

The Emergence of All-India Muslim League in the North-West Frontier Province and Balochistan

Azmatullah*

Abstract

All-India Muslim League (AIML) as the representative body of the Muslims, in opposition to the Hindu representative body of Indian National Congress (INC) during the British colonial period, had successfully united the Muslims of India on a single political platform and had tried to safeguard the political interests and rights of the Muslims. However, in the initial phases, AIML paid a little attention to the political developments in the Muslim majority provinces of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Balochistan that resulted into the inclination of the provincial nationalist leaders towards the INC. This paper highlights the League's struggle not only against the British domination but also against the Hindus. The colonial masters of India, the British, introduced two different political cultures in NWFP and Balochistan like egalitarian system in the former was kept but the later was left with Khans and Sardars. This paper examines the success of the League's penetration and popularity that finally enabled it to claim as being the only representative body of the Muslims of India to establish a separate homeland.

* Ph.D. Scholar, Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Introduction

The AIML emerged on the political scene of the United India amidst a sheer political necessity felt by the Muslims. Against the partition of Bengal in 1905, the Hindus started agitations. Also, success of Simla Deputation in 1906 motivated the Muslims to have a separate political platform, from where the Muslims can defend and safeguard their political rights and interests that culminated in the foundation of the AIML on December 30, 1906 in the annual session of the All-India Educational Conference.¹ Gradually, the AIML became popular. It also got penetration in the British colonial Muslim populated units of NWFP and Balochistan that later on constituted parts of Pakistan. These two areas also actively participated in the freedom struggle. The movement for independence was initially launched by the local leaders but later on they sought the help of the larger Indian nationalist organizations, such as the AIML and the INC.

The NWFP and Balochistan shared common experiences of invaders from their North-Western borders. With the advent of the British, both these areas were given great weightage as compared to other parts of the sub-continent. Due to their strategic location, these two areas always remained significant for the invaders. In the NWFP, the British faced resistance of the religious and political leaders against the occupation of their motherland and experienced a tough time in the consolidation of their rule.² In the beginning of the British rule, Balochistan presented a gloomy picture as its social and economic infrastructure represented a rural society where there was hardly any urban settlement. For instance, in Kalat State only the royal

1 Sikandar Hayat, *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement* (Islamabad: NIHCR, QAU, 1998), 8-11.

2 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Muslim League and the Introduction of the Constitutional Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province," *Quarterly Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi), LV, no. 1, 2 (January-June 2007): 141.

residence demonstrated the symbol of status and power. It represented tribalism in every sphere of life.³

The British policy makers after capturing the reigns of government from the Sikhs and after weakening the influence of the Afghan rulers in the Pakhtun-dominated areas divided them into three different administrative units; Afghanistan, NWFP and British Balochistan. The latter two units were further divided into 'tribal areas' and 'settled areas', which later on resulted in the division of locals into three different political nationalities that remained indifferent to each other and evolved into three distinct cultural patterns. The seventy years Muhammadzais' rule in Afghanistan in addition to sixty-eight years of the British rule prevented these three administrative units to evolve a unified political culture.⁴

Political Culture in NWFP and the AIML

The dawn of the twentieth century unleashed new forces and techniques of dealing with a phenomenon. The traditional methods of warfare and armed resistance were replaced with new rational approaches. For example, in the settled districts of NWFP, a non-violent movement was launched against the British rule. Ninety three percent of the Muslim population of the province,⁵ though compared to other provinces, lacked modern education and politically less mobilized, demanded political representation. The lack of education in the province was not only due to the absence of modern educational institutions but also because of the opposition of different religious entities. In order to change this situation some people started popularizing the idea of modern education that stipulated and stimulated the people

3 Javed Haider Syed, "The British Advent in Balochistan," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* (Islamabad), XXVIII, no. 2 (July-December, 2007): 53.

4 A. Aziz Luni, *Afghans of the Passes: British Balochistan, 1879-1947*, Vol. III (Karachi: Fazlee Sons (Pvt.) Ltd., 2003), 350.

