), p. 32.
 44. Lal Baha, 'The Hijrat Movement and the North West Frontier Province', *Islamic Studies Journal*, Islamabad 1979, p. 231.
 45. Hafeez Malik, *Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan* (Washington, 1963), p. 343.
 46. Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, 148.
 47. Baha, 'Hijrat Movement', p. 231.
 48. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *My Life and Struggle* (Delhi, nd.), p. 50.
 49. Baha, 'Hijrat Movement', p. 231.
 50. Iqbal, *Life and Times*, p. 243.
 51. Baha, 'Hijrat Movement', p. 232.
 52. Dr. Naeem Qureshi to Dr. Mohammad Anwar Khan 6-11-1985, Anwar Private Collections, Peshawar.
 53. Baha, 'Hijrat Movement', p. 233.
 54. Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq, *Da Azadai Jang* (Peshawar, 1972), p. 19.
 55. Baha, 'Hijrat Movement', p. 233.
 56. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar*, p. 32.
 57. Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Aap Beti* vol. I (Lahore, nd.), pp. 216-217.
 58. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *My Life and Struggle*, p. 51.
 59. Gul Ayub Saifi, *Bannu au Da Waziristan Tarikh* (Bannu, 1969), p. 235.
 60. Abdul Akbar Khan, one of the participants of *Hijrat* caravans narrated that on the way to Afghanistan, near the Anba Dher they met a person, who was busy in cutting the grass. He asked about their caravan. Some one told him that for the sake of Islam and God, they were migrating to Afghanistan and the caravan included Bacha Khan (Abdul Ghaffar Khan) and his comrades. On hearing this the man at once stopped the work, raised the sickle in his hand saying 'O my poverty! today you are my aid. I have nothing to leave behind' and started for Afghanistan with the caravan.
Abdul Akbar Khan, *Karavan-i-Azadi Manzal-i-Awwal, Safarnama-i-Russi Turkistan* (Charsadda, 1972), pp. 36-37.
 61. Bukhari, *Bacha Khan*, p. 54.
 62. Khaleeq, *Da Azadai Jang*, p. 20.

63. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 33.
64. Personal Interview with Mian Akbar Shah, 8-9-1984, Badrashi (Nowshera).
65. Akbar Shah Mian, *Da Azadai Talash* (np. nd.) pp. 77-78.
66. Baha, *Hijrat Movement*, pp. 237-238.
67. Akbar Shah, *Da Azadai*, pp. 78-80.
68. Fazal-ur-Rahim Khan Marwat, *The Basmachi Movement in Soviet Central Asia (A Study in Political Development)* (Peshawar, 1985), p. 130.
69. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 33.
70. Iqbal, *Life and Times*, p. 245.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.
73. Saifi, *Bannu*, pp. 237-238.
74. Shad, 'Deed wa Shuneed', p. 27.
75. Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, p. 149.
76. Baha, 'Hijrat Movement', p. 240.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'Muslim League in the North-West Frontier Province, 1936-1947', Unpublished M. Phil thesis Peshawar University, 1986, p.6.

CHAPTER 4

Abdul Ghaffar Khan*

Although quite a few biographical studies¹ of Abdul Ghaffar Khan (popularly known as Bacha Khan) are available they are primarily centred on his personality and the various stages of his relations with the Indian National Congress. In this paper, an attempt has been made to study and analyse objectively, the life and times of Bacha Khan, emphasising in particular, his role in the freedom movement, the revival of Pashtoon nationalism and the adoption of non-violence by the Pashtoon society. In addition, Bacha Khan's role as a social reformer, an educationist and finally as a politician would be discussed in detail. The present study is different from others as mainly the primary source material have been utilised for the analysis of Bacha Khan's part in the political mobilisation of the Pashtoons and in creating awareness among them for their struggle against the British rule in India. Though the main focus of the present study will be on Ghaffar Khan's role in the freedom movement, a brief account of his post-1947 activities will also be provided.

The North-West Frontier Province has played a significant role in the shaping and re-shaping of the Indian history. Its crucial strategic location made it not only the Frontier of India but also an international frontier for the Empire from the military point of view. The British came late to the NWFP, owing largely to the geographical location of the province, which was far away from their point of early contacts with the Sub-continent. Being situated on the 'highway of conquest', the majority of the invaders, including the Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Mauryans, the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians, the Kaushanas, the White Huns,

* *Celebrities of NWFP*, volume I & II, pp: 102-129, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2005.

and finally the Muslims, followed their way into the Indian Sub-continent through this area. From the medieval period to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the area remained part of the Muslim empires of north India and Afghanistan. The internal feuds between the Pashtoons also provided Ranjeet Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, the opportunity to occupy Peshawar. However, in 1849, after the defeat of Sikhs and the annexation of the Punjab to the Raj, the British took over the NWFP as part of the former Sikh dominions. The region remained with the Punjab until 1901, when Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, separated the five districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, joining them with the five agencies namely Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan, South Waziristan, and formed a separate province, the North-West Frontier Province of India.²

As stated earlier, because of the distinctive character, the imperialists treated the province in a special way. Security considerations were given priority over socio-economic and political reforms. Unlike in other provinces of British India where reforms were introduced, the NWFP was neglected and intentionally governed through 'Special Ordinances'. The main aim of the colonial government in impeding the pace of reforms was to discourage the local inhabitants to demand an equal status for their province.³

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was born in 1890 at Utmanzai (Charsadda) in the Peshawar district.⁴ His father, Bahram Khan, was a well-to-do landowner of Mohammadzai clan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was the fourth child of his parents. According to the popular tradition, he was sent to the local mosque to take early lessons in the Holy Quran. The Pashtoons have great respect for religious education and majority of them send their children to mosques. There was hardly any government school in the rural areas and, therefore, the NWFP was one of the most backward areas in education in British India. Moreover, unlike the state patronage of the *Ulema* in other parts of the sub-continent, in the NWFP they remained at loggers-head with the establishment, and indeed were preoccupied with jihad against the British rulers in that part of South Asia.⁵

When Abdul Ghaffar Khan finished the Quranic lessons at the village mosque, he was sent to the Municipal Board High

School in Peshawar. He took his preliminary education there and thereafter joined the Edwards Memorial Mission High School. Rev. E. F. E. Wigram, the school headmaster had a profound impact on young Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Meanwhile, his elder brother, Khan Sahib, went to Bombay to join a medical college. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was left in Peshawar with Barani Kaka, a family servant, who used to impress on him the glamour of joining military service. Eventually, the young lad was persuaded to apply for a commission in the army, which he did. During the course of his matriculation examination, he was informed of acceptance in the army and was ordered to proceed immediately to Mardan, the headquarters of the Guides. He left the examination incomplete to join the army, but an incident changed his whole outlook towards the army or the government service.⁶ Abdul Ghaffar Khan decided to continue his studies. He went to Campbellpur (now Attock), which had a reputation for hosting a good institution. But he did not stay there for long. From there he went to Qadian, attracted by the fame of one Hakim Noor-ud-Din. Not satisfied with his stay there, he went to Aligarh.⁷

While still at Aligarh, Abdul Ghaffar Khan received his father's letter asking him to return home. He intended to send him to England to join his brother, Khan Sahib, who was there since February 1909, training to be a doctor. All arrangements were completed when Abdul Ghaffar Khan found his mother unwilling to allow him to go abroad. She felt that she had already lost one son to England and in no way she was going to say good-bye to the other one. She believed that a person who went abroad, particularly to England, never come back.⁸ Thus, Abdul Ghaffar Khan had to give a second thought to his trip to England. Indeed, he decided to serve the people of his own province, who were backward educationally and remained busy in faction-feuds or indulged in other vices prevailing in the Pashtoon society. He was convinced that Pashtoos must be educated, reformed and organised.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan commenced his social activities as an educationist and came into close contact with another social reformer of the area, Haji Fazli Wahid, popularly known as the Haji of Turangzai. In 1910, their combined efforts resulted in opening of educational institution – the *Dar-ul-Uloom* – at Utmanzai and Gaddar (Mardan). Apart from the religious training,

students were inculcated with the concepts of patriotism. No details are available about the exact number of these *Madrassas* or the number of students, teachers and their sources of income.⁹ The two were joined by some other Pashtoon intellectuals, including Maulvi Fazl-i-Rabi, Maulvi Taj Mohammad, Fazal Mahmud Makhfi and Abdul Aziz, the majority of them being the graduates of the Deoband seminary.¹⁰ Abdul Ghaffar Khan was also in touch with Mahmood Hasan, the chief divine at Deoband, and Ubaidullah Sindhi, the 'revolutionary scholar' and a noted pupil of Mahmood Hasan. They even had planned for the establishment of an anti-British centre, deep inside the tribal area, but it did not materialise.¹¹

Meanwhile, Haji of Turangzai continued preaching against the British rule. He urged the Pashtoons to join him in getting rid of British imperialism. The authorities could not remain silent for a long time. They decided to arrest Haji Sahib but he was secretly informed of the government's intentions. Before he could be arrested at the end of April 1915, he made good his escape, crossed over to the independent tribal territory and remained there till his death in December 1937. There he successfully organised his followers against the British rule. After his escape, the authorities banned the *Madrassas* and imprisoned majority of the teachers, thus putting an end, for the time being, the system of education initiated by the Pashtoon reformer.

The year 1919 saw India in turmoil. The economic situation had deteriorated. Industrial workers were resentful at the worst conditions under which they had to work. Peasants were unhappy over the price-hike of the daily commodities. The Muslims were protesting over the treatment meted out to Turkish Caliph by the Allied Powers at the end of the War and the 'nationalists' in India were agitating over the 'broken promises' made during the course of War to enlist the Indian support for the British War efforts.

Meanwhile, to deal with the 'seditious' and revolutionary activities in the country, the Government of India decided to enforce the Rowlatt Act.¹² The nationalist leaders denounced it. Gandhi termed the Act as 'unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individual on which the safety of the community as a whole and the state itself is based'.¹³ On 6 April, a successful all-India *hartal*

was observed. In the NWFP, like the rest of India, protest meetings were held against the Rowlatt Act. Abdul Ghaffar Khan arranged a protest meeting at Utmanzai, which was attended by more than 50,000 people. In the rural areas of the Frontier, this was the first political meeting, with such a large number of participants, convened to express solidarity with an all-India issue.¹⁴

The provincial authorities could not remain silent spectators to such kind of anti-British activities in the settled districts of the NWFP. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was immediately arrested and imprisoned, followed by the imposition of a punitive fine of Rs.30,000/- upon the villagers of Utmanzai. Over a hundred and fifty notables were kept in confinement as hostages, until the fine was paid.¹⁵ After six months, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was released and allowed to join his family.

Towards the end of 1919, the Khilafat movement was launched in India. It received enormous support in the NWFP. Indian Muslims had close religious ties with the Turkish Sultan, who was also the spiritual leader, the Khalifa. During the war, the Allied Powers had promised to treat Turkey in a humane way, if defeated, to enlist the Muslim support to their side. But once the war was over, they went back on their promises and declared that Turkey would be treated in the same way as the other defeated powers. This caused a great resentment among the Indian Muslims and they started the Khilafat movement.¹⁶ An offshoot of the Khilafat movement was the *hijrat* movement. The Ulema declared India as *Dar-ul-Harb* (Land of War) and advised Muslims to migrate to *Dar-ul-Islam* (Land of Islam). Afghanistan, the neighbourly Muslim country with whom they had religious, cultural, political and ethnic ties, was deemed to be a safe destination. Amanullah Khan, the anti-British Amir of Afghanistan offered asylum to the Indian Muslims. The *muhajirin* were welcomed to come to Afghanistan. As Peshawar was the main city on the way to Afghanistan, it became the hub of the movement. Soon, such a great number of people from India overburdened Afghanistan that the Afghan government was unable to facilitate the stay of these religious zealots.¹⁷

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, like many other Pashtoons, also migrated to Afghanistan to fulfil a religious obligation. After staying for a couple of months at Kabul, he realised that the

muhajirin would soon develop differences with the Afghan government. They were aggressive and ill-disciplined. Moreover, the presence of a large number of British spies among the *muhajirin* further aggravated the situation. They demanded from Amanullah to wage a jihad against the British government immediately, which he was unable to do. This led to the condemnation of the Afghan monarch by the *muhajirin*. Amanullah was accused of betrayal for not declaring war against the British. Disappointed at the attitude of the Afghan authorities, the *muhajirin* started their back journey to Hindustan. On their way back to India, they faced miseries and hardships of the journey. This ended *hijrat* in a failure.

Anjuman-i-Islah-u'l-Afaghana

After the bitter experience of *hijrat*, Abdul Ghaffar Khan realised that migration from India alone was not the solution of their problems. He was disappointed with the results of *hijrat*. He decided to return to India and organise his people against the illiteracy and social evils then prevailing in the Pashtoon society. He was convinced that the British would not allow him to resume his educational activities in the settled districts. Therefore, accompanied by Fazal Mahmud Makhfi, he started a school at Khaloono in Dir. The local inhabitants appreciated their activities in this regard and started sending their children to this school. The popularity of the school alarmed the Nawab of Dir, who, in league with the Political Agent of Malakand, decided to crackdown on their activities. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Makhfi were expelled from the area and the building was demolished.¹⁸

Appalled at the outcome of their efforts, Abdul Ghaffar Khan shifted to his hometown Utmanzai. He consulted the like-minded Pashtoon social workers and intelligentsia. They decided to resume their educational and social activities collectively.¹⁹ They also decided to struggle jointly for the eradication of social evils from the Pashtoon society like blood feuds, factionalism and the use of intoxicants. Moreover, they emphasised on creating awareness among the Pashtoons regarding the modern education and revival of the Pashto language.

To pursue some of these goals and objectives, an association called the Anjuman-i-Islah-ul-Afaghana (the Society for the Reformation of Afghans) was formed on April 1, 1921, with Abdul Ghaffar Khan as its President and Mian Ahmad Shah as Secretary. The stated objectives of the Anjuman were promotion of unity amongst the Pashtoons, eradication of social evils, prevention of lavish spending on social events, encouragement of Pashto language and literature, and creation of 'real love' for Islam among the Pashtoons.²⁰ Education of the Pashtoons was on the top of the agenda of the Anjuman. On April 10, 1921, nine days after the formation of the Anjuman, the first branch of Azad Islamia Madrassa was opened at Utmanzai, followed by many more branches in different areas of the Peshawar Valley. No accurate figures are available about the exact number of these schools but a careful study suggests that they were about seventy. The curriculum included teaching of the Holy Quran, *Hadith*, *Fiqh*, Islamic History, Pashto, Mathematics, English and Arabic. Moreover, vocational skills like carpentry, weaving and tailoring were also introduced. As there was no educational institute for higher studies in the province, the students were prepared for the matriculation examination of the Punjab University. The Anjuman's founding members, including Mian Ahmad Shah, Maulana Mohammad Israel and Mian Maaruf Shah undertook to teach at the *Madrassa* without any remuneration. On December 1, 1923, the *Madrassas* were affiliated with the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi. The main source of funding were the Anjuman member themselves, who contributed enormously for the educational activities of the *Madrassa*. Abdul Ghaffar Khan took the initiative by sending his children to the *Madrassa* followed by his elder brother Dr. Khan Sahib. Other members of the Anjuman and notables of the area who appreciated Abdul Ghaffar Khan's efforts also enrolled their children in these *Madrassas*. As education was free and the *Madrassas* were open to all communities, they soon became popular and the number of students increased from 140 to 300.²¹

In the NWFP, the decade of Khilafatist politics (1920-1930) was termed as 'transitional' period from the gun-politics of the tribal agencies to the speech-making and resolution-passing politics' of the urban, educated and professional politicians.²² The

Khilafat Committees were established in almost all important urban centers of the province. The emphasis, however, remained on Pan-Islamism and all-India politics rather than the local provincial concerns. The Khilafatist in the NWFP faced a different kind of British administration, running the province on a 'purely personal' rather than 'constitutional basis'.²³ To avoid inviting repression, the provincial Khilafat Committees and the local leaders strengthened their position by making alliances with the organizations on the national level. But in the NWFP, the Khilafat Committee split into two groups: the anti-British faction joined the Congress and the rest went to the Muslim League.

During late 1921, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was invited by the faction-ridden body of the provincial Khilafat Committee at Peshawar to become its President to which he agreed.²⁴ He made a whirlwind tour of the province and introduced the Khilafat Committee in rural areas. During his tour, he delivered speeches and emphasised the need of getting rid of British imperialism in South Asia. In retaliation, the government decided to restrain his 'objectionable activities'. On December 17, 1921, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. In the process, he suffered the 'tortures of solitary confinement, heavy chains on his hands and feet, dirt and filth and lice and hunger, and most of all, insults and kicks, from the lowest and most loathsome of British lackeys'.²⁵

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was released in 1924, and was given a warm welcome back home. For his selfless service to the community and the sacrifices, which he rendered, he was conferred the title of *Fakhr-i-Afghan* (Pride of the Afghans). Soon, he embarked on an extensive tour of the province. People gave him a sympathetic hearing and enrolled in a large number as the Anjuman members. This benefited greatly the cause of the Pashtoon unity.

In 1926, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, his wife, elder sister and brother-in-law went to perform the Haj. That year, the newly established Saudi monarch, Sultan Ibn Saud, had invited distinguished Muslims from all over the world to Makkah to participate and discuss the important issues regarding Islam and the general attitude of non-Muslims towards Islam. The Indian representatives included, among others Maulana Mohammad Ali,

Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Maulana Ismail Ghaznavi. The discussion, however, centred on insignificant issues, which eventually resulted in discord.²⁶

On his return journey, Abdul Ghaffar Khan resumed his contact with the like-minded people in the NWFP. As there was hardly any socio-political newspaper/journal in the entire province, Abdul Ghaffar Khan decided to publish a journal in Pashto.²⁷ In May 1928, the first issue of the monthly *Pukhtun*, came out. It contained well-written articles on a variety of subjects, including politics, Pashtoon patriotism, Islamic history, gender issues, Indian affairs and social problems. Amanullah Khan's European visit was also given importance. It soon became a popular Pashto journal. Initially, its circulation was 500 copies but in due course of time it reached 3,000 and more.²⁸

The Formation of the Khudai Khidmatgar Organisation

During the late 1928, events in Afghanistan changed the outlook of the Pashtoon nationalists and intelligentsia. On his return from Europe, Amanullah launched his second phase of the reform and modernisation programme. He introduced certain measures, particularly discarding the traditional veil by the Afghan women. His countrymen disliked the drastic changes, which Amanullah intended to introduce in the conservative Afghan society. They opposed the modernisation of Afghanistan and started an organised movement to oust Amanullah from power. Forced by the circumstances, Amanullah abdicated the throne. Habibullah, popularly known as Bacha Saqao, a Tajik bandit, occupied the throne. The Pashtoons were indignant over the overthrow of Amanullah as they saw a British conspiracy behind the crisis in Afghanistan.²⁹ The Anjuman organised anti-government demonstrations. It was also decided to send a medical mission under Dr. Khan Sahib to help their Pashtoon brethren in Afghanistan. In March 1929, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mian Jaffar Shah were deputed by the Anjuman to meet Amanullah, then residing at Qandahar, and to seek his permission regarding the medical mission. But they were not allowed to cross into Afghanistan and had to come back. Before the Anjuman could do

anything, a desperate Amanullah went to Italy and decided to settle there permanently.³⁰

Mian Akbar Shah (1899-1990), an active member of the Anjuman, and a former student of Islamia College, Peshawar, who had gone as far as the Soviet Union in connection with liberation of the 'motherland',³¹ proposed the formation of a youth league on the pattern of the Young Turks, the Young Afghans, the Young Bukharans, the Young Khivans and other similar organisations outside India. Abdul Ghaffar Khan appreciated the idea and agreed to serve as a host to a meeting for the purpose. The meeting was convened on 1 September 1929 at Utmanzai and the formation of the Zalmu Jirga, with its temporary headquarters at Utmanzai was announced.³² Abdul Akbar Khan became its president and Mian Ahmad Shah its secretary. Its membership was open to 'every youth without any discrimination of caste, creed or religion, provided he is literate', and that 'he should not participate in any form of communalism'. Pashto was made the official language for Jirga's proceedings. Its other objectives included the 'attainment of complete independence for Hindustan by all possible means'. At the end of the meeting, about seventy participants from various parts of the NWFP.³³ An important feature of the Jirga was that the majority of the participants belonged to various academic and professional fields. They belonged to the rural areas, some of them had settled in the urban centres for legal practice (the majority being that of lawyers) but still were in touch with their relatives and friends in the villages. None of them was a title-holder or a big landlord.³⁴

In November 1929, another organisation known as the Khudai Khidmatgars (Servants of God) was formed to accommodate the majority of the aged and illiterate sympathisers of the Pashtoon cause. Sarfaraz Khan became its first president and Hijab Gul its secretary. This new organisation quickly became very popular. Both the organisations worked for the promotion of Pashtoon nationalism and eradication of social evils from the society. They appealed, time and again, for the unity of the Pashtoons and showed their determination to get rid of British imperialism.³⁵ The leaders were almost the same – the same group of Pashtoon intelligentsia which was prominent in the Zalmu Jirga was at the forefront of the Khudai Khidmatgar organisation.

Within a short span of time, they established a network of the organisation in all over the province, particularly in the rural areas, hitherto neglected by other political organisations.

No accurate figures are available regarding the exact number of the Khudai Khidmatgar members and the branches. However, a careful study reveals that the membership reached between twelve to fifteen hundred. Many factors contributed to the popularity of the Khudai Khidmatgars because different sections of the Pashtoon society interpreted its programme in their own way: 'to the Pashtoon intelligentsia, it was a movement for the revival of Pashtoon culture with its distinct identity; to the smaller Khans, it was a movement that demanded political reforms for the province that would enfranchise them and give them a greater role in the governance; its anti-colonial stand suited the majority of the anti-establishment ulama, who always regarded the British rule in the sub-continent as a 'curse'; for the peasants and other poor classes it was against their oppressors, their agents like the Khan Bahadurs and big Khans'.³⁶

From the beginning, the Khudai Khidmatgar leaders had put great emphasis on discipline. The volunteers were organised and drilled in military fashion. They were also given military ranks, i.e. generals, colonels, captains, etc. Before joining the organisation, the members had to pledge that they would abstain from the use of violence, intoxicants, intrigues, family-feuds and other vices then prevailing in the society.³⁷ The volunteers dressed themselves in uniform, which varied in form and colour. As the majority of the volunteers were poor and could not afford any special kind of uniform, they were advised to dip their ordinary clothes in brown or chocolate colour, which was cheap and easily available. This made them 'Red Shirts' in government communiqués and later this title stuck like glue.³⁸ The British Indian government made extensive propaganda against the Khudai Khidmatgars, and tried to equate them with the Bolsheviks, and even dubbed them as Russian agents who intended to create anarchy and chaos in the country and destabilise the government – a charge always refuted by the Khudai Khidmatgars.

The most significant feature of the Khudai Khidmatgars was their adoption of the non-violence and strict adherence to it. The volunteers were taught not to resort to violence and also not to

carry weapons. More emphasis was given upon forbearance and tolerance. They were told not to retaliate, even if humiliated. Examples from the lives of the Holy Prophet and his Companions provided inspiration. They were reminded of the atrocities of Makkans over Muslims during the initial days of Islam and how the Holy Prophet and his Companions faced it with forbearance. After the conquest of Makkah, the Muslims could take revenge but following the true path of non-violence, the Holy Prophet advised them to be magnanimous.

Like many other tribal societies, the Pashtoon society was notorious for factionalism and violence. Ghaffar Khan's main emphasis was on the prevention of blood feuds, particularly amongst the first cousins (*Tarburs*). The Pashtoons were violent but physically and materially they were exhausted by the blood feuds. Therefore, they wanted a remedy for those feuds. Moreover, they had been told that by adopting non-violence the Pashtoon would never be defeated. As such more and more people started registering themselves in the Khudai Khidmatgars organization.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan had developed his perception on non-violence since early 1910s. This was one of the main reasons that he disapproved the armed struggle of the Haji Sahib of Turangzai, launched against the Raj. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was convinced that the armed resistance would bring disaster and ruin upon the Pashtoons, who were, as the inhabitants of a politically and strategically sensitive area, already facing lot of miseries. The biographers of Abdul Ghaffar Khan wrongly attribute his adherence to the non-violence as the result of Gandhi's preaching. Their emphasis is surely misplaced. Actually the Gandhian non-violence had very little effect on the Pashtoon mind. The number of Congress members in the NWFP, before its merger with the Khudai Khidmatgars, was far fewer than required for the establishment of a separate Congress Committee. Subsequent events proved that the Khudai Khidmatgars were the followers of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and not Gandhi. Abdul Ghaffar Khan's simple methods of preaching convinced the Pashtoons that the only panacea for their blood feuds and factionalism was the adoption of non-violence and strict adherence to it. J. S. Bright, a contemporary biographer of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, supports this argument. According to him:

Ghaffar Khan is in complete accord with the principle of non-violence. But he has not borrowed his outlook from Mahatma Gandhi. He has reached it and reached it independently. Independently like a struggler after truth. No doubt, his deep study of Koran has influenced his doctrine of love. Hence if Ghaffar Khan has arrived at the philosophy of non-violence, it is absolutely no wonder. Of the two, Ghaffar Khan and Mahatma Gandhi, my personal view is that the former has achieved a higher level of spirituality. The Khan has reached heaven, while the Pandit is firmly on the earth but ironically enough, the Mahatma is struggling in the air! Ghaffar Khan, like Shelley, has come from heaven to the earth, while Mahatma Gandhi, like Keats, is going from earth to the heaven. Hence, I do not understand why Ghaffar Khan should be called the Frontier Gandhi. There is no other reason except this that the Mahatma was earlier in the field, more ambitious than spiritual, and has been able to capture, somehow or the other, a greater publicity. If we judge a person by spiritual qualities, Mahatma Gandhi should rather be called the Indian Khan than Ghaffar Khan the Frontier Gandhi: true, there the matter ends.³⁹

No other movement had ever received such a tremendous response, as did the Khudai Khidmatgars. Abdul Ghaffar Khan also emphasised the communal harmony in the province. Therefore, the membership was kept open to all, irrespective of any discrimination of caste, community or religion. Hence, a large number of non-Muslims in the rank and life of the of Khudai Khidmatgar organisation.

In December 1929, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other prominent Khudai Khidmatgars attended the Lahore session of the Congress. The Congress delegates met at the banks of the river Ravi under the president ship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and declared its goal as the complete independence for India. One of the main purposes of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars visiting Lahore and their participation in the Congress session was to attract the Indian public opinion about the 'cramped Frontier atmosphere'. They met the Congress leaders, apprised them of the latest Frontier situation and sought their help in this connection. The Congress high command promised to send a Committee to enquire into their grievances. Abdul Ghaffar Khan

was highly impressed by the enthusiasm and discipline of the Congress workers. On their return to the NWFP, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the rest of the Khudai Khidmatgars toured the entire province and organised the people on the pattern of the Congress organisation. *Jirgas* were formed on village level and the Congress programme of complete independence and non-payment of taxes and revenues was endorsed enthusiastically. In March 1930, Gandhi launched his civil disobedience movement against the government. The Congress directed the provincial Congress Committees to undertake the civil disobedience movement accordingly.

