

Muslim League in N.W.F.P.

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INTRODUCTION

"The North West Frontier", to quote the Simon Commission, "is not only the Frontier of India, it is an international frontier of the first importance from the military point of view for the whole empire". The significance of the region lies in its strategic situation that used to give the throne of Delhi to the invader who occupied it. Being an interposing geographical unit between the Central Asia and India, the Frontier Region paved the way for the spread of Islam from Central Asia to India. The people of this region benefitted from the Islamic forces and movements both from Central Asia and India. The history of Islam in the frontier is closely linked with its spread and stabilization in India right from Mahmud Ghaznavi (997-1039 A.D.) down to Bahadur Shah Zafar (1837-58 A.D.)

Froniter is a slope where from men and movements have been flowing from Central Asia into India. The Russian advance was much the cause of the Russophobic behavior of the British in India, the result of all that being the First and Second Anglo- Afghan Wars (1838-39 and 1878-79). In that way the Frontier Region played its own part in the great game of Central Asia.

The Formation of the Province of the NWFP

Although the Frontier Region had been taken by the British from the Sikh Punjab Court as a consequence of their victory in the Second Anglo-Sikh War of 1849 and had been brought under the administration of the Punjab Province, the overall administrative and political structure in the region was the continuation of the Sikh heritage. The need of a scientific structure for the region based on the British scheme of things within the Indian administrative and political framework had already been felt. It was however, left to the lot of Lord Curzon who became the author of the formation of the NWFP. He separated the five districts of the North West Frontier of India from the Punjab Province and grouped them together into a separate province of the NWFP on the 9th of November 1901. The inaugural ceremony of the new Province

took place on 26 April 1902 in Shahi Bagh at Peshawar in a dinner of the dignatories of the province with Lord Curzon in the chair.³ Lord Curzon told the audience that:

Business will be better done and more quickly done; and there will not be long and vexatious delays. The system of rule will not be altered, but it will be more efficiently worked. Every man in the Frontier districts ought to look upon it as a direct gain to himself that he has a local government on the spot, and that there is no body about that local government but the Government of India.... Merit will be better known under the new system, services 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.⁴

However, Lord Curzon did not leave the Dubar in doubt about the consequent action the Provincial and the Central Governments would take should there be any rising against the Scheme and the attending benefits. He told them in clear terms more like a threat that:

You are the keepers of your own houses. We are ready enough to leave you in possession. But if you dart out from behind the shelter of door to harass and pillage and slay, then you must not be surprised if we return quickly and batter the door in.⁵

The whole of the Province consisting of the districts of Hazara (cisIndus) Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan (all trans-Indus)
were placed under the charge of a Chief Commissioner and Agent to
the Governor General.⁶ Each District was put under the charge of a
Deputy Commissioner assisted by the Assistant Commissioners in the
Tehsils. The Tribal Belt which consisted of the political agencies of
Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan,
was placed under the charge of political agents to the Chief Commissioner.

Political Developments in the NWFP

Political mobilization in a society is dependent upon the numerical strength of educated people. Modern education was introduced by the British which was opposed by the people of the NWFP under the influence of some religious circles who used to preach that the seeker of English education would go to the hell.⁷ A British-brand education was

equated with the Christening Mission of the Church⁸ which was already in the Punjab, and was seeking admission to the Froniter. Hence it had to face some what non-cooperation and non-participation. However, through the efforts of the local, though limited, element the need of education in the Province was popularised when they sent their own sons to the schools operating under the new scheme. Despite all the discouraging tendencies amongst the common people, it did not take long when an era of education was ushered in at the close of the first decade of the present century and the educational system of Punjab was extended to the Froniter.⁹

The educated youth in the Province attracted quite a few number of newspapers from the Punjab coupled with whatever little stuff was being produced in the Province's own press. Even these very few papers were at loggers head with the administration of the Province which was not ready to tolerate them because of their criticism of the latter. Though bound in several chains, the local and down country papers like the Comrade of Calcutta, Delhi, Zamindar of Lahore, Al-Hilal of Calcutta and the Tribune of Lahore played a very important role in developing the young educated class into a political corps. 10

The second decade of the present century was of immense potential in providing the Frontier Muslims a great opportunity to share the vicissitudes of the Muslim world and to forge unity with their co-religionists in India for the cause of the Pan-Islamic movement. Events in Turkey, its disintegration, occupation of Tripoli (1911), The Balkan Wars (1912-13) and the Russain encroachment upon Northern Persia were proved full of great concern for the Frontier Muslims as these appeared like "a Christian conspiracy against the Muslims".

It was against this background of the anti-British thought now established in the minds of the educated youth that the political development in the Province was taking place. The very start was somewhat unsettling based upon the presumption that the British Home Government was responsible for all the plightful conditions now visiting the Muslim world. 12

It will not be out of order to refer here to the Rowlatt Act. To curb the chaotic conditions India was passing through after the World War I, the Government of India passed the said Act which aimed at curtailing the rising launched by the Congress and others. The Act further intensified the situations. The situation turned into a worst possible one when the army fired a mass meeting held against the Act at Jallianwala Bagh Amritsar on 13 April 1919 killing over three hundred men and injuring thousands. Martial law was imposed in the Punjab. ¹³ This incidence engulfed the Frontier where mass meetings were held in sympathy of the dead and in hatred of the British brutality. Martial Law was also imposed in Peshawar and several arrests were made. Utmanzai, the village of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was besieged. People were disarmed and fine imposed on them. ¹⁴

Hijrat Movement and the Frontier People

The effect of the reprisals against Turkey in consequence of the Paris Peace Conference (1919) led to a large scale Muslim Khilafat agitation in India. The worst place affected by the Khilafat agitation turned out to be the Province of the North West Frontier because of its geographical approximity with Afghanistan. It became the first spring board where from the unprecedented Hijrat Movement was launched in 1920. A Hijrat Committee was established in Peshawar city for catering to the needs of the down country and local Muhajirin to Afghanistan. It is said that thousands of Muslims from the Frontier alone went on the 'religious obligation' of Hijrat to Afghanistan. The movement, though it failed to achieve the desired goals, was considered by many as a great political victory in, at least, showing to the government that Muslims in the Province, not deterred by the special laws, could go upto any extreme in conformity with their co-religionists in India for the glory and honour of Islam.¹⁵

The Khilafat Movement and the Frontier People

The Hijrat movement was followed by yet another movement of great religious vigour and political enthusiasm known as the Khilafat Movement with its Central Khilafat Committee at Bombay under the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Abul Bari of Farangi Mahal Lucknow. The Frontier leadership of the Hijrat days never lagging behind in strength and strife under the directions of the Bombay Central Committee, also established a net work of Khilafat Committees in Peshawar city. In the political history of the Frontier Province, Khilafat Movement was the first ever regular mobilization of the masses on religio-political basis. Through a net work of several com-

mittees at the Tehsils level, it wielded together the entire Province for the first time in a political partisanship.¹⁷

Although the Khilafat movement was based upon a non-Indian Turkish cause, it soon championed the purely Indian political demand for freedom. The Khilafatists were divided into two clear camps, one supporting the Congress demand of freedom and the other Muslim League's struggle for the religio-political rights of the Indian Muslims from the yoke of Hindu domination under the Congress. On the same lines they were divided in the Frontier Province. ¹⁸

The year 1929 besides the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement, offered yet another cause to the pro-Congress Muslims of the NWFP to agitate upon, viz, the fall of Amir Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan who was looked upon by many Pakhtuns as their leader and whose stay on the Kabul throne was an added strength in the rear. They were of the firm belief that his fall had been engineered by the British against whom he had fought and won independence in the Third Anglo-Afghan War of 1919.

The year 1930 was the year of riots and the Frontier Province could not escape it. Judged by the consequence of the Civil Disobedience Movement, it stood only third in the list because more than fifty persons were killed and several injured in the Qissa Khwani Bazar clashes between the Khilafat-Congress volunteers and the military on the 23 April 1930.¹⁹

The Khudai Khidmatgar Movement

Mention must be made of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement while discussing political developments in the NWFP. It was an indigenous movement of socio-economic uplift and religious purification. Its main objective lay in its aiming at a mass education revolution leading to the purge of social evils from the Pakhtun society which bore the stigma of ignorance and crime. Its founder Abdul Ghaffar Khan was an old social worker with a political taint of Haji Sahib of Turangzai. He had earlier an organization for the socio-economic progress of the Frontier people named "Anjuman-i-Islah-ul-Afaghinah" (Afghan Reformatory Committee)²⁰ and the Afghan Youth League in 1927 and 1928 respectively. He was also the activist of the Hijrat and Khilafat days but abstained from politics and started a movement for the social welfare of the Frontier people. During the years 1928 and 1929 he toured the entire province of

the NWFP and established several Azad schools²¹ wherein along with the understanding of the Holy Qur'an stress was laid upon the acquisition of modern sciences. The Pashto Journal Pukhtum of Utmanzai with a variety of topics from poetry to politics had been started in 1928 and it carried the movement and mission of Abdul Ghaffar Khan forward.²²

The Khudai Khidmatgar Movement was affiliated with the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee in 1931 but for all practical purposes it did remain a separate body in its content and forum, only providing an electoral strength to the latter in political affairs. ²³ The Hindu element in the Frontier Province Congress Committee did try to bring the Khudai Khidmatgars under its control but they defied all such efforts and enjoyed freedom in openly criticising the members of the Frontier Congress Ministers. ²⁴

Constitutional Developments in the NWFP

On its formation in 1901, the Province was put under a Chief Commissioner with a dual duty of an Agent to the Governor General for the affairs of the Tribal Belt as well as the chief head over the administration of the five settled districts. Thus Agencies and settled districts were linked together through the person of the Chief Commissioner. He with his Provincial Head-quarters at Peshawar, was assisted by a Revenue Commissioner. The districts were controlled by the Deputy Commissioners who in turn were assisted by Assistant Commissioners at tehsil level.

The grant of constitutional reforms to the Frontier Province until 1919 was out of question. The government did not seem in a hurry even to think of such a concession at the cost of safer methods which could effectively deal with the tribal situation. "Strategic location and history of instability" proved also considerable factor for excluding the Province from the constitutional rights granted by the Minto- Morley Reforms (1909).²⁶

Even after a decade the Frontier Province was not considered fit for reforms. The Montford Report (1918) while recommending dyarchy in other provinces, ²⁷ did not suggest any change in the administration of the Frontier Province. The Report pointed out that, "For reasons of strategy the personal administration of the Chief Commissioner should continue and no principle of responsibility should be introduced. However, some form of advisory council, adjusted in composition and func-

tion to total conditions was recommended. But the government of India decided to shelve the issue for the moment."²⁸

The Frontier Enquiry or Bary Committee Report

At the end of the First World War and the beginning of Third Anglo-Afghan War, there started a growing demand for full-fleged reforms for the province. The Government of India formed a Committee in April 1922 consisting of three Englishmen, three Muslims and two Hindus under Sir Dennys Bray, the Foreign Secretary, to report on the desirability of the NWFP with the Punjab or of granting the Province reforms. The Indians on the committee split along communal lines. The Englishmen joined the Muslims to write a majority report which favoured constitutional reforms for the North West Frontier Province. The two Hindus argued at great length that the Frontier would be better governed as part of the Punjab, but no matter how they tried to mask it, their differences with the majority were obviously communal. The committee reported in October 1922 against the re-amalgamation scheme and recommended grant of liberal institutions with certain safeguards. I

To compensate for their numerical weakness, the minorities turned to Hindus and Sikhs in other provinces for aid, only to complicate the original issue by entangling it in Indian communal politics as a whole. The Province's Muslims were forced to counter by calling on their coreligionists.³²

The Provincial Government too seemed reluctant in having any sort of reforms in the Frontier. They would not commit such a folly and that too at a moment when there was every possibility of the Frontier nationalists coming out openly in support of the Afghan cause which they did. This view was shared by the loyalist class who could see their worst days if the political fire brands had been allowed to resort to street politics.

Another class which bitterly opposed the grant of reforms to the Frontier Province was the Hindu-Sikh minority in the Province, which though numerically stood not more then five per cent of th total population, was comparatively more educated, financiers, and articulated than the illiterate Muslim majority. They were afraid of becoming the victims of a permanent Muslim majority in case reforms were introduced.³³ A typical instance of Hindu opposition to the introduction of reforms is

given below as embodied in the Resolutions passed by the Hindu Sabha, Dera Ismail Khan, on 1 February 1926.

Resolution No.I

Hindus of Dera Ismail Khan assembled in Public Meeting. protest respectfully but strongly against attempt being made by a clique for introduction of so-called Reforms and of Election in Local Bodies in the North West Frontier Province. Owing to the peculiar conditions obtaining in the North West Frontier Province, its contiguity to the border and the facilities with which raids, decoities, kidnapping, murder, and other serious crimes, against Hindus are committed with impunity or connivance of local Pathans; the fanatic and unruly temperament of the illiterate masses easily misled by bigoted educated agitators; the recent incendiarism and loot in Kohat, fires in Nawanshehr. D.I. Khan and other places; the existence of secret Muslim revolutionary societies; the open advocacy of Muslim Press of the Muslim Raj with the help of Afghanistan; and the dream of Pan-Islamism engendered by recent events in other Muslim lands, this meeting is of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary for the safety of Hindus that the hands of the executive should not be weakened by transferring authority to the class already dominant in the administration. This meeting further puts on record its firm conviction that the introduction of elective system is sure to aggrevate factious feeling and promote riots and disturbances 34

Resolution No.II

Resolved further that this meeting is of the opinion that the experiment of putting members of the dominant majority incharge of high appointments in the executive line and Political Agencies has proved a failure in this province; it has accentuated the evils from which the province has suffered.³⁵

The Hindu Sabha's Resolutions exacted strong reaction full of hate and condemnation for the Sabha from the Muslim Association of Dera Ismail Khan. The Association vehemently demanded reforms for the Province. It passed the following Resolutions in its meeting held on 4

February 1926 under the Presidentship of Nawab Muhammad Saifullah Khan 36

Resolution No.I

Resolved that the Muslim Association D.I. Khan whole-hear-tedly supports the resolution shortly to be moved in the Legislative Assembly urging the extension of the Government of India Act to the North West Frontier Province and immediate introduction of election in the Local Bodies as recommended by the majority report of the Frontier Enquiry Committee; deprecates the tendency visible in certain quarters to picture this question as Hindu- Muslim problem; and express its readiness to accept reasonable provisions for the safeguard of the interests of the minorities.

Resolution No.II

Resolved that this Association strongly condemns the maliciously false allegations, made indiscriminately against all the Muslim inhabitants of the Frontier Province, by a section of the Hindu community, and embodied in a deliberately misleading resolution of the D.I. Khan Hindu Sabha dated 1st, February 1926. The Association considers this act of the Sabha to be 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. This is corroborated by the fact that this propaganda was started soon after the publication of the majority report of Bray's Enquiry Committee, which caused them great disappointment, in so far as it frustrated their hopes of re-amalgamation with the Punjab and still greater disappointment by recommending internal reforms instead, in a province where they find themselves in a hopelessly small minority of five per cent.

Resolution No.III

Resolved that this Association is of the opinion that the charge of incompetency brought by the D.I. Khan Hindu Sabha resolution against Muslim officers holding high executive posts in settled districts or agencies of this Province is utterly baseless and has been brought in a spirit of revenge by a few local Hindus who, disappointed in their efforts for reamalgamation with the Punjab, find solace in running down the whole administration of the Province.

All India Muslim League and the Frontier Reforms

The Frontier Muslims, in their struggle against the Government and the Hindu opposition to the grant of reforms for Frontier, were never alone. The Muslims all over India readily supported them. The All India Muslim League was at the head of the campaign for granting reforms. In the Fifteenth Session of All India Muslim League held at Lahore on 24-25 May 1924 many resolutions were carried on behalf of the Muslims of the NWFP, which *interalia*, stressed the immediate and paramount necessity of introducing reforms in the NWFP Province and of placing the Province in a position of equality with the other major provinces of India. In its Sixteenth Session held at Bombay on 30-31 December 1924 the same demand was repeated. But no attention was paid by the official circles. At the Aligarh Session of All India Muslim League on 30-31 December 1925 it was voiced again but with no positive results. 39

Again, in the Eighteenth Session of All India Muslim League held at Delhi on 29-31 December 1926, Mr. Abdul Aziz moved the following resolution advocating the introduction of reforms in the NWFP immediately:

The All India Muslim League regrets that the government have not as yet taken any action regarding the question of reforms to be introduced in the North-Western Frontier Province, in spite of repeated demands of the Mussalmans of India for several years, and the considered opinion of the Legislative Assembly embodied in its resolution which was carried in March 1916 without a division. The League urges once more that it is now high time that the government gave effect to the recommendation of the majority report of the Bray Committee, and thus allay the feelings and misapprehensions of the Mussalmans, not only of NWFP, but of all India, regarding this matter. 40

L.K. Hyder supported the resolution. He criticized the notion prevalent among certain people that if reforms were given to the Province, the Frontier Muslims would look beyond the Khyber Pass. He insisted that if ever there was a province in which there was homogeneity of language, religion and race, it was in the NWFP. Sir

Abdur Rahim, Malik Barkat Ali and Mirza Ali Mohammad also spoke at length emphasizing the necessity of giving reforms to the NWFP. 41

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, leader of the All India Muslim League, was particularly interested in the issue of the reforms in the Frontier Province. He had given vent to his feelings on a number of occasions. In his now famous 'Fourteen Points', of 1929, he emphatically stated that reforms should be introduced in the NWFP "on the same footing as in other provinces". ¹²

Simon Commission and the NWFP

In 1928 the Simon Commission came to India to inquire into the working of th system of government, the growth of education and the development of responsible institutions and the report whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend, modify, restrict the degree of responsible government then existing in India.⁴³

The Commission also visited Peshawar in November 1928. Meetings, deputations, petitions and processions were arranged "all of which were meant to impress it one way or another". 44 In view of "absorbing interest, the peculiar character and the special military and political difficulties which were associated with the North West Frontier Province." the Commission came to the "conclusion that responsibility for the administration of the North West Frontier Province cannot be separated from the responsibility for the peace and control over the tribal area. Only thus can the security of the North West Frontier be effectively maintained". 45 The Commission entirely shared the view of the Bray Committee that "provision ought now to be made for the constitutional advance of the North West Frontier Province" and in formulating their scheme of constitutional advance in some detail, they agreed that "the situation of the Province and its intimate relations with the problems of Indian defence are such that special arrangement were required". 46 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, that is the Khans. big Municipalities and District Boards and of ex-soldiers. The legislative powers of this Council were to be limited, with law order kept as reserved subjects. The Chief Commissioner shoulds preside over the

Legislative Council. He should have powers to appoint a deputy to preside when necessary.⁴⁷

All India Muslim League was not satisfied with the Simon Commission Report as for as it affected the interests of the Frontier Province. In the historic Allahabad Session held on 29-30 December, 1930 it passed the following resolution moved by Maulvi Mohammad Yaqub:

The All India Muslim League, while fully realizing the particular conditions of the North West Frontier Province, and recognizing the necessity of taking special measures for the safeguarding of the Frontier, is strongly of the opinion 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. ⁴⁸

The mover regretted that neither the Simon Commission, nor the Government of India's Despatch affected a satisfactory solution of the problem of the NWFP, nor did the Government take any action inspite of the repeated resolutions of the Legislative Assembly on the subject passed by the Muslim members.