5 Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, (Islamabad: NIHCR, QAU, 2007), 10.

towards politics. The newspapers played a pivotal role in making the people politically conscious.⁶

The Frontier Muslim League was the first party to be established in NWFP in 1912. The party was initially a product of Pan-Islamic Movement and had links with Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and Maulana Shaukat Ali.⁷ The office bearers of Frontier Muslim League included Mian Abdul Aziz (President), Qazi Abdul Wali (Vice President), Sayed Ali Abbas Bokhari (General Secretary), Qazi Mir Ahmed (Joint Secretary) and Hakim Muhammad Amin (Treasurer).⁸ The president and vice president of the Frontier Muslim League, against the wishes of the British government also tried to establish contacts with Muslim leaders at the All-India level. Both of them attended the Agra Session of the AIML in 1913. The first formal contact between the Frontier and AIML took place in 1914, after Sayed Ali Abbas Bokhari's lengthy letter to Syed Wazir Hassan (General Secretary of AIML), about the working of the Frontier League. Bokhari also represented the Frontier League as a delegate to the AIML's Bombay session in 1915. He was extremely anti-British and observed every step of the government with suspicion. Even he considered Islamia College, Peshawar, as 'a nest producing loyalists'.⁹

The British government tried its best to block political awakening in the NWFP and did not introduce any reforms in the province. It put forward three main reasons for not granting the reforms, such as "the political relations in respect of adjoining tribal territory, lack of financial resources and diplomatic business with bordering Asiatic countries."¹⁰ The non-introduction of reforms upset the provincial

6 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah," 143-44.

7 Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), 20.

8 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah," 144.

9 Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.*, 20-21.

10 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah," 144.

intelligentsia, who found a solution to their problem in the political struggle.¹¹

The anti-Turkey feelings of the Europe increased the Frontier leaguers' hatred against the British. Bokhari was not only exiled several times from the province, but was also declared lunatic, who later on escaped to Afghanistan in 1917. The other organizers, too, were silenced, such as Qazi Abdul Wali Khan was jailed during the war period, Mian Abdul Aziz escaped to Bombay and Qazi Mir Ahmed abandoned politics for escaping imprisonment. Though, this organization disappeared, the seeds they sown, after a few years, manifested itself in another anti-British organization in the province – the Khilafat Movement (1920-1930) – which was inspired from the All India Khilafat Movement.¹²

Over the issue of reforms in NWFP, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was anxious. In order to remove the inferior tendencies from the minds of the people, Jinnah asked barrister Mian Abdul Aziz, a member of the committee for chalking out a scheme of reforms to protect the interests of the Indian Muslims. During this time Jinnah became prominent in the politics as a member of INC. Under Jinnah's influence, the League adopted self-rule but through constitutional means, as its final goal, and it was through his efforts that the famous Lughnow Pact in 1916 was signed. During the Khilafat Movement, Jinnah and AIML were pushed behind and the Frontier League disappeared, mainly because of the people's concern about the *Khilafat*.

Jinnah's opposition against the agitation by other Indian leaders created gulf between constitutional struggle and the religious minded Pakhtoons. After the failure of Khilafat Movement, Gandhi's Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements caused great miseries for the Muslims. During the Hijrat Movement, the people of NWFP were affected the most. After the failure of these movements, Jinnah started his efforts for organizing the

11 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah," 144.

12 Shah, Muslim League in N.W.F.P., 21-22.

Muslims under the banner of the League. In NWFP, the British depended on Khans and Nawabs, who served as their collaborators and in their presence the British perceived no threat to their policies. In Afghanistan, Amanullah Khan (1919-1929) was a great reformist who was perceived by the British as a threat to their policies in NWFP.¹³