Though a Congress organisation had existed in the NWFP since 1922 it had been amalgamated with the Punjab Congress Committee owing to the lack of required numbers. On April 15, 1930, the Provincial Congress workers brought special clay from Pabbi and defied the government by manufacturing salt. However, no arrests were made.⁴⁰ The next step was the picketing of liquor shops and April 23 was selected for this purpose. The local workers requested Abdul Ghaffar Khan to give them the required support to which he agreed. The annual meeting of the Azad School at Utmanzai was held on April 19-20, 1930, which was attended by a large number of Khudai Khidmatgars, members of Zalmo Jirga and the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee (FPCC). After the deliberations, the participants, numbering about twelve hundreds, were invited to join the Congress civil disobedience movement.⁴¹

On the night of April 23 prominent leaders of FPCC were arrested. To avoid unrest in the rest of the NWFP, particularly in the rural areas of the province, it was decided to arrest the noted Khudai Khidmatgars.⁴² Allah Bakhsh Barqi and Ghulam Rabbani Sethi, two prominent local Congress leaders, avoided arrest during the previous night but surrendered on the 23 morning. Many volunteers accompanied them to the prison. This worsened the already tense situation and sparked off the peaceful agitation which led to the indiscriminate firing of the troops on unarmed Congress/Khilafat volunteers at Qissa Khwani Bazaar, which resulted in the deaths of more than two hundred people. This was only the second massacre of this kind after the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy that occurred in the Punjab in April 1919.⁴³ Abdul Ghaffar

Khan and other Khudai Khidmatgar leaders were arrested and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment and were sent to Gujarat jail in the Punjab.⁴⁴

On May 16, Utmanzai was devastated by troops. On May 25, the army ransacked Takkar, a village in Mardan; and worst kinds of atrocities were committed against the Khudai Khidmatgars. The Qissa Khwani Bazaar massacre was followed by a second firing incident at Peshawar on May 31, killing twelve persons. On August 16, Martial Law was declared and for the time being the Province was cut off from the rest of the sub-continent. Visits to and from the province were not allowed and all sorts of communication were strictly censored.⁴⁵ On August 24, a peaceful mob at Hathi Khel (Bannu) was fired upon, killing seventy persons at the spot. A ban was immediately put on the Khudai Khidmatgars, Zalmo Jirga, FPCC and Naujawan Bharat Sabha (Frontier Branch). Frequent firing and *lathi* charges on the unarmed, non-violent Khudai Khidmatgars became a routine. They were stripped and flogged and forced to walk naked through the cordons of soldiers who prodded them with rifles and bayonets as they passed. They were publicly humiliated, then thrown into nearby cesspools. All sort of inhuman treatment was meted out to them. On previous occasions, when the Khudai Khidmatgars had not yet pledged themselves to non-violence, all such acts of provocations were duly avenged by the Pashtoons, whenever, they got an opportunity. But now they were told to bear all these atrocities and insults with fortitude and not to retaliate. The Khudai Khidmatgars simply followed Abdul Ghaffar Khan and offered no resistance to the government. Ironically, appalled by the government repression, a large number of the Frontier inhabitants enrolled themselves as the Khudai Khidmatgars, thus providing a boost to the movement. Before April 23, 1930, the Khudai Khidmatgars were about twelve hundred, after the repression, their number exceeded twenty-five thousand.

As a result of these events, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was sent to the Gujarat prison. Meanwhile, Mian Jaffar Shah and Abdullah Shah, two of the more prominent Khudai Khidmatgars still out of prison, secretly met Ghaffar Khan in the jail and discussed with him the political situation in the NWFP. Since the government was trying to prove their connection with the Bolsheviks, Abdul

Ghaffar Khan authorised the affiliation of their organisation with an all-India political body in order to avoid further government repression. Mian Jaffar Shah had contacts in the Punjab from the time of the Khilafat movement. He met Malik Lal Khan, a prominent Khilafat worker from Gujranwala and through him they met Sir Fazli Hussain, the 'strong man of Unionism' in the Punjab, and a prominent member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. But to their utter despair, he refused to extend any help against the British government. Their next choice was the Congress. As the Congress was at warpath with the British Indian government, it readily agreed and welcomed the Khudai Khidmatgars in the fight against the British imperialism.⁴⁶

On March 5, 1931, a settlement was reached between the government and Congress known as the Gandhi-Irwin pact. The arrested Congress leaders and workers were released and the government agreed to withdraw the ordinances promulgated during the civil disobedience movement. The Congress agreed to stop the civil disobedience movement and end the boycott of the British goods. On March 11, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the rest of the Khudai Khidmatgars were released under the same arrangements as the Pact. Soon after his release, Ghaffar Khan went back to the NWFP and resumed his work of organising the Khudai Khidmatgars. He described the Pact as a temporary truce and exhorted the Khudai Khidmatgars to prepare for another conflict. He addressed a large number of meetings and frequently told his people that:

One horn of the Firangi is already broken. Now you rise and get ready to break the other horn. This is your land, God has ordained it to you, but owing to your disunity, the Firangis are occupying your land. Your children die of hunger and thirst, while their children are enjoying everything they want.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, the Khudai Khidmatgars visited to the Congress' annual session at Karachi. On March 27, 1931, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and about seventy of his prominent associates reached Karachi. On March 30, he was asked to declare publicly his association with the Congress, which he did. On August 9, the Zalmu Jirga and the Khudai Khidmatgars were formally federated with the Congress while still retaining their separate identity.⁴⁸

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was appointed as the leader of these organisations in the NWFP, which put an end to the faction fighting among the urban and rural workers of the Congress.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was accused by some of his close associates, including Mian Ahmad Shah, Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar and Mohammad Akbar Khadim, for merging the Khudai Khidmatgars with the Hindu-dominated Congress. They were indignant over losing their separate identity through their merger with the Congress. But Abdul Ghaffar Khan told them that he had done it as a last resort because the Pashtoons desperately needed help from outside the province. He could see no harm coming to the Pashtoon interests after the Khudai Khidmatgar merger with the Congress. He gave examples from the life of the Holy Prophet, who had made alliances with the Jews and the Christians to protect and safeguard the interests of the Muslims.⁴⁹ It is a fact that after their merger with the Congress, the Khudai Khidmatgars got popularity on an all-India level. They were now part of the main stream national politics, and in turn provided immense strength to the Congress in a Muslim-majority province which refutes the League allegations that the Congress purely was a *Hindu* political organisation.

In December 1931, after the failure of talks between Gandhi and the British in the second RTC, there was a general crackdown on the Khudai Khidmatgars. On the night of the 24, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Khan Sahib and other prominent Khudai Khidmatgars were arrested. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was imprisoned in Hazaribagh Jail in Bihar and for over six months he was cut off completely from the outside world. The Khan Brothers were released on August 27, 1934, after completing about three years of imprisonment but were prohibited from entering the Punjab and the NWFP. They were invited by Gandhi to stay with him at Wardha till the government allowed them to re-enter their home province. On December 7, 1934, after exactly one hundred days of his freedom, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was re-arrested, accused of inciting public against the government and sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment. Eventually on August 1, 1937, he was released but, once again, prohibited from entering the Punjab or the NWFP until November 29. In the last week of August 1937, however, he was allowed to go home. By the time he reached

there, significant changes had taken place on the political horizon of the Indian sub-continent. Confrontational politics had given way to parliamentary politics and the Congress agreed to participate in the new dispensation.

Although the Frontier Congress was in office during 1937-1939, Abdul Ghaffar Khan kept himself aloof from any ministerial assignments. Instead he remained busy in the organizational work of the Khudai Khidmatgars. One of the remarkable features of his tours was his vigorous propaganda for constructive activities. On September 3, 1939, World War II broke out. Britain declared war on Germany and asked her Dominions to follow suit. The colonies endorsed the decision. In India, the Viceroy, declared India's participation without consulting the Indian public opinion. The Congress demanded some constitutional concessions in return for their support for the war effort on the British side. The government refused and asked the Congress to provide unconditional support which the latter rejected. On September 22, the Congress high command called upon its provincial ministries to resign. On November 7, the NWFP Congress ministers tendered their resignations. The Khudai Khidmatgars were happy over the resignation, as they regarded Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry as 'inimical to their interest since it had curbed their radical politics'.⁵⁰

Unlike the other Indian provinces, the NWFP was calm and quiet. Probably the Pashtoons were not interested in a distant theatre of war. On a small scale, however, the provincial Congress remained busy on its 'war path' against the authorities. The Congress Poona Offer (September 1939) of conditional support to the British war effort created difference of opinion within the Congress. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was unhappy over the Congress decision as he was pledged to non-violence like his Khudai Khidmatgars. 'We have been condemning war and their horrors', he remarked, 'and now is the time to prove our sincerity and resist all attempts to be dragged into any wicked combination for that purpose'.⁵¹ He decided to resign from the Congress Working Committee and informed Gandhi of his decision. He wrote:

Some recent resolutions of the Congress Working Committee indicate that they are restricting the use of non-violence to the

fight for India's freedom against constituted authority. How far and in what manner this will have to be applied in the future I cannot say. The near future will perhaps throw light on this. Meanwhile it is difficult for me to continue in the Congress Working Committee, and I am resigning from it. I should like to make it clear that the non-violence I have believed in and preached to my brethren of the Khudai Khidmatgars is much wider. It affects all our life, and only this has permanent value. Unless we learn this lesson of non-violence fully we shall never do away with the deadly feuds, which have been the curse of the people of the Frontier. Since we took to non-violence and the Khudai Khidmatgars pledged them to it, we have largely succeeded in ending these feuds. Non-violence has added greatly to the courage of the Pathans. Because they were previously addicted to violence far more than others, they have profited by non-violence much more. We shall never really and effectively defend ourselves except through non-violence. Khudai Khidmatgars must, therefore, be what our names imply pure servants of God and humanity by laying down our own lives and never taking any life.⁵²

On July 8, Abdul Ghaffar Khan also informed the Congress high command of his resignation from the Working Committee. By his resignation, Abdul Ghaffar Khan proved that he was a firm believer in non-violence. This was also a message that in no way he was ready to follow Gandhi blindly and that the Khudai Khidmatgar were a separate organisation, who were collaborating just for a joint struggle for independence from the British yoke. The Khudai Khidmatgars and the like-minded people in the NWFP endorsed Abdul Ghaffar Khan's decision. It was only after the AICC withdrew its decision at Ramgarh that Abdul Ghaffar Khan rejoined the Congress. Instantly, he was authorised by the Congress to provide guidance and directing the Satyagraha movement in the NWFP. He began a whirlwind tour of the province, enrolled volunteers and organised training camps at various parts of the province. His main purpose was to prevent the Frontier people from giving any support to the British war effort and discourage recruitment in the British Indian Army.⁵³

After the 'Quit India' resolution, passed at Bombay on August 8, 1942, the Congress launched its civil disobedience movement against the government. On August 9, Gandhi and other members of the CWC were arrested then central and provincial

organisations proclaimed illegal. The arrests of the leaders were followed by widespread disorders in the country. Cases of arson, looting and derailment were reported, which was followed by a general crackdown on the Congress workers.

In the NWFP, the situation in the beginning was calm and under the control of the provincial authorities. Despite some disorders, the authorities desisted from using force, at least for the time being. Sir George Cunningham, the Governor, was of the firm opinion that harsh treatment meted out to the Khudai Khidmatgars would deteriorate the situation. He resisted the Central Government's policy to treat the law-breakers with an iron hand. However, with the passage of time, the government abandoned its earlier policy and in late October of 1942, the Congress volunteers were brutally *lathi*-charged and their demonstrations fired upon. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was also not spared and mercilessly beaten, which left him with two broken ribs. On October 27, he was arrested at Mir Wais Dheri, a suburb of Mardan.⁵⁴

During the early months of 1945, the War situation improved. As a gesture of good will the detained leaders of Congress were released. In March 1945, Dr. Khan Sahib, recently released, moved a vote of no confidence against the Muslim League ministry of Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. Aurangzeb Khan and his colleagues tendered their resignations. On March 16, Dr. Khan Sahib was invited by the Frontier Governor to form a ministry. One of the first acts of the new Ministry was to order the release of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the rest of the Khudai Khidmatgars, detained since their participation in the 'Quit India' movement. The events on the all-India level also saw some rapid changes. After the failure of the Simla Conference in May 1945, a Cabinet Delegation was sent to India to solve the Indian problem. The Mission arrived in Delhi on March 24, 1946, and immediately it started negotiations with important political organisations. The discussion with the political parties ended in failure, as majority of them were bitterly opposed to each other.⁵⁵ On May 16, the Mission forwarded its own proposals, which they regarded as the best arrangement for the solution of the Indian problem. Under the proposed arrangements, the central Government was to deal with foreign affairs, defence and currency. All the remaining powers were to be given to the provinces, in three groups: Section A Bihar,

Bombay, CP, Madras, Orissa and UP (Hindu-majority areas); Section B the NWFP, the Punjab and Sindh (Muslim majority areas); and, Section C Assam and Bengal (small Muslim majority).

In the NWFP, the provincial Congress leaders were not happy over the compulsory grouping, as they viewed it as permanent subordination to the Punjab. Till then they had been following the Congress with its demand of the United India. In the changed circumstances, however, they demanded maximum provincial autonomy within the Indian context so that they could control their own affairs without interference from any quarter. The provincial Congress also sought the merger of the tribal territories with the settled districts of the NWFP, as the inhabitants of both places belonged to a common ethnic group professing the same religion, divided by the imperial power decades ago. Abdul Ghaffar Khan opposed the compulsory grouping, as it would have forced them to join the Punjab. At the same time, he made it clear that the Pashtoons would never join the Hindu-majority provinces, hundreds of miles away from the Frontier Province. The Frontier Congress Muslims, according to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, were ready to join Group B, provided the Punjab gave them assurances of the better treatment towards the Khudai Khidmatgars. He also proposed that they should be left alone as 'we are happy in framing our own destiny by ourselves.'⁵⁶ One of the main concerns of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was to find a respectable place for the Pashtoons in the future political set-up of the sub- continent.

In August 1946, communal riots broke out in various parts of Calcutta and soon it spread to Noakhali, Bihar and some parts of the United Provinces (UP). The authorities were unable to control the inter-communal frenzy in which thousands of people perished. At the all-India level, the massacres of autumn 1946 destroyed all hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity in the sub-continent and which eventually led to the partition of India. In the NWFP, the riots changed the outlook of the majority of the pro-League Muslims. Earlier, they always gave priority to their ethnic considerations, i.e. Pashtoon first and Muslims afterwards. But now they started thinking the other way round. Their sense of belonging to a larger Muslim community became stronger. The Frontier Muslim League exploited the communal riots and sent teams to investigate the details of massacre in the riots-affected areas. They came back

with the accounts of rape, torture, murder, destruction of mosques and desecration of the Holy Quran. The provincial League achieved successes within months, which otherwise would have taken years to achieve.

Since any change within the legislature was impossible because thirty-three members in a House of fifty were Congressmen who gave no heed to the League's ideology and programme, the latter started devising other ways and means to topple the Congress ministry. An organised campaign was started wherein 'Pakistan' was explained as the only solution for a peaceful settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims. The provincial Muslim League also started a civil disobedience movement against Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry. The League wanted to prove that an overwhelming majority of the Muslim population of the Frontier supported their demand for Pakistan. As the details of the League civil disobedience movement are out of scope of the present study, I shall confine myself to Abdul Ghaffar Khan's activities. As a rule, Abdul Ghaffar Khan remained busy in touring the riots-affected areas of Bengal and Bihar and tried to build confidence among the shattered Muslims. He also proposed a non-political committee to help the victims to restart their life. He was unhappy over the destruction caused by the riots. Expressing his views on one such occasion in Bihar, Abdul Ghaffar Khan remarked 'India today seems an inferno and my heart weeps to see our homes set on fire by ourselves. I find today darkness reigning over India and my eyes vainly turn from one direction to another to see light'.⁵⁷ He also pointed out that 'India is one single nation inhabited by Hindus and Muslims. There are provinces where Hindus are an insignificant minority. There are some other provinces where Muslims are similarly situated. If what has happened in Noakhali and Bihar is repeated in other places, the fate of the nation is surely sealed'.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, the events in India were changing dramatically. On February 20, 1947, Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister, announced that power would be transferred to Indian hands by June 1948 at the latest.⁵⁹ On March 22, Lord Mountbatten arrived in India to replace Lord Wavell as the Viceroy of India. One of his foremost concerns was the peaceful transfer of power to Indian hands. On June 3, 1947, he presented his plan for the partition of

India and August 15 was chosen as the earliest possible date for the transfer of power from the British to Indian hands. The plan also proposed a referendum to decide whether the NWFP wanted to join India or Pakistan. Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking on behalf of the Congress, confirmed acceptance of the partition plan. On June 14, the AICC met at Delhi and approved the proposed partition plan.⁶⁰ The partition plan and its acceptance by the Congress aroused mixed feelings in the NWFP. While the Frontier Muslim League was happy over the announcement regarding referendum, the Khudai Khidmatgars were indignant. Under the changed circumstances, they were left with no option but to adjust themselves to the changing scenario of the current Indian politics.

Till recent past, the Khudai Khidmatgars had been confident that the Congress would not accept the partition of India. Time and again they had been assured by the Congress high command that they would resist any attempt with regard the division of India. But on the acceptance of the 3 June Plan, the Khudai Khidmatgars were stunned. To their chagrin, the Congress had accepted the partition plan, including a referendum in the NWFP, without even consulting the Frontier supporters. There was only a token protest from J. Kripalani, the Congress president, who protested over the holding of referendum without the Frontier Congressmen being given the choice of the inclusion of a third option, i.e. an autonomous Pashtoonistan. He informed the Viceroy of the growing demand for Pashtoonistan in the province. The Viceroy immediately rejected the demand and informed the Congress president that it was at Nehru's request that a proposal to allow every province to vote for Pakistan, Hindustan or independence had been dropped. He expressed his inability to re-introduce this at that critical juncture.⁶¹ This shows that the Congress wanted the Frontier leaders to believe that it had exploited 'every avenue of recourse'. In fact, the Congress believed that the Viceroy's proposal were the best under the given circumstances, and were in no way, a risk to the future of India on the Frontier issue.⁶² On the Viceroy's refusal, the Congress withdrew its suggestions without the slightest protest and dropped the issue forever.

The CWC and the AICC ratified the decision regarding the division of India, including a referendum in the NWFP. Abdul

Ghaffar Khan was unhappy and disturbed over the Congress acceptance of referendum in the NWFP in the complete disregard of its past assurances. Abdul Ghaffar Khan regarded it as an act of treachery on the part of the Congress as it had accepted the referendum plan without even consulting him. 'We Pakhtuns stood by you and had undergone great sacrifices for attaining freedom', Abdul Ghaffar Khan indignantly remarked, 'but you have now deserted us and thrown us to the wolves'.⁶³ He openly declared that that we shall not agree to hold referendum because we had decisively won the elections on the issue of Hindustan versus Pakistan and proclaimed the Pakhtun view on it to the world. Now, as India has disowned us, why should we have a referendum on Hindustan and Pakistan? Let it be on Pakhtunistan or Pakistan'.⁶⁴

On June 18, a meeting was arranged between Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Jinnah. Abdul Ghaffar Khan informed him of the conditional support of Khudai Khidmatgars to Pakistan. At this Jinnah asked him to join Pakistan first and then decide the matter by mutual understandings. Abdul Ghaffar Khan told Jinnah that he would discuss it further with his party men and then he would inform Jinnah of the outcome.⁶⁵ On June 21, a joint meeting of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, Khudai Khidmatgars and other affiliated organisations was held at Bannu. After giving the details regarding the acceptance of the partition plan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan asked them about their views. They were indignant over the Congress' treachery, which had caused deep resentment and disappointment among them. They unanimously opposed the holding of referendum and demanded the establishment of an autonomous Pashtoon state which would have its own constitution, based on traditional Pashtoon culture and values to be framed on the basis of an Islamic concept of democracy, equality and social justice.⁶⁶ However, despite the boycott of the Khudai Khidmatgars, the referendum was held between July 6 and 17, 1947, and the results were announced on the 20th. The Congress did not take part in the polling. According to the official results, the votes polled in favour of Pakistan were 50.49 per cent of the total electorate.⁶⁷ Ghaffar Khan accused the referendum staff of taking sides with the Leaguers. 'As we took no part in the referendum', remarked Ghaffar Khan, 'the Muslim League had no hurdles to cross'.⁶⁸

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947. The Khudai Khidmatgars were forced to join a state against which they had struggled till recent. They had regarded Pakistan as an electioneering campaign of the League but it was now a reality. Under the circumstances, on September 3-4, 1947, the Khudai Khidmatgars and their affiliated bodies met at Sardaryab (Peshawar) and pledged loyalty to the new country.⁶⁹ The provincial authorities, under Abdul Qaiyum the new Frontier Chief Minister who was notorious for his anti-Khudai Khidmatgars attitude, started a campaign of intimidation and torture against them.

On February 23, 1948, Abdul Ghaffar Khan in his capacity as a member of the Constituent Assembly, attended the first session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, held at Karachi and formally took the oath of allegiance to the state of Pakistan. Jinnah was overwhelmed by Abdul Ghaffar Khan's positive attitude and invited him for meals. In return, Abdul Ghaffar Khan invited Jinnah to the NWFP and requested him to spend some time with the Khudai Khidmatgars to which Jinnah agreed.⁷⁰ In April 1948, Jinnah visited the NWFP but he refused to meet the Khudai Khidmatgars at Sardaryab and instead asked Abdul Ghaffar Khan to see him in Peshawar. Abdul Ghaffar Khan went to Peshawar, met Jinnah who invited him to join the Muslim League. Abdul Ghaffar Khan showed his inability to do so. Thus their meeting ended in a failure. Abdul Ghaffar Khan accused the provincial administration, particularly the Chief Minister Abdul Qaiyum, for creating misunderstandings between Jinnah and the Khudai Khidmatgars.⁷¹

In March 1948, Abdul Ghaffar Khan met Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, G. M. Syed, Abdul Majid Sindhi and few other 'nationalists' and tried to bring them on one platform to oppose the Muslim League government. Their joint efforts resulted in the formation of the Peoples Party. It was the first non-communal *real* opposition party in Pakistan. On May 8, 1948, a meeting was convened at Karachi and the formal announcement for the above-mentioned party was made. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was made the president and G. M. Syed its secretary.⁷² On his return from Karachi, Abdul Ghaffar Khan decided to popularise the new party on an all-Pakistan level. He started a tour of the NWFP in that

connection. However, he was arrested near Kohat on June 15, 1948, and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. His arrest was followed by a ban on the Khudai Khidmatgar organisation and a general crackdown on the members of the organisation followed.

After the expiry of the three years' sentence, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was held on another charge and sentenced for another three years term. Eventually, he was released in 1954. Soon, he was in the forefront of the movement opposing the 'One Unit' scheme under which the government announced the merger of the former provinces of the NWFP, Sindh and the Punjab into one administrative unit. Abdul Ghaffar Khan criticised the integration of the West Pakistan into one single administrative unit. On June 16, 1956, he was once again arrested. After his release, Abdul Ghaffar Khan announced on January 27, 1957, his decision to join Pakistan National Party. In July 1957, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdul Hameed Khan Bashani, G. M. Syed and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din formed the National Awami Party at Dhaka. On October 11, 1958, Ghaffar Khan and other prominent nationalist leaders were arrested. On his release in April 1959, Abdul Ghaffar Khan resumed his NWFP tour, exhorting people to oppose the restrictive laws under the then regime. He was re-arrested on April 12, 1961, and accused of indulging in anti-state activities, including the spreading of disaffection towards the Government, causing a feeling of despondency and alarm among the public and creating hatred between various sections of the people.⁷³ He was released in January 1964, when his health had deteriorated alarmingly. In September 1964, he was allowed to proceed to Britain for treatment. From London he proceeded to Afghanistan, arriving in Kabul in December 1964. He decided to stay in Afghanistan in self-exile and remained there till mid-1970. He came back to Pakistan during Z. A. Bhutto's time.⁷⁴

The remaining years of Abdul Ghaffar Khan were spent in social reforms. However, in the mid-1980s he started a vigorous campaign against the construction of the Kalabagh Dam, which he considered harmful for the interest of Pashtoons.⁷⁵ He breathed his last at Peshawar on January 20, 1988, at the age of 98 years. His dead body was taken in a funeral procession to Jalalabad in Afghanistan, and on January 22, 1988, according to his last will,⁷⁶

was buried at the Shisham Bagh. Millions of people attended the funeral of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, as a tribute to one of the most prominent freedom fighters against British imperialism and its successor regimes in Pakistan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan left behind millions of followers who still dominate the NWFP politics, as his political legacy.