Round Table Conferences and the NWFP

The First and Second Round Table Conferences took place in London in 1930 and 1931 respectively. Despite the intensive lobbying in London, Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan successively pleaded the case of reforms to be introduced in the Frontier. A sub-committee was formed in the First Round Table Conference to consider the Frontier issue in greater detail. The committee met in December 1930 and submitted a report on 16 January 1931, recommending in principle, the status of a Governor's Province for the NWFP and the introduction of reforms of 1919 there. However, the All India Muslim League was not happy with the outcome of the Round Table Conferences. In its meeting on 5 March 1931, the All India Muslim League Council adopted the following Resolution expressing the fact that their demands had not been entirely accepted. A Resolution passed on the occasion stated:

The Council of the All India Muslim League while approving of the decision of the Round Table Conference that the North West Frontier Province should be constituted into a separate Province, expresses its regret that the constitution outlined at the Round Table Conference for the five settled districts of the North West Frontier Province fall short of the Muslim demands and does not give the same legislative and administrative responsibility as is proposed for the other provinces of British India, and considers that this defect should be removed.⁵¹

The Haig Committee

In May 1931, the Government of India appointed the NWFP Subjects Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Haig to probe into "classification of subjects in the NWFP as Provincial or central, and on the basis of the classification proposed to examine the allocation of expenditure between the central and provincial heads, and to report the extent to which it would be necessary to supplement the Provincial revenues in order to meet the charges under the Provincial heads."⁵²

In the perspective of the findings of the First Round Table Conference, the sub-committee on the NWFP and the NWFP Subjects Committee, the question again came up for discussion in the Second Round Table Conference. This time a firm decision was reached to raise the NWFP to the level of a Governor's Province and, consequently to introduce the diarchial constitution of 1919. Making a statement in the Round Table Conference on 1 December 1931, the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald declared:

... that we contemplate as one feature of the new order that the North West Frontier Province should be constituted a Governor's provinces, but with due regard to the necessary requirements of the frontier and that, as in all other Governor's provinces, the powers entrusted to the Governor to safeguard the safety and tranquillity of the province shall be real and effective. 53

Notes and References

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- 3. Lal Baha, NWFP Administration Under the British Rule (1901-1919) (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978) p.25.

- 4. Quoted in *Ibid.*, pp.25-26.
- 5. David Dilks, Curzon in India, (London: Rupert-Hart Davis, 1969), 1: p.229.
- 6. The first Chief Commissioner of the NWFP was Lieutenant Col. H.A. Deane. Sir Deane served till 1908, and was followed by Sir George Roos-Keppel (1908-1919); Sir Hamilton Grant (1919-1921); Sir John Maffey (1921-1923); Sir Norman Boltan (1923-31); Sir Stevart Pears (1930-31) and Sir Ralph Griffith (1931-32). In 1932 the NWFP was given the status of a Governor's Province. Sir Ralph Griffith (1932-37); Sir George Cunnigham (1937-46) and Sir Olaf Caroc (1946-47) served the Province accordingly.
- 7. They used to teach their pupils and other illiterates the following verse, which was loudly and ardently recited in the open lanes and bazars:
- "Sabaq de madrase wai para de pese wai Janat ke bac zac navi Dozakh ke ba ghase wahi,"
- "Those who learn at school, they do so for money. They will have no place in heaven and will find themselves in hell."
- 8. Doctor Psander, Col. Herbert Edwards and Revd. Robert Clark stand out as three well-known historic characters who gave the first vigorous impulse to the Peshawar mission established by the munificient gifts, contributions and subscriptions of the Church Missionary Society of London.
- 9. Lal Baha, op.cit., p. 192.
- 10. Lal Baha, "Struggle of Journalism in the Frontier Province" *Islamic Studies*, (Islamabad 1978), XVII: 3, pp.217-29.
- 11. Lal Baha, "Politics in the NWFP 1901-1919" Peshawar University Review, 1972, August. 1 pp. 109-17.
- 12. Ibid.
- 13. Rupert Furneaux, Massucre at Amritsar (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1933), p.99.
- 14. Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, Meet the Frontier Gandhi (Bombay: Progress Publications, n.d.), pp.22-23.
- 15. Lal Baha, "The Hijrat Movement and the North West Frontier Province", Islamic Studies, (Islamabad), 1979, XVIII, 3. pp.231-242. For more details see, Syed Races Ahmad Jaffari, Auraq-i-Gum Gushta (Urdu), Lahore, Mohammad Ali Academy, 1968; Sayed Viqar Ali Shah, "NWFP and the Khilafat and Hijrat Movements",

- Central Asia, Peshawar, No.20. Summer 1987, pp.121-142; Gul Ayub Saifi, Bannu Au Da Waziristan Tarikh (Pashto) Bannu, 1969; Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq, Da Azadi Jang (Pasto) Peshawar, 1972; Mian Akbar Shah, Da Azudi Talaash, (Pashto) Peshawar, and Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, Safamama-i-Russi Turkistan, (Urdu), Charsadda, 1972.
- 16. The office bearers of the Sarhad Khilafat Committee were: Agha Syed Maqbool Shah, President; Babu Zakarya Khan, Vice President; Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, General Secretary; Chacha Abdul Karim, Joint Secretary. Farigh Bukhari, Bacha Khan (Peshawar: n.d.), pp.57-58.
- 17. For more details see, Malik Shad Mohammad, Deed Wa Shuneed, unpublished autobiography; Allah Bukhsh Yusufi, Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, Karachi, 1984; Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier, Bombay, 1945; and Abdul Karim Khan Personal Collections.
- 18. For details see Lal Baha, "The Khilafat Movement and the North West Frontier Province," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, July 1979, XVI, pp.1-22.
- 19. For full account of the event see the official account in the shape of the Sulaiman-Pankridge Committee Report (1930), and the Patel Enquiry Report (Non-Official Congress Report), and the Frontier Tragedy by the Khilafat Volunteers, published in the Ripon Press (Lahore: n.d.)
- 20. Mohammad Yunis, Frontier Speaks (Lahore: Minerva Bookshop, n.d.), p.142.
- 21. In 1921 Azad High Schools were founded in Utmanzai, Ziarat Kaka Sahib etc. Qazi Ataullah, Mian Ahmad Shah, Haji Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Taj Mohammad Khan, Abdul Akbar Khan, Abdullah Shah and Khadim Mohammad Akbar were the comrades of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The medium of instruction in the schools was Pashto. The British disliked the system and put a ban on the Azad schools.
- 22. For details see Syed Istikhar Hussain, The Journal Pakhtoon: An Appraisal (Peshawar University: unpublished M.Phil Thesis, 1982), pp.1-2.
- 23. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, My Life and Struggle (Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, n.d.), p.50.

- 24. Zama Zhwand Au Jad-o-Jihad (Pashto) (Kabul: State Publications, 1983, p.388.
- 25. Diwan Chand Obhrai, "op.cit.", p.118.
- 26. Stephen Alan Rittenberg, The Independence Movement in India's North West Fronter Province (1901-47) Columbia University, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis 1977) p.70.
- 27. A Appadorai, *Dyarchy in Practice* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p.5.
- 28. Lal Baha, op.cit., p.229.
- 29. Obhrai, op.cit., p.122.
- 30. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.74; Obhrai, op.cit., p.122.
- 31. Obhrai, op.cit., p.122.
- 32. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.73.
- 33. Erland Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan?* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1981), p.54.
- 34. Copy of a Resolution passed by the Hindus of Dera Ismail Khan, 1 Feb. 1926 (Freedom Movement Archives, University of Karachi [hereafter AFM] Vol. 206.
- 35. Ibid.
- 36. Copy of a resolution passed by the Muslim Association Dera Ismail Khan, 4 Feb. 1926 (AFM: 206)
- 37. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Foundations of Pakistan (Karachi: National Publishing House Ltd., 1969) I, p.580.
- 38. Ibid., II, p.26.
- 39. Ibid., p.69.
- 40. *ibid.*, p.100.
- 41. Ibid., pp.100-101.
- 42. Sharif al Mujahid, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981), p.475.
- 43. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress* (1885-1935) (Bombay: Padma Publications, 1946), I, p.316
- 44. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.77.
- 45. Obhrai, op.cit., pp.136.137.
- 46. Ibid., p.137.
- 47. Report of the Indian Statutory Commission: Recommendations (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930) II, Pp.103-104.
- 48. A.M. Zaidi, Evolution of Muslim Political Thought, (S. Chand & Co. n.d.), IV, p.87.

- 49. Obhrai, op.cit., pp.138-139.
- 50. Amit Kumar Gupta, North West Frontier Province: Legislature and Freedom Struggle 1932-47. (New Delhi, Indian Council of Historical Research, 1976), p.22.
- 51. Zaidi, op.cit., pp.91-92.
- 52. Obhrai, op.cit., p.192.
- 53. Nripendra Nath Mitra (ed.), The Indian Annual Register, 1937-11 (Calcutta: The Annual Register Office, nd.), pp.445-446.

Rise of Muslim League in the Frontier

A commonly believed view about the Frontier League is that of all the political parties in the Province, it was the last to take a start. Some feel that by the time it emerged on the scene the fight for freedom was over and that it reaped the harvest sowed by others. True, the growing strength of the Muslim League in the Frontier is a late phenomenon, but it was the first political party to be established in the Frontier, it having been founded first in 1912.

Initially, it was a product of the Pan-Islamic movement when the young educated Muslims of the Peshawar city were agitating against the "Christian conspiracy against Islam". Dubbed as 'extremist' by the Provincial administration, they had ideological links with Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.¹

The organizers of the Frontier League were Mian Abdul Aziz, Qazi Abdul Wali Khan, Sayyid Ali Abbas Bokhari, Qazi Mir Ahmad and Hakim Mohammad Amin. In 1912 they established the League in the Peshawar city with an office in the Chamber of Qazi Mir Ahmad. The office bearers were Mian Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law (President), Qazi Abdul Wali Khan (Vice President), Sayyid Ali Abbas Bokhari (General Secretary), Qazi Mir Ahmad (Joint Secretary), and Hakim Mohammad Amin (Treasurer).

These young educated Peshawarites, while trying to consolidate the nascent Muslim League against all odds and hostility from the Government, ² were also establishing contacts with the Muslim leaders at the All-India level. Both Sayyid Ali Abbas Bokhari and Mian Abdul Aziz participated in the Agra Session of the All India Muslim League in 1913.³

Sayyid Ali Abbas Bokhari represented the Frontier as a delegate to its Bombay Session (1915). The first formal contact between the Frontier and the All India Muslim League took place when Sayyid Ali Abbas Bokhari wrote a lengthy letter to Syed Wazir Hassan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League in 1914. Bokhari reported on the conditions in

which the Frontier Muslim League was working, commended the untiring efforts of Qazi Mir Ahmad, and said:

To work in North West Frontier Province without an active party in your part of India and other places to help us if an occasion arises for it, is rather unwise. Personally I do not mind in the slightest; but my friends are anxious to have an organ, to support them. We do not know which is the paper of the League to echo its voice. If you start a weekly like 'Old Boy' of Mr. Shaukat Ali that will serve the purpose.⁴

Bokhari was so anti-British that every step the government took seemed to him as a sinister scheme. He looked upon even the establishment of the Islamia College, Peshawar, as a nest producing loyalists:

to all intents and purposes the College is a political college having a body of European civil and military officers including the Inspector General of Police in the Committee. With Khan Bahadur Sahibzada Abdul Qayooum Khan, Assistant Political Officer of the Khyber Pass, as official secretary. The Mohammadan members of the Committee are only two bankers after titles (a pleader and a Barrister), the rest being tehsildars, E.A.C. and men in service. It will educate people; but it has stopped people from going to Aligarh, and other places and thus free education will disappear⁵.

As the anti-Turkey feeling progressed in Europe this group became more extremist in their hatred of the British Raj in India. Several times Bokhari was expelled from the Province⁶. Once he was declared 'mad' and admitted to the Lahore lunatic asylum on the orders of the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar. Distressed at government tactics Ali Abbas Bokhari fled to Kabul via Tirah on 1 March 1917. His father, Sayyid Mahmood Shah, informed Zahoor Ahmad, of the All India Muslim League about Bokhari's flight to Kabul.

Sayyid Ali Abbas left Peshawar for Kabul via Tirah on 1st of March 1917. Earlier he was summoned by the Chief Commissioner of Frontier Province and was ordered to be out of the Province within 48 hours. He was accused of making inflamatory speeches and inciting the inhabitants of Frontier and Tribal territory against the Government. He was given the choice to go to Campbellpur or any other city of Punjab. For fifteen months we were totally in darkness about his abode.

Some days earlier we heard from some one from Kabul that Ali Abbas was in Kabul and was honoured very much by the late Amir of Afghanistan. He has been allotted a house in 'Bagh-i-Babur' which once belonged to Amir Abdur Rahman and was treated in Kabul as a 'State Guest'. All of the letters sent by the Muslim League to Ali Abbas in his absence were received by us and we are soon despatching them to Kabul by mail⁷.

After Bokhari's flight from the Province the other organizers too were silenced. Qazi Abdul Wali Khan was jailed during the war period, Mian Abdul Aziz left for Bombay, and Qazi Mir Ahmad abandoned politics to escape imprisonment⁸.

Thus the anti-British and Pan-Islamic organization was nipped in the bud. However, the stirring these young educated Frontier 'Politicians' had started could not be contained and manifested itself after a few years in another anti-British organization in the Province the Khilafat Movement.

The Khilasat Movement in the Frontier Province (1920-1930). being inspired by the All India Khilafat Movement, was primarily championing the same Pan-Islamic cause for which the organizers of the Frontier League offered sacrifices only a few year ago. Realizing that it could not influence affairs in favour of the Turkish Caliphate, the Khilafat Movement fell back upon Indian concerns, chief amongst them being 'Swaraj'. In the decade of 1920-1930 the Khilafat Movement had exhausted itself in its struggle for the independence of India. By the end of 1920, however, the movement got split up into two major camps: pro-Congress and pro-Muslim League. Although the former camp overwhelmed the latter, yet the voice of the latter could not be silenced altogether. The main thrust of the fundamental demand of the All India Muslim League for the partition of India between a Hindu India and a Muslim Pakistan was raised earlier by a section of students of Islamia College, Peshawar, studying in England. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal's proposal at the Allahabad session of the All India Muslim League on 29-30 December, 1930 found an echo in the activities at the Frontier Muslim students studying in England.

Khyber Union London

Comprising chiefly Pukhtun students, Khyber Union London provided a forum from where the Indian Muslim students voiced the

demand of a separate Muslim state. According to a Note dated 23 March 1933 of the Frontier Inspector-General of Police J.H. Adam, the Union was founded by some ex-students of the Islamia College, Peshawar, in 1929, as "the English branch of the Peshawar Islamia College Khyber Union (a debating society)". In 1933, Mr. Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak was its President, and Mr. Inayatullah Khan of Charsadda its Secretary. The Khyber Union was also open to students of the Punjab and Sindh who were studying at various educational institutions in England. Choudhry Rahmat Ali of the Punjab and Sahibzada Muhammad Sadiq, son of the Sheikh of Mangrol, and some Turk and Afghan students used to take part in the Khyber Union's debates on national and international issues. ¹⁰

One such issue once that came in for debate on its forum, was that of the permanent solution of the Muslims' socio-economic and religio-political rights in India. 'The Four' had already discussed the most important issue with certain Muslim leaders in London who were there to attend the Round Table Conference. But they were deeply shocked when their idea of a separate Muslim Federation was turned down as a mere dream of a few enthusiasts.¹¹

Notwithstanding their discomfiture at the hands of Muslim leaders, the "Khyberites" continued with efforts. The *Times*, London also refers to their appeals to Muslim leaders. The students also met some members of the British parliament who were willing to listen to them. It was but due to the efforts of these "Four Gallants" that Major-General Sir Alfred Knox, in a question, (No.22, dated 6 March 1933), in the House of Commons, asked the Secretary of State for India:

If he will state what reply he had sent to the appeal sent to him on behalf of the 30,000,000 Moslems of the Punjab, the North West Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan setting forth their fears of Hindu domination in All- India Federation and asking for a separate federation of these five northern units; and whether, in view of the representations contained in this appeal, he will say that further safeguards he proposes for minority communities in India. 12

The Secretary of State for India, however, evaded the question, saying:

I have seen copies of a printed Circular distributed from an address at Cambridge, bearing the names of Four Gentlemen

who claims to speak for thirty millions of their fellow Moslems. As I am in constant communication with many representative Moslems, it did not seem to me necessary to take any special action in connection with this letter. As regards the last part of the Question, I must ask my honourable and gallant friend to await the Government's proposals.¹³

Major-General Sir Alfred Knox could, of course wait, but not the "Four Gentlemen". They wrote incessantly to educated young Muslims in various parts of India, and particularly to their Alma Mater, the Islamia College, requesting the students to hold a debate on the topic of "Pakistan" in their own Khyber Union, Peshawar. Much to the chagrin of non- Muslims in the Province, the great debate, took place in mid-1933 and the Pakistan Scheme was voted by the House. It was perhaps the first debate on the Pakistan Scheme held in any educational institution in India. 14

Understandably, these debates and discussions on Pakistan could not be tolerated by the Hindus in the Frontier and other provinces. In its editorial note on "Pakistan - Shudhistan", the *Milap* (Lahore) on 5 May, 1933 bitterly criticised the idea of a separate Muslim Federation saying:

An impious brain, must have thought this idea of Pakistan.... It should infuse a spirit in the Hindus. If on religious basis efforts are made to form a Muslim Federation then why not the Five Muslim Provinces be made Shudh, and named "Shudhistan"? The Hindus have neglected their religion.... They should now pay attention to their religion and make every possible efforts to bring all in India under the banner of Hinduism.... When the 'Vedas' are for the whole world, why then the 'people of Pakistan' should be deprived of its light? 15

On 9 May 1933, The Frontier Advocate (Peshawar) in its issue flayed the idea of Pakistan even in more elaborate terms. Under the heading "Pakistan", it observed:

With the introduction of Reforms in the Frontier Province, efforts were made by some Pathans to start the "Pathanistan Movement" which created a great deal of unrest among the Frontier Hindus. As nobody had any sympathy for Pathanistan, it disappeared automatically. After a good deal of time, another idea of a more dangerous movement called by the name of

"Pakistan" came in the minds of a few Pathan students in England. They issued a Circular from Cambridge on 28 January in which they presented this Scheme (of Pakistan) to the leading Muslims in the country. The Circular is issued over the signatures of Mr. Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak, Sahibzada Muhammad Sadiq, Mr. Inayatullah Khan of Charsadda, and Choudhry Rahmat Ali. It cannot be said as to whether the Scheme presented by these students has been prepared under the instructions of Doctor Muhammad Igbal or it has been prepared by some enemies of India in England. Whatever may be the case, the Circular has reached every educated Frontier Muslim. We know when this circular reached India, several Muslim papers of the Punjab expressed their condemnation of it.... This Movement is surely the result of a great Pan-Islamic Conspiracy... and the whole of India is going to face a terrible danger.... This Scheme of Pakistan is most dangerous and mischievous but nobody can deny it that there is no sense in it at all. At the end we request the newspapers not to give so much importance to this Scheme when the Mussalmans themselves are condemning it.¹⁶

However, to counter the hostile Hindu press propaganda against the scheme, the Mujahid (Dera Ismail Khan) in its issue on 21 June 1933, wrote an editorial entitled, "Pakistan and the Hindu Press", It said:

Recently a pamphlet has been published by the President and the Secretary of the Khyber Union, London, in which an account of the dreadful conspiracies of the Hindus against the Mussalmans for the last ten years have been brought to light. The pamphlet states that as the Mussalmans expect no justice from the Hindu majority in India, therefore, to protect the future existence of the Mussalmans in the Northern India, a proposal has been put forth by the Khyber Union, London, to the effect that the five Muslim Northern Provinces should form a 'Muslim Federation'. It is a fact that this is neither an attack on the Hindu majority in India nor is it a plan to frustrate their rights. But it only desires that those Provinces of Northern India which have got much in common, from social as well as religious point

of view, should be joined together and given the name of "Pakistan".