In the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, NWFP was ignored. The Muslim intelligentsia became restless and pressed the government to introduce reforms in NWFP as other parts of India. The Hindus in the province opposed the introduction of reforms and emphasised on strengthening of power and authority of the executive. They sought official protection against the armed tribesmen and the re-amalgamation of the province with Punjab. This demand was due to their fear of losing the voice in the Muslim majority area and of strengthening their co-religionists in the Punjab. Another reason was that the separation deprived them of the reforms introduced in other parts of India. To pressurize the government, the minorities in NWFP looked towards the Hindus and Sikhs to support their cause. The issue of re-amalgamation with the passage of time faded away into oblivion, because the Hindus had realized that the rejoining of NWFP with Punjab will create the overwhelming majority of the Muslims. Realizing the persistent demand of the Frontier Muslims for reforms, the government appointed an inquiry committee under Sir Dennys Bray, the then Foreign Secretary of Government of India in April 1922. After the submission of the report in October 1922, differences occurred between the Muslims and Hindu members of the Committee. The three Europeans along with three Muslims recommended a legislative council for the province. The Committee suggested double seats for the minorities. Due to the communal frenzy, the government postponed its decision at that time but later on gave its verdict against the re-amalgamation in 1925.¹⁴

13 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah," 145-47.

14 Shah, North-West Frontier Province, 13-15.

Later on, the Muslims of the province approached their co-religionists for support. The AIML in its fifteenth session at Lahore held from May 24-25, 1924 stressed on the introduction of reforms in the province. In the sixteenth session and in the Aligarh Session, held consecutively from December 30-31, 1924 and December 30-31, 1925 the same demand was repeated. The official authority paid no attention to it.¹⁵ In 1926, during the business of the Central Legislative Assembly, a prominent Muslim League figure Sir Ali Imam asked every individual to help the people of NWFP in their struggle for constitutional reforms and warned the government about the difficulties.¹⁶

Sahibzada Abdul Qayum also presented the case of reforms before the Assembly and warned the government about the serious consequences, if it failed to give NWFP its just reforms. He asked the members to support him. In February 1926, another veteran, Syed Murtaza Bahadur of the AIML moved a resolution on the floor of the Assembly, demanding reforms for NWFP and protection of the minorities. Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan again spoke on the reforms controversy. On the second day of the Assembly debate, Jinnah fully supported the reforms in NWFP. While observing the unity of Hindus against the reforms, he showed great interest in the introduction of reforms in the province. In his famous Delhi-Muslim Proposals presented on March 20, 1927 he demanded the separation of Sindh from Bombay and the Introduction of reforms in NWFP and Balochistan.¹⁷

In the eighteenth session of the AIML, held in Delhi from December 29-31, 1926 Abdul Aziz spoke at length on the introduction of reforms in NWFP. L. K. Hyder criticised those people who spoke against it. Sir Abdur Rahim, Malik Barkat

15 Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.*, 12.

16 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah," 147-48.

17 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah," 149.

Ali and Mirza Ali Muhammad also stressed on the necessity of reforms in NWFP.¹⁸

Malik Barkat even started a campaign for the reforms in NWFP and in the Annual Calcutta Session of the League in December 1927. He again raised the issue. In another session of the League, held in the same year Sardar Aurangzeb Khan spoke against the inimical attitudes of the government and the Congress.¹⁹

In 1928, the British government sent a Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, in order to enquire into the working of the India Act of 1919 and give its recommendations for the future constitution of India. The Commission was boycotted throughout India, for having no native in it. The Commission visited Peshawar in November 1928 but its fate was no different from the other parts of India. Where ever the members of the Commission visited the province faced protests. Finally, the Commission recommended a Council with elected and nominated members in equal proportion. The AIML became divided into pro-Simon and anti-Simon groups under Sir Muhammad Shafi and Jinnah. At the Allahabad Session from December 29-30, 1930 the AIML passed a resolution in favour of the reforms in NWFP. As the Nehru Report was published in January 1929, the division in the League ended and Jinnah put forward his famous Fourteen Points by considering Nehru Report as against the wishes of the Muslims. He repeated in it, his demand for constitutional reforms in NWFP and Balochistan and the separation of Sindh from Bombay. During this time, Bacha Khan and other like-minded people founded Anjuman-i-Islah-al-Afaghina (Society for the Reformation of the Afghans) in April 1921, Zalmu Jirga (Youth League) in September 1929, and eventually the Khudai Khedmatgars (God's Servants) in November 1929. The sole purpose of these organizations was the political

18 Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.*, 12-13.