References and Notes

1. They included D. G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan* (Bombay, 1967); Mahadev Desai, *Two Servants of God* (Delhi, 1935); Eknath Easwaran, *A Man to Match His Mountains* (California, 1985); Girdhari Lalpuri, *Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan* (Delhi, 1985); M. S. Korejo, *The Frontier Gandhi: His Place in History* (Karachi, 1994); G. L. Zutshi, *Frontier Gandhi* (Delhi, 1970); J. S. Bright, *Frontier and Its Gandhi* (Lahore, 1944); Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *Meet the Frontier Gandhi* (Bombay, n.d.); R. S. Nagina, *Gandhiji Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan Ki Nazar Mein* (Urdu) (Delhi, n.d.); Hari Bhao Joshi, *Badshah Khan* (Urdu) (Hyderabad, 1968); and Farigh Bokhari, *Bacha Khan* (Urdu) (Peshawar, 1957).
2. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1999-2000), p. 4.
3. For Details see Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'Redefining Constitutional Politics: the NWFP and the Raj, 1901-1932', *The Calcutta Historical Journal* vol. XXI and XXII, 1919-2000. pp. 115-137.
4. In those days, it was not a common practice among the Pashtoons during to keep birth records. This is the main reason that no exact date and month of Abdul Ghaffar Khan's birth are available. The only evidence, according to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, came from his mother that when his elder brother, Khan Sahib got married the former was eleven years old. Since Khan Sahib's marriage took place in 1901, one can calculate that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was born in 1890. See Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand au Jaddo Jehad* (Pashto) (Kabul, 1983) p. 1.
5. They used to say that the modern education was un-Islamic. The following verse was often repeated in mosques:
Sabaq da madrasse wai dapara de paisay wai
Janat ke ye baye zai na wi dozakh ke be ghasey wai
 (Those who learn at schools, do so for the sake of money. They will have no place in Paradise and will find themselves in the hell). Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 15-16.
6. Abdul Ghaffar Khan narrated that after getting the appointment letter, he went to see one of his in-service family friends, a cavalry officer then posted at Peshawar. While he was busy chatting, a young newly-arrived British lieutenant came there and on seeing Abdul Ghaffar Khan's friend

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- bare-headed, with the hair parted in smart western-style, insulted him and remarked: 'Well, damn Khan Sahib, you too aspire to be an Englishman'. Abdul Ghaffar Khan's friend had no courage to retort. On seeing this, he decided not to join the army.
7. One night, Abdul Ghaffar Khan had a bad dream. He saw himself approaching a deep ditch and as he was about to fall into it, a grey-beard came and warned him of the danger ahead. Abdul Ghaffar Khan left the place immediately and proceeded to Aligarh. Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 58-62.
 8. Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgari*, I (Pashto) (Peshawar, 1993), p. 47.
 9. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 18.
 10. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 22.
 11. Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 94-107.
 12. A Committee was appointed under Justice S. A. T. Rowlatt. Other members of the Committee were B. Scott, C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, H. V. Lovett and P. C. Mitter. Their suggestions were accepted and enacted into a law. They were known as Rowlatt Bills.
 13. Gandhi quoted in Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 27.
 14. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 19.
 15. Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 138-160.
 16. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'NWFP and the Khilafat & Hijrat Movements', *Central Asia*, No. 20, summer 1987, pp. 121-128.
 17. Shah, 'NWFP and the Khilafat & Hijrat Movements', pp. 128-136.
 18. Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 177-180.
 19. They included Mian Ahmad Shah, Abdullah Shah, Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, Mian Jaffar Shah, Mohammad Abbas Khan, Mohammad Akbar Khadim and Maulana Mohammad Israel.
 20. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 22; and, Abdul Akbar Khan, 'Autobiography' (Pashto) (unpublished), pp. 8-10.
 21. *Ibid.* p. 23.
 22. Abdul Karim Khan, 'The Khudai Khidmatgar (Servants of God)/ Red Shirt Movement in the North-West Frontier Province of British India, 1927-1947', (unpublished Ph. D Dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1997), p. 38.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
 24. Farigh Bokhari, *Bacha Khan* (Urdu) (Peshawar, 1957), pp. 58-59.
 25. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 44. For more details see Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 190-304.
 26. Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 320-323.
 27. 'The Pakhtuns then had no love for their own language', observed Abdul Ghaffar Khan. 'They were not even conscious that Pakhtu was their language, and wherever they went, they adopted the local language and forgot their mother tongue. They did not teach their language to others and did not care to read and write in Pakhtu. Leave aside the illiterates,

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- when appealed to the educated Pakhtuns to subscribe for and read a Pakhtu journal for the Pakhtuns, they remarked, 'What is there in Pakhtu worth reading and learning?' 'Surely', I asserted, it is not the fault of the Pakhtu language. All the existing languages of the other countries were once undeveloped. Men of calibre and dedication nurtured their own languages and raised them to great heights. Has any of us ever made an effort to nurture and to develop the Pakhtu language? On the contrary, the mullahs propagated that Pakhtu was the language of hell, spoken by the people in hell. The Pakhtun community was so ignorant that they did not ask the mullahs, how they got this information and when did they come out of hell'. Quoted in Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 50.
28. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 25. The *Pukhtun* was first published from Rawalpindi, then from Amritsar and, finally, from Peshawar. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was its editor and Mohammad Akbar Khadim its co-editor. In 1931, when Khadim developed differences with Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the co-editorship was given to Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq. In April 1947, Sarfaraz Khan became its co-editor. The journal appeared and disappeared several times. It continued as a monthly till April 1930 when it was banned. It re-appeared in July 1931 for a very short period and was banned again in December 1931. In May 1938, it re-appeared (three in a month) and was banned in December 1940 once again. In July 1945, it re-appeared and was banned again in August 1947.
 29. 'Da Arabistan be Taja Badshah', *Pukhtun* (Utmanzai), November 1928, pp. 33-34; Mian Ahmad Shah, 'Afghanistan', *Pukhtun*, December 1928, pp. 5-15; Syed Rahat Zakheli, 'Da Shinwaro Ghobal au da Spinmakho Murad Bal', *ibid*, January 1929, pp. 43-50. For more details see Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'Fall of Amanullah Khan as Seen by His Own Contemporaries', *Central Asia*, No. 43, 1998, pp. 109-126.
 30. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 25.
 31. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'Some Indian Travellers in Central Asia', *Central Asia*, No. 25, 1989, pp. 73-101; Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'Mian Akbar Shah A Profile', *Central Asia*, No. 27, 1990, pp. 113-126.
 32. Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 350-351.
 33. *Pukhtun*, October 1929, p. 14. The participants included: Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mian Akbar Shah (Advocate from Nowshera), Maqsood Jan (Advocate from Bannu), Abdur Rahman Khan (Advocate from Dera Ismail Khan), Ali Asghar Khan (Advocate from Hazara), Qazi Ataullah (Advocate from Mardan), Mian Ahmad Shah (Barrister from Charsadda), Mian Qaim Shah (Advocate from Nowshera), Sher Bahadur Khan (Advocate from Nowshera), Khushal Khan of Bariqab, (President of the Jirga), Pir Gauhar Shah (Kohat), Amir Mumtaz Khan (Head Master Azad Madrassa Utmanzai), Abdul Akbar Khan Umarzai (Charsadda), Mian Abdullah Shah (Charsadda), Sher Mohammad Khan (Charsadda), Abdul Quddus Khan (Charsadda), Mohammad Alim Khan Gandapur (Dera Ismail Khan), and, Mohamad Aslam Khan (Charsadda).

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34. Karim Khan, '*Khudai Khidmatgar*...' p. 60.
 35. Hijab Gul 'An Appeal to the Khudai Khidmatgars', *Pukhtun*, Utmanzai, November 1929, p. 38.
 36. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 27-28.
 37. The volunteers had to take the following pledge before getting enrolled in the organization (translated from Pashto):
 'I Call on God as a witness, and solemnly declare on oath that I will abide by the following principles:
 i: With sincerity and faith, I offer my name for Khudai Khidmatgarship.
 ii: I will sacrifice my wealth, comfort and self in the service of my nation and for the liberation of my country.
 iii: I will never have 'parajamba' (party feeling), enmity with or wilfully oppose any body; and I shall help the oppressed against the oppressor.
 iv: I will not become a member of any other rival party nor will I give security or apologise during the fight.
 v: I will always obey every lawful order of every officer of mine.
 vi: I will always abide by the principle of non-violence.
 vii: I will serve all human beings alike, and my goal will be the attainment of the freedom of my country and my religion.
 ix: I will always perform good and noble deeds.
 x: All my efforts will be directed to seeking the will of god and not towards mere show or becoming an office-holder'. See Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*. p. 44.
 38. The name 'Red Shirts' was purposely introduced by the North-West Frontier Province administration as a popular substitute for the name '*Khudai Khidmatgaran*' or the 'Servants of God', remarked the Viceroy. 'We obviously could not have used the latter phrase in official references, as it would have implied some kind of admission that we were dealing with an association of the pious and godly. Although it may be true that the Red Shirts Movement was not inspired by the Bolsheviks, there was a good deal of communistic doctrine (including the use of sickle and hammer badges) connected with it. So the "red shirt" was not entirely an inappropriate term and I think it served its practical purpose pretty successfully'. Quoted in Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 44.
 39. J. S. Bright, *Frontier and Its Gandhi* (Lahore, 1944), pp. 103-104.
 40. Akbar, 'Autobiography', p. 111.
 41. For details see Ahmad, *Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek* (Peshawar, 1991), pp. 182-193; and, Khaleeq, *Azadi Tehreek*, pp. 63-65.
 42. F. C. Icemonger, IGP, NWFP Secret Report on the Situation in Peshawar, May 1931, F. No. 54, Special Branch Peshawar, p. 16.
 43. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 32. For more details see *Report [With Evidence] of the Peshawar Enquiry Committee* (Allahabad, 1930), pp. 6-28.

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44. *Civil & Military Gazette*, 28 April 1930.
 45. For details see Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 32-33; Khilafat Committee Report, *The Frontier Tragedy* (Lahore, 1930), pp. 1-57; Ahmad, *Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek*, pp. 128-426. Mian Jaffar Shah, Abdullah Shah, *A Statement of Facts About the Present Situation in the NWFP* (Lahore, 1930), pp. 1-12. 'Report of Devadas Gandhi on the NWFP' (1931), F. No. P-16 (1932). pp. 165-199, AICC Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Delhi; 'Annual Report of Congress Working Committee', December 1931, F. No. 85 (1931). pp. 11-13. AICC Papers, NMML; Warris Khan, *Da Azadi Tehreek* (Peshawar, 1988), pp. 82-84; Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgari* (Peshawar, 1993), pp. 95-105; and, Karim Khan, '*Khudai Khidmatgar*', pp. 89-157.
 46. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 34.
 47. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 78.
 48. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 34. Khaleeq, *Da Azadi Jang*, pp. 100-107.
 49. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, 'Za au Congress', *Pukhtun*, June-July 1931, pp. 5-10 and *ibid*, 1 August 1938. pp. 22-23. For full details see Appendix 1, Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 251-259.
 50. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 83.
 51. *Pukhtun*, 11 March 1940, pp. 4-9.
 52. 'Khan Sahib's Ahimsa', *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 72, (Ahmadabad, 1978), pp. 277-278. According to Gandhi, 'In the storm that shook most of the members of the Working Committee, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan stood firm as a rock'. Gandhi further remarked that 'It is worthy of the Khan Sahib (and all that he has stood for during the past twenty years) he is a Pathan, and a Pathan may be said to be born with a rifle or sword in his hand. But the Khan Sahib deliberately asked his *Khudai Khidmatgars* to shed all weapons when he asked them to join the Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act. He saw that this deliberate giving up of the weapons of violence has a magical effect. It was the only remedy for the blood feuds, which were handed down from, sire to son and which had become part of the normal life of a Pathan. They have decimated numerous families, and non-violence seemed to the Khan Sahib to have come as a longed – for salvation. The violent blood feuds would otherwise have no end and would spell the end of the Pathans. He saw as clear as day light that, if he could persuade his people not to retaliate, the suicidal feuds would cease and the Pathans would be able to give a better account of their bravery. They took up his message and put into practice what with them became non-violence of the brave. 'Being so clear about his own faith and that of the *Khudai Khidmatgars*, there was for him no escape from resignation of his membership of the Congress Working Committee. His continuing on it would have been anomalous and might have meant an end of his life's work. He could not

ask his people to join as recruits in the army and at the same time forget the law of the tribal retaliation. The simple Pathan would have argued with him and the argument would have been irresistible that the present war was a war of retaliation and revenge, and that there was no difference between it and their blood feuds.

'I do not know how far the Khan Sahib has succeeded in carrying his message to his people. This I know that with him non-violence is a matter not of intellectual conviction but of intuitive faith. Nothing can therefore shake it. About his followers he cannot say how far they will adhere to it. But that does not worry him. He has to do his duty, which he owes to them. The result he leaves to God. He derives his ahimsa from the Holy Quran...' *ibid*, pp. 277-279.

53. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 129.
54. Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 670-672.
55. For details on the formation and working of the Muslim League ministry see Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in the NWFP* (Karachi, 1992), pp. 64-80.
56. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 172-173; Abdul Ghaffar Khan on Compulsory Grouping under the Cabinet Mission Plan, *Pukhtun*, 17 July 1946, pp. 6-8 and *Pukhtun*, 9 September 1946, p. 17.
57. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 403.
58. *Ibid*.
59. *Indian Annual Register*, 1947, I, pp. 37-38.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.
61. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 219; Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 3 June 1947, *Transfer of Power*, XI (London, 1982), pp. 104-105.
62. Minutes of Viceroy's Tenth Misc: Meeting, 8 May 1947, *Transfer of Power*, X, pp. 670-675.
63. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 221; Pyarelal, *Thrown to the Wolves* (Calcutta, 1966), pp. 96-97.
64. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 221.
65. Abdul Ghaffar Khan informed Jinnah of the readiness of the Khudai Khidmatgars to join Pakistan provided he accepted: (a) complete provincial autonomy; (b) the right for the province to secede from Pakistan if it so desired; and (c) the right to admission to the NWFP of contiguous territories inhabited by the Pashtoons. *Pukhtun*, 1 July 1947, pp. 13-15; *The Pakistan Times*, 19 June 1947.
66. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 222; Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand*, pp. 735-736.
67. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 226.
68. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 448.
69. On September 3-4, 1947, at a large gathering of the Khudai Khidmatgars and its affiliated bodies, the following resolutions were passed:

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- (a) The Khudai Khidmatgars regard Pakistan as their own country and pledge that they shall do their utmost to strengthen and safeguard its interest and make every sacrifice for the cause.
 - (b) The dismissal of Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry and the setting up of Abdul Qaiyum's ministry is undemocratic, but as our country is passing through a critical stage, the Khudai Khidmatgars shall take no step which might create difficulties in the way of either the Provincial or Central Government.
 - (c) After the division of the country the Khudai Khidmatgars sever their connection with the All-India Congress organisation and, therefore, instead of the Tricolour adopt the Red Flag as the symbol of their party'. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, pp. 450-451.
70. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 453.
 71. Farigh Bokhari, *Bacha Khan*, pp. 271-272; Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 461.
 72. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, I (Islamabad, 1998), pp. 139-140.
 73. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, p. 517.
 74. Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgari*, II, (Peshawar, 1994), pp. 604-612; and *ibid*, vol. III, pp. 54-46.
 75. For more details see *Herald*, November 1985, pp. 33-43 and 45-48.
 76. For details see Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgari*, III, (Peshawar, 1998), pp. 393-396.

CHAPTER 5

Mian Akbar Shah*

In the following pages an attempt is made to provide an accurate and authentic account of the life and times of Mian Akbar Shah, a prominent freedom fighter of the North-West Frontier Province who struggled against the British Imperialism in South Asia. Mian Akbar Shah and his comrades left India 'in search of freedom' with a view to returning India ultimately to wage a holy war against the Raj with the help from abroad. They crossed over to Afghanistan, the neighbourly Muslim State whose young Amir, Amanullah Khan, had already earned popularity by countering British activities in his country. But in Afghanistan they were faced with a dilemma: Amanullah's treaty with was termed by the Indian *Muhajirin* in Kabul as a 'betrayal'. Thus Afghanistan to them had ceased to be an 'ideal' sanctuary. It was now no different from the rest of the Muslim countries.

Under these circumstances, the Indian *Muhajirin* did not like to live in Afghanistan. They decided to leave for the Soviet Union which they considered as the 'Land of Revolution'. The Bolsheviks extended facilities to the Indian *Muhajirin*, including Akbar Shah, across the Oxus. After spending some days in Tirmiz, they set out for Tashkent via Bokhara. In Tashkent, they received training in anti-British activities. Akbar Shah also represented the Indian youth at the Baku Conference. After training, he and his associates were sent back to India to guide other revolutionaries in their struggles against the Raj. After a hazardous journey through Iran Akbar Shah and his friends succeeded in reaching India but was arrested and put behind the bars. After the completion of his

* *Celebrities of NWFP*, Vols. I & II (pp: 316-340), Pakistan Study Center, University of Peshawar, 2005.

prison term, he resumed his mission. In the meantime, he earned a Law degree from the Aligarh Muslim University. He joined the Khudai Khidmatgars movement, became a trustworthy comrade of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and remained a true follower till the creation of Pakistan in August 1947. The details of Mian Akbar Shah's life and times are given below:

Early Life and Journey to Afghanistan

Akbar Shah was born at Badrashi, Nowshera, on January 18, 1899.¹ After completing his early education at Nowshera, he was sent to Islamia College, Peshawar, for further education.² Like many other awakened youth, Akbar Shah took keen interest in politics. As India was then passing through critical times, it was impossible for him to concentrate on his studies. During the First World War, India supported the British against its enemies and provided colossal help in men and money. Indian soldiers defended British Imperialism even in the remote corners of the Empire. They were promised rewards on the conclusion of war. The war ended in favour of the British. But instead of giving them rewards, new oppressive laws were introduced in the country. In order to curb the terrorism the government of India enforced the Rowlatt Act.³ Although the ostensible purpose of the promulgating the Act was to curb revolutionary activity, it was used to suppress even genuine political protest. The Indian nationalists opposed the Act. M. K. Gandhi, the Congress leader, issued a call for an all-India *hartal* on April 6, 1919 to protest against the Rowlatt Act.⁴ Responding to Gandhi's call, a complete *hartal* was observed on April 6, in Peshawar. Political workers of the city, Muslims and non-Muslims, participated in the strike. Similar protest meetings were held in other settled districts of the NWFP.⁵ Meanwhile, news of firing on innocent citizens at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar,⁶ reached the province. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the emerging socio-political worker from Charsadda, convened a protest meeting at Utmanzai. The participants, as reported by the CID, numbered between 50,000 and 70,000. In the rural area of the NWFP, this was the first meeting of its kind that expressed solidarity with an all-India cause.⁷

The effect of the agitation on neighbouring Afghanistan was clearly visible. Partly influenced by the Indian revolutionaries then residing in Kabul,⁸ Amir Amanullah Khan, who had recently succeeded his father after his assassination, denounced the British policies regarding Afghanistan and demanded full sovereignty. The British paid no heed to his demand. On May 4, 1919, Amanullah declared war against British India. Though the war was short, it gave Afghanistan its independence.⁹

Mian Akbar Shah and some of his college friends keenly watched these developments around them. They were opposed to the British rule and wanted to do something practical. They started planning for the future course of action, decided to go to Afghanistan and carry anti-British activities with the support of the Afghan forces.¹⁰ Four years earlier, fourteen other students from Lahore had adopted a similar course of action.¹¹ However, Mian Akbar Shah has not mentioned anywhere in his writings that he and his associates were aware of the action of those students.

According to Akbar Shah's account, it was because of their hatred of foreign rule and love for independence that they were thinking on these lines. They left Peshawar for Charsadda, met Abdul Ghaffar Khan and apprised him of their intentions. Abdul Ghaffar Khan welcomed their plans and gave them an introductory letter for Haji Sahib of Turangzai, then residing at Lakarai in the independent Mohmand territory. Haji Sahib was pleased to meet the young revolutionaries. He blessed them with prayers and provided them necessary help and guidance. Their next destination was Chamarkand, the abode of the Indian *Mujahideen*, famous for their fanaticism and anti-British activities since the second half of the nineteenth century. From Chamarkand they crossed over to Jalalabad, the first important major town of Afghanistan. There they met General Nadir Khan, then commander-in-chief of the Afghan forces. The Afghan authorities facilitated their onward journey to Kabul where they arrived without much difficulty. In Kabul, the Afghan government took the responsibility of providing them boarding and lodging.¹²

Meanwhile, the Khilafat movement was launched in India. Indian Muslims entertained close religious ties with the Turkish Sultan who was considered the spiritual head as the *Khalifa*. In order to gain the support of Indian Muslims during the war years,

the British government had promised to protect the Holy Places, and to do no harm to the Caliph. But the Paris Peace Conference (1919) announced reprisals against Turkey, which led to a large-scale agitation in India. Protest meetings were organized to express solidarity with the Turkish cause. The Central Khilafat Committee was established in Bombay in 1919 with Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Hasrat Mohani as the central leaders.¹³ Interestingly, the politically minded Hindus also decided to support the Muslims in the move against the British *Raj*.

The Khilafat movement was followed in May 1919 by the Hijrat movement. Despite the countrywide protest of the Indian Muslims, the British government was adamant on its stand to dismember the Ottoman Empire. The *Ulema* declared India as *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of war) and issued *fatwas* (edicts) for migration to *Dar-ul-Islam* (land of Islam).¹⁴ Indian Muslims were looking towards Afghanistan with whom they had religious, cultural, political and ethnic ties. Amanullah offered asylum to the intending *Muhajirin*. Peshawar became the hub of the movement. In the beginning the government discouraged the *Hijrat*, but later on it encouraged the people to go to Afghanistan in large numbers. The government's objectives were to remove active political workers from the province and to add more weight to the already burdened poor Afghanistan.¹⁵ The Afghan government welcomed the *Muhajirin*, who exceeded 60,000 in number. Amanullah offered them jobs and cultivable lands. But they refused his offer and demanded the waging of *jiha*d against the British. Amanullah was unable to concede their demand. Consequently, differences resulted in the return of the majority of the *Muhajirin* to India. The return journey was miserable. The impoverished and destitute *Muhajirin* were resettled in their home areas.

In Soviet Russia, Iran and Back to India

Some of the Indians, including Akbar Shah and his close friends, were in Jabl-us-Siraj, when they heard about the affairs in Kabul and of the plight of the *Muhajirin*, they held a meeting. Some¹⁶ of them were very critical of Amanullah's conciliatory

policy towards the British. They instigated the *Muhajirin* to abandon Afghanistan, because they now found no difference between India and Afghanistan. They wanted to help their Turkish brethren who were facing the hostile European powers alone. The Afghan authorities tried to stop them but they stuck to their programme. A caravan, including Akbar Shah and his comrades, started for Anatolia via the Soviet Union. After crossing the Oxus near Tirmiz they entered their dreamland, 'the Land of Revolution'. In Tirmiz the local officials greeted them with open arms.

After spending some days there, they resumed their onward journey despite the warning of the Soviet officials. Near Kirki, they fell victim to the harsh treatment of the Turkmen, who regarded them as *Jadidis* (Bolsheviks). Death was imminent for them but it was their good luck that they escaped. At Charjoi, dissensions appeared within the ranks of these *muhajirin*. Half of them opted for Anatolia while the others decided to stay in the Soviet Union. Akbar Shah was in the latter group. They went to Tashkent where they met other prominent Indian revolutionaries such as M. N. Roy and Maulana Abdur Rab.

Akbar Shah and his friends got admission in the Turkistan Lenin Academy. They were given training in flying an aeroplane and organising 'subversive activities'. Later, they were sent to Moscow and placed in the Eastern University, Moscow. The life in Moscow is a favourite theme of Akbar Shah. He narrates how the students took active part in the reconstruction of the city and how the Soviet economy was on its way to development. Akbar Shah was invited to represent the Indian Youths in famous Baku Conference. After his return to Moscow, he was directed to proceed to India and prepare the ground for a 'revolution'. Akbar Shah followed the following route to India:

Moscow - Baku - Armenistan - Anazoli (sea port) - Gilan - Rasht - Qizvin - Tehran - Qum - Isfahan - Yazdgard - Bushahr - Muscat - Karachi - Lahore - Ziarat Ka Ka Sahib - Badrashi.¹⁷

At Badrashi, officials of the Intelligence Branch were already waiting for his arrival. They had been supplied the information by their agents. As soon as he arrived, he was arrested. He was tried in and imprisoned under the Peshawar Conspiracy Case.¹⁸ After his release, Mian Akbar Shah went to Aligarh and did his Graduation

in Law. On his return to Peshawar, he started legal practice. At the same time he resumed his socio-political activities and joined the Anjuman-i-Islah-al-Afaghana raised by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in April 1921. The aims and objectives of the Anjuman included: the eradication of social evils, promotion of unity amongst the Pashtoons, prevention of lavish spending at social events, development of Pashto language and literature and inspiration of 'real love' for Islam among the Pashtoons.¹⁹ The Anjuman was engaged in a wide spectrum of activities, including the revival of the old network of the Azad Madrassas; popularisation of trade and commerce among the Pashtoons and revival and development of Pashto and Pashtoon culture.²⁰

Participation in the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement

After the bitter experience of the *Hijrat*, Abdul Ghaffar Khan had concentrated on Pashtoon politics. A group of Pashtoon intellectuals and social workers joined him. They included Mian Ahmad Shah, Mian Abdullah Shah, Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, Mohammad Akbar Khadim, Mian Jaffar Shah, Maulana Mohammad Israel and a host of others. Some major concerns of the organisation, which brought these intellectuals together, were the creation of awareness amongst the Pashtoons about modern education, freedom of the Pashtoon society from evils such like blood feuds and factionalism, prevention of crimes and use of intoxicants.

For publicity, the Anjuman decided to publish a socio-political journal by the name of the *Pukhtun*. The first issue of the *Pukhtun* came out in May 1928.²¹ It contained articles on a variety of subjects including Pashtoon patriotism, Pashto language and literature, political situation, dramas, religious writings, official and non-official news. Initially, the circulation was limited to 500 copies, but in the course of time, it rose to 3,000.

The Anjuman was basically a social reform movement but soon it developed into a political movement. Its members regarded the British rule as the root cause of the pernicious poverty, backwardness, illiteracy and ignorance of the Pashtoons. It urged the Pashtoons to unite against the alien rule, struggle against social evils and put an end to blood feuds. The Anjuman members

undertook tours of various parts of the province and propagated the Pashtoon cause on the above lines. They invited the Pashtoons to join the Anjuman and resist British imperialism and its supporters in the Frontier Province.

Meanwhile, Amanullah had been ousted from power and Habibullah alias Bacha Saqao, a Tajik bandit, had occupied the throne. The Anjuman members were indignant over the overthrow of Amanullah whom they regarded as the 'ideal Pushtoon king'. They sensed a British conspiracy behind the troubles in Afghanistan. The main reason for the British dislike of Amanullah was that the 'extraordinary progress of reforms in a neighbouring [Muslim] state would support the demand for similar institutions in the Frontier Province, a demand which the government resisted as a matter of policy'. Its members organised anti-government demonstrations. The Anjuman members toured the province and made fervent appeals to the intelligentsia and masses to support Amanullah's cause against the 'bandit King'. Simple methods were adopted for propaganda purposes. They used mosques and *hujras* as platforms for their activities. They also exploited kinship and ethnic connections. Before any breakthrough could be achieved a desperate Amanullah proceeded to Italy and settled there permanently.²²

The events in the neighbouring Afghanistan changed the outlook of the Frontier intelligentsia. Mian Akbar Shah proposed the formation of a youth league on the pattern of similar organisations in Afghanistan, Turkey and Bukhara.²³ A meeting was convened on September 1, 1929, at Utmanzai and the formation of Zalmo Jirga (the Youths League) with its temporary headquarters at Utmanzai was announced. No exact age limit was fixed for its membership but the name itself indicate the composition of the organisation. The membership was open to 'every youth without any discrimination of caste, creed or religion,' provided he was literate, and did not participate in any form of communalism. Pashto was announced to be the official language of the League's proceeding. Other objectives included the 'attainment of independence for Hindustan by all peaceful means'.²⁴ The Zalmo Jirga published a booklet in Pashto reiterating their resolve for complete independence from the colonial rule by peaceful means. It argued that to achieve this end

they would try to bring about harmony between Hindus and Muslims and political awakening amongst the youth of the Frontier Province.

To accommodate the majority of the uneducated supporters among the Pashtoon nationalists and the aged members of the community, another organisation Khudai Khidmatgars (Servants of God) was formed in November. This new organisation superseded the Zalmu Jirga. Later, it became the most popular and influential organisation in the NWFP. The party appealed to the Pashtoons to join the organisation for the eradication of social evils from the Pashtoon society, to forge unity among their rank and file and to struggle for the liberation of their homeland from the foreign yoke.²⁵ Both the organisations worked for the promotion of the Pashto language and literature, and struggled for the 'purification' of Pashtoon society and for the independence of the Pashtoon region, which they viewed as their *Watan* (homeland). The leaders of the two organisations were almost the same. A person who joined one organisation as a member automatically became a member of the other. The same group of Pashtoon intellectuals who were guiding the Jirga was in the forefront of the Khudai Khidmatgars. Within a short period, a network of the Khudai Khidmatgar organisation was established in the Pashtoon dominated areas of the province. Its emphasis on Pashtoon identity and values had very little appeal to the non-Pashtoons. The remarkable feature of the organisation was the solid support it attracted in the rural areas, which hitherto had been neglected by other political organisations.

Many reasons contributed to the popularity of the Khudai Khidmatgars. To begin with the Khudai Khidmatgar programme was attractive. To the Pashtoon intelligentsia, it was a movement for the revival of Pashtoon culture with its distinct identity. To the smaller Khans, it was a movement that demanded political reforms for the province that would enfranchise them and give them a greater role in governance. For the anti-establishment ulama, its stand against the colonial power was laudable. And, for the peasants and the poor, it was a challenge to the British oppressors, and their henchmen, the Nawabs, Khan Bahadurs and big Khans.²⁶

Akbar Shah, after joining the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, accompanied Abdul Ghaffar Khan everywhere on his

trips especially to the Khattak area. According to Akbar Shah, he learnt many things from the Pashtoon leader. He regarded Abdul Ghaffar Khan as a true reformer whose concern was the eradication of social evils from the Pashtoon society and promotion of education among his people. He had never 'seen a reformer so much devoted to a cause' as Abdul Ghaffar Khan was. Akbar Shah appreciated Abdul Ghaffar Khan for visiting every nook and corner of the Pashtoonkhwa to educate the Pashtoons about social reforms and to urge them to struggle for the liberation of their *Watan*. However, it was on two occasions that differences developed between Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mian Akbar Shah. However, as there was no personality clash involved and the differences were resolved within a short time. Akbar Shah resumed his political activities under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

Akbar Shah remained busy in preaching the Khudai Khidmatgar doctrine in his area. During the 1936-37 elections, he spread the election campaign among the masses on the following lines: the Khan Bahadurs, Nawabs and Jagirdars were British agents. The real leaders were the nationalist leaders. Support the Khudai Khidmatgars as they were trying to get rid of imperialism. The untiring efforts of Akbar Shah and his associates resulted in the election victory for both of the Congress candidates, Mian Jaffar Shah and Amir Mohammad Khan from Nowshera and Mardan respectively.