Quaid-i-Azam's First Visit to Frontier (1936)

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, elections to the provincial assemblies were announced for the winter of 1936-37. At its 24th session, in Bombay on 12 April 1936, the Muslim League resolved to contest the approaching provincial assemblies elections and authorized Jinnah to organize election boards at the Central and Provincial levels. 17

Jinnah who has continuously struggled for the upgrading of the NWFP's status to Governor's province and for constitutional reforms in the NWFP was very keen to learn about the general conditions in the Frontier, and asked Allah Bukhsh Yusufi to apprise him of the situation. 18 A Parliamentary Board was formed consisting of Malik Khuda Bakhsh, Pir Bakhsh Khan, Allah Bakhsh Yusufi and Rahim Bukhsh Ghaznavi.¹⁹ Jinnah also contacted Pir Bakhsh, whom he knew since 1931 and who was now a member of the NWFP Parliamentary Board, 20 and Sahibzada Sir Abdul Oayyum informed Mr. Jinnah of his Muslim Independent Party with Pir Bakhsh as General Secretary,²¹ and with Malik Khuda Bukhsh, Mohammad Ramzan Khan and Abdur Rahim Kundi (Dera Ismail Khan), Barrister Mohammad Jan Khan and Habib Ullah Khan (Bannu), Kher Mohammad Jalali and Ghulam Haider Hamdam (Kohat), and Malik Amir Alam, Sajjad Ahmed Jan, Hakim Salam and Abdul Qaiyum Swati (Hazara) as its prominent members. The party resolved to send an invitation to Jinnah to visit Peshawar,²² and also invited other prominent political figures to join them on the occasion.²³

The Peshawarites formed a Reception Committee with Agha Syed Lal Badshah as President, Pir Bakhsh as General Secretary, and Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi, Haji Karam Elahi, Mian Rahim Bakhsh, Elahi Bukhsh, Haliz Fazle Mahmood, Abdul Aziz Khushbash, Abdul Haye, Pehlavan Faqir Mohammad, Malik Shad Mohammad and Lala Agha Mohammad, as members.²⁴

Differences, however, soon emerged among the leaders. Abdur Rab Nishtar and Pir Bakhsh could not see eye to eye with one another. Nishtar sent Yusufi to Lahore, to persuade Jinnah to postpone his visit but he refused to do so because he had already accepted the invitation. ²⁵ Agha Sayyid Lal Badshah sent Abdul Aziz Khushbash who met Jinnah

at Faletti's Hotel, Lahore. Jinnah arranged and paid for his stay at the hotel.²⁶ Khushbash accompanied Jinnah to Peshawar by the Bombay Mail on 17 October.²⁷

Unruffled, however, Nishtar alongwith Ali Gul Khan went upto Campbellpur station and tried to prevail upon Jinnah to cancel his Frontier visit. But he declined.²⁸

When Jinnah arrived at Peshawar city station at about 8 a.m. on 18 October, 1936, he was greeted by about 400 persons, and profusely garlanded. He was meticulously dressed, wearing a hat, a long coat, and a well cut suit with English shoes, which surprised some credulous Peshawaris who dubbed him as "Gora". After ceremonies at the station, Jinnah was taken in procession in a convertible grey (perhaps Chevrolet) car provided by Sahibzada Qayyum. The procession joined in by the public, volunteers, a Rover's Batch of Islamia College and students from Edwardes College, left for the city through a planned route. Pir Bakhsh, Agha Lal Badshah and perhaps Ghulam Samdani accompanied Jinnah in the Car. The procession went through Hashtnagari, Karimpura Bazar, the Ghanta Ghar, Chowk Yadgar, Phurgaran, and finally terminated at the residence of Sahibzada Qayyum in Yakatut, which had been furnished for his stay. 32

In the evening he met the local Congress members. Headed by Dr. C.C. Ghosh, the Congress team included Dr. Khan Sahib, Syed Qaim Shah, advocate, and Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Barrister they had an hour's discussion with him.³³

The next day, he addressed a public meeting under Agha Lal Badshah's presidentship arranged by Muslim Independent Party. Pir Bakhsh who acted as General Secretary translated Jinnah's speech into Urdu. The general tone of Jinnah's speech was chiefly confined to introducing the Muslim League's programme. The meeting was attended by about 500 persons including most of the Hindu advocates of Peshawar.³⁴ In the evening, he fell ill and could not meet anyone.

A delegation of the local Shia community under Agha Sardar Ali Khan Qazilbash invited Jinnah to join their conference to be held in Mohammad Ali Park, Peshawar, but he declined, saying that he was struggling for the unity of Islam and that of the Muslim.³⁵ He could not see some of the most prominent politicians as they were on election campaign.³⁶ He, however, addressed the students of Edwardes College and Islamia College; he advised them "to advance themselves politically and educationally".³⁷

Jinnah also visited Landi Kotal on the invitation of Malik Saida Khan Shinwari, where he met a delegation of leading local notables who apprised him of the injustices of the Government, and the humiliation they were subjected to. They complained that they were deprived of the necessities of their daily life and even they were not in a position to get hold of a match-box. At that time Jinnah had in his hand a match box which he was carrying with him for his cigar. He asked the Political Officer present there whether it was a crime to give them a match-box? He nodded his head and said "Yes", with a smile on his face, Jinnah gave the match-box to the delegates saying, "Then I am going to commit that crime". 38

There are no further details of the day to day programme of the Quaid-i-Azam which he spent in the Frontier. A branch of Provincial Muslim League was formed with Khuda Bukhsh as President, Pir Bakhsh as Secretary and Hakim Jalil, Rahim Bakhsh, Abdul Latif, Syed Ali and Lal Badshah as members of the Executive Committee.³⁹ When Jinnah left Peshawar on the evening of 24 October he was seen off by about fifty persons, including Pir Bakhsh, Lal Badshah and Hakim Abdul Jalil.⁴⁰ According to the Khyber Mail, "Mr. Jinnah before his departure told the Press that he was entirely satisfied with the result of Frontier visit" and "cherished strong hopes of a bright future." Quoting Abdul Aziz Khushbash, Mohammad Shafi Sabir, however, opinioned that his mission was not much of a success.⁴² According to Allah Bukhsh Yusufi whenever he was asked by someone about his Frontier visit, he found him in an unhappy mood because he was invited at a wrong time to visit Frontier.⁴³

The Election of 1937 and after

Under the 1935 Act, dyarchy was replaced by Provincial autonomy. While the governors remained the provincial chiefs, all provincial subjects were transferred to ministers who served at the will of popular elected assemblies. The NWFP was conceded the same reforms as other provinces under the Act, although the governor, in his capacity as the Agent to the Governor-General, retained sole control over tribal policy. Elections for a 50- members provincial assembly were scheduled for February 1937. The main contestors were the Congress Party, Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party and the Independents.

Polling took place between I February and 10 February, with 179,529 people or 72.8 per cent of the electorate voting. The turnout was highest in the rural Muslim constituencies and lowest among the Sikhs.⁴⁵ The Congress won nineteen seats,⁴⁶ the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist captured seven and the Azad Party two. The remaining twenty-two successful candidates were independents.⁴⁷ Despite being the largest party, the Congress did not command an absolute majority.⁴⁸

Commenting on the results of the 1937 election in the NWFP, Professor G. L. Bakhshi says:

The most outstanding feature of our Elections is that it has been a race of merely moneyed-man, who were born with gold and silver spoons in their mouths. It is a fact that all the candidates standing in these elections are rich people, no matter whichever party they claim connection with. Almost all of them are master of lakhs and have a very strong financial position, built up through a lucky heredity, a paternal fortune, a profession, a business or, as often some capitalistic undertaking ... most of them are not educated; at least some had never any complete school instruction, ... 49

The Congress members in the Assembly were not in the ministrymaking game for the time being⁵⁰, pending an All India Congress Committee's decision on the question of office acceptance, the official position was that the Congress had participated in the elections only in order to "combat it [1935 Act] inside and outside the legislatures so as to end it". The other groups and parties were deeply divided and "jealousies and feuds between individuals and families, mistrust between the Khanate and the professional classes and lack of any great sense of public duty" prevented them from coming together. 51 It gave Sir Abdul Qayyum, therefore, an advantage over all others for struggle for political power.⁵² He formed a party of his own in the Assembly with the objective of gaining independence through constitutional means. The party was named the United Nationalist Party; but "in reality it was only a patchwork of people with no common programme, who joined Sir Abdul Qayyum for the sake of office and power". 53 The Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party which had a key position in the assembly were averse to joining Sir Abdul Qayyum because he was considered anti-Hindus.

In March 1937 Sir George Cunningham replaced Sir Ralph Griffith as the Governor of Frontier. Cunningham who tried his best to win over 7.

support for Sir Abdul Qayyum, saw Atai Khan and the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party leaders, and held discussion with them for several hours. They agreed to join a coalition under Sir Abdul Qayyum on certain terms, which were considered highly advantageous to the Hindu and Sikh communities.⁵⁴

The terms on which Frontier Hindus and Sikhs had joined the Ministry, were as follows: (1) Withdrawal of circular commonly known as Hindi-Gurmukhi circular;55 (2) One member of the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party should be included in the Ministry; (3) One member of the said party should be appointed as Parliamentary Secretary; (4) Existing grants of educational institutions should be maintained as at present and no discrimination be made in future: (5) Twenty-five per cent of admission to technical, professional and other schools and colleges in and outside the province should be allotted to Hindu-Sikh community and stipends and scholarships should be granted on the same percentage; (6) So far as practicable 25 per cent of future appointments to public services should be allotted to Hindu-Sikh community; (7) No legislation adversely affecting any particular community should be introduced without the consent of three-fourth of the members representing that community in the legislature; (8) Out of 25 per cent mentioned in clauses 5 and 6 above, Hindus shall have seven- tenths and Sikhs threetenths.56

The Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayyum ministry, installed on 1 April 1937, included, besides him, R.B. Mehr Chand Khanna (Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party) as Finance Minister and K.B. Saadullah Khan (landlord constituency) as Minister of Agriculture.⁵⁷ According to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan it was

A Ministry of die-hards, they were self-seeking leaders. They had no mass contacts. From the very beginning, the weak position of the Ministry was very much clear but at every stage Abdul Qayyum was encouraged by the Governor to battle-on. S8

As early as February 1937, the Indian National Congress wanted the British Government to give an assurance that the special powers of the Governor would not be used. On 22 June the viceroy made a conciliatory statement which induced the Congress to form Ministries in the Provinces. In July 1937, the Congress Party took office in seven out of eleven provinces including the NWFP.⁵⁹

In the Frontier Province, all the "progressive forces" were allying round the Congress. Dr. Khan Sahib, the Opposition Leader, with the help of Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party and of Hazara Democratic Party, mustered up a strength to introduce a No-Confidence Motion on 3 September 1937; it was passed by 27 votes to 21.⁶⁰ On this new development, Cunningham wrote to the Viceroy:

Apart from Dr. Khan Sahib (the mover) and Sir Abdul Qayyum, no one spoke on the motion. The speeches were restrained in tone, and there was no unpleasantness and little excitement. Inspite of all that has been said against Sir Abdul Qayyum in various quarters, there is no doubt that the majority of the politically-minded people in this Province look upon him as their natural leader. There is irony in the fact that many Khans and big landholders-who have as a class been his sworn enemies in the past-are now clinging to him as their best bulwark against domination by a Hindu Congress. 61

Subsequently, Dr. Khan Sahib formed a coalition government with Lala Banju Ram Gandhi, Qazi Ata Ullah Khan and Mohammad Abbas Khan as Ministers of Finance, Education and Industries respectively. Except for Mohammad Abbas Khan, who was a member of Democratic Party, the rest were Congress nominees.⁶²

Congress in Office

The First Congress Ministry in the Frontier was in office only for about two years and six weeks. Frontier Congress slighted the big Khans in a way by abolishing the system of Ziladars and Honorary magistrates. Their rights to revenue remission in return for services to government were taken back; they were not given due shares in the distribution of arms licences as well as in the allocation of agricultural improvement loans. The Agriculturist Debtor's Relief Act was passed which provided for the discharge of usurious loans and limited the rates of interest chargeable by money lenders. Some other Acts were also passed which gave the agriculturists more influence over the marketing of their products, thus limiting the control of middlemen over the markets. Some Acts repealed a number of repressive laws. In order to check the communal and political violence Goondas Bill was passed which gave the authorities wider powers to deal with the mischievous elements in the Province. In addition, they abolished the system of

naubati Chaukidari which enabled the poor villagers to be relieved of their unpaid duties. They planned to introduced a new system of revenue collection by appointing permanent revenue staff. The Governor was not happy with these developments. He put every obstacle he could in the way of Congress plans and managed to thwart their moves until the Ministry had resigned. 66

By the end of 1937 Dr Khan Sahib and his colleagues also decided to introduce the system of joint electorates in the local bodies elections in the NWFP. The Leagues members who considered Hindus and Muslims in India as two separate nations, opposed the move. Sardar Aurangzeb pleaded for discussing the issue between the Muslim and Hindu representative bodies, but Qazi Ata Ullah, refused to accept the Muslim League as the representative of the Muslims or his party. (Congress) merely as a Hindu body. The Congress members succeeded in introducing the joint electorates in the local bodies in the NWFP.⁶⁷ In March 1938 the Congress Ministry sponsored the Teri Dues Regulations Repealing Bill. Nawab Baz Mohammad Khan, a League member had extensive land in Teri (Kohat). The Nawab used to realise several dues. apart from obtaining a share of the land revenue. He used to enjoy this as his right given through the Regulation IV of 1902. Congress government considered it as unjustifiable. The Leaguers opposed the Bill on the plea that the dues were duly permitted by the Regulations of 1902. However, the majority favoured the Bill which was passed accordingly. But the Governor refused to give his assent to the Repealing Act. Some sort of compromise was, however, made on the Bill.⁶⁸

League leaders (Assembly Members), whenever possible, exploited the weaknesses of the Congress. They dubbed the Ministers pro-Hindu. They tried to make an issue of it whenever they got a chance. On 20 October 1939 a Muslim League Conference was held in Mardan. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, MLA, Central Legislature, presided over the Conference. The Leaguers requested the Frontier Government for a grant of rupces two hundred in order to bear the expenses of the meeting. Their request was turned down. The matter was raised in the Frontier Assembly. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan moved an adjournment motion and argued that the government's decision was biased and one sided. He cited the examples of Nehru and Gandhi's Frontier visit; sanctions were already granted by the government to cover their visit. Dr. Khan Sahib dubbed Zafar Ali Khan as a 'communalist'. There were heated

arguments on the whole issue. The debate ended on the defeat of Muslim League by 28 votes to 18.⁶⁹ All India Muslim League was watching these developments with interest and dismay. In the Special Session of the All India Muslim League held on 17-18 April 1938 at Calcutta, Mian Ziaud Din moved the following resolution echoing the general Muslim sentiment on the subject:

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League calls upon the Musalmans of India to take special steps to combat the Congress anti-Muslim activities in the Frontier Province. 70

Nishtar's Resignation from the Congress

There were different views on the resignation of Nishtar from the Congress. According to one view, it was "due to the fact that Ghaffar Khan had adopted very adamant attitude and wanted the Congressmen to work solely under his command and directions. This attitude was detested by the Congressmen which very soon created a gulf of differences between the Congressmen and Ghaffar Khan". Another view was that Nishtar had appealed to the government for his release at the time of his arrest during 1930s Civil Disobedience Movement. This act of Nishtar was disliked by Abdul Ghaffar Khan as well as Congress High Command and these differences resulted in his resignation.

However, to Jansson, it was due to the Repeal and Amending Bill, introduced by Nishtar, which aimed to repeal a number of repressive laws. The Governor disliked it; he tried to persuade Dr Khan Sahib to prevail on Nishtar to withdraw it. But Dr Khan Sahib was not moved. He spoke neither for nor against the Bill. The Bill was passed without a division. Cunningham decided to withhold his assent to the Bill which he did in July 1938. In protest, Nishtar severed his connection both with the Congress government and the party. As Nishtar himself put it, "separation from the All India National Congress was because of the fact that I had known that Hindus were prejudiced against the Muslims and would never be sincere to them. The success of the Indian National Congress in the freedom movement would mean that the Muslims getting themselves unchained from the British should enslave themselves to the Hindus." The succession of the Hindus.

The Second World War broke out in September 1939. In common with the rest of the Congress Provinces the Frontier Ministry, after passing the anti-war resolution on 6 November, 1939, tendered its resigna-

tion. This resolution was carried unanimously in this Fronier Legislative Assembly. Jinnah declared 22 December 1939 as the Day of Deliverance "as a mark of relief that the Congress regime had at last ceased to function". Meetings were held to celebrate the Day of Deliverance from tyranny, oppression and injustice during "the last two and a half years when the Congress Ministries did their best to flout the Muslim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture, and interfered with their religious and social life and trampled upon their political and economic rights".

In Peshawar the Leagues meeting passed a number of resolutions. The speakers recounted the atrocities meted out to the Muslims during Congress rule in the Muslim minority provinces, hoping that such calamities might not visit them again. The meeting was followed by a large procession.