19 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah," 150.

awareness of the Pakhtoons.²⁰ In 1930, Bacha Khan as an influential figure in NWFP worked on the direction of his mentor, Gandhi, who launched a Civil Disobedience Movement that proved disastrous for the province because the government launched operations in the various regions.²¹

The League under Jinnah worked for the Muslim's rights through constitutional means and denounced Gandhi's call. It was equally opposed to the Hindu and the British domination. The government in the meantime softened its attitude towards NWFP and came up with the idea of legislative council, the fifty one percent of whose members were to be elected directly. At this juncture, INC took little interest in the reforms issue because during the first two decades it came under the influence of the communal-minded Hindus like Madan Mohan Malavia. In 1927, the relations improved somewhat when the Hindus like Bipon Chandra Pal supported the reforms in NWFP. The Round Table Conferences (RTCs) were held in London. The First and the Second Conferences were held in 1930 and 1931. In the first conference, Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan talked extensively about the reforms issue. A sub-committee was formed in the first RTC that recommended in principle, the status of a Governor's Province for NWFP and the introduction of the 1919 reforms there. The AIML was not happy with the outcome of RTCs because its demands were not met. Another committee for the classification of subjects was appointed under the chairmanship of Haig. The subject committee and the sub-committees' findings were brought for discussion in the second RTC and at this time a firm decision was reached to elevate NWFP to the status of Governor's Province and to introduce the 1919 reforms in it.²²

20 Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, "Redefining Constitutional Politics: The N-WFP and the Raj, 1901-32," *The Calcutta Historical Journal*, XXI and XXII (1999-2000): 115-37.

21 Himayatullah, "Muhammad Ali Jinnah," 151-53.

22 Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.*, 14-15.

In 1933, the Khyber Union London was founded by the Indian Muslim Students, chiefly comprising the Pakhtoon students. They demanded a separate Muslim State in India. They were shocked after meeting the Muslim leaders at the RTCs, as their demand for a separate Muslim federation was turned down. Despite all that they continued their efforts.²³

After the announcement of the elections for the central and provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act 1935, the AIML in its twenty fourth session at Bombay, decided to contest provincial elections. Jinnah was authorised to organize the central and provincial boards. He visited NWFP in order to popularize the League campaign. In Peshawar, he was met by people from all walks of life. In the elections, the main contesters were the Congress Party, Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party, Azad Party and the Independents. The polling took place from February 1 to 10, 1937. The Congress won 19 seats, the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party captured 7 seats and the Azad Party won two seats, while the remaining 22 seats went to independents. The Congress being the largest party could not win the absolute majority. The whole situation was in frenzy which proved advantageous for Sir Abdul Qayum Khan, who formed the United Nationalist Party inside the assembly. He with the help of Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party and the 'Independents' formed the government. Dr. Khan Sahib as the opposition leader from the Congress side, with the help of the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party, once his supporter and Hazara Democratic Party moved a No-Confidence Motion against Sir Abdul Qayum Ministry. The move was successful and Dr. Khan Sahib formed the Congress Ministry.²⁴

The 1937 saw the resurgence of Muslim League in NWFP. After its reorganisation in Abbottabad, its branches were also established in other parts of the province. The League members tried to popularize it. After the death of Sir

23 Shah, Muslim League in N.W.F.P., 22-23.

24 Shah, Muslim League in N.W.F.P., 29-33.

Abdul Qayum Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb acted as the undisputed leader of the Independent Party, who later on joined the League. In July 1938, the League held its meeting at Nowshehra. Subsequently in June 1938, the workers of Muslim League announced a League Week and in the spring 1938 had nominated four candidates for the by-elections. The year of 1939 was the year of League's consolidation in the Frontier. Next year the Frontier League sent volunteers and delegates to Lahore, in order to attend the historic event of the Lahore Resolution.²⁵