In the summer of 1938, however, an ugly situation was created by the confrontation²⁷ at Ghalla Dher between the tenants and their landlord, the Nawab of Toru, whom they accused of his harsh treatment and oppression.²⁸ The Nawab imposed fine on the whole village. The residents of Ghalla Dher who had become politically conscious after their participation in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, refused to obey his orders. The Nawab sought the help of the district administration, which was provided immediately. Police came to Ghalla Dher and served notices on the tenants for eviction which the tenants refused to honour. The police resorted to violent action. The people of Ghalla Dher expected support from the Khudai Khidmatgar high command and the provincial Chief Minister Dr. Khan Sahib, elder brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Moreover, they hoped that their local MLA, Amir Mohammad Khan would help them in their fight against the

‘pillars’ of the British imperialism. But to their chagrin the provincial authorities and the Congress MLA from Mardan both sided with the Nawab. Justifying the police action against the people of Ghalla Dher, Dr. Khan Sahib made it clear that in no way the Chief Minister would allow anyone to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the province.

Shocked by the behaviour of their ‘comrades-in-arms’, the people of Ghalla Dher sought the help of Mian Akbar Shah and his Socialist-minded comrades. Help was readily given which triggered an organised campaign against Dr. Khan Sahib and other Congress leaders who were accused of protecting their class interests versus the downtrodden rank and file of the Khudai Khidmatgars. The ringleaders of the movement, including Mian Akbar Shah, were imprisoned. Abdul Ghaffar Khan tried to contact the people of Ghalla Dher, but they refused even to see him so long as their comrades were in prison. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not happy over these developments. He accused the socialists and their friends of creating problems for the Khudai Khidmatgars. The Congress high command was approached which sent a delegation of three central leaders. It was with much difficulty that *rapprochement* between the people of Ghalla Dher and the provincial government was effected. Eventually, various unjust taxes were abolished and the arrested persons released.²⁹

Another occasion when Mian Akbar Shah defied Abdul Ghaffar Khan was the participation of the former in the ‘Forward Bloc’, formed by Subhas Chandra Bose within the Indian National Congress.³⁰ Akbar Shah and some other left-wingers in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement supported Bose. In 1938, differences in the ranks of the provincial Congress came to surface when Abdul Ghaffar Khan openly criticised Akbar Shah and his comrades for their ideas that he termed ‘harmful’ to the Khudai Khidmatgar cause. During a meeting of the working committee of the Frontier Congress held at Abbottabad, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, while endorsing the contributions of Akbar Shah and his friends for the national cause, advised them to form their separate organisation. Abdul Ghaffar Khan thought that their attitude was detrimental to the Pashtoon nationalist movement.

Akbar Shah was hesitant to denounce his relation with the Khudai Khidmatgars. The matter was reported to Gandhi when he

came to Abbottabad. Gandhi did not approve the idea and immediately summoned the Congressic/Khudai Khidmatgar members, including Abdul Ghaffar Khan, to his residence. He apprised them of his views regarding the members of the 'Forward Bloc' and told them that the Congress was a national organisation and there was a strong presence of communists in Congress. There was no harm in having these socialists in the organisation and cited the example of Subhas C. Bose, who had never renounced his membership of the Congress and always referred to his group as 'Forward Bloc' within the party. So to Gandhi, they were all the part and parcel of the Congress. Thus a difficult and complicated issue of retaining their membership of the Khudai Khidmatgar organisation was solved without creating any further bitterness within the local Congress leadership.³¹

Except for these two occasions, Akbar Shah remained a true follower of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and a staunch Khudai Khidmatgar till the end of the British rule in South Asia. He regarded Abdul Ghaffar Khan as a matchless leader because no one had contributed as much as he had done in creating political and social awareness amongst the Pashtoons. He was proud of his close association with the Pashtoon reformer.

Escape of Subhas Chandra Bose³²

Persecuted and prosecuted by both his friends and foes, he by dint of his gifted ingenuity and intrepid resolve, forged his way out from the bog of Congress conservatism, as well as from the imperialist cage of slavery; and flew like a freed bird to distant lands till he reached hospitable asylum near his home, from where he worked and worked ceaselessly to free his homeland from both conservatism and lethargy of his own people and from political bondage and exploitation of foreigner till fate cried halt to his successful activities.³³

At this point one may recall the laudatory words about of H. Sahai about Subhas Chandra Bose³⁴ which illustrate the Bengal leader's zeal to liberate his country from British Imperial control. But Bose had to face not only the wrath of the rulers but was also harassed by his own countrymen, including his own party workers. He, however, never gave up his mission and a time came when

even he realised that he would have to leave the country for the struggle of Indian independence.

Subhas Chandra Bose's escape from India has remained a matter of controversy for many years. There were also speculations as to how and from where he made his escape. In March 1946, some details appeared in the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta in an article by a person who claimed that he helped Subhas to escape. Shortly after the publication of that account, Uttam Chand, who had been a host to the escaping leader during his stay in Kabul, wrote for *The Hindustan Times* of Delhi, giving details of Bose's life in the Afghan capital. However, the account of Bose's journey from Calcutta to Kabul still remained a mystery. Then, Sisir Kumar Bose, a nephew of Subhas Chandra, who accompanied Bose from his home to the railway station, published his account of the episode in his book, *The Great Escape* (Calcutta, 1975, rep. 1995). But a more detailed account came from Bhagat Ram Talwar, who had escorted Bose from Peshawar to Kabul. His book, *The Talwars of Pathan Land and Subhas Chandra's Great Escape* (Delhi, 1976), deals with the story of the escape in a comprehensive manner. But he gives only a partial account of Bose's journey from Calcutta to Peshawar and his stay in the Frontier.

In the following pages an attempt is made to recount Bose's escape from Calcutta to Peshawar and explain his activity in Peshawar. The story is based on the unpublished diary of Mian Akbar Shah, who was a trusted comrade of Bose and had vast experience of the escape routes from the Frontier to Central Asia through Afghanistan.

Bose's plan was to take advantage of the situation arising from Britain's war with Germany and try to oust the British from India. His long experience in public service had taught him that it was almost impossible to organise an armed resistance in the country without help from abroad.³⁵ He was convinced of three things: First, that Britain would lose the war and that Empire would break up; secondly, the British would not easily hand over power to the Indian people and the latter would have to fight for their freedom; and, thirdly, India would win her independence only if she collaborated with the powers who were fighting Britain.³⁶ Bose concluded that the Axis Powers, particularly Japan, would be

eager to see a free India. And, therefore, they would be ready to render assistance to the Indians should they desire it.³⁷ To him a Britain at war would mean a vulnerable Britain; and thus more amenable to pressure.³⁸ He, therefore, considered the war a 'God-sent opportunity for achieving not Dominion Status or Colonial self-government but full and complete independence...'³⁹ Bose broadcast a message to Gandhi:

If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom, I would never have left India during a crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we could get another chance—another golden opportunity - for winning freedom, as during the present war, I doubt if I would have set out from home. But I was convinced of two things: firstly, that such a golden opportunity would not come within another century—and secondly, that without action from abroad, we would not be able to win freedom merely through our own efforts at home.⁴⁰

Bose knew that it was only during the war that he would have an opportunity to meet the adversaries of Britain and use them to gain independence of India. He, therefore, decided to leave the country to establish direct contacts with the Axis Powers. He was aware of all the risks and dangers involved in it. 'By going abroad on a perilous quest, I was risking - not only my life and my whole future career but what was more the future of my party' and that 'having been in prison eleven times, it was much easier and much safer for me to continue there, but I felt that the cause of India's independence demanded a journey abroad, regardless of the risk that it involved'.⁴¹

In the summer of 1940, while the Germans were pressing the Allies hard on the western fronts of Norway, Holland and France, Bose started a *satyagraha* movement for the demolition of the Holwell Monument, erected to honour the British dead in the so-called Black Hole tragedy of Calcutta in the mid-eighteenth century. He declared July 3, 1940, as the 'Nawab Sirajuddaula Day', in honour of the last independent Muslim ruler of Bengal. The Holwell Monument was not merely an unwarranted strain on the memory of the Nawab, it was an attempt to remind the Indians of the treachery of the British against an indigenous ruler and thus

to inculcate in them a spirit of defiance.⁴² In official circles the agitation was considered as only 'one phase of the consistent endeavours of Subhas Bose and the Forward Bloc to find some plank' on which civil disobedience against the Government could be started with the support and assistance of Muslims.⁴³ On the afternoon of July 2, the day before the proposed *satyagraha*, Bose was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules 'to forestall breach of peace' in Calcutta where he had declared to lead the procession to demolish the Holwell monument. He was taken to the Presidency Jail, Calcutta.⁴⁴ It was probably a deliberate move on his part to court arrest as most of his 'Forward Bloc' friends, including Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Satya Ranjan Bakhshi and N. N. Chakravarty, were already in jail and he wanted to get in touch with them. They all concurred in Bose's plan to leave India. But Bose was in the Presidency Jail for an indefinite period and the authorities were in no mood to release him during the war period. It was decided that he should be prosecuted in a Special Magistrate Court in connection with two of his objectionable speeches.⁴⁵ The Advocate General assured the government of every chance of success against Bose. They were determined to keep Bose under detention in any way and 'if the unexpected happens and Subhas Bose is acquitted', remarked the Governor of Bengal, 'he should be detained under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rule'.⁴⁶ Bose got wind of the government intentions so he started devising ways for getting out of the jail.

Bose took nearly four months to give a practical shape to his plan. On November 29, 1940, he went on a hunger strike. He would drink only water with a little salt and not allow himself to be force-fed by the prison authorities. He knew that a fast unto death would not bring his release, but he warned the authorities that if they resorted to force he would commit suicide. He created an impression in government circles that he was going to die as a martyr. He wrote to the Governor of Bengal

What great solace can there be than the feeling that one has lived and died for a principle? What higher satisfaction can a man possess than the knowledge that his spirit will beget kindred spirits to carry on his unfinished task? What better rewards can a soul desire than the certainty that his message

will be wafted over hills and dales and over the board plains to every corner of his land across the seas to distant lands? What higher communication can life attain than peaceful self-immolation at the altar of one's cause? This is the technique of the soul. The individual must die, so that the nation may live. Today I must die so that India may live and win freedom and glory.⁴⁷

As a result of the hunger strike, Bose's health deteriorated. He lost 24 pounds in weight during detention.⁴⁸ The Superintendent of Jail informed the higher authorities about the worsening condition of Bose's health and of the seriousness of the situation.⁴⁹ The government could ill-afford a countrywide discontent resulting in his death. They were left with no other option but to release Bose. Therefore, on December 5, 1940, the detention order was lifted and he was released unconditionally. He was brought to his Elgin Road residence in Calcutta and kept under police surveillance around the clock. It was a cat-and-mouse play and the moment Bose recovered, he was to be re-arrested.⁵⁰ On December 9, Bose sent a letter to the Chief Minister of Bengal asking him to withdraw the two cases against him and also the order under Section 26 of the Defence of India Rules. But the plea was rejected.⁵¹

After his release eventually, Bose remained busy receiving relatives, colleagues and friends. He took this opportunity to re-establish contacts with his old Frontier comrades. He sent a word to Mian Akbar Shah to come and see him. Akbar Shah lost no time in reaching Calcutta. Bose told Akbar Shah: that he intended going to the Soviet Union.⁵² The latter offered to take him to Kabul and further to the Soviet Union where he had received political training.⁵³ The date of departure from Calcutta was settled as January, 16, 1941 and Bose sent his nephew Sisir Kumar with Akbar Shah to make preparations. They went to Wachel Molla's departmental store on Dharamtala Street to buy some clothes for Bose's disguise as a Muslim gentleman. Akbar Shah selected two sets of Pashtoon type shalwars and a black cap. Sisir Kumar also arranged for two copies of the Holy Quran, a few medicines and other personal effects. These things were put in a suitcase, which carried the initials M. Z painted on it. His visiting card displayed his assumed name of Mohammad Zia-ud-Din, Travelling Inspector

of The Empire of India Life Insurance Company Ltd. His permanent address was shown as Civil Lines, Jubbulpore.⁵⁴

After his return from Calcutta, Akbar Shah contacted his most trusted friends, Mian Mohammad Shah, an activist of Forward Bloc from Pabbi (Nowshera) and Bhagat Ram, a young political worker from Ghalla Dher (Mardan). He briefed them about the project. It was agreed that they would receive Bose on January 19, at the Peshawar Cantonment railway station and then one of them (Bhagat Ram) would escort him to a 'safe-home' as a precaution because Akbar Shah was a well-known person and could be discovered. Moreover, Bhagat Ram⁵⁵ had experience of that kind of work.⁵⁶

At his end in Calcutta, Bose pretentiously went into seclusion. He told his cook that he would not be seeing anybody or even talking on telephone with any body.⁵⁷ He should leave his food outside his bedroom and collect the utensils the following day. Apart from Sisir Kumar, he included few near relatives in his escape plan. They were his niece Ila, two other nephews Aurobindo and Diwijen Bose, his elder brother Sarat Chandra Bose and his wife Bivabati. On January 16, 1941, as planned Bose accompanied by Sisir Bose secretly made for Berari near Dhanbad by car. After resting for a short while at the residence of Asoke Bose, elder brother of Sisir Kumar, they went to Gomoh railway station where on the night of January 17-18, Bose boarded the Delhi-Kalka Mail for Delhi.⁵⁸ From there, he took the Frontier Mail for Peshawar. Unfortunately, there is no record of the journey from Delhi to Peshawar but apparently it went as planned without any apparent hitch. Meanwhile, in Peshawar, Akbar Shah and his friends had been waiting for Bose's arrival. It was an anxious wait for them though he was late by only two days. It was on January 19, that Bose arrived. He was disguised as a North Indian *Mussalman* gentleman, posing as a travelling insurance agent. Akbar Shah boarded the same train at the city station to check the arrival of Bose. They looked at each other but did not talk. At the cantonment station Bose called for a porter, sat in a *tonga* and went to Deans Hotel. Akbar Shah followed him in another *tonga*. The *tongawala* was surprised as to why a good-looking Muslim should go to the hotel of the *Kafirs* (infidels), where he would not be able to get *pak* (pure) water for his prayers. He was told that as there

was no reasonable Muslim- hotel in the city, the Deans was the only choice. The *tongawala* took them to the Taj Mahal Hotel. At the hotel they were informed that there was no room available. The *tongawala* got angry and his loud protest brought some of the guests out to see what was happening. The manager, seeing an honourable Muslim in distress immediately arranged a room for him.⁵⁹ Bose thus spent his first night in the Taj Mahal Hotel. The next day he was shifted to Abad Khan's two-room rented flat in Bajauri Gate, Peshawar City. The property was owned by K.B Mian Feroz Shah, one of the staunch supporters of the British Raj in that part of South Asia. Abad Khan, a resident of Pir Piai (Nowshera), was a close friend of Akbar Shah who frequently visited Afghanistan in connection with his transport business.⁶⁰

Interestingly, some writers have misunderstood the position of Abad Khan and his role in the affairs. M. Bose for instance considers Abad Khan as a very important person and that when Mian Mohammad Shah suggested that Dr. Khan Sahib, elder brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the former Congress premier of the Frontier Province should be informed of the of Bose's presence in Peshawar, Abad Khan quickly snubbed him.⁶¹ But the fact is that Akbar Shah was the main player in Bose's escape and others like Bhagat Ram, Mian Mohammad Shah and Abad Khan were merely carrying out his directions. Akbar Shah briefed Bose about *Pashtoonwali* (the Pashtoon code of life), the tribal ways and their customs, and other important details. He also informed him of the unfamiliar food, unclean water, difficult terrain and the hazards of the journey. Bose was trained to look and behave like a Pashtoon.

It was decided that Bose would continue to use his pseudonym of Zia-ud-Din. But while Bose did not know Pashto, he was asked to pose as a deaf and dumb person. Bhagat Ram, his contact assumed the name of Rahmat Khan. Bose was dressed in a Pashtoon dress, i.e. *militia shalwar kamiz*, lather jacket, *khaki kulla*, *lungi* and a Peshawari *chappal* along with a Kabuli blanket. After careful planning they decided upon the following route: From Peshawar to Jamrud, they were to go through the Khajuri Maidan British Military Camp. From there they would pass through the Afridi and Shinwari tribal area into the Afghan territory. That would take them to Gardhi on the Kabul-Peshawar

road, Bati Kot, Jalalabad, Adda Sharif, back to Jalalabad and then to Kabul.⁶² It was an unfrequented and difficult track but, at the same time, it was the shortest route and had been used by various revolutionaries in the past.

The departure was fixed for January 16, and while there was no time for 'dress rehearsal' they could not afford any lapses. On the appointed day, Bose and Bhagat Ram escorted by Abad Khan and an Afridi guide left Peshawar. Abad Khan carried them up to the Khajuri Maidan British Military Camp, fifteen kilometres from Peshawar. Bhagat Ram, Bose and their guide got off the car inside the Shinwari territory. The guard on duty took them to be ordinary pilgrims visiting a holy shrine there. According to their instructions, the car waited for sufficient time until they had gone deep into the tribal area. After walking for some time, Bose felt tired and they sat down for a brief respite. When Bhagat Ram informed Bose that they were out of the British jurisdiction, he felt relaxed breathing the air of an independent territory where he could not be touched by the heavy hand of the British Raj. The night was spent in Pishkan Maina, a village in the Shinwari territory. The next morning, January 27, 1941, they crossed the border into Afghanistan and reached Jalalabad the same evening. The next day (28 January) they went to Adda Sharif and from there to Lalman to meet Haji Mohammad Amin, the famous revolutionary. Bhagat Ram introduced Bose as one of his comrades but did not reveal his identity. He discussed further details of their onward journey in order to send the comrade to Soviet Union.

Haji Amin briefed them about their journey and advised them to avoid suspicion by not travelling by bus. He considered a journey by truck safer than any other mode. From the Haji's abode they came back to Jalalabad and then started for Kabul. On January 29, 1941, they were safely in the Afghan capital. It was there that they heard on the radio the news about the disappearance of Subhas Chandra Bose.⁶³ It had been exactly ten days after Bose left Calcutta that his disappearance became known to the British authorities. *Anand Bazar Patrika* came out with the captions: 'What Has Happened to S. Subhas Ch. Bose?' 'Unexpected Exit from Home.'

The paper went on to explain that 'Great anxiety prevails amongst the relatives and friends of S. Subhas Bose since yesterday

afternoon when it was noticed that he was not in his room where he was confined since his release from jail in the first week of December last. It is generally known that from the last few days he was observing strict silence and had not been seeing anybody not even the members of his family but has been spending his time in religious practices. Anxiety is all the more acute on account of his present state of health.⁶⁴

The disappearance of Bose created a stir and sensation in the country. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, immediately wired the Governor of Bengal for confirmation and further information.⁶⁵ The Governor confirmed the news of Bose's disappearance and his ignorance of Bose's whereabouts. To him the disappearance of Bose was no cause of worry: 'If he has left British India, he will be unable to return, if in British India, his arrest is only a question of time'.⁶⁶ The police and the CID launched a massive man hunt for him. It was rumoured that he had renounced the world and had become a *Sadhu*. For some time the police chased every suspicion-looking *Sadhu*. No *Sadhu* was safe in Benaras, Allahabad, Madras, the Himalayas and even in Pondichery. They searched for Bose but all in vain.⁶⁷ In order to deceive the police and the CID, the family members joined in the search for Bose and sent necessary messages enquiring if he had been seen anywhere. Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Rajendra Prasad wired their concern at his disappearance. Sarat Bose pretended that nothing was known and told them that 'we as much in dark as public about Subhas' whereabouts and intentions and even exact time of leaving'.⁶⁸ There were some reports that he had escaped to Japan on a boat leaving for Hong Kong; some were of the view that he had simply absconded, in order to avoid the charges against him, but the investigations found that they had no basis.⁶⁹

Meanwhile in Kabul, Bose and Bhagat Ram stayed in a *serai*. They started visiting the Russian Embassy to negotiate Bose's escape to Russia. They kept themselves in disguise because the Afghan government was under the influence of the British and they were afraid that the Afghan might hand them over to the Indian government. For the next few weeks, they kept moving from place to place to avoid detection.⁷⁰ They also tried to contact the legations of Germany, Italy and Japan. As a result there was a flurry of activity and messages between these embassies and their

governments but without any positive results.⁷¹ Eventually, the Italians succeeded in arranging Bose's safe exit from Afghanistan. On March 18, 1941, Bose left Kabul for the Soviet Union by car, with a passport with the forged Sicilian name of Orlando Mazotta. First they went to Samarkand, from where they travelled by train to Moscow and then flew into Berlin on April 2, 1941.⁷²

In Germany, Bose established contacts with the German authorities. He met Hitler and discussed in detail their future course of action. With the support of Germany, Italy and Japan he established the Indian National Army and took over as its Commander-in-Chief. His main assignment was to start operations against the Allied Powers. But eventually, the course of war turned against the desires and wishes of the Indian freedom fighters, as the ambitions of Japan and Germany remained unrealized. After the defeat of the Axis Powers, Subhas Chandra Bose decided to escape to Manchuria but trying it on August 18, 1945, he died in an air crash. The following passage from Bhagat Ram is a befitting conclusion to the story of Bose's escape:

I thought within myself that after all this great man from Bengal suffered all the hardships with me in this trip without a murmur – the terrain, the language, the custom and the way of life of this country were entirely alien to him. A man used to good and clean living has had to live in shacks and had to go without food ever so often. His burning patriotism alone sustained him in the plunge that he had taken risking his whole life and career and leaving everything behind.⁷³

The story of Bose's escape ends here but the plight of Akbar Shah was not yet over. All was quite until April 1941. One day police came to Akbar Shah's house and searched it thoroughly. Akbar Shah was used to such kinds of high-handed behavior. But to his astonishment he was not told about what they were looking for. They carried away the unpublished manuscript of his book about his journey to Russia. He was also arrested and kept under Section 29 of the Defence of India Rules. His other associates Mian Mohammad Shah and Abad Khan, who were also directly involved in the escape of Bose, were also arrested the same day. Interestingly, they were not accused of any offence. Akbar Shah was taken to the notorious Badshahi Qila of Lahore and kept there

as a prisoner for twenty days. Later, he was shifted to Deoli Detention Camp in a deserted place in Rajputana. It was there that he was told that he was arrested for assisting Bose in his escape from India. He remained there for another 18 months.

On the abandonment of Deoli Camp he was shifted to Peshawar Central Jail and after a couple of days was transferred to the famous Haripur Jail. In Haripur Jail, he met his other revolutionary friends, including Maulana Abdur Rahim Popalzai and Ram Saran. Akbar Shah became ill and was transferred back to Peshawar jail.⁷⁴ In Peshawar jail, he got the opportunity of meeting his former Khudai Khidmatgar colleagues who had been arrested for their part in the 1940 civil disobedience movement against the British. They included his close associates of the Hijrat days, Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar and Qazi Attaullah, who remained very close to Akbar Shah both in Khudai Khidmatgar movement and during his legal practice, and of course, Abdul Wali Khan the son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan.⁷⁵

Meanwhile, in the absence of the nationalists parties from the political scene of the province, the provincial Muslim League leader Sardar Aurangzeb Khan was invited by the Frontier Governor Sir George Cunningham to form a ministry. The League-Akali coalition ministry was formed on May 25, 1943, and it remained in office till March 12, 1945.⁷⁶ Besides Sardar Aurangzeb, as the Chief Minister, the ministry included Samin Jan Khan, a Congress deserter and former colleague of Akbar Shah who was made Minister for Education and Prisons. After taking the oath of office, Samin Jan visited the Peshawar jail and was astonished to see Akbar Shah there. He was apprised of the plight of Akbar Shah and Mian Mohammad Shah by some political prisoners present on the occasion. Samin Jan simply whispered: 'They would be out of jail by tomorrow'. Someone brought the news to Akbar Shah. He replied: 'Samin Jan Khan is our friend. But in our case he is helpless because we are not provincial prisoners. We are prisoners of the central government'. But the next day, they were out of the jail.⁷⁷ Actually Akbar Shah had done his law apprenticeship with Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, who was now the Chief Minister. When he came to know of the account of Akbar Shah, he took personal interest in it and did not hesitate to contact the Governor of the NWFP for his release.

Politics Abandoned

After his release from prison Akbar Shah resumed his law practice in the province and soon became one of the prominent members of the Nowshera Bar Association. He did his practice with full devotion and found very little time to indulge in politics any more. Another reason for not taking active part in politics was the drastic changes at all-India level and its repercussions on the provincial politics. As Pakistan was seen the only solution of communal question in India, some close friends of Akbar Shah, including Mian Mohammad Shah changed their loyalties, left the Khudai Khidmatgars and joined the provincial Muslim League. Like many other Pashtoon intellectuals he was concerned about the future of his people and the province. After the announcement of 3 June Plan (1947) about the transfer of power to the Indian hands and the referendum in the NWFP, Akbar Shah simply followed his party line and, like the rest of the Khudai Khidmatgars, boycotted it. Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947. According to Akbar Shah the fight for freedom was over because the British had left India for which they had been struggling since long.

At the behest of Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the then Chief Minister of the NWFP, he contested the first provincial assembly elections in Pakistan and got elected. This created bitterness between the local Khudai Khidmatgars and Akbar Shah. Justifying his act he stated that the Khudai Khidmatgars organisation was already banned and he was compelled by his friends to give a tough fight to some of their opponents, mainly the anti-Qaiyum Leaguers, so he simply did that. The bitterness between the local Khudai Khidmatgars and Akbar Shah remained for a very brief period. Despite his act of not following the party line, he was given due respect by his fellow Khudai Khidmatgars and other like-minded people of the area. He left practice in 1978 and spent the remaining part of his life at home in Badrashi. Mian Akbar Shah died on April 8, 1990, leaving behind two sons and five daughters. He was buried at Badrashi.

Thus was the end of the life story of a legendary freedom fighter who did his best to free the country from the clutches of the British and travelled as far as Russia 'in search of freedom'. Akbar Shah remained a true revolutionary. He was a practical man to that

extent that he did not hesitate to support and help Subash Chandra Bose in his escape from India knowing well about the risks to his life. Although his support to Qaiyum Khan, after the creation of Pakistan, made him controversial particularly amongst his comrades-in-arms in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, yet he was respected for his brilliant record of the pre-partition time and his sacrifices for the achievement of freedom.