Organisation of Frontier Muslim League

The year 1937 witnessed the resurgence of Muslim League in the NWFP in real earnest. In September 1937, a Provincial Muslim League was formed at Abbottabad. It passed resolutions opposing the partition of Palestine, supporting the Communal Award, demanding the restoration of Shahid Ganj mosque Lahore to the Muslims and appealing to the Frontier Assembly to take measures to reduce the land revenue. The Ulema played a prominent part in the formation of this branch of Muslim League. Maulana Shakir Ullah of Nowshera, President of the Frontier Jamiat-ul-Ulema, acted as the President at the inaugural meeting while Maulana Mohammad Shoaib, Secretary of the Jamiat, became President of the Frontier Muslim League. Maulana Mohammad Ishaq Mansehravi was another founding member. 78.

At Bhana Marhi, Peshawar, a meeting was convened on 18 November 1937, at which a branch was started with Mian Ghulam Hussain as President, Mohammad Ismail Ghanznavi, Barrister, as General Secretary, and Haji Ghulam Nabi as Treasurer.⁷⁹

More than 300 workers and members of Muslim Independent Party meeting in the house of Ghulam Rabbani Sethi at Karimpura in Peshawar appointed Agha Syed Lal Badshah as President, Ghulam Rabbani Sethi as General Secretary and Hakim Abdul Manan as Treasurer. Eight Vice Presidents were appointed from different parts of the city. They were: Mian Ghulam Hussain, Syed Sikandar Shah, Syed

Habib Shah Badshah, Syed Mohammad Zaman Shah, Haji Abdul Shakoor, Haji Chaudhry Matin Khan, Ghulam Hussain and Khwaja Safdar Ali. After the formation of the city branch of Muslim League, others who had adopted the same name automatically seized to function. All the branches of Muslim League merged one by one with the city branch under the leadership of Agha Syed Lal Badshah.

Apart from Peshawar City Muslim League, several local branches of Muslim League were formed in the autumn of 1937. In October 1937, the Peshawar district Muslim League was established, followed by branches at Hazara, Mardan, Bannu districts in November 1937, at Kohat in July 1938.⁸¹

After the death of Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayyum his followers leaned towards the Muslim League, Other anti-Congress elements in search of a platform to ventilate their common grievances against the Congress Ministry, also flocked to the League. Thus, in January 1938, Cunningham reported that the League had "made some headway lately, particularly among the Khans and big landowners, who are becoming more and conscious of the attack which is being made on them by Congress". The Muslim League as a party was unknown and was in fact nothing more than a drawing-room organization of some important Muslims". According to a Congress writer, the party lacked leadership as well as mass support on provincial level. The work of the leaders was confined to "travelling by car to the places where the meetings are convened, taking tea, and returning to their houses". According to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar:

I was preparing myself for participating in the important session of the All India Muslim League Council at Calcutta in 1937 when the news was received that Sardar Aurangzeb and K.B. Saadullah with many of their companions had left Peshawar for Calcutta. They intended to join League because Sahibzada (Abdul Qayyum) was already dead and they had no other alternative but to join the League. Theirs was a party known as the pro-Government in the masses; they went to Calcutta, joined the League. In the Frontier Assembly most of those who were in opposition, pretended to be Leaguers, and so the very first picture of the Leaguers in the minds of the Frontier men was pro-Government British agents and self-interested people. 86

All of the leading Khans, who at one time were the rivals of Frontier Congress, helped the Muslim League. The League's organization was created piecemeal, with the provincial council exerting little collective authority over its branches. It depended upon its Khanite members to persuade other Khans to organize the party in their respective regions through kniship ties, traditional associations, and social contacts. Consequently the League's organization assumed the appearance of a patch-work of alliances among the Khans. 87 The League's Khan dominated structure guaranteed it of some Pukhtun support since each Khan brought with him his core group of personal retainers and traditional factional followers, but many of them did not make the transition from tribal chief to modern political organizer quite successfully. They lacked the requisite skills, experience, and frequently the inclination. Most of them had joined the League not out of any ideological motivations, but to obtain backing against their local landlord opponents in the Congress. Their orientation remained traditional, with personal or factional interests taking precedence over party needs. They often refused to abide by party directives, which seemed to enchance the power or status of other Khans whom they perceived as potential rivals.⁸⁸

Apart from the Khanite class, the League tried its best to get support from the masses. It was difficult for them to contact the masses because they were dubbed as "toadies" and "traitors" by their enemies. But they were person who paid no heed to the opposition and continued their struggle to enlist new members as well as to introduce it among the masses.

Those who struggled to popularise the Muslim League were: Agha Syed Lal Badshah; Mian Ghulam Hussain; Hafiz Mahmood; Haji Karam Elahi; Sethi Ghulam Rabbani; Elahi Bukhsh; Pir Bakhsh; Hakim Abdul Manan; Maulvi Abdur Rab; Mian Abdul Karim; Haji Abdur Rahim; Abdur Rahman; Chan Abdul Majid; Syed Mohammad Zaman Shah; Syed Sikandar Shah; Pahlavan Tila Mohammad; Mian Gul Mohammad; Lala Mohammad Azim; Professor Imdad Hussain; Lala Taj Mohammad; Pahlavan Syed Mohammad Zaman Shah; Syed Abdullah Shah; Abdul Haye; Rahim Bakhsh Ghaznavi; Munshi Abdul Ghafoor; Munshi Sher Ali Khan; Master Mohammad Hussain; Dr. Mohammad Afzal Gilani; Nasir Ahmad; Haji Matin Khan; Kala Khan; Syed Mahmood-ul-Hasan; Lala Mohammad Yaqoob; Fazle Mahmood Alias Dora; Mian Mohammad Shafi; Haji Karim Bakhsh; Syed Moham-

mad Mushtaq; Malik Malang Jan; Haji Abdul Shakoor; Syed Habib Shah Badshah; Syed Zakariya Shah Badshsh; Mian Gul Mohammad; Abdul Aziz; Baba Abdur Rauf; Mohammad Ali; Sardar Gul and many others.⁸⁹

The Muslim League high command took personal interest in the Frontier affairs. Jinnah who seemed hopeful, wrote to Mian Zia un Din in August 1938 that he was looking forward to the day when the NWFP will be a Muslim League Government. "I feel confident that, it will come, perhaps sooner than many people imagine". 90

K.B. Saadullah reported to Liaquat Ali Khan that since their return from Delhi in August 1938, the Leaguers toured Mardan and Peshawar districts, enlisted cooperation of the notable citizens of the area, recruited members, raised a corps of volunteers and had established village committees, and were than concentrating on Hazara. He also reported that they were organizing a District Political Conference on 10-11 September, 1938 at Abbottabad, and that they needed the League's election manifesto and programme. The Conference, he said "will help us a great deal in our campaign against the Congress". Liaquat Ali Khan felt happy that "the League propaganda is being carried on so extensively in your province". 92

After the death of Sir Abdul Qayyum on 4 December 1937, Sardar Aurangzeb acted as the undisputed leader of Independent Party in Assembly. A delegation of seven members consisting of Hafiz Fazli Mahmood, Mian Abdul Karim Afandi, Salar Elahi Bukhsh, Lala Agha Mohammad Khan, Sardar Gul, Hakim Abdul Manan and Malik Shad Mohammad was sent to Sardar Aurangzeb to invite him to join the Muslim League. After detailed discussions, Sardar Aurangzedb joined the Muslim League. His adhesion infused a new spirit in the party, and he persuaded the members of Provincial Assembly to join the League. Meeting in Nowshera, they reorganized the Provincial Muslim League. with Maulvi Shoaib (Mardan) and Ismail Ghaznavi (Peshawar) as President and General Secretary, 93 and Mian Ziaud Din and Saadullah as Vice Presidents, and Abdul Hakim (Jalozai) as Treasurer. The members of Executive Committee comprised K.B. Kuli Khan, Mulla Jan Mohammad, Mian Ghulam Hussain, Agha Lal Badshah, Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, Rahim Bakhsh Ghaznavi, Hakim Abdul Aziz Chishti, Maulana Mohammad Ishaq, Maulana Fazal Samdani, Maulana Abdul Wadud Sarhadi, Ghulam Rabbani Sethi, Arbab Sher Ali Khan, Arbab Madad Khan and Agha Sikandar Shah. 94

After the Nowshera meeting, a meeting was held in Islamia Club Hall, Peshawar, which was attended by the following person:

Peshawar Teshil: K.B. Mohammad Akram Khan, Arbab Mohammad Sharif Khan, K.B. Arbab Shams-ud-Din Khan, K.B. Arbab Sher Ali Khan, Arbab Madad Khan, K.B. Mohammad Hasham Khan, Mohammad Amin Khan, K.B. Haji Abdur Rahman Khan, Mohammad Khan, Rahmat Khan, Qazi Mohammad Ali, Arbab Akram Khan, Fateh Khan, Khan Amir Mohammad Khan, Sultan Mohammad Khan, Arbab Ataullah Khan, K.B. Abdul Qadir Khan, Mian Zia ud Din etc.

Nowshera Teshil: Mohammad Shimas Khan, Abdul Wahid Khan, Maulana Shakirullah and others.

Charsadda Tehsil: K.B. Saadullah Khan, Hidayatullah Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, Sarfaraz Khan, Syed Lal Badshah, K.S. Mir Alam Khan, Sahibzada Khalil-ur-Rahman, K.B. Abdul Jabbar Khan, K.S. Fazlur Rahman, Mohammad Zaman Khan, K.S. Ghulam Haider Khan and many others.

After speeches by Sardar Aurangzeb and Mian Zia ud Din, the following office bearers of Muslim League, Peshawar District were elected: Amir Mohammad (President); K.B. Mohammad Akram Khan (Vice-President); Arbab Madad Khan (General Secretary) and K.B. Mir Alam Khan (Senior Joint Secretary). Malik Shad Mohammad, Sultan Mohammad Khan and Mohammad Zaman Khan were elected Joint Secretaries and Qazi Mohammad Ali as Propaganda Secretary. 95

Within a short time of four months, more than five hundred members were enlisted in the Frontier Muslim League. They had paid two annas per head for their membership. The Muslim League, Peshawar city was reorganized; by Mian Ghulam Hussain, President, Allah Bakhsh Yusufi as Senior Vice President, Shad Mohammad as General Secretary, Qazi Mohammad Ali as Joint Secretary and Hakim Abdul Manan as the Treasurer. Seven honorary Vice Presidents were nominated which included the names of Syed Sikandar Shah, Syed Mohammad Zaman Shah, Syed Habib Shah Badshah, Haji Abdul Shakoor, Chaudhry Matin Khan, Ghulam Hussain and Syed Abdullah Shah. About sixty councillors* were selected (including the Vice Presidents).

List of Councillors, see Appendix-1.

In April 1938 under the leadership of Sardar Aurangzeb and Agha Syed Lal Badshah, the Provincial Muslim League celebrated the 'anniversary of the martyrs' of 1930. On reaching the memorial of Martyrs, they met with Dr. Khan Sahib who commanded their organization. The League leaders laid floral wreath and retired peacefully.⁹⁷

The Celebration of the "League Week"

The celebration of 'League Week' was decided by the workers of Muslim League, Peshawar in June 1938. Workers had started their untiring efforts and carried out a mass contact for enlisting people in the League. Membership forms were circulated. The proposed 'League Week' was propagated throughout the Province. Besides provincial leaders prominent speakers were invited from the Punjab. Those who came from the Punjab were Professor Yusuf Salim Chishti, Mohammad Bakhsh Muslim and Professor Malik Inayat Ullah. Peshawar city was divided into seven parts. It was resolved that local leaders should be informed before going to a particular place, in order to arrange the meeting in a proper way. The balcony of Hakim Mohammad Din was acquired as office. Pahlavan Tila Mohammad was made Incharge of the National Guards as well as of the office. Sardar Aurangzeb offered himself to play host to the guests from the Punjab. 98

Posters announcing the 'League Week' were pasted throughout the city. The first meeting was held at Kucha Agha Pir Jan in Yakatut Bazar, with Mohammad Zaman Shah as President. On subsequent days meetings were held in Garhi Khana in Lahori Gate, Asia Gate, Chowk Mundi Beri, Yakatut and in Chowk Bazar Ganj. ⁹⁹ The League Leaders availed of the occasion to raise their voice against the Congress domination of the province, and to stress the need for Muslim Unity.

By-Elections and the Frontier Muslim League

In the general elections of 1937, the Muslim League did not nominate any candidate in the NWFP, but in the by-elections of spring 1938, the League did. The leading League candidates were Mian Zia ud Din, Shah Pasand Khan (an old Khudai Khidmatagar who had obtained League's ticket), Rashid Tahir Kheli, and Sardar Bhadur Khan. 100

In the general elections of 1937, two Congress candidates had been disqualified in two Muslim-Rural Constituencies of Mardan, i.e. Razar and Amazai. Their election petitions having been accepted, the two

seats were declared vacant. In Razar - Muslim Rural constituency, the contest was between Mian Zia ud Din and Kamdar Khan, while in the Amazai Muslim Rural Constituency, the contest was between Allah Dad Khan, a nominee of the Congress, and Shah Pasand Khan, cousin and brother-in-law of Allah Dad Khan and a nominee of Muslim League.

From the very beginning, the Peshawar and Mardan districts were considered the strongholds of the Khudai Khidmatgars, hence the contest was rather tough, and the Khudai Khidmatgars won.

By-elections in the Hazara District were of immense importance from League's viewpoint. The Muslim League had decided to hold its conference at Abbottabad in July 1938 and had invited Ch. Khaliquz Zaman to preside. ¹⁰¹ The meeting took place at Company Bagh. More than two hundred delegates ¹⁰² of Peshawar participated in it under the leadership of Agha Syed Lal Badshah. In his Presidential Address, Ch. Khaliquz Zaman recounted the history of the All India Muslim League. He also criticised the Congress and its leader, Gandhi. ¹⁰³

Maulana Shaukat Ali had also arrived the NWFP on 4 July 1938 along with Habib Ahmad, his Private Secretary, and Abdul Hamid Badayuni. They toured Hazara in support of the League's candidates. He made an appeal to the Frontier Ministry to work for the Frontier people and not to follow the dictates of Hindus from the down country. He "went so far as to say that the Muslim League would be ready to follow Dr. Khan Sahib, if he were to form a Muslim Party and discontinue with Congress". 104

In the Haripur North Muslim Rural constituency by-elections Abdur Rashid Tahirkheli, the League's candidate defeated his rival by a margin of 13 votes only 105, the total number of votes polled were 3,565.

In the Haripur South Muslim Constituency, Raja Manochehr Khan defeated the Congress candidate, Pir Sultan ul Arifin. Although one version puts Raja Manochehr Khan as an independent candidate, he was with Muslim League after being elected. Later, he joined the Congress, and still later the Muslim League again. Finally, in 1945, he joined Congress when he was made Parliamentary Secretary by Dr. Khan Sahib. 106

For the by-election of Haripur Central Muslim Constituency vacated due to the death of a member who had won the seat as an independent in the election of 1937 but who had joined the Muslim League. League nominated Sardar Bahadur Khan as its candidate, he was elected. 107

The year 1939 may be regarded as the year of League's consolidation and of mass contact in the Frontier. The next year (1940) was the year of that great historic event which changed the course of history in the sub-continent. We would, therefore, turn our attention in the following chapter to the historic All India Muslim League's Annual Session of Lahore in March 1940 and the role of Frontier delegates in it.

References and Notes

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- 3. Mohammad Shafi Sabir, Quaid-i-Azam Aur Soobah Sarhad (Urdu), (Peshawar, University Book Agency, 1986), p.36
- 4. Ali Abbas Bukhari to Syed Wazir Hasan, 23 June 1914, AFM, Vol. 206
- 5. Ibid.
- 6. Kazi Mir Ahmad to Syed Wazir Hasan, 15 March 1916, AFM, Vol.206
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- 8. Stephen Alan Rittenberg, The Independence Movement in India's North West Frontier Province: 1901-1947 (Columbia University, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1977), p.57
- 9. The Progress, Bombay, 3 March 1940 (Allah Bukhsh Yusufi's Personal Collection, Karachi) (Hereaster Allah Bukhsh).
- 10. Dr. Abdur Rahim to Yusuf Lodi, 15 Sept., 1973. Dr. Abdur Rahim himself was the Vice President of the Pakistan Movement Committee, London.
- 11. Ibid.
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- 13. Ibid.
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- 15. Ibid.
- 16. Ibid.
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- 18. Mohammad Ali Jinnah to Allah Bukhsh Yusufi, 12 Sept., 1936 (Allah Bukhsh).
- 19. Allah Bukhsh Yusufi, Syasiyat Sarhad Key Irtegai Manazil (Karachi: Mohammad Ali Educational Society, 1972), p.76
- 20. Anwar, op.cit., p.2

- 21. Malik Shad Mohammad, Deed Wa Shuneed, (Peshawar: unpublished autobiography) 11, p.77
- 22. Ibid., p.78
- 23. Aziz Javed, Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad, (Peshawar: Idara Tehqiq Wa Tasnif, 1978), p.56
- 24. Shad, op.cit. p.78
- 25. Yusufi, op.cit., p.72
- 26. Anwar, op.cit., pp.2-3
- 27. Ibid., p.3
- 28. Shad, op.cit., p.80
- 29. The prominent among those present there were: Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum, Ghulam Samdani, Pir Bukhsh, Agha Syed Lal Badshah, Chan Badshah, Mohammad Usman Naswari, Rahim Bukhsh, Ata Ullah, Abdul Haye, Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi, Malik Amir Alam, Mohammad Jan Khan, Habib Ullah Khan, Haji Abdul Malik, Chacha Mohammad Yunis, Agha Syed Ali Shah, Syed Mehr Gul, Syed Mohammad Zaman Shah, Malik Khuda Bukhsh, Sajjad Ahmad Jan, Malik Murad Khan Shinwari, Malik Saida Khan Shinwari, Ghulam Rabbani Sethi, Allah Bukhsh Barqi, Yaqoob (Kobi), Bashir-ul-Hasan, Ghulam Ghaus Sehrai, Kher Mohammad Jalali, Bahadur Khan, Malik Shad Mohammad, Abdul Qaiyum Swati and Kala Khan. Apart from them the volunteers were: Khan Hafizullah, Khawaja Mohammad Usman, Hafiz Fazle Mahmood, Pahlavan Faqir Mohammad, Lala Agha Mohammad, Lala Mian Mohammad, Abdul Majid, Mohammad Azim, Malik Banaras Khan, Sheikh Noor Mohammad, Sheikh Baz Mohammad, Chacha Wazir Mohammad, Ghulam Mohammad and many others. Khaksars and students were also present on the occasion. First of all Jinnah shook hand with Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan, Then he was introduced with Agha Syed Lal Badshah, Pir Bukhsh next met him and then other notable of Frontier were introduced with him.
- 30. The following story was narrated by Malik Shad: An old man Bawa Mian Mohammad alias Naim Shah was standing near me when he put a glance on the Quaid, he shook me by saying "you told me that Hazrat Maulana Mohammad Ali Jinnah is coming on a visit to Peshawar. But this is an English man" Perhaps he had in his mind the portrait of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar.
- 31. Anwar, op.cit., p.3