In November 1940, in order to popularize the League in N-WFP, the delegates from other parts visited the province and were warmly welcomed. During the war time, when the British declared India at war, the Congress Ministry under Dr. Khan Sahib moved a resolution against it in the assembly. When Dr. Khan Ministry resigned as a protest, the Governor, Sir George Cunningham assumed full power from 1939-1943 and prorogued the legislative assembly. During the war another development in the form of Cripps Mission took place. The world was hard pressing the British to introduce reforms in India. Thus, it sent Cripps Mission that created the possibility of separate states. Like its mother organization, the N-WFP League also denounced it. Along with AIML, INC also rejected the Cripps proposals. Thus, the Mission met with a failure. As soon as the Mission left for England, Gandhi started another Civil Disobedience Movement and called the British to Quit India. Throughout India, the congress leaders participated in it. In NWFP, the Khaksars, the Ahrars and the Muslim League, all have proclaimed their neutrality in the Quit India Movement.²⁶

In October 1943, Muslim League Ministry with Sadar Aurangzeb Khan as Chief Minister was formed in coalition with Akali. The Ministry took the office with the assurance that it will support the British in its war efforts. During his tenure in office, Sardar Aurangzed Khan came into conflict

25 Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.*, 50.

26 Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.*, 61-63.

with the organizational leaders, thus creating factionalism in the League.²⁷

As the war situation improved in Europe, the Americans renewed their pressure for the solution of the Indian problem. As a matter of good gesture, Lord Wavell convened an All Partied Conference at Simla in June 1945, and released all the Congress leaders, who were imprisoned during the Quit India Movement. In the deliberations, both Congress and League agreed on principle issues like the representation of the minorities, support for the war efforts and the reconstitution of the Executive Council at the end of the War. The differences were on the issue of Congress nomination of the Muslims to the Executive Council, who claimed to be the representative of all India. Jinnah complained that Congress should only nominate the Hindu members to the Council. The Simla Conference also met with failure. In the meantime Abdul Qayum Khan, a veteran Congressite in N-WFP joined Muslim League in August 1945.²⁸

Jinnah visited Peshawar for the second time after nine years on 19 November 1945 and remained there for a week. Jinnah addressed the Muslim League meeting, Muslim League Conference and paid visit to Manki Sharif and Mardan. Jinnah also attended the conference of the Sarhad Muslim Students' Federation at Islamia College Peshawar. The main focus of his speeches was the propagation of the League cause for Pakistan and the popularization of the League.²⁹

In the elections of 1945-46, the League emerged as All India Muslim Representative nationalist party and in N-WFP, it secured only 17 seats, while Congress won absolute majority by winning 30 out of 50 seats. The Congress formed the third Ministry with Dr. Khan Sahib as the Chief Minister. Cunningham was replaced with Sir Olaf Caroe as the new

27 Shah, Muslim League in N.W.F.P., 71.

28 Shah, Muslim League in N.W.F.P., 80-83.

29 Shah, North-West Frontier Province, 158-160.

Governor of the province. The League in its meeting had unanimously selected Abdul Qayum Khan as Opposition Leader and Nawab of Tank as Deputy Leader in the Provincial Assembly. Another development in the context of India was the sending of the Cabinet Mission in 1946. The Mission gave some long and short-term recommendations. The Congress rejected the Mission's proposal of decentralization of power as well as the provincial group secession contained in the Plan. The League initially accepted it because the provision of the necessary grouping contained inherently Pakistan, but later on it rejected the Plan on the ground that it did not clearly state about the partition. The Congress rejection was also due to the procedural question regarding NWFP and Assam.³⁰

In the due course of time Muslim League had in its Council's meeting in Bombay (27-29 July 1946) adopted an extra-constitutional means. It fixed 16 August as the Direct Action Day. As the Cabinet Mission returned to England, Lord Wavell as a result of the rejection of Muslim League of the Plan invited Congress to form the interim government. On 2 September the Congress formed the government. Nehru became the Vice President of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Frontier League resisted the installation of the Hindu Congress and its satellites at the Centre. The Frontier League started agitation in the province. Jinnah reorganized the Frontier League. On October 16, Nehru visited NWFP, but to his utter disappointment, he was booed in the province by the masses.³¹

In the year 1947, the opinions of the people shifted in favour of the League. The food scarcity in the province was blamed on the Congress Ministry. The government took some punitive actions against the trouble makers in the Province, from which the League benefited. The League acted in a way to provoke direct confrontation with Dr. Khan's Ministry. The League members had fully exploited

30 Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.*, 102-105.