References and Notes

1. Interview with Mian Akbar Shah at Badrashi (Nowshera), 8 September 1984 (hereafter Interview).
2. The Islamia College, Peshawar, was founded on April 5, 1913, through the joint efforts of Sir George Roos Keppel and Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum.
3. A Committee comprising Justice S. A. T. Rowlatt, B. Scott, C. V. Kumarswami Sastri, H. W. Lovett and P. C. Mitter, presented to replace the Defence of India Act during the first quarter of 1919, which were enacted through two Bills, known as the Rowlatt Bills.
4. M. K. Gandhi, 'Call for Hartal', *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 15, (Ahmadabad, 1965). pp. 177-188. Full details may be seen in Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power Indian Politics 1915-1922* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 160-189.
5. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province, 1937-1947* (Karachi, 1999), p. 71.
6. On April 13, 1919, a peaceful and unarmed mob was fired upon on the order by General Dyer, resulting in more than three hundreds dead and a thousand wounded. Details can be seen in R. Furneaux, *Massacre at Amritsar*, (London, 1933), p. 33; *Disorders Committee 1919-1920 Report*, (Calcutta, 1920), p. 45; 'The Rowlatt Committee Report', F. No 1010, Bundle No. 58, Special Branch Material, NWFP Provincial Archives, Peshawar.
7. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 71-72.
8. During the second decade of the twentieth century, the number of the 'wanted Indian political activists' in Kabul exceeded a hundred.
9. Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, *The Evolution and Growth of Communism in Afghanistan, 1917-1979: An Appraisal* (Karachi, 1997), pp. 157-161. For further details see L. Adamec, *Afghanistan, 1900-1923: A diplomatic History* (Berkeley, 1967); A. Fletcher, *Afghanistan Highway of Conquest* (New York, 1965); V. Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan* (California, 1969); Aziz Hindi, *Zawal-i-Ghazi Amanullah* (n.p. 1934); Beverly Male, *Revolutionary Afghanistan* (New York, 1982); Leon. B.

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- Poullada, *Reform and rebellion in Afghanistan 1919-1929* (Ithaca, 1973); and R. Stewart, *Fire in Afghanistan, 1914-1921* (New York, 1973).
10. Akbar Shah, *Da Azadi Talash* (Peshawar, n.d.), pp.1-8.
 11. In February 1915, fourteen students from various colleges of Lahore left for Afghanistan for organising struggle against the British from abroad. They included Mian Abdul Bari, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Abdul Majid Khan, Allah Nawaz Khan, Sheikh Abdullah, Abdur Rashid, Ghulam Hussain, Zafar Hassan, Abdul Khaliq, Mohammad Hassan, Khushi Mohammad, Abdul Majid II, Rahmat Ali and Sheikh Shujaullah. For details see Zafar Hassan Aibak, *Aap Biti*, I, (Lahore, n.d.).
 12. Akbar Shah, *Azadi Ki Talash* tr. and ed. by Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, (Islamabad, 1989), pp. 48-71.
 13. For more details see Malik Shad Mohammad, 'Deed Wa Shuneed' (Urdu), (unpublished); Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar* (Karachi, 1984); Abdul Qaiyum Khan, *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier* (Bombay, 1945); Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 56-57; Lal Baha, 'Khilafat Movement and the North West Frontier Province', *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, XVI, (July 1979), pp. 5-11; Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'NWFP and the Khilafat and Hijrat Movements', *Central Asia*, (Summer 1987), pp. 126-128.
 14. H. Malik, *Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan* (Washington, 1963), p. 343.
 15. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 57; Lal Baha, 'Hijrat Movement and the North West Frontier Province', *Islamic Studies Journal*, (1979), p. 231.
 16. It Included Haji Miraj Din and Shahab-ud-Din of Lahore who became the ringleaders.
 17. For these and other details of the adventures of Akbar Shah during his long and hazardous journey see his autobiography *Azadi Ki Talash*, pp. 80-275.
 18. Under 121-A of the Defence of India Rules, those returned from Soviet Russia were convicted under the Peshawar Conspiracy Case. The 'culprits' included Mian Akbar Shah, Feroz Din, Abdul Majid, Habib Ahmad, Rafiq Ahmad, Sultan, Abdul Qadir Sehrai and Gohar Rahman.
 19. Abdul Akbar Khan, 'Autobiography' (unpublished), pp. 8-12 quoted in Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 62-63.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. It was first published from Rawalpindi, then from Amritsar and finally from Peshawar. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was the editor and Khadim was the co-editor. In 1931 the co-editorship was given to Khaleeq who voluntarily left it in April 1947 and then Nazim Sarfaraz Khan became the co-editor. The journal appeared and disappeared several times. The main reasons were the government ban on its publication and circulation and the arrest of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. For details see Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 64-66.

22. *Ibid.*
23. *Pukhtun*, October 1929, p. 14; Abdul Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jaddo Jahd* (Kabul, 1983), p. 350.
24. *Pukhtun*, October 1929, pp. 14-16 quoted in Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 67-68.
25. 'An appeal to the Khudai Khidmatgars' Hijab Gul, *Pukhtun*, November 1929, p. 38.
26. Interviews with Mian Akbar Shah, 8 Sep 1984; Haji Mohammad Asim at Nowshera, 30 October 1984; Fazal Rahim Saqi at Wardaga (Charsadda), 17 November 1991; Waris Khan at Rashakai (Nowshera), 3 June 1978; Mir Mehdi Shah at Wahid Garhi (Peshawar), 4 February 1989; Sarfaraz Khan at Boobak (Charsadda), 17 November 1991; Fazal Karim at Pabbi (Nowshera), 10 November 1994; Kiramat Shah Faulad at Peshawar, 8 March 1992. For full details see Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 68-69.
27. A bullock of one Gulzada trespassed into the field of another tiller at Ghala Dher. The matter was reported to Azimullah Khan who fined Gulzada Rs. 40 which he had no means to pay. To recover the fine, his bullock was carried away and sold by the Nawab's men. This irritated Gulzada who uprooted the newly planted orchard of the Nawab and threw the plants into the river.
28. For details see Waris Khan, *Da Azadi Tehreek* (Peshawar, 1988); R. S. Nagina, *Surkhposh Kisan aur Tehreek Ghalla Dher* (Peshawar, 1939); and Bhagat Ram, *The Talwars of Pathan Land and the Escape of Subhas Chandra Bose* (Delhi, 1976).
29. Full details can be seen in Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 92-110.
30. Details can be seen in Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'Mian Akbar Shah-A Profile', *Central Asia*, No. 27 (1990), pp. 119-121.
31. Interview with Mian Akbar Shah.
32. This part of the article has already been published under the caption of 'The Escape of Subhas Chandra Bose: Myths and Reality' in *The Oracle*, a publication of Nitaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, (July-October, 1996), pp. 51-63. Sher Zaman Taizi reproduced it as addendum in his *Abad Khan – The Lost Ring of the Chain*. In view of its relevance to Mian Akbar Shah, it has been reproduced in its original form with the courtesy of Nitaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, and Sher Zaman Taizi.
33. G. C. Jain (ed.), *On To Delhi* (Delhi, 1946), pp. 10-11.
34. For details see, Leonard A. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj* (New York, 1990); Subhas C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle, 1920-1942* (Calcutta, 1964); and, Sisir K. Bose, *The Great Escape* (Calcutta, 1975 and 1995).
35. Subhas Chandra Bose, *India Calling* (Lahore, 1946), pp. 48-49.
36. S. C. Bose, *Indian Struggle* as quoted in Gordon's 'Brothers Against the Raj', p. 416.
37. *Ibid.*

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38. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero* (New York, 1982), p. 138.
 39. S. C. Bose, *India Calling*, p. 59.
 40. S. C. Bose, *Blood Bath* (Lahore, 1947), p. 138.
 41. S. C. Bose, *India Calling*, p. 47.
 42. S. C. Bose, *Crossroads* (Calcutta, 1981), p. 344.
 43. Bengal Governor's Report: 4 July 1940, p. 115. R/3/1/13 India Office Library & Record, London (henceforth as IOL&R).
 44. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 420.
 45. Bengal Governor's Report: 22 August 1940, R/3/1/13, IOL&R. pp. 150-151.
 46. *Ibid.* 10 September 1940, R/3/1/13, IOL&R. p. 157.
 47. Edmund Muller and Arun Bhattacharjee, *Subash Chandra Bose and Indian Freedom Struggle* (Delhi, 1985), p. 37.
 48. Bengal Governor's Report: 20 September 1940, R/3/1/13, IOL&R. p. 167.
 49. *Ibid.* 7 December 1940, R/3/1/13, IOL&R. p. 203.
 50. *Ibid.* 5 December 1940, R/3/1/13, IOL&R. p. 200.
 51. *Ibid.* 11 December 1940, R/3/1/13, IOL&R. pp. 208-209.
 52. Mian Akbar Shah, 'Autobiography' (Unpublished), p. 7.
 53. *Ibid.* For details of Mian Akbar Shah's journey and his political training in the Soviet Union see Akbar Shah, *Azadi Ki Talash* tr. and ed. by Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah (Islamabad, 1989).
 54. These details are taken from Sisir Kumar Bose, *The Great Escape* (Calcutta, 1995), pp. 23-26.
 55. Bhagat Ram's father Gurudasmal, a wealthy landlord of Ghalla Dher earned prominence for helping the police in restoring the law and order in the area. For his services he was issued licences for keeping firearms. His eldest son Jamuna Das joined the Congress and became an MLA on the Congress ticket. Hari Kishan, second of his nine sons, joined the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. On December 23, 1930, at the convocation of the Punjab University, Lahore, he fired on Sir Geoffery de Montmorency, the Governor of the Punjab, who escaped death. However, the firing resulted in the killing of Chanan Singh, a sub inspector of the police on spot and injuring Budh Singh, a CID inspector and Miss Dermitt of the Lady Hardinge Women's College, Lahore. Hari Kishan was arrested, tried and sentenced to death. The third son, Bhagat Ram started his political carrier by joining the Khudai Khidmatgars movement, and became prominent in escorting Bose from Peshawar to Kabul. The remaining six brothers had confined themselves to getting education. Interview Ishar Das Talwar, 24 January 1995 at Delhi.
 56. Mian Akbar Shah, 'Nitaji's Escape-An Untold Chapter', *The Oracle*, vol. VI, January 1984, pp. 18-19; Bhagat Ram, 'My Fifty Days With Nitaji Subhas Chandra Bose', in S. K. Bose ed., *Nitaji and India's Freedom*, p. 159.
 57. Sisir K. Bose, *The Flaming Blood Forever Unsheathed* (Calcutta, 1986), p. 96.

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58. S. K. Bose, *The Great Escape*, and S. K. Bose (ed). *Nitaji and India's Freedom* (Calcutta, 1975), pp. 130-142.
 59. Akbar Shah, 'Autobiography', p. 16.
 60. Interview with Akbar Shah.
 61. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 152.
 62. Bhagat Ram Talwar, *The Talwars of Pathan Land and Subhas Chandra's Great Escape* (Delhi, 1976), p. 64.
 63. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-82.
 64. *Anand Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), 27 January 1941, as quoted in S. K. Bose and Birandra Nath Sinha (eds.), *Nitaji* (Calcutta, 1979), p. 123.
 65. Governor General to Governor of Bengal, 28 January 1941, R/3/1/14, IOL&R. p. 8.
 66. Secretary to Governor of Bengal to Private Secretary to Viceroy, 28 January 1941, R/3/1/14, IOL&R. p. 7.
 67. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 155.
 68. E. Muller and A. Bhattacharjee, *Subhas Bose and India Freedom Struggle*, p. 39.
 69. Bengal Governor's Report: 6 February 1941, R/3/1/14, IOL&R. p. 11.
 70. Full details of the time spent in Kabul can be seen in Bhagat Ram, *The Talwars of Pathan Land*, 85-120 and Uttam Chand's, *When Bose Was Ziauddin* (Delhi, 1946) and Abdul Majid Qureshi, 'Siyasatdan Ka Farar', *Urdu Digest*, January 1980 (Lahore).
 71. H. N. Pandit, *Nitaji Subhas Chandra Bose: From Kabul to the Battle of Imphal* (Delhi, 1988), p. 1.
 72. Riemund Schnabel, *Tiger and Schakal Deutsche Indien Politik 1941-43. Ein Dokumentarbericht, (Tiger and Jackal German Indian Politics 1941-43: A Documentary Report)*, (Wien, 1968), pp. 50-58.
 73. Bhagat Ram, 'My Fifty Days With Nitaji', p. 180.
 74. Full details can be seen in Akbar Shah's unpublished diaries (presently in the possession of the author), pp. 32-82; and, Mian Akbar Shah 'Nitaji's Escape- An Untold Chapter', *The Oracle*, (Calcutta) January 1984, pp. 22-23.
 75. Akbar Shah 'Diaries', pp. 85-115. Akbar Shah narrates how it was impossible for Wali Khan to accommodate himself in the common beds. Carpenters were, therefore, called and were ordered to prepare special *charpoy* (bed) according to his size, which they did accordingly and hence the solution to a difficult issue.
 76. For full details of the formation, working and fall of the Muslim League ministry in the NWFP see Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 200-212.
 77. Akbar Shah 'Diaries', II. pp. 112-114.

CHAPTER 6

Women and Politics in the North-West Frontier Province (1930-1947)*

The purpose of this article is to examine and explore the role of women in the politics of the North-West Frontier Province, especially during the 1930-1947 period. In particular, the year 1930 a year of active politics in the province, as the women were deeply involved in Khudai Khidmatgar movement. Given the socio-economic backwardness of the region and the whole range of constraints on women's participation in politics, this was not a small achievement. These women remained active in the political life of the province till the very end of the British rule in India. In the 1940s, especially in 1947, they were joined in their activities by the League women workers who campaigned for Pakistan and in participated in a civil disobedience movement against the then Chief Minister, Dr. Khan Sahib. Indeed, the role and efforts of these women contributed considerably to the 'success' of the Muslim League in the referendum of July 1947. This article discusses at length the role of women under both the Khudai Khidmatgar movement and the Frontier Muslim League. Indeed, the women in the Frontier Province played a much more active and significant role in politics than it is commonly perceived.¹ But before we proceed with our analysis of this aspect of the Frontier politics, it will be useful to discuss the general conditions and status of women in the traditional Pashtoon society, and the part they played in the freedom movement.

*Pashtoonwali*² defines the status of women very precisely. The role of a women, her likes and dislikes, her activities, the places she may visit, how and with whom she may go out, with

* *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, vol. xix, No 1 (January-June 1998), National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, pp. 67-80.

whom she may talk to, all are determined by specific codes which she is not allowed to break. Any defiance is considered dishonour and disgrace for the family leading to her chastisement which in some cases, may result in her death. According to the Pashtoon code of ethics, strangers cannot speak to a woman directly.³ It is also one of the etiquettes of the Pashtoons to lower their eyes, gaze at the ground and step aside from the path when a woman comes across his way. Indeed, the Pashtoons are so protective of the modesty and sanctity of their women that they cannot tolerate even an appreciation of the beauty or other fine attributes of their women by an outsider or a stranger. They consider such an admiration as an insult to their sense of honour. The Pashtoon society is a 'male-dominated' society and the wife, throughout her lifetime, holds a subordinate position. However, as mother she is very much respected by her offspring and she enjoys influence over her sons, daughters, especially the daughters-in-laws.

Women in the Pashtoon society, on the whole, do not fare well. Judged by some Pashto proverbs common to the society, they have no standing. For instance, according to a proverb, 'There are two places eminently suitable for women – either her own house or the grave'. Another provocative proverb says: 'There are a hundred wiles hidden under every hair on the woman's head'. This reveals sufficiently the women's position in the Pashtoon society.

The birth of a baby-girl had always been unwelcome and the worst dilemma of the whole affair even now is that at the time of marriage she becomes a part of her husband's property and after his death, of his heirs. Like many other tribal people, it was a common belief among the Pashtoons that the more sons a man has, the better he can withstand his enemy at the gate. Lamenting on her poor condition a Pashtoon woman says:

تہ آدم کے زہ حوا یم ہم لہ تانے پیدایم	تہ لہ مانہ بے پرواہ کے وایہ وایہ داپہ خہ؟
چہ دلور پہ کور پیداشی پہ تاجوڑہ کر بلاشی	چہل قسمت تہ پہ ژڑائے وایہ وایہ داپہ خہ؟
لور اوکوئے چہ تازہیز لی لہ یوہ خایہ دی راغلی	پہ دہ خوش پہ دے خہ یے وایہ وایہ داپہ خہ؟

*You are Adam and I am the Eve; I am from you,
Then why are you so careless about me?
The birth of a baby-girl is a day of mourning for you.
Again and again you are cursing your fate. Why is it so?
Both daughter and son are yours,*

*Then why are you happy on one's birth and sad on the other's.*⁴

The lives of Pashtoon women, especially those living in the rural areas, are not enviable. They have numerous duties to perform: they fetch water, cook, spin, bring firewood from the nearest forest, and in some cases help their husbands in the fields. Interestingly, at the time of a battle the Pashtoon women frequently help their husbands as auxiliaries. During the tribal feuds women are exempt from reprisals. It is below the dignity of a Pashtoon male to fire at women who are at liberty to supply food, water and ammunition to their men folk engaged in fighting on top of a hill or entrenched outside the village.

Despite many restrictions on the Pashtoon females, they contributed a lot to the Pashto literature and folklore. Hafiza Halima Khattaka, daughter of the great Pashto poet Khushal Khan Khattak, Nazo, mother of Mir Wais Hotak and Zainab, his daughter Neikbakhta, daughter of Allahdad, Zarghona, daughter of Din Mohammad Kakar and Rabia Qandahari are a few amongst many learned writers who have their *Diwans* (poetic collections) to tell the story.⁵

A Pashtoon woman always takes great pride in having a courageous husband. In many *tappas* (Pashto odes comprising of two stanzas) the Pashtoon ladies encourage their near and dear ones to sacrifice their lives for *Pashto*.

د بے تلکي آواز درامه مشه مينه	سورے سورے په گولوراشه
چه پر هرونه د گندم خوله درکومه	سورے سورے په گولوراشه
په تار د زلفو به کفن در تگندمه	سورے سورے په گولوراشه

*May you come riddled with bullets,
The news of your dishonour, cowardice may not reach me.
May you come riddled with bullets,
By kissing your wounds I will be praising your courage.
May you come riddled with bullets,
I will be sewing your shroud with my tresses.*

A Pashtoon woman would always prefer to be with her husband in the battlefield. She takes delight in telling her husband:

په سپين ميدان کې د سره يم زه پښتنه د تورو نه تشتم مينه

*You will definitely find me with you in the battlefield
Being a Pashtoon I am not afraid of swords.*

The status of women did not improve much with the opening of the Frontier society to modernity and modern times. According to *The Census Report of 1911*, the proportion of the female population in the NWFP, was 817 women per 1000 males.⁶ It reached 843 females to 1000 males in 1931.⁷ Literate males of all religions were 58 per 1000 and literate females only 6 per 1000.⁸ Interestingly, only one Muslim female out of 1000 in the Frontier was able to read or write.

Education by Religion. Sex and Locality

District and natural division	Hindus	Mohammadan	Christian	Sikhs
Hazara	Males : Females 392 : 41	Males : Females 17 : 1	Males : Females 858 : 676	Males : Females 321 : 59
Peshawar	340 : 124	27 : 1	915 : 616	450 : 180
Kohat	330 : 21	28 : 1	818 : 730	578 : 67
Bannu	351 : 13	22 : —	603 : 639	752 : 90
D. I. Khan	442 : 44	32 : 1	834 : 683	465 : 109

Source: *Census of India 1911*, vol. xiii, *North-West Frontier Province* (Peshawar, 1912), p. 188.

There was a slight improvement in later years, which was regarded by the government as ‘wonderful progress during the past forty years’. In the female education the number reached 12 per 1000: 2 in Peshawar, 4 in Kohat, 2 in Bannu, 2 in Dera Ismail Khan and 2 in Hazara. The main difficulty, however, according to the *Census Report of 1921*, was that ‘the elementary instruction given in primary schools does not teach a girl more than to read and write letters which is not much helpful to her in the management of her house. Even so, she often is a source of suspicion and jealousy to her husband and elder female relatives.’ ‘On the other hand’, *The*

Report continued, 'secondary education, which is generally of secular nature, is supposed to have a baleful effect on the religious side of her character and to create a desire for such social environments as are not available in an ordinary Indian household'.⁹ The popular view was that female education should be such as would tend to develop among women a strong religious and moral character and make them useful wives and mothers in the social grade to which they belonged.

The local prejudices against female education were so great that the government gave very little attention to it. In 1901-02, there were only 8 government-recognised primary schools for girls in the entire province, with a total number of 491 students, mostly non-Muslims belonging to the families of government servants and businessmen. There was no secondary school for girls until 1906, when 'Arya Kanya School' of Dera Ismail Khan was raised to the status of a middle school. The number of girls primary schools reached 24 in 1920-21 and middle schools increased from 1 to 4. There was further increase in primary schools from 24 to 45, middle schools from 4 to 23 and high schools from 0 to 2. Both the girls' high schools, Church of England Zenana Mission High School at Peshawar, and Gobind Girls High School at Abbottabad, were non-governmental institutions and only small annual subsidies of Rs. 7296 and Rs. 5988, respectively, were given to them by the government. The curriculum, besides reading and writing, consisted of some needlework (knitting and embroidery) and in 1920-21 it was revised and Domestic Science, which was 'to form the chief function of a girl in after life' was introduced. There was no college and it was in 1930-31 that one female from the province passed her B.A examination from the Punjab University.¹⁰

The inhabitants of the province felt the need of a government high school, as most of the people were unwilling to send their daughters to Mission school. On May 27, 1932, a resolution was moved by M. C. Khanna, the minority representative in the NWFP Legislative Council, demanding that the government open a high school for girls at Peshawar. He also criticised the government for spending more money on the boys education and advised that 'the education of boys and girls should go hand in hand. We should not starve one to feed the other'.¹¹ He

made it clear that all he wanted was a Government High School for girls for of all communities. 'The school in question', he mentioned 'is going to be a non-sectarian institution and a government institution for the girls of Peshawar or perhaps for the girls of this province'.¹² The long outstanding demand for a government girls high school was fulfilled in 1933 when on 15 May the Lady Griffith High School for girls started its classes for the female students of the province.

The Khudai Khidmatgars who were devoted to the socio-economic uplift were the foremost advocates of female education. An educated woman, according to them, could take care of herself better than an inexperienced, uneducated, mentally confused woman. The columns of the *Pukhtun* were open for women to write about their problems. The main inspiration, of course, was provided by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his close associates. In January 1929, an article on women contributed by Mian Jaffar Shah appeared in the *Pukhtun* which extolled their services to community and nation. He ridiculed that the Pashtoons regarded their females only as their 'means of entertainment'. Women, he argued, shared lot of responsibilities in times of peace and war. 'If a woman is uneducated and cowardly', remarked Jaffar Shah, 'it will naturally affect the coming generations. If she knew how to educate her offspring in the cause of the nation, that would definitely result in getting rid of slavery'.¹³ Abdul Ghaffar Khan endorsed the views of Jaffar Shah and cited examples from the Holy Quran according to which both are essential to one another. He stressed the need of education for females and urged the Pashtoons to give their women the best modern education otherwise their period of slavery would definitely prolong.¹⁴

Responding to the call of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, one Syeda of Adina (Swabi) called to question the discriminatory behaviour of the Pashtoon males with regard to their females in every field of life. She analysed that they kept them in confinement in the four walls of their houses and considered it harmful for the future generations. She considered the ignorance of the females as one of the main causes of slavery. The panacea of this backwardness, according to her, 'is to educate your women enabling them to utilise the latest technology'.¹⁵

Some Pashtoon women contributed articles to the *Pukhtun* without disclosing their identity. They shied away from giving their names and instead used 'Yau Khor' (a sister) as pseudonyms. The following lines appeared in the June-July 1931 issue of the *Pukhtun* giving the name of 'a sister':

دقربائی باران پرے اوکڑی چه خدائے ذرغون دآزادی کڑی سره گونہ
دقربائی باران کنس اوشی دآزادی چمن به اوپڑی گونہ

*If you made the rain of sacrifices
The garden of freedom will certainly blossom
If the rain of sacrifices be made
The garden of freedom will certainly blossom.*¹⁶

Interestingly some of the learned women sent their articles and other writings using the names of either of their younger brothers or cousins.¹⁷

During the civil disobedience movement of 1930-34, the participation of women was limited. The main reason was the observance of strict *purdah*, which made it very difficult for the women to meet or talk with any male who was not a member of their family. However, the attendance of females was a common feature of the meetings addressed by Abdul Ghaffar Khan. They were behind the walls or on the roof-tops of their houses, wrapped in *chaddars*. Interestingly, in Swabi and Nowshera, elderly women actively participated in the campaign. Dur Marjan of Pabbi and Noor-un-Nisa of Taru Jabba became popular for leading processions in Nowshera. Sayeda Bushra Begum, a prominent woman Khudai Khidmatgar of Ziarat Kaka Sahib, in her articles in *Pukhtun* lamented on the backwardness of the Pashtoon women and accused the males for intentionally keeping their womenfolk behind the four walls to establish their domination over the females. In one of her poems she said:

دجھالت پہ حال کے لوئے لونڑہ شہ بہ اوکڑی ورنہ شہ طمعہ دوطن او قوم خدمت لرے تہ
مونہ تہ بار بار چه پیغور دجھالت را کوئی ذمہ داری پہ کوم فریق ددوئی لعنت لرے تہ

*You brought-up us in the darkness of ignorance
What kind of service than you expect [from us] to be offered in
the cause of nation and society.
You are by and large blaming us for ignorance*

*But let me ask you who is responsible for this ignorance.*¹⁸

Bushra Begum further emphasized that the majority of the Pashtoon women hated precious jewellery and splendid clothes and said that their real beauty lay in raising their standards and status in the society. She demanded modern education for women.¹⁹ Endorsing her views, Noor Jehan Begum, another contributor to the *Pukhtun* came out openly to protesting against their confinement to their houses saying:

دهندوستان بنجے خدمت کوئی دقوم او وطن مونہز تہ پہ کور کے دضمون شعر لیکل منع دی

The Hindustani women are out of their homes, rendering service to the nation.

*But for us even to write inside the four walls is forbidden.*²⁰

Mahar Sultan a former student of the Azad School, Utmanzai, suggested that if there was one educated women in a village it was her responsibility to give basic education to those who were unable to get it.²¹ Nagina, another writer, echoed similar views and accused the Pashtoon males that they loved freedom but denied the same to their females. According to her, their greatest enemy was 'no one else but the Pashtoons, for they are treating us like animals. Our hands, our feet and our brains are kept in a state of coma. If you want us to share the responsibilities of national work, give us education'.²² The Khudai Khidmatgar leadership advised the women that they should help themselves instead of waiting for help from their men. Abdul Ghaffar Khan reiterated that his aim 'is to struggle for the rights of the depressed and especially for the women who were lagging far behind their men in education. But progress in that connection is possible only when they should decide to help themselves'.²³ The central leadership of the Congress also helped to organise the Frontier women on the pattern of the educated Indian women, who were sharing the burden of their males in every walk of life. In 1939, Bibi Amtus Salam and Mirabehn were sent to the NWFP to assist Abdul Ghaffar Khan to spread female education and social reforms among the Frontier women.²⁴

In 1946, however, the tone of the writings of the female contributors changed. Most of the articles appearing that year and subsequently carried the political messages of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

and the Khudai Khidmatgars. The main insistence was on Indian unity and opposition to the League's proposed Pakistan. The League's 'Direct Action Day' and its repercussions in the other parts of India were criticised. The grouping clauses of the Cabinet Mission Plan came under severe criticism. In June 1946, an article written by Alaf Jan Khattaka, a female Khudai Khidmatgar, under the caption of 'Who is to Guide the Pashtoons', appeared in *Pukhtun*. She insisted that owing to the peculiar conditions of their area, the Pashtoons must unite because in unity lay their bright future. Since they had their own traditions, culture and way of life, it was better to have their own leaders instead of relying upon Hindustanis or Punjabis.²⁵ She advised the Pashtoons:

قامونہ دینے تو یوں دھچل لیڈر پہ خولو اوکڑہ پشتو ماتے پسنتے د باچا خان اوگڑہ
تدئی پشتون او پشتانہ پہ پسنتو سنبہ بکاریشی ٹینگہ پشتو کڑہ دڑڑہ پشتو نشان اوگڑہ

Nations are always ready to follow the footsteps of their leaders and are ready to sacrifice themselves on the call of their leaders

You should also do Pashto to the broken ribs of Bacha Khan.