- 32. *Ibid.*, pp.3-4
- 33. Shad, op.cit., p.87
- 34. *Ibid.*, p.88
- 35. Ibid.
- Mir Abdus Samad Khan, Loi Pukhtun: Sir Sayyed- i-Sarhad Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1982) p.354
- 37. Anwar, op.cit., p.9
- 38. Shad, op.cit., p.92
- 39. Anwar, op.cit., p.10
- 40. Ibid., p.11. Apart from them were Malik Fida Hussain, Hafiz Fazle Mahmood, Pahlavan Faqir Mohammad, Abdul Aziz Khushbash, Elahi Bukhsh, Malik Shad Mohammad and many others.
- 41. Anwar, op.cit., p.11
- 42. Sabir, op.cit., p.66
- 43. Yusufi, op.cit., p.72
- 44. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.210
- 45. Ibid., p.210
- 46. Congress Party: Dr. Khan Sahib, Peshawar; (2) Qazi Ata Ullah, Mardan; (3) Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan, Peshawar; (4) Arbab Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Peshawar; (5) Arbab Abdur Rahman Khan, Peshawar; (6) Mian Jaffar Shah, Peshawar; (7) Abdul Aziz Khan, Mardan; (8) Khan Amir Mohammad Khan, Mardan; (9) Pir Mohammad Kamran, Hazara; (10) Khan Mohammad Samin Jan Khan, Mardan; (11) Khan Zarin Khan, Mardan; (12) Khan Abdullah Khan, D.I. Khan; (13) Khan Akbar Ali Khan, Bannu; (14) Khan Faqira Khan, Hazara; (15) Khan Mohammad Afzal Khan, Kohat; (16) Lala Bhanju Ram Gandhi, D.I. Khan; (17) Dr. C.C. Ghosh, Peshawar; (18) Lala Hukam Chand, Kohat; and (19) Lala Jumna Das, Mardan.
- 47. Independents; (1) Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum, Peshawar; (2) K.B. Saad Ullah Khan, Peshawar; (3) K.S. Abdul Majid Khan, Hazara; (4) Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan, D.I. Khan; (5) K.S. Asad Ullah Jan Khan, D.I. Khan; (6) Khan Aziz Ullah Khan, Mardan; (7) Nawab Baz Mohammad Khan, Kohat; (8) Khan Faiz Ullah Khan, Bannu; (10) Pir Syed Jalal Shah, Kohat; (11) Malikur Rehman Kiyani, Kohat; (12) Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Peshawar; (13) Khan Nasrullah Khan, Bannu; (14) Nawabzada Mohammad Said

Khan, D.I. Khan; (15) Khan Mohammad Zaman Khan, Hazara; (16) Mian Zia ud Din Peshawar; (17) Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Peshawar; (18) R.B. Chaman Lal, Bannu; (19) K.S. Abdur Rahman Khan, Hazara; (20) Mohammad Abbas Khan, Hazara; (21) Mohammad Sarwar Khan, Hazara; (22) K.S. Mohammad Atai Khan, Hazara.

Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party: (1) R.B. Mehr Chand Khanna, Peshawar; (2) R.B. Ishar Das, Hazara; (3) R.S. Kanwar Bhan Bhagai, Bannu; (4) R.S. Parmanand, Hazara; (5) R.S. Rochi Ram, D.I. Khan; (6) Sardar Ajit Singh, Kohat; (7) Sardar Jagat Singh, Peshawar.

Azad Party: (1) Malik Khuda Bukhsh, D.I. Khan; (2) Pir Bakhsh Khan, Peshawar.

- 48. Erland Jansson, *India*, *Pakistan or Pakhtunistan?* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1981), p.71
- 49. Klyber Mail, Peshawar, 14 Feb. 1937.
- 50. Amit Kumar Gupta, North West Frontier Province: Legislature and Freedom Struggle 1932-1947 (Delhi: Indian Council of the Historical Research, 1976), p.70
- 51. Jansson, op.cit., pp.72-73
- 52. Gupta, op.cit., p.70
- 53. Jansson, op.cit., p.73
- 54. Ibid. p.74
- 55. The Sanskrit dispute was a dress rehearsal for a much more bitter controversy which begin in October, 1935 when an administrative circular made Urdu or English the mandatory language of instruction from the third standard in Government- aided girls school. A transaction period of five years was allowed after which any school not complying would forfeit government support. Non-Muslims interpreted the order as an attack on their culture and religion since it prevented education in Hindi and Gurmukhi. The issue, however, was not as insidious, as they represented it. The circular had been proposed by English officers to rationalize the province's educational system. It did not bar the teaching of Hindi and Gurmukhi as second languages and was not directly solely against non-Muslims since the Province's Muslim could not use Pashtu or Hindko as media of instruction either. So the Governor pledged the withdrawal of Hindi-Gurmukhi Circular on the condition if they

- joined the coalition ministry of Sir Abdul Qayyum.
- 56. Mohammad Hashim Gazder to M.A. Jinnah, 10 July 1937, Quaid-i-Azam papers, (National Archives, Islamabud, F.No. 261) (Hereafter NAI)
- 57. Jansson, op.cit., p.75
- 58. Abdul Qaiyum, Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1945), p.35
- 59. The seven provinces which had Congress Cabinets were: United Provinces; Bihar; Bombay Presidency; Central Provinces; Madras Presidency, the NWFP and Orissa. Assam got a Congress Cabinet in September 1938 after the first Cabinet was thrown out. Sindh had a Cabinet supported by the Congress Party; without participating in it. Only Bengal and Punjab had non-Congress ministries.
- 60. Rittenberg, op.cit., pp.236-237
- 61. Cunningham to Linlithgow, 6 Sept., 1937 P.N. Chopra (Ed). Towards Freedom, 1937-47 (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1985), I. p.927
- 62. Jansson, op.cit., p.76-77
- 63. Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988), p.11
- 64. Jansson, op.cit., p.79
- 65. *Ibid.*, p.85
- 66. Ibid., p.90
- 67. Gupta, op.cit., pp.88-89
- 68. Ibid., pp.84-85
- 69. Ibid., pp.87-88
- 70. Sharifuddin Pirzada, Foundations of Pakistan (Karachi: National Publishing Ltd., 1970) II, p.298
- 71. Abdul Ghaffar Khan quoted in Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar: A Political Biography (Lahore: Qadiria Books, 1985), p.60
- 72. Malik Shad Mohammad Khan quoted in Ibid.
- 73. Jansson, op.cit., p.83
- 74. Mujawar Shah, op.cit., p.61
- 75. Qaiyum, op.cit., p.39
- 76. Jamilud Din Ahmad, Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah (Lahore: Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, 1968) I, p.104
- 77. Ibid., p.106
- 78. Jansson, op.cit., p.108
- 79. Sarliad Peshawar, 20 Nov. 1937 (Allah Bukhsh)

- 80. With the formation of Congress Ministry, many Muslim workers of Peshawar city had started gathering in front of the house of Agha Syed Lala Badshah in Mohallah Fazle Haq Sahibzada, where they discussed day to day situation. Among the persons present were Syed Abdullah Shah who had a liking for a post in the new organisation. Shad Mohammad was given the task to announce the names of the persons selected. The list did not include the name of Syed Abdullah Shah, but Shad Mohammad saved the situation by naming him as patron, Shad, op.cit., II:239
- 81. Jansson, op.cit., pp.108-109
- 82. Ibid.
- 83. Zia ud Din, *The Memoirs of a Pakistan Diplomat* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1976), p.39
- 84. Mohammad Yunus, Frontier Speaks (Lahore: Minerva Book Shop, n.d.), p.207
- 85. Jansson, op.cit., pp.110-11
- 86. Abdur Rab Nishtar, Azadi Ki Kahani Meri Zubani (Urdu) (Karachi: Tahir News Agency, n.d.), pp.52-53
- 87. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.258
- 88. Ibid., pp.260-261
- 89. Shad, op.cit., pp.241-242
- 90. M. Haneef Shahid, Quaid-i-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches, Statements, Writings, Letters (Lahore: Sange Meel Publications, 1976), p.178
- 91. Saad Ullah Khan to Liaquat Ali, 25 Aug. 1938, AFM: 206.
- 92. Ibid.
- 93. Shad, op.cit., pp.243-252
- 94. Javed, op.cit., p.79
- 95. Shad, op.cit., pp.253-254
- 96. Ibid., pp.263-264
- 97. Ibid., pp.297-298
- 98. Ibid., 111:1
- 99. Ibid., pp.2-6
- 100. Jansson, op.cit., p.112
- 101. Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Pathway to Pakistan (Pakistan: Longmans Green and Co., Ltd., 1961), p.195
- 102. Most prominent participants of the Conference were: Sardar Aurangzeb Khan; Mian Ghulam Hussain; Mian Zia ud Din; Hafiz

Fazle Mahmood; Pahlavan Tila Mohammad; Mohammad Yaqub; Lala Agha Mohammad; Fazle Mahmood Tailor Master; Mian Abdul Karim; Hakim Abdul Manan; Maulvi Abdur Rab; Mohammad Ismail Ghaznavi; Shad Mohammad; Mian Gul Mohammad; Arbab Mohammad Akram Khan; Arbab Sher Ali Khan; Mohammad Amin Khan; K.S. Abdur Rahman; K.B. Saadullah Khan; K.B. Mir Alam Khan; Sahibzada Khalil ur Rehman; and Mohammad Bahram Khan.

103. Shad, op.cit., pp.9-11

104. Governors Situation Report, 23 July 1938 (National Documentation Centre, Lahore: India Office Record Library, P&J/5/213) (Hereafter NDC)

105. Jansson, op.cit., p.112

106. Ibid., pp.113, 143-144

107. Shad, op.cit., p.12

The Frontier Contingent and Lahore Resolution - March, 1940

After the loss of the Muslim political power and with the advent of the British rule in India in the mid 19th century, the feelings between the Christian rulers and the Muslim community became bitter. It was time for the Hindu community to reassert itself in the changed circumstances. With the passage of time as the idea of responsible government became popular the division between the two religious communities became more and more unbridgeable. The very nature of a Government based upon the numerical strength of electorates was sufficient to be read by the Muslims as Hindu Raj in India. Thus the Hindu majority rule over an undivided India meant the subjugation of the Muslim minority not only from socio-economic but also from religio- political points of view. Hence the Muslim demands for separate electorates and other future constitutional safeguards which the Congress could not agree to as a permanent solution. This led Dr Mohammad Igbal, a prominent Muslim leader and poet philosopher, to demand on 29-30 December, 1930 the division of India on communal and ideological basis. Many Muslim leaders, including Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, were still hoping for a Hindu-Muslim settlement. However, they were soon convinced, particularly during the 1937-39 Congress rule, that Hindu-Muslim unity was a mirage. In September 1939, the League rejected 'irrevocably' federal objectives given in the 1935 Act, and decided to meet in Lahore in March 1940. The Nawab of Mamdot, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan, was made the incharge of Reception Committee for the purpose. The Nawab of Mandot wrote to the Frontier Muslim Leaguers

to help him in managing the session. He was anxious that we should send volunteers to keep watch over the *pandal*, to maintain order and to prevent mischief.¹

A meeting of Frontier Provincial Muslim League was held in the last week of February 1940 in Peshawar. K.B. Saud Ullah Khan of Umarzai was at that time the Provincial President of Muslim League;

Mian Ziaud Din was its General Secretary, while Malik Shad Mohammad was its Joint Secretary. Three years had already passed after the establishment of Muslim League in Frontier. Muslim League was not vet firmly established in rural areas. However, in urban areas, especially in Peshawar City, it was well-founded. Suggestions as to the participation of delegates were given by various prominent members who were present there. Agha Syed Lal Badshah suggested that the Session was going to be held relatively close to Peshawar, so it was their duty to send at least one thousand delegates and volunteers of National Guards. He told that the Frontier Delegation had played the most important role in the famous Session of All India National Congress in Lahore in December, 1929 and it was due to their popularity and efforts that the gates of progress were opened for the Congress in Frontier. If they were in a position to send the same number of delegates to the Lahore Session of All India Muslim League then by Al-Mighty's Grace they would be in a position to counteract Congress activities in the Frontier. After discussion it was resolved that at least five hundred persons should be sent as delegates and as National Guards Volunteers to Lahore.²

Sub-Committees were made for the collection of funds on provincial as well as district levels. It was also resolved that they should provide for a special train from Peshawar to Lahore for the participants. The task of arrangement for the special train was assigned to Sardar Aurangzeb and Malik Shad Mohammad. Apart from them, other prominent participants in the programme arrangements were Mian Zia ud Din and Agha Syed Lal Badshah.

Nawab of Mamdot was informed by Mian Zia ud Din that they had no money for "their maintenance for several days stay in Lahore". The Nawab very generously offered to meet all the expenses of the Volunteers out of his own pocket.³

A week after that meeting, all the Committees submitted their reports to the office of Provincial Muslim League. They had prepared the list of the names of those volunteers of National Guards and delegates who were to be sent to Lahore, to attend the historical session of All India Muslim League. For special train, they corresponded with the General Manager, North Western Railway, Lahore. Copies of the same request ware despatched to Sir Sikandar Hayat, the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, the President and over all incharge of the Reception Committee and the Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the then General Secretary of All India Muslim

League. After the completion of the lists, Malik Shad Mohammad and Khawaja Allah Bakhsh Mehta, Propaganda Secretary of Peshawar City Muslim League were sent to Lahore for direct negotiations with the Railway authorities.

After their arrival at Lahore, they met Sir Sikandar Hayat, who informed Nawab of Mamdot about the arrival of members of Frontier Muslim League. Then K.B. Abdul Hakim, the Private Secretary to the Chief Minister Punjab took them to the Head Office of Railways. The Hindus were in majority in the Railway, so their efforts failed. Sir Sikandar Hayat after discussing the case with Nawab of Mamdot sent them to Delhi in order to inform the General Secretary of All India Muslim League about the whole situation. There was at that time a Musalman Executive Member of Railways and they sought his help for the arrangements of the Special train.⁴

They started to Delhi by the night train. Next day they reached Delhi and on the way to their hotel 'Paharh Ganj' with their host Pahlavan Faqir Mohammad, they got news about the ultimatum of Khaksars⁵ which they had given to Sir Sikandar. They demanded the immediate withdrawal of all the restrictions on Khaksars, otherwise, they were prepared to act on their own behalf i.e. to harm Sir Sikandar as possible as they could. In the meeting with Liaquat Ali Khan, they directed his attention to the threats of Khaksars but he did not pay much attention to this point. After their discussion on the problem of special train, they met with Sir Zia ud Din Ahmad, who at that time was a member of the Central Assembly as well as Railway Board. They tried their best to get special sanction for a special train from Peshawar to Lahore. On the same evening they both left Delhi for Peshawar. On their arrival at Peshawar all the District Committees were reported about the failure of their mission in getting the permission for a special train and their planning about their future programme. They were informed that the exact timing and date of the train were 5 p.m. on the 21 March. They told all the district branches of Muslim League to catch the same train from their near-by stations.7

On the evening of 21 March, various branches of Muslim League from Peshawar, D.I. Khan, Kohat, Bannu and Charsadda had gathered their volunteers and delegates which were more than three hundred. Never in the history of Frontier Muslim League such a large crowd had gathered in one place. The delegates of Nowshera tehsil under Mian Ma'ab Kaka Khel joined them in Nowshera⁸ and the delegates of

Hazara, which numbered about one hundred and fifty joined them in Rawalpindi. The group leaders were as follows:

Syed Agha Lal Badshah, Arbab Madad Khan, Peshawer; Amir Mohammad Khan, Nowshera; Sahibzada Khalil ur Rehman, Charsadda; Sohbat Khan of Maneri, Mardan; Syed Fazal Shah, Pir Syed Jalal, Kohat; Taj Ali Khan, Bannu and Shahzada Fazal Dad Khan, D.I. Khan.⁹

It was the most remarkable day because all of the workers, volunteers and leaders of Muslim League were simply dressed in 'Maiatia' colour uniform. This is to be noted that the most fashionable man Mian Zia ud Din was dressed in the same 'malatia' colour as was K.B. Saad Ullah Khan. In short, all of the volunteers of National Guards and workers of Muslim League started for Lahore under the supervision of Agha Syed Lal Badshah. They shouted the slogans of and "Muslim League Zinda Bad". When the train reached the Bala Hissar Station (which no more exists, the present Jinnah Park), the news of the firing on Khaksars at Lahore reached Peshawar. But the caravan without any hesitation moved towards its destination. 10

The Khaksars demanded the lifting of the ban on thir organization by Sikandar Hayat failing which they threatened Sikandar Hayat. The Punjab Premier called on Inayat Ullah Khan Mashriqi, their leader, and discussed the situation with him. Allama Mashriqi left Lahore for Delhi and from their issued a hostile statement against Sir Sikandar.

On 19 March, 1940 the Khaksars started a protest procession under the leadership of Khushal Khan Jadun of Hazara. They were 313 in number. 11 On the way they were stopped by the authorities. A British Officer was put to death by the Khaksars. The police opened fire at the insurgents. The Government figures reported thirty-two dead, but the general impression was that many more lives were lost. It was a "tragedy that occurred just two days before Mr. Jinnah arrived at Lahore". 12

The Contingent of Frontier Muslim League reached Lahore early in the morning of 22 March. There were no arrangements from the Reception Committee to welcome the delegates coming from every nook and corner of India. There were some workers who informed the delegates from Peshawar that due to the prevailing situation they should reach Minto Park (present Iqbal Park) but without entering the city. The situation at Lahore was grave. The contingent from Peshawar reached Minto Park without wasting time.¹³

The workers of the Reception Committee were divided into two groups: Pro-Sikandar and anti-Sikandar. The Nawab of Mamdot tried his best for conciliation between the contending parties.

Under the auspices of Nawab of Mamdot, a meeting was held on the evening of 22 March 1940. The place they selected was the camp of Frontier delegation. All the prominent members of the League attended the meeting. The topics under discussions were the arrival of Quaid-i-Azam, President of All India Muslim League, arrangements of the Session and the control of the National Guards in a disciplined way. There were rumours in Lahore about the reaction of the Khaksars. The Khaksars were in an angry mood. They had decided to stage a demonstration against Sir Sikandar on his arrival to the Pandal of the session. Some local League leaders promised their help and support against Sir Sikandar. In the meeting some prominent Leaguers stressed on the responsibility to be given to the Frontier contingent. Agha Syed Lal Badshah, Sardar Aurangzeb, K.B. Saad Ullah Khan, Mir Alam Khan, Bakht Jamal Khan and Tai Ali Khan all spoke unanimously about the acceptance of such a great responsibility. They demanded three members from Reception Committee for advisory committee, Malik Shad Mohammad was appointed Camp Commander. There were rumours at that time, like that of "blood for blood" and even there were some talks about an assault on Quaid-i-Azam. There were also rumours that the Khaksars were preparing themselves to destroy the camp of Muslim League.14

After long discussion they called Sir Sikandar Hayat to the camp and informed him about the security measures as well as the reception of Quaid-i-Azam. In the meanwhile a rehearsal was made on the evening of 22 March in which more than 3,000 volunteers of National Guards participated. It infused a new life in the camp.