31 Shah, *Muslim League in N.W.F.P.*, 121.

the issue of the conversion of the Sikh lady to their advantage. The Frontier League started a civil disobedience movement in the province, which was initially peaceful but later on turned violent on communal lines. Later on Olaf Caroe as Governor was replaced with R. M. M. Lockhart. After the partition Jinnah invited Cunningham to serve as Governor of NWFP for one year. Subsequently referendum was held in N-WFP and the Pakhtoons under the influence of the AIML's agenda voted in favour of Pakistan, despite of the fact that the province was under the influence of Bacha Khan. When Pakistan became a historical fact and a separate homeland of the Muslims on 14 August 1947, the Congress Ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib was dismissed within a week of its establishment and Abdul Qayum Khan was installed as the new Chief Minister of the Province.³²

The Political Culture in Balochistan and the Emergence of AIML

As compared to NWFP, the situation in Balochistan was much different and there was no egalitarianism in the province. The people were under the authority of the Sardars, who in turn were the partisans of the British. The Khan of Kalat, Mir Mahmud Khan II, was though a weak person, could not hide his anti-British feelings and it is generally believed that he was the person behind most of the uprisings in the Province. The British as rulers did not face much opposition and had received an active support from the Baloch Sardars during the First World War but despite that it was believed that German and Turk agents were present in Balochistan, Iran and Afghanistan. The *Khilafat* Movement in favour of the Caliphate of Turkey which was in its full swing in the whole of Sub-continent had resulted in no major uprising in Balochistan. As because of this perceived threat the British had sent Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer (who later on became to be known as a butcher of the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre of 1919) to Balochistan to deal with it. The British authorities were anxious that the German

32 Shah, Muslim League in N.W.F.P., 161.

would attack Balochistan and would break up their empire and in the meantime the Germans killed two British officers, Lt. Horst and Lt. Hughes who served in Makran, due to which Dyer led few punitive expeditions in the areas of Jhalawan in 1915-1916 and Marri-Bugti areas in 1918.³³ Another uprising against the British was the Marri-Khetran uprising of February 1918 which was successfully quelled but another serious uprising occurred in May 1919 that is known as "The Shorish Kaal" or "The year of Uprising". This uprising swept across Waziristan, Loralai, and Quetta-Pishin Districts as well as along the Shorawak border of Balochistan. The British authorities were unable to deal with it successfully.³⁴

During the *Hijrat* and *Khilafat* Movements at all India level, Balochistan was also affected. The anti-British feelings among the people were channelized by the Mullahs in favour of those movements, especially in Sibi and the various Marri areas of British Balochistan.³⁵

Another important development in British Balochistan was the political awakening among the people. They demanded reforms in the province. During the visit of Lord Irwin from 20 to 28 April 1927 to Balochistan, the Shahi Jirga asked for reforms.³⁶

Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai (affectionately known as Khan Shaheed) emerged on the political scene of Balochistan during the twentieth century. He was rigorously imprisoned for his activities. In 1933, he laid down the foundation of a political party *Anjuman-e-Watan*. In 1939, the *Khudai Khedmatgars'* leader, Bacha Khan of N-WFP paid a tour to Balochistan. He remained with Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai during his stay in Balochistan. In 1945, the Khan

33 Syed, "The British Advent in Balochistan," 72-73.

34. A. Aziz Luni, *British Balochistan, 1879-1947*, Vol. III (Karachi: Fazleesons (Pvt.), Ltd., 2003), 271.

35 Luni, *British Balochistan, 1879-1947*, 286.

36 Luni, *British Balochistan, 1879-1947*, 292.

finally affiliated the Anjuman with the Indian National Congress.³⁷

Muslim League in the province was organized by Qazi Muhammad Isa (1914-1976), whose father was from Kandahar and was settled in Pishin Tehsil by the British Government. Qazi Muhammad Isa was Bar-at-Law. He met Quaid-i-Azam in January 1939 at Bombay and on his return to Balochistan, laid down the foundation of Muslim League which was joined by some prominent members of the province. The first public meeting of the League took place in June 1939 at Quetta, in which they sympathized with the Muslims and Islam and appealed to the people to unite for their rights. The Leaguers asked the government to introduce reforms in Balochistan. With the establishment of the League, the decline of Congress also started. Qazi Isa started a weekly paper 'Al-Islam', in order to counter the Congress mouthpiece 'Istiqlal'. Abdul Samad Khan through his paper dubbed him as the agent of Punjabis and issued a *Fatwa* (religious verdict) through the Congressite Mullahs, branding him as *Kafir* (Infidel). In response to it, Qazi Isa invited 400 Mullahs to his house and served them with a good dinner. The Mullahs said that he is a Muslim and issued a *Fatwa* against the Congress members, thus winning a lasting victory against the Congress.³⁸