You are a Pashtoon and the Pashtoons are for Pashto

*You must hold on to your Pashto in order to win over the prestige and honour of the old Pashtoons.*²⁶

The Khudai Khidmatgars responded positively to the call of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and started sending their daughters and other female relatives to schools. Abdul Malik Fida, Sarfaraz Khan and Amir Mohammad Khan were a few among many who sent their daughters to school, enabling them to share the responsibilities of their males.

Women participation in social and political life of the NWFP was not exclusively the work of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. The Frontier Muslim League was equally keen on women's development. The League women did not lag behind and kept themselves involved. Since there was no female college in the province, a few students from the NWFP went to Lahore and joined the Jinnah Islamia College of Fatima Begum. There they came under the direct influence of Fatima, who imbued in them the ideas of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent.

After completing their studies in Lahore, they came back to the province and started taking an active part in politics. Before discussing their role in the NWFP politics, few words on their social background are necessary. Keeping in view the province's backwardness, only the few elite families could afford to send their daughters for education to the Punjab or elsewhere. Therefore, the majority of the Frontier Women Leaguers were also from the elitist families.

The first branch of the Women's Muslim League in the NWFP was opened in April 1939 at Peshawar at a meeting under the president ship of Qanita Bibi, the sister of Mian Zia-ud-Din, secretary of the Provincial Muslim League. Begum Habibullah (UP), the main speaker, appealed to the Muslim women of the Frontier to join the League in order to combat the Hindu women who had formed their own societies. Begum Mufti Abdul Wadud was made the President of the nascent branch of the Frontier Women Muslim League and Qanita became its vice President.²⁷ No further details are available of other office holders. Nothing was heard of this branch of the League for a year. Then in April 1940, some activities of the women Leaguers were reported from Peshawar, but, on the whole, the branch remained dormant for a long time.²⁸ The first serious foray of the women League was their full-fledged participation in the elections of 1945-46. In October 1945, All-India Muslim League sent a delegation to the Frontier under Lady Abdullah Haroon, President All India Zenana Muslim League. Other members of the delegation included Begum Salma Tassaduq, Begum H. A. Hakim, Fatima Begum, Begum Zahida Shah and Begum Karim Dad Khan. The delegation reached Peshawar on October 17, and addressed meetings at Peshawar and Mardan, exhorting the Muslim women to vote for the League candidates in the elections and contribute generously to the League's election funds. When the meetings were over a large number of *purdah* observing women were reported to be enrolling themselves as the primary members of the Women Muslim League.²⁹ Another branch of the Women Muslim League was formed at Peshawar with Begum Qazi Mir Ahmad as President and Begum Abdul Wahid as Secretary.³⁰ The Women Muslim League supported the official League candidates during elections.

During the early months of 1947, the women Muslim Leaguers of the NWFP came to the forefront of Frontier politics. The provincial League launched a civil disobedience movement against the Congress Ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib. After a majority of the male members of the organization were arrested, Mrs. Kamal-ud-Din, the Hazara League leader, organized the women Leaguers at Abbottabad. She appealed to the Muslim women to join the Provincial League's civil disobedience against the Congress ministry.³¹ On March 12, a women's procession in Peshawar, consisting of 25 ladies in *burqas*, marched through the main bazaars of the city and left a 'deep impression' on other Muslim women. The processionists, according to *The Pakistan Times* of March 29, 1947, were the educated young ladies of Peshawar. The report continued:

A certain number [of people] were angry while others amused but most of the people were too stupefied to say anything. As the procession marched through the streets, shouting League slogans, the public stood and stared. The women of Peshawar watched from their housetops and gazed at their veiled-sisters in the streets below. When the procession 'returned to the League office in Egerton Road, these brave women were exhausted physically, but their spirits were undaunted. They made a history for the women of the Frontier Province.'³²

During the League's civil disobedience movement in the Frontier, the processions in Peshawar became a routine affair. Other affected towns were Mardan, Kohat and Abbottabad. Interestingly, not even one women's demonstration was reported from Bannu or Dera Ismail Khan. The rural areas of the province also remained untouched by the women's agitation. The main reasons were the popularity of and support for the Khudai Khidmatgars in rural areas, and the observance of a strict *purdah* system there. As the Pashtoon values desists from using force against them, the women Leaguers were left free to organise meetings and processions and they enjoyed full freedom of expression and movement.

After the fall of the Unionist ministry in the Punjab in which there was a notable participation of women Leaguers,³³ they tried the same tactics in the NWFP.³⁴ The women workers of the

League came in large number from the Punjab and other parts of India.³⁵ Dr. Khan Sahib's policy was to arrest no women, so there was no restriction on the women Leaguers and they acted freely against the ministry. The women agitators disrupted the government machinery to a great extent. On several occasions the provincial secretariat was stormed and the League flag hoisted. Picketing government installations including the schools was a daily routine. The 'Pakistan Tickets' were issued at railway stations. To check the advance of the women processionists, the police linked arms to block them, and when their lines were broken, retreated and reformed their passive barricades. The first serious injuries to women protesters, however, were reported on April 14, when they attempted to impede the 58 Down Bombay Express coming from the Peshawar Cantonment. The protesters sat down on the railway track and the engine driver did not stop the train. Five women were seriously injured while another 30 received minor injuries.³⁶ Following this incident, they were prevented by the Provincial Muslim League from exposing themselves to serious physical danger. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in his statement of June 3, 1947, appreciated the efforts of the Frontier women in the movement for the achievement of a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims.³⁷

Thus, the League successfully exploited the traditional Pashtoon values to its advantage by usefully bringing out their female workers against the Congress ministry. The women protesters were given complete freedom of speech and movement throughout the agitation. In very rare cases expulsion orders were served asking them to leave some particular locality. No woman agitator was arrested, assaulted or tortured by the Congress ministry, as it was against *Pashtoonwali* to cause harm to females, and they faced every provocation with patience. The only unfortunate incident was the one that took place on April 14, resulting in several casualties.

References & Notes

1. There are few studies on women in the NWFP. In the late 1920s, Rahat Zakheli wrote some accounts on the status of women in Pashtoon society.

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- In 1931, Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq wrote his famous novel *Shaheeda Sakina*, which depicted the traditional behaviour of the Pashtoons towards their females. It gave details of how a woman was deprived of her legitimate share in the inheritance after the death of her father. Another book *Pashtaney* by Samunder Khan also gave some thrilling accounts of the bravery and courage of Pashtoon women. Surprisingly, Sarfaraz Mirza's book, *Muslim Women Role in Pakistan*, gives very little space to the Frontier women. However, there are a few pertinent studies on women by Afghan scholars. Abdur Rauf Benawa, Bismillah Amir and Fahima Rahimi wrote on the women in Afghanistan but, frankly speaking, there are no systematic studies on the women of the NWFP.
2. The way of life of the Pashtoons in the traditional society is to a large extent controlled by an un-written code called the *Pashtoonwali*. They are bound by honour to respect it and to abide by its rules, otherwise they will supposedly bring disgrace not only to themselves but also to their families. Though *Pashtoonwali* is very extensive in its meaning and interpretations, the main characteristics of this code requires the Pashtoon to offer *melmastia* (hospitality), to grant *nanawatey* (asylum) irrespective of their creed or caste even to his deadly enemies, and to take *badal* (revenge) to wipe out an insult with insult. One of the other pillars of Pashtoon society is its reliance on the *jirga* (assembly of elders). In the past the *jirga* had to perform the three-fold duties of police, magistracy and justice. It maintained peace and order during disorder and anarchy. The *jirga* was the authority for settling disputes and dispensing justice. Cases of breach of contracts, disputes about tribal boundaries, distribution of water, claims to lands and pastures, and infringement of customs, grant or inheritance were all within the jurisdiction of *jirga*. Its members were elected by the whole body of the Pashtoon tribe, mostly from among the *speen geerey* (senior persons) –the persons of experience, knowledge and character. No records were kept but the memories of the Pashtoon elders served as the record offices. After the annexation of the province by the British, ordinary law replaced the whole tribal system in the settled districts of the NWFP, is still in practice in the tribal areas and has not lost its force and validity.
 3. In the famous Pashto folklore story Maimoonay was killed by her cousin-cum-husband Sher Alam for violating this rule because once in the absence of her husband she was noticed talking with a stranger out of necessity. This enraged Sher Alam so much that he killed Maimoonay instantly.
 4. *Pukhtun*, (Utmanzai), 24 October 1945, p.8.
 5. Nazo's following quatrain is very popular:

سحر صباوہ دنگس لیمہ لاندہ
 خاشکی خاشکی لے لے ترگو خشیہ
 ماویل حدی کنبل گلو لے ژاڑی
 دہ ویل ژوندی دی پوہ خولہ خندیدہ

*It was dawn, the cheeks of the narcissus were wet
 Drops after drops trickled from its eyes
 I asked: O beautiful flower what has happened?
 She replied: 'My life is only a short laugh.*

The name of Malalay should also be added to the present discussion. The victory of Maiwand (1880) is attributed to her. She plucked a standard from a dying soldier on the battlefield of Maiwand to lead the faltering Afghan troops to victory over the British Indian army with these words:

کہ پہ میوند کے شہید نشوے
 چلہ لالیہ بے تنگی نہ دساتینہ

*Young love, if you do not fall in the battle of Maiwand
 By God, someone is saving you for a token of shame.*

For more details see Fahima Rahimi, *Women in Afghanistan* (Liestal, 1986).

6. *Census of India 1911*, NWFP, vol. xiii, p. 124.
7. *Census of India 1931*, vol. xv, p. 77.
8. *Census of India 1911*, p. 177.
9. *Census of India 1921*, vol. xiv, p. 182.
10. For more details see *Census of India 1921*, pp. 181-182; and, *Census of India, 1931*, p. 166; and *Central Legislative Assembly Debates*, 15 July 1930, pp. 384-387. Following is a complete list of the girl schools (middle and high) in the province: Peshawar: (1) C. E. Z. Mission High School. (2) M. B. A. V. Hindi School, Karimpura. (3) M. B. V. A. Urdu School, Yakatut. (4) Gurmat Arorbans A. V. Kanya Patshala, Karimpura. (5) Arya Girls Middle School, Peshawar Cantonment (6) Danish Mission A. V. Girls School, Hoti (Mardan). Hazara: (1) Sanathan Dharam Girls School, Haripur. (2) Rukmani Girls School, Haripur. (3) Gobind Girls High School, Abbottabad. (4) Arya Girls Middle School, Abbottabad. (5) M. B. Urdu Middle School, Abbottabad. (6) Siri Guru Nanak Kanya Patshala, Mansehra. Kohat: (1) M. B. Urdu Middle Girls School, Kohat. Bannu: (1) M. B. Gunter Gurumukhi Middle School, Bannu. (2) M. B. Gunter Urdu Middle School, Bannu. (3) Daulat Ram Arya Kanya Patshala, Bannu. Dera Ismail Khan: (1) M. B. Nagri Girls Middle School, Dera Ismail Khan. (2) M. B. Urdu Girls Middle School, Dera Ismail Khan. (3) Arya Kanya Patshala, Dera Ismail Khan. (4) Jamna Devi A. K. B. Br. School,

- Dera Ismail Khan. (5) D. B. Urdu Girls School, Kulachi. (6) Arya Kanya Patshala, Kulachi and (7) Arya Kanya Patshala, Tank.
11. Mehr Chand Khanna, *NWFP Legislative Council Debates*, 27 March, 1932, vol. I, No. 10, (Peshawar, 1932), p. 372.
12. *Ibid.*, 12 October 1932, vol. II, No. 2, p. 152.
13. Mian Jaffar Shah, 'women and their service to community', *Pukhtun*, January, 1929, pp. 16-19.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
15. Sayeda of Adina, 'our women', *Pukhtun*, February, 1929, pp. 11-15.
16. *Pukhtun*, June-July, 1931, p. 53.
17. Qanita Begum, who became one of the most important figures in the Provincial Women Muslim League, used her younger brother's name for a long time. Later, she used a pseudonym for her articles in *Asmat* (Delhi) and *Tehzeeb-i-Niswan* (Lahore), without disclosing her identity for a long time. Personal interview with Qanita Begum in Peshawar on 7 October 1984.
18. *Pukhtun*, 21 October 1938, p. 15.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
20. *Ibid.*, 21 October 1938, p. 16.
21. *Ibid.*, 1 November 1938, pp. 25-26.
22. *Ibid.*, 11 November, 1938, p. 4.
23. Abdul Ghaffar Khan on female education in *Pukhtun*, 1 February 1946, p. 7.
24. D. G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan* (Bombay, 1967), pp. 289-290.
25. Alaf Jan Khattaka, 'Who is to guide the Pashtoons', *Pukhtun*, 24 June 1946, p. 23.
26. *Pukhtun*, 1 April 1946, p. 2.
27. Interview with Qanita Begum. Also see *Khyber Mail*, Peshawar, 23 April 1939, and CID Diaries, F. No. 769, Special Branch Peshawar, p. 75.
28. *Khyber Mail*, 28 April 1940, and CID Diaries, F. No. 803, p. 3.
29. *Khyber Mail*, 19 October 1945.
30. Other members of the cabinet and the working committee included Begum Faqir Mohammad, Begum Mufti M. Ayub Khan, Begum Sardar Haider, Begum Salim Khan, Begum Abdul Wahab, Begum Jan Mohammad, Mumtaz Majid, Mumtaz Jamal and Fahmida Rauf. Personal interview with Begum Sardar Haider on 18 November 1984 in Peshawar.
31. CID Diaries, 3 March 1947, F. No. 803, SBP, p. 67.
32. *The Pakistan Time*, 29 March 1947.
33. For detail see Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947* (Delhi, 1988).
34. D. Willmer, 'Women as Participants in the Pakistan Movement: Modernization and the Promise of a Moral State', *Modern Asian Studies*, 30, 3, (1996), pp. 573-590.
35. Prominent women Leaguers from the Punjab and other parts of India who assisted the Frontier Women Muslim League against Congress ministry included Fatima Begum, Nasira Siddiqi, Zubeda Shah, Begum Karim

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- Dad, Mumtaz Shahnawaz and Hassan Ara. See *The Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947. For more details see Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: 1969), pp. 104 – 114.
36. For these and other details see CID Diaries, March-May 1947, SBP, F. Nos. 802, 803, 812, 813, 814 and 815; *Civil and Military Gazette*, (Lahore, April 1947); *The Pakistan Times*, April 1947; Personal interviews with Mumtaz Majid on 31 October 1984 in Peshawar, with Mrs. Nazir Tila M. Khan on 10 December 1984 in Peshawar, with Mrs. Sardar Haider on 18 November 1984 at Peshawar, with Qanita Begum on 7 October 1984 at Peshawar; and S. A. Rittenberg, 'Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province 1901-1947', (Columbia University, Ph. D thesis, 1977), p. 380.
37. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah appreciated the participation of the Frontier women in the Pakistan movement in these words: 'I cannot but express my appreciation of sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Mussalmans and particularly the great part the women of the frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties'. See G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement Historic Documents* (Karachi, 1968), p. 540.

CHAPTER 7

The Making of Pakistan and the NWFP: Quaid-i-Azam – Pir of Manki Sharif Unpublished Correspondence November 1945 – November 1946*

‘There are men’, writes J. W. Spain, ‘sitting quietly in their villages on the Frontier at this moment who have fought the Germans and the Turks in World War I, the Bolsheviks in Russia after World War I, and the Italians and Japanese in World War II. There are men who have been decorated by Queen Victoria and honoured by Lenin. There are men who have killed senior British Officers and who have helped crown a king in Kabul.’¹

In addition to this, there have been men in the Frontier who turned the tide of history by supporting the cause of Pakistan and made many sacrifices for its achievement but were neglected by the then authorities. They were even dubbed as ‘traitors’ and ‘enemies of Pakistan’. One such great personality was Amin al-Hasanat, the Pir of Manki Sharif. He belonged to a noble family of Akora Khattak while later settled in Manki Sharif.² In fact, it was his great grandfather, Shaikh Abdul Wahab, a disciple of Shaikh Abdul Ghafur alias Saidu Baba, who had migrated from Akora Khattak to a village called Manki, at a distance of six miles to the south of Nowshera.³ After the death of Shaikh Abdul Wahab, his son Shaikh ‘Abdul Haq became the Pir of Manki Sharif, who in turn

* Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah Kakakhel, “The Making of Pakistan and the N.W.F.P., Quaid-i-Azam—Pir of Manki Sharif Unpublished Correspondence, 1945-November 1946”, *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* (Islamabad: NIHCR, vol. VII, No.2, July-December 1986), pp. 41-59.

was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Abdul Rauf, as the third Pir of Manki Sharif.

A son was born to Shaikh Abdul Rauf, on February 1, 1922, who was named Amin al-Hasanat. The child was given the best education of the day. He received religious instructions from Maulana Abdul Hannan and learnt English and Urdu from Abdul Razzaq of Pir Piai, Nowshera.⁴ Amin al-Hasanat was only 12 years old when his father died in 1934 and he succeeded the latter as the fourth Pir of Manki Sharif.⁵

The devotees of the Pir of Manki Sharif, according to the family sources, exceeded one million persons and were spread all over the North-Western Frontier Province. Like other spiritual guides, Amin al-Hasanat also spent some time in educating his disciples in the esoteric aspects of religion and as and when possible paid periodic visits to different villages to see his *murids*.

In 1945, an event took place which changed the whole outlook of the Pir of Manki as well as that of many other Muslims. Just a year before, he was unknown in politics passing his days in spiritual meditation in the confines of the village of Manki Sharif. That event was the Simla Conference. It was called by Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy of India, in order 'to create good political atmosphere' among the Indian political leaders'. In this connection, Wavell released all members of the Congress Working Committee, who had been under detention since the days of 'Quit India Movement' launched by the Congress in 1942.⁶ All representative parties of India attended the Simla Conference. The Hindu Mahasabha was, however, not invited though it claimed to represent a certain number of Hindus.⁷ The Simla Conference began its deliberations on June 25, 1945, but was confronted with differences from the very first day. By the second day certain basic principles were agreed upon but differences on the composition of the Viceroy's Executive Council remained unsettled.⁸ Quaid-i-Azam took the stand that the Congress, which represented the Hindus, should include only Hindu members in its quota to the Executive Council,⁹ while the Congress plea was that 'it had approached all political problems from a national point of view and recognized no distinction between Hindus and Muslims on political issue'.¹⁰ These two opposite views could not be reconciled till the end.

Sometime after the Conference, Mohammad Zaman, an Advocate of Charsadda, wrote to the Quaid that the stand taken by him in the historic Conference had 'opened the eyes of the Pathans of this Province' and the 'miracle' had 'changed the political philosophy of the Pathans'. And it had been the Quaid who 'by his ability, foresight and Himalayan firmness [had] revealed the true nature of the Hindu mind'.¹¹ And indeed the conference had awakened a sizeable number of Muslims in the province.

Sir George Cunningham, the Governor of the NWFP, reported to Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, that the communal feeling had grown worse since Simla Conference. The well-educated Muslims had become anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim League¹² and that 'The failure of the Simla Conference has made people think and talk more about the Pakistan issue'.¹³ The AIML championed the cause of independent Pakistan with a view to safeguarding the Muslim interests. The Muslim intelligentsia, as well as the religious leaders, flocked around the Muslim League and the Pir of Manki Sharif, Amin al-Hasanat, was the most influential among new converts. The failure of the Simla Conference convinced him that the only way to safeguard the Muslim interests was to participate fully in the activities of the All India Muslim League. Consequently, he started taking keen interest in active politics. His reputation gave him an honourable place among the Frontier politicians and on religious matters his views often carried considerable weight. In the words of Stephan Rittenberg

Holy men in the Frontier have always been able to translate their religious influence into secular power provided they are politically adept, which the Pir of Manki proved to be. He was, therefore, an ideal leader for the League, for India's growing communal problems played to his real source of authority, his religious standing.¹⁴

To begin with, Amin al-Hasanat, concentrated on organizing his friends and admirers the *Sajjada Nashins* into a single body. His efforts resulted in the convening on October 14, 1945, the Conference of Ulama held at Manki. The Conference resolved to found a permanent body called the Jamiat al-Asfiya with more than two hundred founding members.¹⁵ The members on behest of the Pir of Manki Sharif agreed to support the Muslim

League provided that *Shariat* was enforced in Pakistan after its creation.¹⁶

The Pir Sahib reiterated that they would support the demand for Pakistan only for the sake of Islam. He said that the North-Western Frontier Province possessed a sensitive position. The common man in the province needed definite guarantees for the enforcement of Islam. He emphasized that unlike other groups, the members of the Jami'at al-Asfiya neither needed any financial assistance nor any seat from any constituency. The Jami'at-al-Asfiya comprised those people of high calibre whose forefathers had rendered great services to the noble cause of Islam. He informed the Quaid that they possess all the basic needs of life but only for the sake of Islam and for the welfare of *Millet*, they had decided to come forward to support the League and had renounced all comforts of life.¹⁷

In his reply to Amin al-Hasanat, the Quaid-i-Azam on November 18, 1945, gratefully acknowledged his contribution to the cause of the Muslim League and wrote

I need hardly say that I am most grateful to you for the powerful support which you have been pleased to give to the All India Muslim League which stands for the establishment of Pakistan and all that Islam stands for, and it is the duty of every Musalman at this most critical juncture to help our National Organisation the Muslim League and support the official League candidates and get the verdict of Muslim India for Pakistan. The eye of the world is fixed on Muslim India and the Frontier will be the spear head of Pakistan. I note that your organisation is of those whose forefathers who have served the cause of Islam with blood and money and that you have rightly come forward at this critical juncture to the support of Muslim India and the Muslim League which is the only authoritative and representative Organisation of the Muslims. I am all the more encouraged to note your expression of sentiments that you wish to work for the *Millet* without the slightest consideration for any worldly gain nor thank God you are in need of it. Therefore work and serve the cause which is a matter of the life and death for 100 million of Muslims of India and the cause of Islam and the *Millet*. With regard to some of the points of which you have been good enough to send me a note I have fully explained to our friend Qazi Abdul Hakim Khattak who was good enough to come and see me and he will explain to you fully the result of

the discussion. As regards your note which raises five points may I point out to you that when the preliminary question of Pakistan being established is settled it will not be the Muslim League that will frame the constitution of Pakistan but the inhabitants of Pakistan in which 75% will be Musalmans and therefore you will understand that it will be a Muslim Government and it will be for the people of Pakistan to frame the constitution under which the Pakistan Government will come into being and function. Therefore there need be no apprehension that the Constitution Making Body which will be composed of overwhelming majority of Muslims can ever establish any constitution for Pakistan other than one based on Islamic ideals, nor can the Government of Pakistan when comes into being act contrary to Islamic ideals and principles. You know that I am reaching Peshawar on the 20th to attend انشاءالله the Frontier Conference and I am looking forward to meet you personally and have the pleasure and the honor of a talk with you.¹⁸

On receiving the Quaid-i-Azam's letter, the Pir of Manki Sharif convened a *Tablighi* (missionary) Conference in November and publicly declared a *Jihad* for the achievement of Pakistan. He organised delegations of the anjuman members to assist the League candidates in the forthcoming elections.¹⁹

The Quaid-i-Azam visited the Frontier Province from November 19 to 27, 1945, to devise 'ways and means' for contesting the elections. During his stay there, he met the representatives of various organisations, including those of professionals, students and businessmen. He visited Landi Kotal, Torkham, Manki Sharif, Nowshera and Mardan.²⁰ In the following letter, the Quaid informed the Pir of Manki Sharif of his proposed visit to Manki on his way to Mardan

I am in receipt of your letter of November 20th, and I am sorry that you cannot come on the 22nd owing to your other engagement.

I am going to Mardan on the 24th November, and on my way I shall be glad to go to Manki Sharif. I propose to start from here at 11 a.m. and break my journey and spend at least half-an-hour with you and have the pleasure of meeting you. I am already booked for lunch at Mardan, and therefore, I shall be at Manki Sharif between 11.30 and 12 o'clock.²¹

Eventually when the Quaid visited the Manki Sharif on November 24, he was accorded a warm welcome by a great number of *Masha'ikh* who had gathered there. They assured him of their full support to the League's candidates in the forthcoming elections. As a result, the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif personally toured the areas mainly inhabited by his devotees in the Peshawar valley. These tours went a long way in introducing the League throughout the Frontier province. The Muslim League, which was commonly believed to be the party of feudals, Khan Bahadurs and other pro-government elements, henceforth came to be looked upon as the party of the masses. With the participation of the Pir of Manki Sharif, the common notion of a 'drawing-room organisation'²² about the League came to an end and as Erland Jansson has rightly observed 'to him [Pir of Manki Sharif], more than any other single person, goes the credit for the success of the Pakistan movement there [NWFP]'.²³ The Pir struggled day and night during the election campaign of 1946 and left no stone unturned in canvassing for the League candidates. But still, he found the party lacking in organization. In a detailed letter he informed the Quaid-i-Azam about the general situation of the Frontier Province and stressed the need for a counter-propaganda campaign against the Khudai Khidmatgars, who were far more organized and much better disciplined. He criticized the role of local League leaders, who according to him lacked discipline as well as party programme. He informed the Quaid that even the efforts of Qazi Isa to organize the Provincial Muslim League in NWFP had not yielded any fruitful results. The Pir Sahib also asked for greater support from the All India Muslim League against the well-organized Congress in his Province and complained that the central organisation had failed to pay adequate attention to the Frontier region at a critical time. He requested the Quaid to take personal interest in the affairs of the NWFP²⁴ to which the Quaid replied

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th January that was delivered to me by Mr. Fatch Mohammad Khan here today. I have discussed the matter fully with him and I am very grateful to you for all the information and suggestions that you have made, some of which have already been carried out while others are receiving my attention. At the present moment it is

not possible to make any new changes in our organization although, your suggestions may prove useful. There are now only four or five weeks left and we must make the best use of what has already been set up and the only way to make it work successfully, is that, every individual – personally, in groups and collectively, should make his or her full contribution to secure the verdict for Pakistan, by sweeping the polls. This is the most paramount issue, and where there is a will there is a way. Perfect machinery and Constitution may not work if there is no real will, harmony and unity amongst us. Our present machinery is set up and is the result of only a few years of our efforts and it may not be as efficient and as satisfactory as some of us may desire. But the people, if they have the will and the spirit of unity and comradeship and feel confident then they can make wonderful success of the present machinery. I therefore, appeal to you and every Muslim to do your bit make your contribution whole-heartedly and I am confident that victory is in the hollow of our hands in the North-West Frontier Province.