Early in the morning of 23 March, all of the workers volunteers and delegates started moving towards the station. Platform No.1 was selected for Jinnah's 'Saloon'. The pride of place went to the Frontier National Guards, when amongst them, fifteen young, smart and energetic men were selected to be the personal 'Guards' of Quaid-i-Azam. Amongst them were included Taj Ali Khan, Mir Alam Khan, Pahlavan Tila Mohammad, Hasiz Fazle Mahmood, Mian Gul Mohammad etc. They were all escorted with best weapons. Other National Guard volunteers were asked to occupy the station. The people started gathering

there before the completion of the arrangements and within no time gathered more than one lakh. It was really difficult to control them. Central League members, Provincial Assembly League members, Muslim League Ministers, Members of All India Muslim League Working Committee, Opposition Leaders and workers of Muslim League gathered there. They all came from far flung areas of the country in order to participate in the historic session. Sir Sikandar came half an hour earlier from the arrival of Quaid-i-Azam and joined the workers of Reception Committee in arrangements. The problem facing the Defence Committee was to look after Sir Sikandar and this they considered more dangerous than the security of Quaid-i-Azam. They had not yet completed the arrangements when the train of Quaid-i- Azam arrived. 15

When the train entered the station the waves of masses came inside and broke away the defence wall of National Guards. With great difficulty, after a struggle for half an hour, the security guards were in a position to clear the way, reached the 'Saloon' of Quaid and then made his way clear upto car. Sir Sikandar sat in another car. At that time, the situation was out of control of the security guards. The road was made clear with the help of police. An incident occurred there which was later on narrated by Quaid himself. By the Grace and support of Al-Mighty, the Volunteers of Frontier had succeeded in their first task and safely reached to their camp.

The decision for holding the historic Session of Muslim League was made. It was fixed at 3 p.m. on 23 March, 1940. National Guards were briefed about their duty. Through a reliable source, it was brought to the notice of the Frontiermen that some dissident elements in Muslim League had conspired against Sir Sikandar Hayat. They had prepared themselves to stage a protest in shape of demonstration on the arrival of Sir Sikandar to the *Pandat*. In the meanwhile a few hundred more Frontier Muslim Leaguers arrived. The Frontier Leaguers, already present there met the new comers and informed them about the situation and about the difficult task of security and guard. All of them unanimously decided to guard the *Pandal* of the Muslim League and to make every sacrifice in time of need for their common cause.

Before the commencement of the League's Session at 3 OClock in the afternoon, Pahlavan Tila Mohammad, the Commander of Peshawar City National Guards, was given the task to guard the area around. He had with him 400 Volunteers of National Guards. He was also given the authority to keep an eye on the undesirable elements if any. Ten other commanders, working under him were to deal with any critical situation arising. They were ordered that in time of emergency they were allowed to use alarm in order to collect them on the spot. Entire contingent of National Guards was ordered to be ready in their tents. ¹⁸

When Sir Sikandar Hayat rose and commenced his speech, a dissident Councillor from Lahore cried aloud, responded by shouts of "عندركوليك عنكال دو " "from the crowd. The situation got a bit out of control. Pahlavan Tila Mohammad and Malik Shad Mohammad tried their best to bring back the situation under control. The slogans of تحقون كابدله يُون " (blood for blood) were also heard. Ultimately National Guards were ordered to take action. The crowd was dispersed and situation was then clam and quiet. It was entirely due to the courageous stand of the Frontier Contingent of Muslim League that the disturbance was stopped and Session was conducted with peace and calm. 19

The honour for the Frontier Muslim League was that the same guards accompanied the Quaid upto his chair, who accompanied him from station to the camp. Further, Aurangzeb Khan presided over one session in the absence of Quaid-i-Azam. In the same Session, the women camp was given under the custody of Hafiz Fazle Mahmood and Mian Gul Mohammad from Frontier. They fulfilled their task in a better way.²⁰

The participants of the Lahore Session of All India Muslim League from Frontier were hundreds in *number.²¹ After deliberations a number of resolutions were adopted, which stated *inter alia*,

... that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these

For these names see Appendix-2

units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, affective and mandatory safeguars shall be specifically provided in the constitution, for them and other minorities, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights sand interests in consultation with them.²²

Sardar Aurangzab Khan seconded the Resolution from the NWFP. He assured the Muslims living in the Hindu provinces that they were ready at all times to lay down their lives for the sake of their coreligionists. He opposed British democracy, "which is nothing but a counting of heads. Muslims are a separate nation; We want a home for the Muslim nation, and our home is indicated in the resolution." The Frontier contingent returned to Peshawar the following day and began to make plans for explaining the historic resolution to the masses. The passage of Lahore Resolution meant a complete departure from the policy which had been pursued until then by the League, and it changed the political goal which the Muslim League had aimed at. In the opinion of Chaudhry Khaliquz Zaman,

The Nationalist Press supplied the Muslim masses a concentrated slogan which immediately conveyed to them the idea of a state. It would have taken long for the Muslim leaders to explain the Lahore Resolution and convey its real meaning and significance to them. Years of labour of the Muslim leaders to propagate its full import among the masses was shortened by the Hindu Press in naming the Resolution, The Pakistan Resolution.²⁵

References and Notes

- 1. Zia ud Din, *The Memoirs of a Pakistani Diplomat* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1976), pp.56-57.
- 2. Shad Mohammad, Deed Wa Shuneed: III (Peshawar: unpublished autobiography), pp.78-79.
- 3. Zia ud Din, op.cit., p.57
- 4. Shad, op.cit., p.80.
- 5. Due to the great popularity of Khudai Khidamatgars the Khaksars

For these names see Appendix-3

made no head-way in the Frontier, they spread in other parts of India. The Khaksars had functioned even before the general elections of 1937, and were mostly engaged in social work. The Khaksars were often seen parading the big cities of India. The party had no definite political programme, Its leaders sometimes indulge in "vague talks about the Muslim domination of the World, but never go beyond it". Their leader Allama Inayat Uliah Khan Mashriqi was an ex-School Head- Master and an eminent mathematician.

- Sir Sikandar had banned armed volunteers and their parades in early March, 1940 and thereby created resentment in the Khaksar Camp.
- 7. Shad, po.cit., pp.84-85.
- 8. Interview with Mian Ma'ab Kaka Khel, 1 May 1985.
- 9. Interview with Malik Shad Mohammad, 29 March, 1985.
- 10. Shad, po.cit., p.86
- 11. Mohammad Ali Fariq, Angrez, Sir Sikandar aur Khaksar Tehrik (Lahore: Maktaba Huriyat, 1978), pp.73-74.
- 12. Khaliq uz Zaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, (Pakistan: Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., 1961), p.235.
- 13. Shad, op.cit., p.87
- 14. *Ibid.*, pp.89.90
- 15. Ibid., pp.91-92
- 16. According to Malik Shad, it so happened that a coward man got chance and was near to hit the Quaid by his fist but the Quaid was at the time made aware of his motive. Quaid got hold of his hand but due to much crowd, he escaped.
- 17. Shad, op.cit., p.93-94
- 18. Ibid., p.94-95
- 19. Ibid., p.95-97
- 20. Ibid., p.98
- 21. Many sources were consulted in collecting the list of those who participated. Several interviews were also made e.g. Mian Ma'ab Kaka Khel and his son Mian Amin-ul-Wahab, Malik Shad Mohammad, Mohammad Ashraf Khan, Professor Imdad Hussain and so on.
- 22. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Foundations of Pakistan (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1970) II, p.341
- 23. Ibid., p.343.
- 24. Zia ud Din, op.cit., p.16.
- 25. Khaliq uz Zaman, op.cit., p.237

Transfer of Power from Congress to League in Frontier

In November 1940, new elections for the Provincial Muslim League were held. Following were elected as the office-bearers for the coming year:

Bakht Jamal Khan, President; K.B. Saad Ullah Khan, Vice President; Mian Zia ud Din, General Secretary; Malik Shad Mohammad, Joint Secretary; Mohammad Zaman Khan, Assistant Secretary; Mian Ghulam Hussain, Treasurer.

The following were nominated as the members for the Council of All India Muslim League. 1

(1) Bakht Jamal Khan; (2) K.B. Saad Ullah Khan; (3) Dr Abdul Latif; (4) Arbab Madad Khan; (5) Fateh Mohammad Khan Khattak; (6) Mohammad Yakub Khan; (7) Pir Mohammad Khan; (8) Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan; (9) Nawab Mohammad Zafar Khan; (10) Sardar Mohammad Jehangir Khan; (11) Mohammad Sarwar Khan; (12) Khan Azizullah Khan; (13) Mian Zia ud Din; (14) Sahibzada Khalil ur Rehman; (15) Malik Shad Mohammad; (16) Arbab Mohammad Amir Khan; (17) Gul Mohammad Khan; (18) Abdul Wahid Khan; (19) Taj Ali Khan; (20) Pir Syed Jalal; (21) Sahibzada Fazal Din Khan; (22) Sajjad Ahmad Jan.

Following is the list of office bearers of the Muslim League at District level as supplied to Liaquat Ali Khan by Mian Zia ud Din, the Provincial General Secretary of Muslim League.

Peshawar: President, Arbab Mohammad Amir Khan, General

Secretary, Arbab Madad Khan

Mardan: President, Maulana Mohammad Shuaib, General

Secretary, K.S. Mohammad Darwesh Khan

Hazara: President; Mohammad Sarwar Khan, General Secretary,

Sardar Bahadur Khan

Kohat: President, Fazal Karim Asif, General Secretary, (the

name had not been sent)

Bannu: President, K.B. Ghulam Haider Khan, General Secre-

tary, Nasrullah Khan

D.I. Khan: President, Shahzada Fazal Dad Khan, General

Secretary, Sardar Maula Dad Khan²

Liaquat Ali, Khan had inquired Mian Zia ud Din about the difficulties that Muslim League faced in the NWFP to which Mian Zia ud Din replied that the Khudai Khidmatgars were popular in the Province. Another reason he pointed out was that "no Muslim leader of All India reputation has paid us any visit during the last year and a half, and people have become tired of hearing the local orators". He urged a visit of Liaquat Ali or of the Quaid-i-Azam to the Frontier Province.³

Commenting on the prevailing situation in the Frontier Muslim League *The Khyber Mail* Peshawar, under the heading of 'A Frontierman's Diary' wrote in its editorial:

There is nothing surprising in this if the Muslim League has not been able to create mass enthusiasm among the Pathans, if it has not spread like wild fire throughout the Frontier, the fault does not lie with the Pathan mind or even with the League principles. Quite a number of times I have been told by responsible Congressites that the League is an organization with sound principles in unworthy hands, particularly in the Frontier. This I think is the chief cause of the failure of the League in the N.W.F.P. ...in the Frontier the League has no Jinnah no Khaliq- uz-Zaman, no Ismail, no Fazlul Haq - in fact, not a single popular and capable leaders at its back. There are no primary Leaguers outside the towns.⁴

A delegation of All India Muslim League which consisted of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, Qazi Mohammad Isa, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni and Maualan Karam Elahi Malihabadi reached Peshawar in February 1941. It toured all of the Province and it had wonderful welcome everywhere. The members addressed largely attended meetings at important villages and towns and had good opportunity of seeing the Frontiermen and the Frontier.⁵

Governor's Rule (1939-1943)

The foremost task of the British in India was the implementation of the Government of India Act 1935 and its smooth running. But when the Second World War broke out in 1939, it had to divert its full attention from the Act to the war efforts. In the words of Jansson, "The long-term problem of India's future was subordinated to the immediate needs of war".⁶

On 3 September 1939 Britain declared war on Germany and asked her dominions to follow her, which they did. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, without consulting Indians or their representatives, declared that India, too, was at war with Germany.⁷

The Congress resolution in the NWFP Legislative Assembly strongly protested against the British action of declaring war on behalf of India "without the consent of the people" and of adopting measures "curtailing the powers and activities of the Provincial Governments". Further, it pointed out that the British Government, in order to secure the cooperation of Indian people in the war, should apply the principles of democracy and regard India "as an independent nation entitled to frame her own Constitution". The original resolution for the resignation of the Congress Ministry, as a protest was, however, not moved by Dr. Khan Sahib in person, rather it was moved by Mian Jafar Shah, another veteran Congressite.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, the Opposition Leader, then moved the Muslim League amendment in the House. It urged the British Government to bear in mind, when considering the question of India's Constitution, during or after the war, that "democratic and parliamentary system of Government under the present constitution had failed, being unsuited to the genius of people." So the amendemnt claimed that "the entire problems of India's future constitution should be wholly reviewed and revised de novo...." It also asked the British Government not to make any commitment about the future constitution "without the approval or consent of the All India Muslim League which alone represents and can speak on behalf of the Muslamans of India".

On 7 November 1939 Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry resigned and on 11 November, the Governor NWFP Sir George Cunningham seeing no prospect of the formation of an alternative Ministry assumed full powers under Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 and prorogued the legislative assembly indefinitely. In Jinnah immediately urged Aurangzeb Khan, the Provincial League leader, to form a coalition at any cost to show that the NWFP had repudiated the Congress and accepted their party as the authoritative representative of India's Muslim. Il Aurangzeb was however, "in no way able to bring together a

working majority and informed Jinnah in somewhat euphemistic terms that 'local League and party opinion' was not in favour of accepting the office." The Frontier Hindus helped the British in their war efforts. At a meeting of the Frontier Provincial Sanathan Dharam Education Board, held under the presidentship of R.B. Mehr Chand Khanna MLA, it was unanimously resolved that "the Board, while placing its services at the disposal of the Government calls upon all its members to give unstinted support to the Government in this great war for democracy." 13

Throughout the war the North West Frontier remained on the whole calm. The attitude of the people varied but it never gave the British cause for serious alarm. The following description given by the Deputy Commissioner in 1941 is in its basic features valid for the entire province and the whole war.

Generally speaking the middle and higher classes hope for and wish a British victory and are more or less keen in giving assistance in War efforts. The lower classes are apathetic. So far as political parties are concerned, the Congressites, the Ahrars, and the Socialists and their allies do not desire either a British or a German victory. They hope that Germany and England will eventually exhaust themselves and out of the ensuing chaos will emerge "free India". They trust German wireless news. The Muslim League and the minority communities in the Province wish for a British victory and assist in War efforts. They clearly see destruction in any political change in India. They place more reliance on the British wireless news. 14

The Frontier Province helped the British both with money and men. Acknowledging the final remittance for Rs. 1,35,614/- from the NWFP Air Craft Fund for the purchase of two fighter machines for the Royal Air Force, The Viceroy expressed his deep gratitude and thanked the donors for their valuable contributions. ¹⁵ In the rest of India, anti-war propaganda was systematically carried on by the Indian National Congress which resulted in opposition of the people for the British war aims. ¹⁶

The Cripps Mission and the NWFP

With Japan's entry into the World War II on 7 Dec. 1941 the situation in India entered a new phase. Both America and China became anxious to have full cooperation of India in the persecution of the war and put great pressure on Britain for the declaration of a new policy towards India for the purpose of bringing its whole-hearted support to the side of the Allies. In February, 1942, Chiang-Kai-Shek and his wife personally visited India and met the Viceroy and the Indian leaders. Rangoon fell on 7 March and it seemed that an attack on India was imminent. President Roosevelt now became very anxious and renewed his pressure for granting India Independence, and sent his personal representative Col. Louis Johnson to India. Pressed on all sides, Winston Churchill consented to send Sir Stafford Cripps with some proposals towards Indian Independence. 17

Sir Stafford Cripps recommended an independent Federal India with the condition that the Provinces could opt out of the Federation if they so desired. In his presidential address at the Allahabad Session of All India Muslim League, on 4 April 1942, Quaid-i-Azam said.

It has roused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions, specially with reference to the Pakistan Scheme which is a matter of a life and death for Muslim India. We will, therefore, endeavour that the principle of Pakistan which finds only viewed recognition in the document, should be conceded in unequivocal terms, and until we know how the right of Muslamans to keep out or accede thereto is defined to our satisfaction.¹⁹

The Working Committee of All India Muslim League by its resolution on 11 April 1942, while announcing that the proposals in that form were unacceptable to them, expressed "their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognized by implications by providing for the establishment of two or more independent Unions in India".²⁰

The Cripps proposals were also rejected by Congress. In the last meeting of the Congress after the commencement of the war in the Pacific, it was stated that "only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war". On July 14, 1942, it went further, and demanded the termination of the British rule in India. 22

Sir George Cunningham informed Linlithgow, the Viceroy on 22 March 1942 that

the official League attitude has been stated in one or two meeting; resolutions were passed to the effect that, if His Maiesty's

Government made any declaration favourable to Hindus and Congress, the League would make any sacrifices necessary to protect Muslim interest.²³

Cunningham further reported about the local-League feelings that

from the Muslim League side, the belief is that Jinnah genuinely regretted the breakdown of negotiations, that he assured Sir Stafford Cripps that in this war Muslim interests are identical with those of the British, and that there is still some idea of Government coming to separate agreement with Muslim League.²⁴

The Cripps Mission failed. On 11 April 1942, Cripps cut short his conversations and left for London. There was no doubt that it was Winston Churchill himself who stopped the negotiations between the Congress and Cripps as he did not trust either Gandhiji or the Congress. He believed that Ghandhiji, with his ideas of pacifism and non-violence, would hinder all war efforts. Churchill was not prepared to take any risk with Gandhiji. 26

In his report the Governor NWFP informed the Viceroy that "the general feeling is one of relief at the failure of Cripps Mission, as people here would not have welcomed a return to Ministerial Government."²⁷

Agha Khan remarked on the failure of Cripps Mission that the Cripps Mission failed, breaking itself against the harshest rock of all the fact that, while British and Hindu representatives alike hoped to preserve the unity of the Sub-Continent, the price of achieving that unity was one which no Muslim could accept, and Muslim opinion by now had consolidated itself formidably under the leadership of M.A. Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam. He made it perfectly clear to Cripps that no constitution for a united India which did not satisfy nearly a hundred million Muslims would be accepted, and that their opposition to it would be broken only by killing them, when they said "Death or freedom" that was what they meant.²⁸

The rejection of Cripps proposals by the congress gives a clear indication of the Hindu mentality. The proposals gave a vague hope to the Muslims that their majority provinces might claim separation from the Indian Union if a plebiscite resulted in their favour. This was enough to

exasperate Mr. Gandhi who could not bear that even a faint hope of separation should be held out to Muslims.²⁹

Quit India Movement

When Cripps returned to England, he left behind dissatisfied and disappointed India. His meagre and halfhearted offer proved once against the evident usclessness of further negotiations between the Indian nationalists and the British authorities. Meanwhile the repeated British reverses in the Pacific War, the exodus of Indian evacuees from Burma and Malaya and the fear of an impending Japanese invasion of India, created an atmosphere of insecurity, Gandhiji raised the slogan for another Civil Disobedience Movement and called the British to "Ouit India".