In September 1939, at the Council Session of AIML, held at Delhi was attended by Qazi Muhammad Isa and his Colleagues. Jinnah affiliated Balochistan League with AIML. Within due course of time all the parties in the province felt threatened from the popularity of the League. In July 1941, Balochistan Muslim League held its first annual session at Quetta under the presidentship of Liaquat Ali Khan. The second annual session in July 1942 was held again at Quetta under the presidentship of Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot. The third session in July 1943 was presided by Quaid-i-Azam at Quetta. He inaugurated Balochistan Muslim

37 Luni, British Balochistan, 1879-1947, 329.

38 Luni, British Balochistan, 1879-1947, 330-331.

Students Federation, in which Pakhtoons were greater in number. During his second visit to Quetta in 1945, Quaid-i-Azam launched a Girl Wing of the Student Federation. It was during this visit that Quaid-i-Azam asked Qazi Muhammad Isa to prepare a document under the title of 'Balochistan Case and Demand', who did it successfully. He also on the invitation of Khan of Kalat, visited the Kalat State. In the third session of Muslim League at Balochistan, from 3 to 4 June 1943, various Resolutions were passed for supporting the demand for Pakistan, and the deaths of few members were also condoled.³⁹

The League in Balochistan was successful against other parties due to few reasons, such as modern education of the members and exposure to the world outside Balochistan, the inauguration of the Muslim Students Wings, frequent visits of the province by AIML central leaders, the clarity of the objective 'to gain Pakistan', the gracious attitude of the British administration towards the leaguers and the provincial Congress affiliation with the Hindu-dominated INC. Earlier AIML had a programme for Balochistan but it was very much clear about its stance since 1929. They were the first who demanded reforms for the province. After independence, Quaid-i-Azam at Sibi Darbar in 1948, announced a Committee of an Advisory Council for Balochistan. Again Liaquat Ali Khan moved a motion in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan for the formation of a Committee for Balochistan, which was immediately formed under Mahmud Hassan. This Committee presented a report in which was recommended to raise British Balochistan to a status of a full-fledged province with its own Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. But unfortunately Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister was assassinated on 16 October 1951, and the politicians failed to press for the implementation of these recommendations which most of them demanded but never got them.⁴⁰

39 Luni, *British Balochistan, 1879-1947*, 333-334.

40 Luni, *British Balochistan, 1879-1947*, 339-341.

Conclusion

The British as a colonial power in India had introduced to the people of N-WFP and Balochistan, two different political cultures. In the former, egalitarian system prevailed while the later was thrown to the big Khans and Sardars. With the passage of time, the old methods of resistance were replaced with new methods. Initially though, religious knowledge served the purpose but with the introduction of modern education the people took interest in politics and political issues. The natives equipped with modern education became the leading figures against the colonial power, British, who left no stone unturned to suppress the resistance and prolong its rule.

The AIML in its struggle for independence also served N-WFP and Balochistan to the best of its abilities. Jinnah himself took keen interest into the matters of the small Muslim provinces. At no point he left the cause of the Muslim provinces unnoticed. The League can be credited for its struggle, not only against the British domination but also against the Hindu domination. In comparison to nationalist leaders who more than often affiliated themselves with the Hindu-dominated INC, the League presented well the cause of the Muslims. INC most of the times either showed no concern for the matters relating to N-WFP and Balochistan or had opposed the causes of the Muslims in those provinces. Finally, the League succeeded in winning over all the rival forces in the provinces and got an independent state for the Muslims of India, thus giving the impression as the sole representative party of the Muslims.