Thanking you again and Mr. Fateh Mohammad Khan for having taken the trouble of coming to Lahore, whom I was very pleased to meet and who will fully explain to you all the details that were discussed between him and me.²⁵

Some of the prominent Leaguers under the leadership of Pir of Manki Sharif made an announcement that they were ready even to work under Abdul Ghaffar Khan provided that he joined the Muslim League and supported the cause of Pakistan.²⁶

As an election strategy, the Frontier Muslim League decided to contest 38 Muslim seats. The main issue raised by the Frontier League in the election campaign was Pakistan. Elections were held between January 26, and February 14, 1946. The result was not very encouraging for the League. It won only 17 seats. The Congress got absolute majority, i.e. 30 out of 50 seats. The Jami‘at al-‘Ulama’ won 2 seats while Akali Dal got one seat.²⁷

The political scene at the all India level changed with the announcement of British Prime Minister Clement Attlee that a Cabinet Mission would proceed to India to solve the problems relating to the peaceful transfer of power. The Mission reached India on March 24, 1946, and held a series of discussions with the representatives of the various political parties. After prolonged negotiations, the plan that it proposed was rejected by both the

Congress and the Muslim League. There were differences of opinion on various points and neither party was prepared to accept it without reservations. Leaving these differences unresolved,²⁸ the Cabinet Mission returned to England towards the close of June 1946. After its departure, Lord Wavell continued his efforts with regard to the formation of the Interim government, which came into being on August 12, with Jawaharlal Nehru as its vice president. The Quaid-i-Azam denounced the Viceroy's approval of the installation of Congress in Interim government without the League and said: 'The Viceroy has committed a double betrayal in going back on his solemn word and is ignoring and by-passing the Muslim League'.²⁹

When nothing seemed to work, the Muslim League decided to adopt unconstitutional means for the first time in its history to press its demands. It directed its members to renounce all their titles and honours conferred on them by the government.³⁰ The Muslim League fixed August 16, as the Direct Action Day. In the NWFP an Action Committee was formed with the Pir of Manki Sharif as its president. Under the auspices of this committee 'Pakistan Conferences' were held throughout the province usually with the Pir Sahib in the chair. He laid emphasis on two things: unity among the Muslims and work in an organized fashion for the achievement of Pakistan.³¹ The Pir Sahib exhorted Muslims to beware of the Hindus as well as of the British, both of whom he considered the enemies of Islam. He toured the length and breadth of the whole province extensively and canvassed relentlessly for the cause of Pakistan in tribal areas.

In the wake of the widespread communal violence in India in 1946, there was a strong reaction among the Frontier Muslims against the Hindus on account of the massacre of innocent Muslims. In October 1946, Nehru, accompanied by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, decided to pay a week long visit to Frontier. Sir Olaf Caroe, the Governor of the NWFP, did not approve of this visit because among other things, he apprehended it would heighten communalism in the highly charged province.³² Although Pir Sahib was opposed to Nehru's visit to the NWFP, he did not support the idea of holding any demonstration. He believed such a step would seriously harm the prestige of the Muslim League.³³ The members of the Action Committee, however, took a

strong exception to the Pir Sahib's exhortations and told him bluntly that they would not accept his advice.³⁴ Eventually, the Pir Sahib was so much swayed by this popular demand that he also began to favour demonstrations against Nehru's visit. He even went to the extent of touring the Khyber and Malakand Agencies and the Mohmand areas to canvass for the holding of anti Congress demonstrations.³⁵

Thus Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the Frontier Province provided the Muslim League in Lord Wavell's estimation, with 'an opportunity for effective publicity'.³⁶ That this visit invigorated the province is beyond question. 'What we could not hope to achieve in several years', wrote Abdul Qaiyum to Quaid-i-Azam, 'was in fact achieved within about a week'.³⁷

The Pir of Manki Sharif was now the acknowledged leader of Frontier Muslim League. He participated in every important meeting of the League and even the Quaid could not remain unmoved by his efforts for the cause of Pakistan, as is abundantly clear from the following letter of Quaid-i-Azam to the Pir of Manki Sharif:

I was very pleased to read in the newspapers that you have now been wholeheartedly working for the Muslim League. We want our best and most prominent men to come forward and work selflessly, as, I am sure, you have already realized that there is a very great struggle in front of us to achieve our goal of Pakistan.

It is now up to every Muslim to whatever class he may belong, to work and organize our people and stand united under the banner of the All India Muslim League. :³⁸

By the end of 1946, the communal situation took a serious turn. The tension was aggravated by the shortage of basic commodities and the Hindus were accused of creating food shortage in the NWFP. On the night between December 7 and 8, the tribesmen raided a place called Battal in Hazara and burnt the bazaar. These raids, according to Erland Jansson, were 'well organized and instigated by Mullahs working on fanatical tribes in retaliation for events in Bihar'.³⁹ The non-Muslims started shifting to urban centres. A lorry evacuating Hindus from a town in Hazara was attacked by the people, which resulted in the death of fourteen

persons and twenty-seven more were wounded. The government responded by promulgating Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Besides, 'the so-called Black Mountain tribes, who were responsible for the raids, were ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 75,000, surrender seventy-five 303 rifles and to give forty hostages as a guarantee for good behaviour in the future. If they should fail to comply with these order a punitive expedition would be sent against them.'⁴⁰

The Provincial Muslim League took this opportunity by the forelock and deferred the orders of the government. The reaction of the League was explained by Abdul Qaiyum in the following words: 'Thousands of Muslims in Bihar were butchered in cold blood yet no one ever thought of levying punitive fines on the Hindus of Bihar or of leading military expeditions against them'.⁴¹ Consequently, the provincial League appointed a 'War Council' and selected the Pir of Manki as their head and ordered 'all the [League] Committees of the Province to keep an army of *mujahidin* ready to undertake civil disobedience against the Congress Ministry'.⁴²

The civil disobedience movement in the Frontier created serious problems for the Congress ministry. The government arrested the leading figures of the provincial Muslim League with the exception of the Pir of Manki whom the Congress government did not consider prudent to detain for fear of arousing his *murids* especially those in the tribal area.⁴³ The All India Muslim League's High Command supported the campaign morally as well as financially. It sent its influential members, including Abdur Rab Nishtar and Nawab Ismail, to support the civil disobedience movement.⁴⁴ The result was that the movement quickly spread to many parts of the province. In view of the prestige, popular support and religious eminence of the Pir of Manki, he was initially given a free hand. He went about anywhere he liked without let or hindrance. He openly preached disobedience to the Khan Sahib Ministry. This freedom, however, did not last long, and the Pir Sahib was at last arrested on March 28, from the Muslim League office near Kabuli Gate in Peshawar City.⁴⁵ He was sent to Haripur Jail, where many of his companions were already detained.

Exactly one month after the arrest of the Pir of Manki Sharif, Lord Mountbatten, who succeeded Lord Wavell as the Viceroy of India, decided to visit the North West Frontier Province. The visit took place on April 28 and 29, 1947. Mountbatten received a deputation of 12 Leaguers, including the Pir of Manki Sharif, who had been released on parole. They presented to the Viceroy the provincial Muslim League's demand. He counselled them to discuss these demands with the Quaid with whom he promised to hold negotiations subsequently. He also provided facilities for these Leaguers to visit their leader in Delhi. Consequently, they flew to Delhi and there they discussed the whole matter with the Quaid.⁴⁶

The Pir of Manki Sharif's greatest achievement was his part in the Referendum in the NWFP in 1947. Quaid-i-Azam had appointed a committee to look after the referendum campaign in which the Pir Sahib was the only member from the Frontier. The other members of the Committee were I. I. Chundrigar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Syed Wajih Ali, who represented the All India Muslim League.⁴⁷ The Pir of Manki toured many parts of the NWFP and advised his disciples to vote for Pakistan. It was mainly due to his untiring efforts that the Frontier opted for Pakistan. On July 20, 1947, the referendum results were made public. According to the official results, out of the total of 572,798 votes Pakistan received 289,244 votes while India obtained 2,874 votes.⁴⁸ Thus the goal of the Pir Sahib's life, a separate homeland for Muslims, i.e, Pakistan was materialized on August 14, 1947, that fulfilled the dream he had for the first time seen in 1945.

Reference and Notes

1. J. W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland* (The Hague, 1963), p. 17.
2. A historic town lying 7 miles east of Nowshera on the Grand Trunk Road.
3. The place was originally known as Mankayi. On his arrival, Shaikh Abdul Wahab started preaching Islam and soon he became famous as the Pir of Manki Sharif. Interview with Nabi Amin on 18-11-1986 in Manki Sharif.
4. *Ibid.*

5. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'Muslim League in the North West Frontier Province 1936-1947', (Unpublished M. Phil thesis, University of Peshawar, 1986), p. 336.
6. S. K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom* (Lahore, 1979), p. 213.
7. Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (Bombay, 1964), p. 108.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.
9. Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan, The Formative Phase, 1857-1947* (Karachi, 1978), p. 129.
10. Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 110.
11. Mohammad Zaman to Quaid-i-Azam, 15 August 1945, NWFP 1:35, Shamsul Hasan Collections, Karachi.
12. Sir George Cunningham to Lord Viscount Wavell 9-10-1945, *The Transfer of Power*, gen. ed., Nicholas Mansergh, (London, 1976) vol. VI. pp. 318-319.
13. Governor's Report, 9 August 1945, 8239/1945 pol: National Documentation Center, Lahore.
14. Stephen Alan Rittenberg, 'The Independence Movement in India's North West Frontier Province 1901-1947'. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted at the Columbia University, 1977), p. 315.
15. They included Maulvi Shakirullah (Nowshera), Maulvi Abdul Samad (Kohat), Maulvi Yusuf Jan (Peshawar), Maulvi Shams al-Din (Peshawar), Qazi Asad al-Haq (Mardan), Maulvi Ghulam Yahya (Mardan), Maulvi 'Abdul Karim (Ziarat Kaka Sahib), Qazi Abdul Hakim (Jalozai), Maulvi Fazal-i-Rabbani (Doaba), Maulvi Alam Khan (Bannu), Maulvi Abdul Wahab (Kohat), Siraj al-Haq (Mardan), Abdul Jalil of Utmanzai and many others.
16. *Jami'at al-Asfiya*, 14 October 1945, Pir of Manki Collection.
17. Pir of Manki Sharif to Quaid-i-Azam n.d., Pir of Manki Collection.
18. Quaid-i-Azam to Pir Manki Sharif, 18 November 1945, Pir of Manki Sharif Collection.
19. Rittenberg, *Independence Movement*, p. 316.
20. Shah, *Muslim League*, p. 158. For more details of his visit, see *ibid.*, pp. 149-158.
21. Quaid-i-Azam to Pir of Manki Sharif 20 November 1945, Pir of Manki Collection.
22. Mian Zia-ud-Din, *Memoirs of a Pakistani Diplomat* (Peshawar, 1976), p. 39.
23. Erland Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan?* (Stockholm, 1981), p. 116.
24. Pir of Manki Sharif to Quaid-i-Azam, 16 January 1946, Pir of Manki Collection.
25. Quaid-i-Azam to Pir of Manki Sharif, 17 January 1946, Pir of Manki Collection.

26. Those who signed the announcement included Abdur Rab Nishtar, Mian Musharraf Shah, Malik-ur-Rahman, Mir Alam Khan, Arbab Sher Ali Khan, Mohammad Akbar Khan, Pir of Manki Sharif and many other prominent Leaguers from Frontier. See *Announcement of the Muslim League Candidates* 16 January 1946 (Urdu Poster), Abdur Rab Nishtar Collection, vol. ii, Karachi.
27. Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, p. 151.
28. Note of meeting between Wavell, Cabinet Delegation, Mr. Qaiyum and Sadullah, 2 April 1946, Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power*, vol. vii, pp. 89-90.
29. Jamil ud Din Ahmad, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, vol.ii (Lahore, 1946), p. 321.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-317.
31. Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, p. 182.
32. Olaf Caroe to Viscount Wavell, 23 October 1946, in Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power*, vol. viii, pp. 786-792. 'When Jawaharlal landed at the airport', says Abul Kalam, 'he found thousands of Pathans massed there carrying black flags and shouting anti-slogans. Dr. Khan Sahib and other Ministers who had come to receive Jawaharlal were themselves under public protection and proved completely ineffective'. See Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 171.
33. Pir of Manki Sharif to Committee of Action, n.d., original letter in the possession of the author.
34. Committee of Action to Pir of Manki Sharif, n.d., original letter in the possession of author.
35. Olaf Caroe to Viscount Wavell, 23 October 1946, Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power*, vol. viii, p. 787.
36. Lord Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 22 November 1946, in *ibid.* p. 76.
37. Abdul Qaiyum to Quaid-i-Azam, 25 November 1946, N-WFP – ii, p. 113, Shams ul Hasan Collection, Karachi.
38. Quaid-i-Azam to Pir of Manki Sharif, 30 October 1946, Pir Manki Collection and Syed Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, Karachi, 1977. p. 300.
39. Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, p. 190.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.
41. Abdul Qaiyum, quoted in Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, p. 191.
42. Rittenberg, Independence Movement, p. 161.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 364.
44. Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, p. 193.
45. *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 29 March 1947.
46. *Dawn* (Delhi), 5 May 1947.
47. Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, p. 217.
48. Viscount Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 20 July 1947, in Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power*, p. 277.

CHAPTER 8

Jinnah's Frontier Visits (1936 and 1945) and their Impact on the Provincial Politics of the NWFP*

The North-West Frontier Province of British India had been of special importance to the colonial government. Due to its strategic location and peculiar circumstances, this province remained under strict government control. Probably the NWFP was one of the few areas where the British Empire seemed vulnerable.¹ Security considerations were given priority over the grant of socio-economic and political reforms². Thus while the British government introduced constitutional reforms and certain other measures required for a kind of self-rule in the other parts of India, the NWFP was governed through 'Special Ordinances', including the notorious Frontier Crimes Regulations. Every effort was made to resist all such activities of the inhabitants of the province which might lead to the demand for the introduction of reforms and representative government bringing NWFP at par with the other provinces of British India.

The NWFP was an overwhelming Muslim-majority province with 93 per cent of Muslim population. The Pashtoons were the dominant community in the province. The 'specificity of the Pashtoon identity, with its combination of religion and nationalism'³ made it distinct from the rest of the South Asia. Since the British conquest (1849) till the partition of India (1947) the area remained a battle-ground between the Pashtoons and the Raj. The Pashtoons opposed the Raj at all levels. In the twentieth century, however, the armed resistance gave way to unarmed struggle, in large part, due to the inspiration and leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the founder of the Khudai Khidmatgar

* Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, "Jinnah's Frontier Visits (1936 – 1945) and their Impact on the Provincial Politics of the N.W.F.P., *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi: Bait al- Hikmah, vol. L, Nos. 1&2, January-June 200), pp. 73-94.

movement. The inhabitants of the province resented the official treatment and demanded constitutional, social and political reforms.

Indeed, the local inhabitants, imbued with their ethnic particularism, always regarded the Raj as a curse. Their immediate and main concern was to get rid of British imperialism at any cost. Interestingly, during the freedom movement they initially sided with the Congress rather than giving support to their co-religionists in the All-India Muslim League. Hence the League's failure to get a stronghold in the NWFP till 1945. Various factors contributed to it. Being an overwhelming Muslim majority province there was no fear of 'Islam in danger' in the Frontier. The Frontier inhabitants always regarded the Hindus as merely the moneylenders and shopkeepers. Therefore, there was no threat of Hindu domination as it prevailed in Central and Northern India. The Khudai Khidmatgars, an indigenous socio-political reform movement with its emphasis on Pashtoon nationalism, enjoyed the majority support. Abdul Ghaffar Khan its leader, gained popularity for his anti-imperialist stand. He approached the masses directly and urged them to resist imperialism and its supporters, the big Khans, Khan Bahadurs, Nawabs and Arbabs. He succeeded in getting an enthusiastic response and a large number of inhabitants of the province flocked into the Khudai Khidmatgar organization.

As mentioned earlier, the local inhabitants initially gave a cool response to the ideology and party programme of AIML. This was the only Muslim majority province, which had no League organization. The central leaders of the AIML, therefore, felt the urge and the necessity of introducing and popularizing its programme in the province. They tried to establish some contacts with the local Muslims, and urged them to establish a branch of the AIML but remained unsuccessful for a long time. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the League President, however, was able to establish contacts and visited the NWFP twice before partition. On both occasions he was preoccupied with the elections.

Jinnah undertook his first visit in October 1936. He stayed there for a week persuading the local Muslims to join and strengthen the League organisation in the province. How far did he succeed in his mission? This is a bit controversial. However, his second visit in 1945 was a successful one. It provided a boost to

the League election campaign and eventually resulted in the Muslim League winning a reasonable number of seats in the provincial legislature. Though details of Jinnah's Frontier visits are available, nothing has been written about their impact on the local politics. An attempt is, therefore, being made here to evaluate and analyse Jinnah's two Frontier visits and their impact on the provincial politics of the NWFP.

Jinnah's First Visit to the NWFP (October 1936)

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, elections to the provincial assemblies were announced for winter 1936-1937. Like many other political parties, the Muslim League decided to contest the elections. At its twenty-fourth annual session at Bombay, on April 12, 1936, Jinnah, was empowered to organise the League at an all-India level and to constitute election boards both at the provincial and central levels.⁴ The main task before Jinnah was to organise the scattered Muslim political opinion on one platform. He started from the Punjab, one of the Muslim majority provinces of British India. Unionists, a cross communal political organisation then dominated the Punjab politics. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Sir Sikandar Hayat, prominent Muslim politicians of the province, were opposed to the Muslim League and were trying their utmost to block its entry into the province. Jinnah had already invited Sir Fazl-i-Hussain to preside over the League session. 'At this moment', he wrote to Fazl-i-Hussain, 'no one can give a better lead to the Mussalmans of India than yourself... we want a man of your calibre and experience, and nobody can well, at this critical moment, as far as I can see, perform that duty and render service to the community as you would be able to'. Jinnah went to such an extent in appeasing Fazl-i-Hussain that he added that the refusal 'will be the greatest misfortune and a terrible disappointment' to him personally'.⁵ But Jinnah, even then received a negative reply from the Punjab leader who reportedly advised him to 'keep his finger out of the Punjab pie'.⁶

Fazl-i-Hussain criticised Jinnah for establishing a Muslim League Parliamentary Board and regarded it as a 'wrong move, detrimental to Indian Muslim's interests'. He believed that Jinnah 'has done seemingly nothing except talk and talk and talk'.

Apparently he respected his motives and questioned his sincerity and thought that the scheme was 'purely a paper one'.⁷ However, in spite of the rebuff, Jinnah was not disappointed and he remained firm on reviving a dead horse to reach the winning post in the forthcoming elections.

Jinnah had been in contact with some NWFP people since the early 1920s. He knew Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum who represented the NWFP in the central legislature. He had supported Sahibzada in demanding the introduction of constitutional reforms in the Frontier Province, so that it was at par with other governors' provinces of British India.⁸ Jinnah informed Sir Abdul Qaiyum of his intentions to visit the NWFP in connection with the forthcoming election campaign and asked his help in this regard. Sir Abdul Qaiyum, while appreciating Jinnah's intended Frontier visit, informed him that being in government service, he could not send him the formal invitation. However, he would introduce him to the Peshawar-based Muslim Independent Party's (MIP) workers. Sir Sahibzada also offered his residence for Jinnah's stay at Peshawar which Jinnah accepted. Sir Sahibzada immediately approached the local workers of the MIP including Lal Badshah, Pir Bakhsh and Khuda Bakhsh and informed them of Jinnah's desire to visit the NWFP with a view to forming a Muslim League Election Board.⁹ After getting a positive response from Abdul Qaiyum, Jinnah next contacted Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, a former Khilafat volunteer, whom he knew since the latter's stay in Bombay. He asked Yusufi to provide him the details regarding the latest political situation in the NWFP as he was 'seriously thinking of coming' to the province.¹⁰ He also asked Pir Bakhsh, Abdul Ghafoor, Khuda Bakhsh and few others to send him detailed accounts of the prevailing situation in the province as he 'is most anxious to come to Peshawar and form a Muslim League Election Board.'¹¹

Pir Bakhsh informed Jinnah frankly that the NWFP had not so far been able to respond positively to his request regarding the formation of the Muslim League Election Board. Nevertheless, he invited Jinnah to visit Peshawar on behalf of the MIP.¹² The MIP sent Abdul Aziz Khushbash, one of its workers, to hand over the formal invitation to Jinnah, who was then staying at Faletti's Hotel in Lahore.¹³ The local MIP workers contacted other party leaders

and informed them of Jinnah's Frontier visit¹⁴. A reception committee was also formed to welcome, organise and facilitate Jinnah's stay at Peshawar. Prominent members of the reception committee were Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi, Karam Elahi, Mian Rahim Bakhsh, Hafiz Fazal Mahmood, Abdul Aziz Khushbash, Shad Mohammad and Lala Agha Mohammad.¹⁵

The situation in the Frontier had been somewhat fluid for a couple of years. The urban Peshawaris were busy in factional feuds. Abdul Rab Nishtar and Pir Bakhsh, both lawyers, had developed hostility towards each other. In the absence of organised party politics aspiration to leadership had turned to rivalry. When Nishtar got wind of the intended visit of Jinnah on the invitation of his rivals, he reckoned it would benefit the election campaign of Pir Bakhsh. Therefore, he immediately sent Yusufi as his envoy to Lahore to dissuade Jinnah from undertaking his mission. Jinnah was informed of the rivalries of the urban Peshawaris and was advised to postpone the visit until another appropriate time. He was warned of a disastrous outcome, i.e. his visit would be a complete failure as both the factions were interested in their own benefits rather than paying any heed to what Jinnah had to say.¹⁶ Jinnah, however, refused to postpone his visit and told them that since he had accepted the invitation, he would undertake the visit as per arranged.¹⁷ Nishtar tried once again to dissuade Jinnah from visiting Peshawar. He himself went to Nowshera, met Jinnah at the railway station and tried to prevail upon his earlier views.¹⁸ But Jinnah remained firm and told Nishtar that his NWFP visit was part of the AIML election strategy in that province and that he had no interest in the feuds of the local Peshawaris.

Meanwhile, some political circles in the NWFP were looking forward to Jinnah's Frontier visit with 'great excitement and interest'.¹⁹ On the other hand the Congress leaders became apprehensive. On October 9, at a meeting of the local Congress workers, it was decided to meet Jinnah and request him not to deliver speeches against the Frontier Congress as it would certainly lead to an ugly situation.²⁰ Despite various restrictive and punitive measures against the Khudai Khidmatgars and Congress workers during 1930-1936, the Frontier nationalists were still dominant in the NWFP.

Jinnah arrived at the Peshawar city railway station early in the morning on October 18, 1936, and was greeted by a sizeable number of Peshawaris. The prominent among those present on the occasion were Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, Pir Bakhsh, Agha Lal Badshah, Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi, Sajjad Ahmad Jan, Malik Khuda Bhakhsh, Malik Saida Khan Shinwari and Malik Shad Mohammad. After the welcome ceremonies at the station were over, Jinnah was taken in a procession through a planned route which finally came to an end at Sahibzada's residence at Yakatut, which had been furnished for Jinnah's stay at Peshawar.²¹ In the evening, Jinnah met the local Congress delegation led by Dr. C. C. Ghosh. Other members of the delegation were Dr. Khan Sahib (Member, Central Legislative Assembly), Abdul Qaiyum (Barrister) and Syed Qaim Shah (advocate). They had an hour long discussion with him.²² Not much details are available regarding the said meeting. Apart from the exchange of pleasantries, they asked Jinnah not to deliver speeches against the Khudai Khidmatgars as that would certainly result in creating a negative image of Jinnah in the Frontier, to which he agreed.

Next day, on October 19, Jinnah addressed a public meeting at Shahi Bagh attended by about 400 people. The participants of the meeting also included almost all the Hindu lawyers of the city. The meeting was presided over by Agha Lal Badshah, while Pir Bakhsh acted as the stage secretary. He also translated Jinnah's English speech into Urdu. Jinnah appreciated the struggle of the Frontier people in getting reforms for the NWFP, in order to bring it at par with other provinces of British India. He also informed them of his efforts in that connection. Elaborating on the details of his Frontier visit, he briefed the audience about the main purpose of his visit which was to introduce and popularise AIML in the NWFP. Jinnah gave details of his efforts to bring the two major communities, i.e. Muslims and Hindus, together on one platform. He said he was compelled to say good bye to his 'ideal' and instead to concentrate on the organization and mobilization of Muslim community alone to achieve their due rights. He insisted on the representative character of the AIML so that they would negotiate with other political organizations in an honourable way.²³

Jinnah also addressed the students of the Edwardes College, Peshawar. He advised the students to 'advance themselves politically and educationally'.²⁴ On October 20, Jinnah visited Islamia College, Peshawar. According to the CID reports, he made a 'stirring' speech at the Khyber Union. His emphasis remained on the unity of the Muslims. 'Today your province', said Jinnah, 'is in the grip of outside influences and internal divisions, and it is an irony of fate that those who opposed the progress and constitutional advance of your province are still able to exercise sufficient influence and to prevent the creation of solidarity of Mussalmans in your province.' Jinnah further added that 'Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty. You, my young friends, show the way by your own example, lead your province and go forward united on a single platform under one flag and to speak with one voice.'²⁵

During his stay at Peshawar, Jinnah visited Landi Kotal. Malik Saida Khan Shinwari was his host. This was a concession to Jinnah because previously no such kind of visits were permitted by the political authorities. To discourage the political activities in the tribal areas, even the entry of politicians was banned. Even Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not permitted to visit the tribal areas. A delegation of prominent tribal elders met Jinnah and apprised him of the unfair treatment of the British Indian government towards them. They lamented the attitude of the government, particularly the snatching away of the Khajuri Maidan from the Afridis after the Peshawar riots in 1930. Gandhi had been approached time and again, they informed Jinnah, in the same connection but he showed his inability to obtain the restoration of the territory to its legitimate owners. Jinnah was requested to raise his voice in their support at an all-India level to which he agreed.²⁶

On October 23, Jinnah held a private meeting with Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum, Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi, K. B. Kuli Khan and Abdur Rahim. They discussed the formation of the Muslim League in the NWFP.²⁷ On Jinnah's advice, a local branch of AIML was formed with Malik Khuda Bakhsh as President, Pir Bakhsh as General Secretary, and Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi, Lal Badshah, Rahim Bakhsh, Syed Ali Shah and Abdul Latif as members of the executive council.²⁸

Next day, on October 24, Jinnah left Peshawar by train for Lahore. He was seen off at the railway station by workers of the MIP and his newly formed League. According to the *Khyber Mail*, he was entirely satisfied with his NWFP visit and 'cherished strong hopes of a bright future'.²⁹ But according to Yusufi, Jinnah's mission to the NWFP was a complete failure.³⁰ Shad also held the same view.³¹ As is evident from the candidates' list, no member of AIML, not even the members of the provincial executive council, took part in the elections in the Frontier province. The main reason was the factional fighting among the local Muslim leaders, particularly the urban Muslim political leaders. As mentioned earlier, Nishtar and Pir Bakhsh were political rivals. When Nishtar failed in his manoeuvres to convince Jinnah to postpone his visit temporarily, he started a propaganda campaign not only against his rival, Pir Bakhsh, but also against Jinnah and the Muslim League. Pir Bakhsh, despite his being the formal host of Jinnah in the NWFP, paid very little attention to Jinnah and remained busy with his own electioneering. Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum did the same thing. He did not join the Muslim League and remained busy in organizing his own supporters for the forthcoming elections. Thus, it can be argued that Jinnah's first visit of the Frontier province was a complete fiasco as he failed even to get a single nomination from the entire province to contest the elections on the Muslim League ticket. For the time being, at least, the local issues were given priority over all-India issues, thus limiting the provincial elections to some indigenous parties and splinter groups except for the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Frontier Congress.