The Congress began a serious agitation throughout the country. It coincided with the bombing of Calcutta and Madras by the Japanese air force and the advance of their troops into the Manipur district of Assam. The reaction of the Government was immediate. All the Congress leaders were arrested and in the NWFP half a dozen Congress members of the Assembly were also arrested.³⁰ The Governor NWFP reported that "the Khaksars, the Ahrars and the Muslim League have all proclaimed their neutrality in the coming struggle."³¹

On 20 August 1942 the Working Committee of All India Muslim League met at Bombay and passed the following resolution

The Working Committee of All India Muslim League, having given their deep and anxious consideration to the present political development in the country deplore the decision carried at by the All India Congress Committee on August 8, 1942, to launch an 'open rebellion' by resorting to them mass Civil Disobedience Movement in pursuance of their objective of establishing Congress Hindu domination in India which has resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property.³²

According to them the movement directed the British Government in handing over the power to the Hindus which is going to force the Muslims and other communities "to submit and surrender to Congress terms and dictation".³³

The Working Committee of All India Muslim League, after anxious and careful consideration, call upon the Muslims to

abstain from any participation in the movement initiated by the Congress and to continue to pursue their normal peaceful life.³⁴

In the Frontier Province, the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1942 gained no such success as in other Provinces of India. Abdul Ghaffar Khan with other fellow members of Congress succeeded in organizing picketing the liquor shops and courts etc. They were arrested in October 1942. The Khans and the parties other than Congress helped the authorities in organizing propaganda against the Congress. All sort of help was given by the Muslim League to the British Government. Governor NWFP in his report dated 23 September 1942 stated that "Muslim Leaguers are still staunch and have been very helpful to us in doing the right sort of propaganda". 35

The Formation of Muslim League Ministry in the Frontier Province

During the war period the Quaid got the best opportunity to contact the masses and conveyed to them the programme and ideology of Muslim League. In the absence of Congress he had an opportunity to visit various places and personalities and had discussions with them on a separate homeland for the Muslims of the Subcontinent. On the suggestions of Lord Linlithgow, Sir Roger Lumley had a meal with Quaid on 15 January 1942. They discussed many things. As regards the NWFP, Mr. Jinnah remarked that

In the NWFP, he would openly admit that he had failed, before the 1937 elections, to get them to form a Muslim League Parliamentary Board. Congress had got in ahead of him, and local conditions there had defeated him at that time, but since then, the Muslim League had won every by-election, and he was quite confident that, if general elections were held in that Province, the Muslim League would win.³⁶

There were demands from the NWFP Muslims to save them from the Congress yoke. Faqira Khan went to Lahore, approached Mr. Jinnah to discuss with him "measures for counteracting the Congress 'Satyagaraha Movement' in the Frontier Province".³⁷

The Muslim press in the NWFP also appealed the Quaid to give special attention to the NWFP and the Muslim League Organization there. Khyber Mail, Peshawar, published a report by "a Leaguer" about the general situation of the Frontier Muslim League. The report runs

Ever since that master pilot Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah came to the helm of League, the Muslim League has been increasing in popularity and gaining the confidence of the great Muslim masses of the vast subcontinent. By his selfless devotion to its cause his sincere and bold leadership and political sagacity the Quaid-i-Azam has made this once almost derelict body into the one great national organization of Indian Muslims...

It is one of the fundamental weaknesses of the League in the Frontier that its organization 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 consist 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 distrusted by the masses for their past associations, even though they might have really east them off by now. But things being what they are, it is in the best interest of the Musalmans that these gentlemen should voluntarily become back-benchers and hand over responsibility to the younger and more popular element. Only in this way can sincere and devoted field workers be attracted to the League fold and public confidence in the League leadership created.³⁸

The Quaid-i-Azam responded by sending a delegation of All India Muslim League, which reached Peshawar on the 14 June 1942 and subsequently visited the Kohat, Bannu and Hazara Districts. At a number of public meetings, the Pakistan ideal was explained, and the formation of Muslim League Volunteer Corps and Defence Committees advocated.³⁹

Governor NWFP in his report dated 23 June 1942 stated about the tour of five members of the Defence Committee of All India Muslim League led by Nawab Mohammad Ismail on 19 June. They explained that the main object of their visit was to assure him that their efforts to stimulate the Muslim League National Guard were in no way opposed to Government's interests. They also talked of the necessity of the more League activity in the Province, particularly on the Pakistan issue, in order to counteract the pernicious effect of Congress upon the Muslim population. 40

It was a feature of the British policy during the war to set up as many non-Congress Provincial Ministries as was possible in the circumstances. The object was to prove to the world outside, and particularly to U.S., that the popular Ministers in India were contributing to the Allied War efforts in opposition to the Congress. Sir George Cunningham informed Linglithgow on 28 September 1942 that "Sir Feroz Khan Noon is coming to stay with me when he comes to Peshawar, and I will talk over the whole question of a Muslim Ministry with him as your Excellency suggests". 42

In October 1942, Noon suggested to Cunningham the necessity for setting up a League Ministry "to show the world that the Muslim League was predominant in Northern India". 43 Cunningham was then doubtful if the League would at all be able to win support from the non-Congress MLAs in the Frontier Legislative Assembly.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, the opposition leader in the Assembly, started discussions with MLAs other than his own party members. They were persuaded to join with Aurangzeb, who promised Vizarat to some of them. Sardar Ajit Singh of Akali Party, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, an Independent, and Samin Jan Khan, a staunch Congressite, were promised and later on given ministership by the Sardar Sahib.⁴⁴

Sardar Aurangzeb was called on by the Governor to assist him in the formation of a Ministry though his party was not in majority but the Governor was "thinking about some waverers who for the sake of power and authority should join hands with him". Congress tried its best to ask the members to refrain but in vain. The Governor then had some sort of a preliminary task with the Sardar. Sardar Aurangzeb agreed to include in his first public statement an assurance that, "he would wholeheartedly support the war effort of the Province". He also promised to accept the budget already authorized and said that, "on general administrative questions his desire would be to do nothing embarrassing to the Governor, his officers, and to rely for technical advice on the Government Secretaries". 45

On 25 May 1943, the League-Akali Coalition Ministry took office in the Frontier with Aurangzeb Khan as the Chief Minister, Samin Jan Khan as Education Minister, Abdur Rab Nishtar as Finance Minister, Raja Abdur Rahman Khan as Information Minister and Ajit Singh as the Minister for Public Works Department. 46

The Muslim League Ministry was welcomed by certain Muslims. Allah Bukhsh Yusufi, editor Sarhad, Peshawar expressed his joy in the following words:

The formation of League's Ministry in the Frontier was a new ray of hope for the Muslims of India in particular. More than two years was a rule of those who preferred their own and party interests rather than those of their Muslim community. They were followed by the most authocratic rule - the Governor's Rule under Section 93 of the India Act of 1935.

The editor praised the Sikhs that they had saved their community from the cunningness of Mahasabhites. Furthermore, the editor reminded the Ministers of their sacred duty - fair-treatment and the protection of the minorities and welfare of subjects in the NWFP.⁴⁷

During the by-elections of July, 1943 Quaid-i-Azam sent the following message on 20 July 1943 to the Musalmans of the NWFP.

All Muslim India's eyes are today towards you. If you fail in duty you will shock all the Musalmans of India. The Musalmans of India have great faith and hopes in you and believe that you will be unconquerable soldiers of Islam like your unconquerable rocks and through you Islam in India will be able to revive the glorious past. 48

The Muslim of Frontier responded to the call of the Quaid.

Of the 7 vacant scats in the NWFP in July 1943, elections were held for 6 (4 Muslims and 2 Hindus seats). The election for the Sikh scat was held back for some time. In the four Muslim scats the League's nominees defeated the Congress candidates. The two Hindu scats however, following an understanding with Mehr Chand Khanna, came to the Congress.⁴⁹

Sir Cunningham reported Lord Linlithgow of the success of Muslim League candidates in these words

It is satisfactory to note that the Muslim League success in these by-elections are generally accepted as being a victory for the British Government over the subversive elements in the country.⁵⁰

The elections results, particularly of the Muslim seats, proved that the Muslim League in the Frontier had improved their position to a certain extent.

The new Ministry, which wanted to make the Frontier people "happy and prosperous" during the difficult days of war or promised to end "the sufferings of the people" first undertook legislative measures ensuring liberal linancial measures. The NWFP Legislative Assembly

met for the first time on 17 August, 1943 - after a lapse of 3 years and 8 months - and on 18 August the Ministry introduced and passed the NWFP Minister's salaries and the Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's salaries (Amendment) Bills. By these measures the Chief Minister was to receive 1,750 per month and the other Ministers to get 1,500 per month. These salaries* were fixed exclusive of travelling allowances. The salaries of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker both League members, were also suitably increased. 52

Pakistan was another sensitive question for the Ministry, as it was bound to cause problems with the Sikh Minister Ajit Singh. Aurangzeb tried to lie low but Saad Ullah Khan would not let him. He urged the Ministers "to declare their policy about Pakistan". Aurangzeb, he said, had been called the "Lion of the Frontiers" and had been "heard roaring whenever there was a meeting (where) he pleaded the cause of Pakistan and that is why I wish that he should declare his policy on this point". 53 Cunningham informed Linlithgow, that

there was one incident during the session which might have led to a rift in the ranks of the Ministry, when K.B. Saad Ullah Khan, at the prompting of Mehr Chand Khanna, tried to initiate a debate on Pakistan; this was however, tactfully dealt with by Aurangzeb, without antagonizing the Sikhs.⁵⁴

Cunningham complained to Field Marshal Viscount Wavel about his ministers, that, "I am not happy about the way my ministers, particularly the Chief Minister - sometimes allow purely party or personal considerations to colour their official action". Then turned towards the favours done by Chief Minister like the grant of a permit to export gur or potatoes; the allotment of funds to some particular village and so on, were considered as the partiality of British Government. The Governor also frankly wrote to the Viceroy, "I am afraid there is no question that the Muslim League Minister has far less sense of duty to the public then their Congress predecessors had". 55 The Ministers manipulated administrative appointments, selectively distributed licences and permits, discriminated in allocating government funds, interfered in policy investigations, and tried to tamper with the judicial process. 56 They had continued their work in such an extent that consequently he told them that

These increments were in contrast to the amount the Congress Ministers (including the Chief Minister and the Speaker) used to receive namely, Rs. 500/per month plus car allowance.

if they went on as they were doing "either I must give up the Governorship or I must get new Ministers". 57

On 7 November 1944 Saad Ullah Khan wrote a long letter to the Quaid-i-Azam complaining the attitude of Sardar Aurangzeb towards him and the organization. After a brief history of Frontier Muslim League he narrated in detail the part played by him in organizing the Frontier League. He informed the Quaid how Sardar Aurangzeb pledged on the Holy Quran that "he should have no claim for the Chief Ministership in the Muslim League Ministry after its formation on the conditions that he should be allowed to work as an opposition leader" which was accepted by K.B. Saad Ullah Khan. Despite his pledges, he presented himself as Chief Minister of the Frontier Province. He declared that

I know Aurangzeb very well and his so-called sincerity to the organization, but still I will follow him, because the party discipline requires it. [But] throughout his period of the Premiership Sardar Aurangzeb has never spared me and my family members in putting us in all sorts of disgrace and trouble.

Then Saad Ullah cited some cases of injustices done by Aurangzeb's ministry to Saad Ullah and his family members. He criticised Sardar Aurangzeb that 'since it has been formed, the ministry had held no party meeting at all nor it even discussed the policy of his Government with other members of the Party'. It had, according to Saad Ullah, held no meeting either in Peshawar or elsewhere in the Province nor did it do any propaganda for the organization. On the other hand, it had become so much 'badname' by its corruption and other sorts of high-handedness that "the Muslims are now entirely dissatisfied with the League organization so much so that they hate the very name of such organization, because of Sardar Aurangzeb". In view of the above facts, Saad Ullah informed Mr. Jinnah that he "cannot tolerate any more to work with Sardar Aurangzeb because of his treacherous attitude hypocratic habit and am therefore constrained to come forward and give a vote of non-confidence upon him and his ministry whenever any chance comes".58

The corruption under the Ministry reached its highest ebb. Even Aurangzeb's supporters like Taj Ali Khan wrote to the Quaid that the different elements of the ministry as far as I know are not functioning practically for the Muslim League, but for the

merceenary ends of their own or of their relatives. All of them sometimes press the Chief Minister in one way or the other to achieve their desired objects and so that Premier as I may say, runs to take their pardon for the sake of this nominal ministry.⁵⁹

The Quaid responded

It is upto you all to realize that you have to put your house in order... the centre is doing its best to help and guide, but the root is in the Province itself; and, it is therefore, upto you all to work selflessly for the cause and establish solidarity amongst those who understand better, to begin with, and create complete unity and discipline amongst our people.⁶⁰

In early 1945, the Viceroy Lord Wavell visited Risalpur and Nowshera. Apart from other things as were discussed in between the Governor of the NWFP and the Viceroy, Cunningham told the Viceroy that "Aurangzeb's position is insecure, and he may be defeated on the budget".⁶¹

About the fate of the Ministry, Wavell informed Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India and Burma that, "I have just heard from Cunningham that he thinks his Ministry may not survive the budget session. He has asked a good many questions about procedure... The Ministry may survive, if it does not, its downfall will occur about next March. I don't think it would cause very serious difficulty", 62 and that "Cunningham would certainly try to form an alternative Ministry in place of Sardar Aurangzeb" but "I doubt if he would get a satisfactory one; especially if he insists on support to the war effort, which is essential". 63

On 9 March 1945 the assembly met for its budget session and, following the presentation of the budget for 1945-46, it admitted and discussed on 12 March the no-confidence motion⁶⁴ against the Coalition Ministry. Dr. Khan Sahib, the mover of the motion, accused the Aurangzeb Khan Ministry of deliberately keeping the Congress MLA's in jail to perpetuate a minority Government, of gross mismanagement and corruption, and of acting against the interest of the Frontier-men.⁶⁵

The no-confidence motion against the Aurangzeb Khan Ministry was passed on 12 March. The Ministry resigned. The most interesting feature was that Saad Ullah Khan, the most prominent Leaguer, voted against Sardar Aurangzeb. On 16 March 1945 the Second Congress Ministry under Khan Sahib assumed office in the NWFP. 67

When asked by the Convenor of the Committee of Action, All India Muslim League, Saad Ullah Khan stated in detail why he cast the vote of no-confidence against Sardar Aurangzeb and his ministry. He said that Sardar Aurangzeb and his colleagues in the Cabinet were abusing the Muslim League label and were committing fraud upon the Muslim population and upon the Leaguers of the Frontier Province. They indulged in different kinds of corruption. Nepotism was the rule of the day, and service of the people and promotion of the interests of League was far in the background. He further said that

l, along with many other leaguers found that the good name of the League was being ruined and in my judgment and in the judgment of many other prominent Leaguers of the Province, who could not tolerate any stigma on the good name of the League it become imperative whether to remove the label of the League from the Ministry or to wreck it in order to save the League from being stigmatized any further.⁶⁸

The Frontier Muslim League came into power in May, 1943 managed to stay on in office for 2-1/2 years mainly, thanks to the deadlock between the Congress and the British. The Congress not only refused to cooperate with the British but also hurt itself through the 'Quit India' campaign. The British, for their part, were anxious to get whatever support they could get and in addition to the NWFP Muslim League ministries came into being in Assam (August 1942), Sind (October, 1942), and in Bengal (April 1943).

Factionalism in the Frontier Muslim League

The discussions in the League's Parliamentary Party was but one fact of the factionalism which destroyed the party's cohesion. Aurangzeb Khan came into conflict with organizational leaders as soon as he assumed power. Many party officers were upset by his refusal to consult them on government decisions, while others grew uneasy with his record in office. The faction-fighting continued within the party executive until the organizational elections in August 1944, when Aurangzeb's group elected Taj Ali Khan of Bannu as the Frontier League President in place of Bakht Jamal Khan. The strong the party was but one fact of the factional strong the party in the party executive until the organizational elections in August 1944, when Aurangzeb's group elected Taj Ali Khan of Bannu as the Frontier League President in place of Bakht Jamal Khan.

Abdur Rahman Riya, editor of the Weekly 'Mazloom Dunya' Peshawar informed Mr. Jinnah about the general situation of Frontier Muslim League. He narrated the story of the proceedings of a meeting

held in the Muslim Club, Peshawar. The items on agenda was to deliberate over the causes of defeat of League's Ministry. Members were invited from far and wide of the Province. There were two conflicting parties, namely, Sardar Aurangzeb's Party and that of Saad Ullah Khan.