Jinnah's Second Visit (November 1945)

Jinnah's second visit from November 19 to November 27, 1945, was also undertaken in connection with the election campaign of the AIML. He was visiting the Frontier after about nine years. These years had witnessed a drastic change in the provincial politics. Under the new constitution of the Government of India Act, 1935, a people's representative government was formed in April 1937. Though the provincial Congress was the single majority party in the provincial legislature, responding to the policy of All India Congress Committee (AICC), it refused to

participate in the ministry-making process. In the absence of the Congress, Sir Sahibzada was invited to help the Frontier governor in the formation of ministry which he did readily. However, when the differences between the Congress and the government were resolved the way was cleared for Congress to form ministries even in those provinces where it had not secured a clear majority. In the NWFP, Dr. Khan Sahib, the elder brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was the leader of the Congress party in the assembly, moved a successful vote of no-confidence against Sir Sahibzada's ministry. Sir George Cunningham, the Governor NWFP, had no option but to invite Dr. Khan Sahib to form his ministry. On September 7, (1937) the Congress ministers took oath and remained in office till November 7, 1939, and resigned following the directive of their central organisation.

Initially, the League had failed in mobilising Muslim public opinion in its favour. During their term of office, Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry took various steps to curtail the privileges of nobility of the feudals, the majority of whom were big Khans and Nawabs.³² Alarmed by these punitive measures of the Congress ministry, the Khans flocked into the newly-organized NWFP Muslim League, which they had earlier regarded as an organization of a 'few un-influential people'.³³ 'The old-fashioned Khans', reported Cunningham, 'who had hardly heard the name of the League six months ago, now refer to it freely as an ordinary topic of conversation.'³⁴ Initially, they joined the Muslim League not because of sympathy with its ideology and party programme, i.e. to protect and safeguard the Muslim interest, which was an issue in the Muslim-minority provinces, but because this was only political platform which could protect them from the Congress onslaught in the NWFP.³⁵ Therefore, the presence of such a great number of Khans and other wealthy people in the League, frequently using their motor cars for travelling purposes, earned for the organization the title of the 'Motor League' and it was generally referred to as the 'drawing room organisation of some important Muslims'.³⁶ These Khans brought with them their core group of personal retainers and traditional followers which proved a real source of power to the Frontier Muslim League. This eventually resulted in providing the Muslim League an opportunity to contest, and,

surprisingly, win two out of the total five seats during the by-elections to the Frontier assembly.

With the outbreak of the War in 1939, the Frontier Congress ministry resigned on the directives of its central organisation. In the absence of any other strong pro-government political organization, Cunningham assumed full administrative and legislative powers. The Congress, once again, seemed to be on 'war path' with the government. This provided a chance to the AIML to popularise its ideology and party programme in those areas where it still lacked party support. Moreover, after the passage of the Lahore Resolution in March 1940, the political situation at the all-India level had changed dramatically. However, unlike other Muslim majority areas, the Pakistan demand did not get any enthusiastic support in the NWFP, at least for the time being.

During the War period an important feature of the British policy was to install as many non-Congress ministries in the provinces as possible. This way they wanted to show to the outside world that despite the non-co-operation of the Congress, the general public opinion in India was still on their side and enthusiastically supported the Allied war effort. As such, after hectic efforts, the League was able to instal a League ministry in the NWFP under Sardar Aurangzeb. Although he remained the League chief minister of the Frontier province for about two years, Aurangzeb's nepotism and misuse of official power gave a bad name to the League.³⁷ No wonder, the League in the NWFP was termed as an 'organization with sound principles in unworthy hands'.³⁸ 'In the Frontier', it was argued, 'the League has no Jinnah, no Khaliqzaman, no Ismail, no Fazlul Haq – in fact, not a single popular and capable leader at its back'. It was alleged that 'there are no primary Leaguers outside the town and every district League is a packed body, controlled by a coterie of people who have never seen a jail, except perhaps as nominated visitors and who have no love lost with the masses...'³⁹ Discussing the provincial League's weaknesses in the NWFP, 'a Leaguer', commented:

It is one of the fundamental weaknesses of the League in the Frontier that its organisation lacks mass workers who would

spread over the entire countryside, cultivate intimate contact with the masses and kindle a new fire in their hearts. Like an army which consists of all officers and no soldiers our organization at present has all leaders and no field workers. Another trouble is that some of our leaders are thoroughly disturbed by the masses for their past association by even though they might have really cast them off by now. But things being what they are, it is in the best interest of the Mussalmans that these gentlemen should voluntarily become backbenchers and hand over responsibility to the younger and more popular elements. Only in this way can sincere and devoted field workers be attracted to the League fold and public confidence in the League leadership created.⁴⁰

The year 1945 saw some significant changes in the political scenario at the all-India level. As the war situation improved and pressure from the Allies, particularly the USA increased, the British Indian government was compelled to look for the solution of the Indian political problem. As a gesture of goodwill, the detained members of the Congress were released. A conference was held at Simla from June 25 to which twenty-two delegates were invited including the presidents of the INC and AIML, the representatives of the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs and premiers and ex-premiers of the British Indian provinces.⁴¹ Differences between the Congress and the Muslim League started right at the start of the conference. The main issue was the composition of the Viceroy's Executive Council.⁴² The Congress rejected Jinnah's demand that the Muslim League should be accepted as the sole representative body of the Indian Muslims. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress president refuted Jinnah's claim and cited the examples of the NWFP, Bengal, the Punjab, and Assam which had non-League ministries. For its part, the Congress demanded complete independence for India while the Muslim League was unwilling to agree because it had no reference to Pakistan.⁴³ Jinnah would not agree to independence if it meant shelving the Pakistan issue for an indefinite period. It was akin to giving the Congress 'a clear road for their advance towards securing Hindu national independence for India'.⁴⁴ Thus, the deliberations at Simla ended in failure, marking a 'watershed' in Indian political history.

The NWFP intelligentsia, had been watching the events at Simla with caution. The outcome was not encouraging. However,

it provided a chance to the provincial Muslim League to portray itself as the sole champion of safeguarding and protecting Muslim rights on an all-India level. Mohammad Zaman, an advocate of Charsadda, appreciated Jinnah's 'immemorable stand' at Simla which he thought had 'opened the eyes of the Pathans of this Province' and had worked as a miracle and changed the political philosophy of the Pathans.⁴⁵ The *Khyber Mail* reported that over one thousand telegrams supporting Jinnah had been sent to Simla from the NWFP.⁴⁶ Cunningham also confirmed it and reported that since the failure of talks at Simla, the well-educated Muslims in the NWFP were becoming anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim League.⁴⁷ He further added that

I find that the failure of the Simla has made people think and talk more about the Pakistan issue. What I heard tends to confirm my earlier impression that not many people here believe in Pakistan in the sense of dismemberment from the rest of India ... and one went so far as to say that it is time that the young Muslim element took the matter into their hands and defined what they really believe is the essence of Pakistan - safeguarding of Muslim interests at the Centre, and no complete severance.⁴⁸

Immediately after the failure of the talks at Simla, a significant number of 'political heavy-weights' in the NWFP joined the Muslim League. The most prominent amongst the new entrants was Amin al-Hasanat, the Pir of Manki Sharif, who joined the League with a large number of disciples. A number of prominent Congress Muslims also joined the League. They included Abdul Qaiyum (former deputy leader of the Congress in the central assembly), Arbab Abdul Ghafoor (former Congress MLA), Ghulam Mohammad Khan Lundkharh (ex-president of the Frontier provincial Congress committee), Rab Nawaz Khan (one time *salar* of the Khudai Khidmatgars) and Mohammad Abbas Khan (former industries minister in the first Congress ministry).⁴⁹ These new entrants brought a large following, their experience, organisational skill, and some future strategy to combat the Congress and work for the achievement of Pakistan.

In July 1945, the Labour Party won the general elections in Britain and a new government under Clement Attlee was brought into power. One of its priorities regarding India was to solve the

Indian problem without any further delay. It announced elections to the central and provincial legislatures⁵⁰ with a view to ushering in a democratic government and, eventually, Indian independence. Like other political organizations of the country, the AIML also decided to contest the elections for two main reasons: first, to approach the voters and ask them to cast their votes for Islam and Pakistan, and secondly, to prove that the Muslim League was the only representative organization of Muslims of India.⁵¹

To give a boost to the League electioneering campaign, Jinnah decided to visit the NWFP a second time. He arrived at Peshawar by air from Delhi on the morning of November 19, 1945 and was greeted by the local Leaguers at the Peshawar airport.⁵² The arrangements for Jinnah's stay were made at K. B. Mohammad Hassan Khan's house. Immediately on his arrival, Jinnah convened a meeting of the Leaguers attended by almost all the prominent leaders including Bakht Jamal, Nishtar, Qaiyum, Taj Ali Khan, Pir of Manki, Sardar Aurangzeb and Samin Jan.⁵³ On November 20, Jinnah was taken round the city in a procession through Hashtnagari, Shadi Pir, Karimpura, Chowk Yadgar, Reshamgaran, and Qissa Khwani. The procession terminated some two hours later outside the Kabuli Gate near Islamia Club. According to authentic reports, the number of the participants swelled from time to time and reached to a maximum of about 15,000 people.⁵⁴

The same evening, Jinnah addressed a Muslim League Conference, held at Shahi Bagh, Peshawar. In view of the 'tug of war' between Nishtar and Qaiyum as to who should preside, it was decided that Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan (MLA Central) would be offered the chair. Other prominent participants of the conference from outside the Frontier were Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Nawab of Mamdot and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din.⁵⁵

Jinnah, in his speech, reminded the audience (between 30,000 and 50,000) that he was visiting the Frontier after a long time. When he had come to Peshawar in 1936, he addressed a meeting at the same place where no more than two hundred people attended. But now he found a lot of difference between 1936 and 1945. 'Today millions are behind the League and everybody knows that the League is the representative organisation of the Muslims'. Jinnah added that both the Hindus and the British were

their enemies and that they had to fight with them for their rights. He warned the Muslims of the '*chal*' (deception) and '*jal*' (trap) of the Hindus. He urged them to vote for the League candidates. 'The whole world is watching these elections', he reminded the audience. If the League was defeated, then Muslims in India would be reduced to the condition of 'untouchables' and Islam in India would be completely destroyed.⁵⁶ Jinnah told them that he was the worst Muslim in Hindu eyes. His only fault was that he wanted to bring the Muslims under one flag, on one platform and for one goal. If the Hindus wanted independence, Jinnah remarked, the Muslims wanted it a thousand times more but if the Hindus wanted to remain slaves of the British and rule over the Muslims, they (the Muslim) would not become double slaves. The recent elections, he declared, was 'a first step towards the achievement of Pakistan'.⁵⁷

On November 24, Jinnah visited Manki Sharif and Mardan. He was already in contact with the Pir of Manki Sharif.⁵⁸ He was greeted by the Pir Sahib and profusely garlanded. In response to Pir of Manki's welcome address, Jinnah appreciated the support of ulama and *masha'ikh* for achieving a separate homeland for the Muslims. He reiterated his earlier appeal for giving votes to the official League candidates.⁵⁹ On his arrival at Mardan, Jinnah was taken in a procession through the main bazaar to the Municipal Park where he advised the audience to vote for the League's official candidates even if they felt uncomfortable with certain individuals. The next day, Jinnah attended a conference of the Sarhad Muslim Students' Federation held at Islamia College, Peshawar. Shaikh Taimur, the principal of the College, welcomed the distinguished guests. He lauded the services which Jinnah had rendered to the Muslim community.⁶⁰ In reply, Jinnah made an 'inspiring' speech, elaborating on the political situation in India, particularly the Muslim League and its Pakistan scheme. He remarked:

Today, out of that crowd of hundred million of humans, we have no(w) consolidated a quarter and created a nation in this land. The Muslims are not a minority, they are a nation. If you follow them [Congress] you are their brethren and if you don't you are called only a minority and a minority cannot possibly overrule the majority, who are only Hindus. Well: a nation cannot live in the air, it must have its territory. When we

declared our goal in 1940, that the nation must have a territory and by the grace of God, we are in overwhelming majority in six Provinces, viz., Frontier, Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam. We declared that we want to live in our provinces according to our Islamic ideals. And now the Muslim League which is the sole authoritative body of the Muslims has achieved this much, that we are under one banner, on one platform, and with a definite goal of 'Pakistan'. Can any honest man contradict me? Today the voice of Muslim League rings not only in India but throughout the world. Today in every paper you read or any radio that you hear, you will find that every one of them speaks of the Muslim League either supporting its cause or abusing it, somehow or the other. Well, a worthless person is never abused....What is Pakistan? Pakistan means that we do not wish to continue to remain slaves, we want to be free. At the same time we do not want to change masters, and from the British slavery we are not going to accept the "Hindu Raj" and accept slavery of the Raj.⁶¹

Speaking on the importance of the elections, Jinnah noted:

These elections have [a] special importance. The Congress have got press, money and resources and, of course, they are throwing money, which comes from black market and is being used in the black market among the Mussalmans... A great deal of false propaganda is being carried out in the world, especially in America and in England, because they have got unlimited finances and agents. Therefore the public of the world get confused. If you win, you will make them believe that you want 'Pakistan' and if not, you would be helping that false propaganda of the Congress'.⁶²

On November 26, Jinnah addressed a gathering of the Muslim students at the Edwardes College, Peshawar. Jinnah made a 'short' speech emphasizing the need for Pakistan. Pakistan, he explained, 'means the western and eastern zones of this subcontinent, where the Muslims are in over-whelming majority. It is there where the Muslims want to live according to their own customs, laws and religion.'⁶³ He made it clear that the Muslims were not going to be fooled any more. They had made up their minds definitely that they 'will fight for Pakistan' till a single Muslim was alive in India.⁶⁴

On November 27, Jinnah left Peshawar for Delhi by plane. He was seen off by prominent Leaguers. Jinnah gave the following 'parting message' to the Frontier people:

Every vote in favour of Muslim League candidate means Pakistan. Every vote against Muslim League candidate means Hindu Raj. That is the only choice and only issue before us. I am sure that the Mussalmans of Frontier will rise to the occasion and will play their magnificent part as spearhead of Pakistan.

I have now been over a week in the Frontier Province and I have seen many people, addressed thousands and had talks with hundreds and I am happy to say that solid body of Mussalmans belonging to all classes is united and now without doubt is wholeheartedly behind and with the Muslim League. The revolutionary change that has come over to this province is almost miraculous. I feel confident that if complete unity which I have witnessed is guided by our leaders here properly, we shall sweep polls in the Frontier Province. Victory is in our hands and it is for our leaders here to make it an accomplished fact. My message and appeal to every Mussalman of this province is that after the final decision of the Central Parliamentary Board regarding the selection of candidates, whatever his personal or individual opinion may be, he should support the official League candidate who has got ticket and cast every vote in his favour. This support and vote for him does not mean approval of some or disapproval of others. Discipline demands that you should vote for League candidates. Prestige and honour of the organisation to which we have the privilege to belong demand that we should support League candidates even though he may be a lamp post and above all for the sake of our cause we want to secure thumping verdict at this moment and prove to the world that the Mussalmans have definitely decided to achieve Pakistan.⁶⁵

Jinnah's Frontier visit, according to governor Cunningham, 'provided some fairly effective propaganda for the Muslim League', and further strengthened its position in the NWFP.⁶⁶ But it provided a boost to the League's election campaign, factionalism, feuds and personal rivalries among the leaders, particularly between Qaiyum and Nishtar, marred the election results which came as a shock to Jinnah and the League central leadership. The League candidates succeeded in only 17 out of a total of 50 constituencies. Yet, Jinnah's Frontier visit had brought

some changes in the League organization in the NWFP. After Jinnah's visit, a sizeable number of the '*ulama* and *masha'ikh*, thanks to the efforts mainly of the Pir of Manki Sharif, had decided to support Pakistan. They provided moral and material strength to Muslim League during its civil disobedience movement (December 1946-June 1947) against Khan Sahib's ministry. Particularly the *murids* of the Pir of Manki Sharif remained in the forefront of each agitation aimed at dislodging Dr. Khan Sahib. After November 1945, various classes of the Frontier society began to support the Pakistan movement. They included students, women and some Muslim government officials. Jinnah's contacts with the tribesmen enabled the provincial League to get additional support for Pakistan few months prior to partition. Moreover, after Jinnah's visit the most remarkable feature of the provincial politics was that the Frontier Muslim League was converted into a party of the masses. It was no more a 'drawing room' organization of some prominent Muslims, an image of the provincial League that has persisted since its inception in the 1930s. Now it was an organization that had grassroot support of Muslim intelligentsia and common man alike. The influence of the big Khans, *Jagirdars* and title-holders was curtailed. This eventually resulted in Muslims of the province taking interest in the ideology and party programme of the AIML and eventually a verdict in favour of joining Pakistan.

Notes and References

1. J. Coatman, 'The NWFP and the trans-border Country Under the New Constitution', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. xviii, (July 1931), part. III, p. 335.
2. Speaking on the occasion of a *Durbar* held on 28 February 1921, at Peshawar, Sir Hamilton Grant, the NWFP Chief Commissioner said: 'You are aware that I have taken steps to discourage political meetings and political propaganda. I have not done so because I want to stop the legitimate criticism of Government or any form of constitutional representation, but because here in the Frontier circumstances are peculiar. Every meeting that is held here that passes inflammatory resolutions is reported in Afghanistan, and gives the Afghans a false idea of our real position, and encourages them to intrigue with our tribes –

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- who, in their turn, exercise their lawlessness believing that the situation is much worse than it is'. Speech at the Peshawar *Durbar*, February 28, 1921, Hamilton Grant Collection, Mss. EUR. D. 660/26 (b), IOLR.
3. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'Redefining Constitutional Politics: the N-WFP and the Raj, 1901-1932', *The Calcutta Historical Journal*, vols. Xxi and xxii, (1999-2000), p. 116.
 4. Resolutions passed at the Bombay session of All-India Muslim League, 11 April 1936, *Indian Annual Register*, 1936, I, Calcutta, 1936, p. 295.
 5. Jinnah to Fazl-i-Hussain, 5 January 1936, Fazl-i-Hussain Collection, Mss. EUR. E. 352/17, India Office Library and Record (hence IOLR), pp. 23-24.
 6. Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman, Jinnah, The Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 21.
 7. Fazl-i-Hussain to Sikandar Hayat, 6 May 1936, Mss. EUR. E. 352/16, IOLR, pp. 43-44.
 8. Speaking in support of Sir Sahibzada's resolution demanding reforms for the NWFP, Jinnah remarked: 'Are we going to budge from our principle that we shall attain freedom for India? And are we not going to treat this question of the North-West Frontier Province in the same spirit as we would treat the question of any other Province....' Elaborating further, Jinnah said: 'Is there one principle for the people in India and another for the people in the North-West Frontier Province under your heels and under your subjection...it is likely to make the Mohammadan feel..., that it is the Hindu opposition based on the sole plea of Hindu-Muslim strife in that province that is coming in the way of their getting any advance, and the Hindus will be encouraged to feel that, as they are going on with this agitation and passing resolutions after resolutions, the government are changing their attitude and are afraid and will not grant any reforms to the Frontier. This is an impression, which is fraught with danger. I am only pointing out that if you do not wish to take any step on the majority report, if you do not wish to do anything say so without delay. If, on the other hand, you wish to do something, then I appeal to you most earnestly to make your declaration without delay.' M.A. Jinnah [Bombay City: Mohammadan Urban], *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 18 March 1926, (Delhi, 1926), pp. 2740-2745. For further details see Shah, 'Redefining Constitutional Politics', pp.115-137.
 9. Malik Shad Mohammad, 'Deed Wa Shuneed-II' (Unpublished Memoirs), p. 77.
 10. M. A. Jinnah to Allah Bux (Bakhsh) Yusufi, 12 September 1936, Yusufi Collection, Karachi.
 11. CID Report, 15 September 1936, File No. 745, Bundle No. 46, Special Branch Peshawar, Provincial Archives Peshawar, p. 33.
 12. CID Report, 28 September 1936, F. No 745, Bundle No. 46, SBP, p. 39.

13. Mohammad Anwar Khan, 'Quaid-i-Azam's First Visit to Peshawar in 1936', in A. H. Dani (ed), *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Islamabad, 1979), p. 319.
14. They included Malik Khuda Bakhsh, Mohammad Ramazan Khan and Abdur Rahim Kundi from Dera Ismail Khan; Mohammad Jan Barrister and Habibullah Khan from Bannu; Khair Mohammad Jalali and Ghulam Haider Hamdam from Kohat; Malik Amir Alam Awan, Hakim Abdul Salam, Sajjad Ahmad Jan and Abdul Qaiyum Swati From Hazara.
15. Shad, 'Deed wa Shuneed', pp. 78-79.
16. Abdur Rab Nishtar, *Azadi Ki Kahani Meri Zubani* (Karachi, 1977), p. 66; and, S. M. H. Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar: A Political Biography*, (Lahore, 1985), p. 73.
17. Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *Siyasiyat-i-Sarhad ke Irtaqai Manazil* (Karachi, 1972), p. 72.
18. According to Nishtar 'I was fully aware that Mr. Jinnah would not be able to unite the Muslim leaders of the province at this time because of their vested interests and mutual rivalries. In such conditions, it would be difficult to organize the Muslim League in the N-WFP on the sound footings. So I felt it my duty to inform Mr. Jinnah about the factual position of the province. I met him at Nowshera and made him aware of the developments which were taking place in the province at that time'. S. M. H. Shah, *Abdur Rab Nishtar*, p. 74.
19. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Karachi, 1999; 2000), p. 97.
20. *Ibid.*
21. The procession went through Hashtnagari, Chowk Shadi Pir, Jhandha Bazar, Karimpura Bazar, Ghanta Ghar, Chowk Yadgar, Phulgaran and finally terminated at Yakatut. These and other details are taken from Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in N-WFP* (Karachi, 1992), p. 27; Anwar, 'First Visit', pp. 316-317; and, Shad, 'Deed wa Shuneed', pp. 83-87.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.
24. Anwar, 'First Visit', p. 318.
25. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, P. 98.
26. Shad, 'Deed wa Shuneed', pp. 91-92.
27. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 98.
28. CID Diaries, F. No. 30, SBP, p. 382.
29. *Khyber Mail*, Peshawar, 25 October 1936.
30. Yusufi, *Siyasiyat-i-Sarhad*, pp. 72-73.
31. Shad, 'Deed wa Shuneed', p. 96.
32. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 62-81.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

34. Governor's Report, 23 October 193, quoted in Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 103.
35. Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi, 1988), p.10.
36. Zia-ud-Din, *The Memoirs of a Pakistani Diplomat* (Peshawar, 1976), p. 39.
37. For details, see Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 139-148; and Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, pp. 64-71.
38. 'A Frontiersman Diary', *Khyber Mail*, Peshawar, 20 July 1941.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Khyber Mail*, Peshawar, 25 September 1942.
41. Broadcast speech of Lord Wavell, Delhi, 14 June 1945, in Mansergh, N (ed.) *The Transfer of Power*, V London, 1975, pp. 1122-1124; and IAR, 1945, I, pp. 235-50.
42. Wavell to Amery, 25 June 1945, *Transfer of Power*, V, pp. 1151-1157.
43. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 149.
44. Statement of Jinnah at a press conference, 14 July 1945, Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, (ed) *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, II, (Lahore, 1968), p. 186.
45. Mohammad Zaman (advocate) to Quaid-i-Azam, 15 August 1945, NWFP, 1:35, Shams al Hasan Collection, Karachi.
46. *Khyber Mail*, Peshawar, 13 July 1945.
47. Cunningham to Wavell, 9 October 1945, *Transfer of Power*, VI (London, 1976), pp. 318-319.
48. Cunningham as quoted in Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, p. 82.
49. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 149-150. For more details see Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, 'The Making of Pakistan and the N-WFP, Quaid-i-Azam – Pir of Manki Sharif Unpublished Correspondence, November 1945-November 1946', *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, vol. 2, (July-December 1986), p. 42.
50. Broadcast of Clement Attlee, 19 September 1945, *Indian Annual Register*, 1945, II, p. 150.
51. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, *Speeches and Writings*, II, pp. 390-394 and 396-397.
52. CID Diary, 20 November 1945, F. No. 754, SBP, p. 225.
53. Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, p. 84.
54. Muslim League Conference, Peshawar, 20 November 1945, CID Report, F. No. 753, SBP, pp. 355-357.
55. Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, p. 84. Comrade Sajjad Zaheer, who attended the conference as a journalist gave these details about the said conference:
A large number of Pirs, still very influential in the frontier, were also there. Among the Frontier League leaders Abdul Qaiyum and Abdur Rab, ex-minister, seemed to me to be in the forefront of the whole show. Aurangzeb Khan (ex-League Premier) inspite of his huge size was tucked

away in some corner. Not once did he come to the mike. The League Parliamentary Board has not even given him a ticket for an assembly seat. Muslim merchants, military contractors, lawyers and barristers, rich shopkeepers and many Khan Bahadurs were also sitting on the dais. All who paid Rs. 50 could go up there. There were four or five hundred such 'distinguished' people.

What of the thousands below? Here there were the common Muslim poor of Peshawar and four to five thousands like them who had come from the country-side. Here also sat almost the entire young intelligentsia of the N.W. Frontier Province; all Muslim students from Peshawar colleges and schools who are now solidly with the League.

It is they who were loudest in their acclamations of 'Pakistan Zindabad'. It is they and the ex-Red Shirts, now in the Muslim League National Guards, who have been reared in Khudai Khidmatgar traditions of patriotism, who shouted frequently, 'Hakumat-e-Bartaniya Barbad' (Down with British rule) – a slogan not heard anywhere else in Muslim meetings.

Comrade Sajjad Zaheer, 'At Frontier (Peshawar) League Conference Among Pathan Humanity: What I Saw and Heard', *Khyber Mail*, Peshawar, 14 December 1945.

56. *Khyber Mail*, Peshawar, 14 December 1945.

57. CID diary, 21 November 1945, F. No. 753, SBP, pp. 349-351.

58. Appreciating Pir of Manki Sharif's decision of joining the Muslim League and supporting the League candidates in the forthcoming elections, Jinnah wrote:

I need hardly say that I am most grateful to you for the powerful support which you have been pleased to give to the All India Muslim League which stands for the establishment of Pakistan and all that Islam stands for, and it is the duty of every Mussalman at this critical juncture to help our National Organization the Muslim League and support the official League candidates and get the verdict of Muslim India for Pakistan. The eye of the world is on Muslim India and the Frontier will be the spearhead of Pakistan. I note that your organisation is of those whose forefathers who have served the cause of Islam with blood and money and that you have rightly come forward at this critical juncture to the support of Muslim India and the Muslim League, which is the only authoritative and representative Organisation of the Muslims. I am all the more encouraged to note your expression of sentiments that you wish to work for the Millet without the slightest consideration for any worldly gain, thank God nor you are in need of it. Therefore work and serve the cause which is a matter of life and death for 100 million of Muslims of India and the cause of Islam and the Millet...

Jinnah to Pir of Manki Sharif, 18 November 1945, Pir of Manki Collection, Nowshera.

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59. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Pir of Manki Sharif Syed Amin al Hasanat aur Unki Siyasi Jaddo Jehad* (Islamabad, 1990), pp. 30-33.
 60. CID daily diary, 26 November 1945, F. No. 753, SBP, pp. 375-377.
 61. *Ibid.*, pp. 377-383.
 62. *Ibid.*
 63. CID special diary, dated 26 November 1945, F. No. 753, SBP, pp. 385-387.
 64. *Ibid.*
 65. *Khyber Mail*, Peshawar, 30 November 1945.
 66. Governor's Report No. 19, 8 December 1945, Mss EUR. D. 670/16.

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