The members of both the parties began to hurl sarcastic remarks against one another and the proceeding began in hues and cries of the various categories. There was no discipline and no respect was carried out for the Chair. Everyone with his following was the monarch of all he surveyed. Most of the Khans participating in the meeting were armed to the teeth with their mercenaries. From every nook and corner of the Club Hall, there arose spokesman of Islam on lips garlanded with a firearm, of any category, and heart filled with self-consideration. All of it resulted in the walk out of Sardar Aurangzeb with his party and thus ended the meeting in fiasco. Riya invited the Quaid to come for rescue, otherwise, wait for an unforgettable revolution.⁷²

Mian Zia ud Din, accused Saad Ullah of breaking the discipline of the party and disturbing the said meeting. He said, "by their action they have not only disturbed the meeting, but have given, our enemies material for propaganda and amusement". Akhtar, an unknown person, wrote a letter to Liaquat Ali Khan. He criticised the League leadership of the Frontier. He accused the Khanate class responsible for the destruction of the League in the Frontier and suggested that, the "Frontier League should be given under the charge of Punjab League" and that their leaders be deputed to study the Frontier situation once in a month. 74

Even the differences reached to such an extent that at a time when the Frontier Muslim League appointed a Committee of four Muslim Ministers, the President and Secretary of Frontier Muslim League and such prominent members like Atai Khan, Pir Mohammad Kamran, Saad Ulah Khan, Nawab Nasrullah Khan and others to send an invitation to the All India Muslim League to hold its next session at Peshawar, Zia ud Din, the Provincial Secretary, in the same letter informed Liaquat Ali Khan not to accept their proposed invitation because he was not satisfied that "we will be able to make satisfactory arrangements in a small province like ours for such a big event". 75

Ousted from power with the party, the anti-ministeralists shifted their attention to a new front. Two months before the organizational elections, the All India Muslim League Council, over Aurangzeb Khan's strenuous objections, had ordered its Committed of Action⁷⁶ to conduct a full scale investigation into the provincial party out of a growing concern over the state of the Frontier League.⁷⁷

Liaquat Ali Khan informed the Provincial Secretary that they had decided to hold the next meeting of Committee of Action at Peshawar on the 14 of June and "to spend about a fortnight in the Province". He advised him for programme arrangements.⁷⁸

In the beginning of June 1944, the members of the Committee of Action arrived at Peshawar. They included Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab of Mamdot, Qazi Mohammad Isa, Nawab Ismail Khan, Haji Sattar Essack Sait and G.M. Syed. The members toured near about all of the NWFP. Wherever they went, were presented with different types of complaints, which, in details run as follows:

In a long letter Abdul Halim Asar pointed out the basic reasons for which they were ousted from the Provincial Muslim League. They were staunch supporters of Bakht Jamal Khan whom the Premier Aurangzeb disliked. Taj Ali Khan from Bannu was the favourite of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb supported and enhanced the propaganda against the supporters of Bakht Jamal Khan. Abdul Halim Asar and some other local Mohmand leaders were the first to fall victims of Sardar Sahib. Abdul Halim cited several cases of injustice done to him by Aurangzeb's Ministry. 79

Abdul Wadood, Treasurer City Muslim League, Peshawar, speaking before the Committee of Action stated that the root cause of unpopularity of Muslim League in the Frontier was the League Ministry itself. The persons in Ministry were incapable, dishonest and witty. They failed to reorganize the Muslim League rather they were interested in giving benefits to the big Khans, landlords etc. who were at a time the enemies of the Muslim League. The Ministers were puppets in the hands of industrialists and capitalists. They simply followed the directions given by the Government. They had made several promises with the people of Frontier but once in power had forgotten all. The poor Muslims were deprived. The wealthy non-Muslims were mostly favoured. He demanded that more capable leaders were to be nominated for the Frontier Muslim League.

Maula Dad Khan, Secretary Muslim League, D.I. Khan informed the members of Committee of Action that with great difficulties they had established a branch of Muslim League in D.I. Khan. All the members were honest and true to the cause of Islam. Due to their untiring labour they had won over the Muslim populace of the city. The reception given to Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan and Qazi Mohammad Isa were the best examples of the popularity of Muslim League in D.I. Khan. After the formation of the "so-called Muslim League Ministry" all of the Muslim Leaguers in the province were dominated by the greedy capitalists, "Presently in all of the districts of Hazara, Kohat, Bannu, D.I. Khan etc. there is no Muslim Leaguer true to his party and for the cause of Islam". The ambitious people had used Muslim League to their own interests and simply "in order to fulfill their designs". According to Maula Dad Khan, Aurangzeb-the Premier, had visited Dera Ismail Khan for more than four times but never paid attention to the Party, he was kept totally ignorant about the party members of Dera Ismail Khan League and their organization by the vested interests. He went back every time informed of "all well" by the capitalists. He cited several cases of nepotism made by Sardar Aurangzeb.81

The Committee of Action was presented with the proceedings of the Working Committee, 82 Nawakali (Mardan) to the effect that:

- (i) Ayub Khan, an unknown person was nominated by Sardar Aurangzeb himself to contest the election for Legislative Assembly. Despite the differences of opinion on his nomination, the local Leaguers tried their level best which resulted in his success;
- (ii) Nearly all of the members in the Sarhad Assembly were Muslim Leaguers, but they had not yet passed "the Pakistan Resolution" as their goal. Once asked by a member, the Premier replied "we all are Pakistan";
- (iii) The Premier interfered in the elections for the Provincial President of the League of 1944. He acted against Bakht Jamal Khan, the most popular member of Frontier Muslim League;
- (iv) If the Premier and his Ministers fail to change their attitude, we will then under the prevailing circumstances be compelled to move a No-confidence Motion against the Ministry;

- (v) It is regrettable that the corruption reached its highest ebb under the present Ministry. From the Patwari to the Premier himself, all are involved in the corruption;
- (vi) They warned further 'if the members of the Committee of Action fail to reform the Ministry', soon there should be a struggle for power between the Party and the Ministry.⁸³

Mohammad Hayat also spoke ill of the Premier and his Ministers. He considered them incapable for the job.⁸⁴

The Secretary "Anjuman-i-Tahasfuz Ghuraba" cited many cases of corruption made by Sardar Aurangzeb and his Ministers with special reference to Samin Jan-Khan, the Education Minister. He was accused of misappropriating government trees and alleged to have constructed new buildings in his village Jalo Bela, which he named as 'Wazirabad' and 'Shaukatabad'. Ghulam Haider Akhtar, the editor of Hamdam, Kohat, informed the members of Committee of Action that,

- (i) After the establishment of the Ministry the Ministers neither paid heed to the problems of common-man, nor did they arranged any public meeting of the Muslim League;
- (ii) In connection with the Kohat riots in 1924, the government had given a loan of several lakhs to the people of Kohat. Some amount was given up by the Ministries of Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum and Dr. Khan Sahib while some was paid by the people of Kohat. Inspite of so many promises made by the present Muslim League Ministry, it did nothing in that connection;
- (iii) The people of Kohat were fed up of the present Municipal Committee. They demanded new elections to Municipal Committees but despite the promises, the Ministers took no practical step in order to arrange for the new elections;
- (iv) Hamdam's policy was pro-Muslim League from the very first day of its existence. It did every thing for that cause but despite its moral support given to the Ministry and Party, Hamdam was not given any aid from the authorities. Other Newspapers were treated in the same manner. Gradually, the Muslim Press was turning against the Ministry which meant the opposition of Muslim League only due to the mis-behaviour and maltreatment of the Ministry;

- (v) No one dared to pay any attention to the genuine problems of Kohat. Apart from Peshawar other districts of the Frontier too were deprived of their share;
- (vi) In order to please Sardar Ajit Singh, the Muslims of Haripur were harshly treated. It is not good on the part of Muslim League to treat the Muslims badly;
- (vii) There were people who openly accused Muslim League and Pakistan, They were given a free hand to do so. On the contrary it put a check on those selfless and devoted Muslims which it considered harmful for the Ministers;
- (viii) There was a stagnation in the Muslim League as a Party in the Frontier. Bakht Jamal Khan, the most devoted person, who arranged public meetings every month was ousted from the authority of Muslim League. The present League Provincial President had no time to organize public meeting for propaganda purposes. In the light of the above facts, Muslim League will cease to function very soon in the Frontier Province;
- (ix) The newspapers of the Punjab propagated against Muslim League of Frontier Province and its Ministry. But there was no proper way to counteract that propaganda;
- (x) Leaving the Province aside, the Ministry did nothing for the benefits of Muslims in general.⁸⁶

Mohammad Yusuf, member Provincial League, Frontier had expressed the views that the people of the Frontier were not against the Muslim League Party but against the Ministry. He explained in detail how the seven years fruit of Muslim Leaguers were thrown to the ground by Muslim League Ministry. In a detailed letter, Bakht Jamal Khan explained the events before and after the formation of the Ministry. He accused the Chief Minister and his party of

staging a propaganda against him. Sardar Aurangzeb had discouraged those persons who had alienated from Congress and joined the League. Sardar Aurangzeb termed them as 'Bhagorhas' (deserters). Many of the sincere Muslims who intended to join the League showed reluctance because of the attitude of Sardar Aurangzeb - which was in no way useful for the Muslim League.⁸⁸

Cunningham informed Lord Wavell that the Committee of Action of Muslim League

have been disillusioned and have realised that the Muslim League in this Province is a misnomer for Party factions. They are, I think much more interested in strengthening the Provincial organization of the League than in bolstering up the present Ministry.⁸⁹

On his return to Delhi, Mohammad Zafar Ahmad Ansari, Secretary, Committee of Action, All India Muslim League had issued to the Press the following statement on 26 July 1944 of the Committee's tours of the NWFP

The Committee of Action, All India Muslim League made an extensive tour of the NWFP during the period from 13 to 29 June. In course of their tour they visited all the six districts of the Province and even the Rural areas where they met the office- bearers of the League as well as other persons interested with the League organization, discussed matters with them, inspected the League offices and thoroughly examined the working of the organization throughout the Province. They have come to the conclusion that the League organization of the NWFP together with its branches, as existing today, is not functioning as efficiently as the Committee would like it to do. They are of the opinion that the entire structure of the League organization in the Province requires a thorough overhauling under the direct control and supervision of the Commission with a view to bringing it in a line with the other Provincial Leagues. This, in their opinion, could be achieved best by deputing one of their own members to take charge of the work and re-organise the League strictly in accordance with the model constitution for the Provincial Muslim Leagues which has recently been drawn up by the Committee. They have accordingly appointed Qazi Mohammad Isa Sahib for this purpose who will exercise all necessary powers in connection with the discharge of his responsibilities and proceed on the following lines:

- 1. He will arrange for the enrolment of primary members throughout the Province under his own supervision, direction and control.
- 2. He will fix a period not exceeding three months for the enrolment of Primary members and establishment of primary Leagues.

- After the establishment of Primary Leagues he will make arrangements for the holding of elections for the city and district League through agents appointed by him.
- He will arrange to hold the election of office-bearers etc. of the city and District Muslim Leagues in accordance with the model constitution which will be enforced in the Province forthwith.
- 5. After these elections have taken place and due notice has been given to various District representatives he will fix a date for holding elections, under his own chairmanship and at the Headquarters of the Province of office-bearers of the Provincial Muslim League and representatives for the Council of the All India Muslim League.
- 6. All the moneys received as membership fee or otherwise for the Muslim League shall be deposited with Qazi Mohammad Isa Sahib who will open an account in the Imperial Bank of India at Peshawar and maintain regular accounts in respect thereof.

The Committee trust that the office-bearers of the Provincial League and the Council of the Provincial League will whole heartedly cooperate with Qazi Mohammad Isa Sahib and provide him every facility in his work of reorganization. The present office- bearers and the Council will continue to do the ordinary routine work apart from the work relating to reorganization, election etc. entrusted to Qazi Mohammad Isa Sahib till the new office-bearers and the Council are elected. 90

After starting his work, Qazi Isa in an appeal and Press statement stated in detail that,

we have made many tours in the NWFP from time to time and have come to the conclusion that in order to reorganize the Muslim League, work should be started under the direct supervision of a representative of the All India Muslim League. Hence my present visit to your Province, which I hope will last till March next. During this period I will hold fresh elections from the primary League to the Provincial League ... there are six districts and six towns in the NWFP and 16 tehsils. In each tehsil there will be primary Muslim League Committees with polling stations as their centres. All the neighbouring villages will be under the Primary League. In each tehsil, there will be

on the average 6 to 7 Primary Leagues; in some 10 to 12 polling stations. These will be the Primary League Centres. Each Primary League will have to enrole at least 100 members before it can be recognized. Elections will be held under the supervision of the Provincial organizer. After elections of primary Leagues have been held, a tchsil Muslim League will be formed. This will be followed by elections of tehsil Leagues, then the district League and finally the Provincial League. After the office- bearers of the Provincial Muslim League have been elected, my work will end. As regards cities each municipal ward will be considered as a primary League, and elections will be held in each ward. After these elections the town League will be formed. Concluding, Qazi Isa said new enrolment forms (valuing Annas two per form) had been received from the All India Muslim League and will be distributed by the organizer and filled in.91

Qazi Isa started his assignment in October by cancelling the membership of everyone in the Frontier League. He then toured the Province, reenlisting members and establishing Primary League—Branches.⁹² He informed Liaquat Ali Khan of his return from the visit of the NWFP. He told him that "every where the response had been tremendous, I have now established all over the Province my independent agencies to carry out the work for me".⁹³

Malik Ziarat Gul reported to Liaquat Ali Khan about Qazi Isa's tour to the NWFP. He considered him not a suitable person because he was staying in Deans Hotel, Peshawar while they needed a person who could organize them from an office of Provincial Muslim League. Even the local leaders made complaints to the Quaid against Qazi Isa, Ghulam Rabbani Sethi criticizing Qazi Isa, wrote,

I must tell you that he has kept you in dark about the position of the League in this Province. Though the majority of intelligensia among Musalmans and also some people from the masses have got leanings towards the League or support for its stand; but there are no such members as the Qazi Isa had been boasting in some of his statements from New Delhi and elsewhere. The membership forms were purchased by Aurangzeb and his colleagues and bogus names were entered to complete the forms over night. Is it a service to the League and the

Musalmans? Then he pleaded for a person like Ch. Khaliq uz Zaman to visit Peshawar in order to organize Frontier Muslim League.⁹⁵

When the Quaid got these informations he described it "not only painful but are calculated to damage the prestige and honour of the League in your Province". 96

The Governor NWFP reported about the dissolution of the Provincial Muslim League by Jinnah because "is the logical outcome of the faction-feeling within the Provincial League which has been its greatest weakness".

Quaid-i-Azam asked Abdur Rab Nishtar about the happenings in the Frontier Province. "Although I am not well, I would like to keep myself in touch with the correct information". 98 Jinnah further said.

I have no doubt in my mind that if you and few others will summon up your courage and boldly give the lead to our people in the NWFP, you will find 99 per cent of the Musalmans behind you, provided that the Muslim League organization will adhere solemnly to its policy and programme, that its leaders are selfless, sincere and servants of the nation, and that you put forward a definite, well-considered parliamentary programme in the form of a manifesto.⁹⁹

New organizational elections were indefinitely postponed in the summer of 1945 so that the party could concentrate on the forthcoming campaign for the Provincial Assembly. What was left of Qazi Isa's reorganization was an *adhoc* structure which was only a cosmetic change from the old jerry-built faction-ridden organization. 100

The Simla Conference 1945

The American public opinion had fully realized the Indian support in war efforts from the very beginning of the war. They put pressure on the British Government to grant independence to India. The Americans were anxious on the arrest of leaders of All India National Congress during 'Quit India' movement. As the war situation improved in Europe, the Americans renewed their pressure for the solution of the Indian political problem. This may have been one reason why Lord Wavell went to London in May 1945 to discuss with the Secretary of State the next step in India. It was then decided to convene a Round Table Conference. 101 Hence with the utmost correct and pious wishes, Lord

Wavell convened a conference of political leaders of India at Simla with the previous sanction of Winston Churchill with a view to create good political atmosphere. Lord Wavell released on 15 June 1945 all the members of the Congress Working Committee who were kept in detention from the days of the 'Quit India' movement. The Simla Conference began its deliberations on 25 June, 1945. 102

In accordance with the Viceroy's declaration, the Conference was attended by the Presidents of the All India National Congress and All India Muslim League as well as representatives of the Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs. The Hindu Mahasabha tried to get an invitation but the Viceroy did not accept its claim. 103

Differences between the Congress and the Muslim League came out into the open as soon as the Conference started. By the second day, the Conference had agreed on certain main principles like representation for minorities, whole-hearted support for the war efforts and continuance of the reconstituted Executive Council under the Government of India Act till the end of the War. Differences however arose about the composition of the Executive Council. Mr. Jinnah took the stand that the Congress should include only Hindu members in its quota to the Executive Council.

The Congress rejected Jinnah's stand. They insisted that the Congress had the right to nominate any Indian it liked regardless of "whether he was Hindu, a Muslim, a Christian, a Parsee, or a Sikh". 106 They also disputed League's claim that it represented all the Muslims. 107

All efforts of the Congresites failed and Quaid-i-Azam stood firm in his faith. Azad was right when he said that "The Simla Conference marks a breakwater in Indian political history". The Congress was beginning to realize that the achievement of Indian independence was not simply a matter of forcing the British Government to agree to their demands, but that there was an equally important third party, the Muslim League without whose consent no long-term settlement of the Indian problem could be brought out. 108

Mohammad Zaman advocate of Charsadda wrote to the Quaid that God had given a chance to reorganize Muslim League because people had started talking against the Congress Ministry. He said "to crown all this, came the Simla Conference, the immemorable stand taken by the Quaid-i-Azam there in the historic Conference opened the eyes of the

Pathans of this Province. It worked as a miracle and changed the political philosophy of the Pathans. The worth Quaid-i-Azam by his ability, foresight and himalayan firmness revealed the true nature of the Hindu mind". 109

Cunningham reported to Lord Wavell, that the communal feeling had grown worse since Simla Conference. Well-educated Muslims becoming anti-Hindus and pro-Muslim League¹¹⁰ and that

I find that the failure of the Simla Conference 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. Even professional Muslim Leaguers like Aurangzeb Khan, my late Chief Minister, have expressed this view to me, and one went so far as to say that it is time that the young Muslim elements 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. 111

Once Quaid-i-Azam had said that, "I know that Muslim India will not shirk any sacrifice as we have definitely made up our minds for the realisation of the goal that we have set in front of us". The Pashtun aimed Pakistan in 1945 and within two years achieved the commongoal. 113

Campaigning on a platform that called for an independent Pakistan, the Muslim League was the overwehlming favourite of the Muslim population and there was no longer any chance of diverting the Pakistan Movement.¹¹⁴

Abdul Qaiyum Khan's entry into the Muslim League

Abdul Qaiyum Khan was in politics for long but came to the forefront on Congress platform in 1930. He contested the election of Frontier Legislative Council in 1932 and Frontier Legislative Assembly in 1937 but was defeated. It was in 1937 that he succeeded Dr Khan Sahib as the representative of the NWFP in the Central Legislative Assembly, where he became deputy leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party. He held this office till 1945. By the end of war he carefully watched the political developments and ultimately decided to part away with Congress in order to join the Muslim League. According

to Erland Jansson, when he realised that he would not be renominated for the Central Legislative Assembly's seat from the NWFP, he instead, joined the Muslim League. 116

Abdul Qaiyum Khan informed the Quaid about his decision of joining the Muslim League on 16 August 1945 in the wake of the failure of Simla Conference. He said, "I have decided to join the Muslem League. I believe that the stand taken by you is absolutely correct, and that any Moslem who opposes you is betraying the cause of Islam in India." I Jinnah appreciated his decision of joining the League. He hoped other Congress Muslims would also join Muslim League because "there was no room for any honest Muslim to support Congress and its policy after Simla Conference". Further he advised Qaiyum that you will concentrate on the Frontier Province and make our people understand that they are being deceived by our opponents and they should rally round the banner of the All-India Muslim League".

Congratulating the Quaid on Qaiyum's entry into the Muslim League, S.M. Shah noted "I would now request you to please immediately chalk out programme for the League propaganda in the villages of the NWFP and appoint Mr. Qaiyum as Organizer who will certainly overturn the boat of Congress in the Frontier". Mohammad Zaman advocate of Charsadda also told the Quaid that Qaiyum's conversion to the League is an augury for the movement. For, a Congressite as he was, he can effectively and efficiently expose the wiles and cunnings of the Frontier Gandhi in particular and the Congress Movement will certainly appeal to the simple but impressionable Pathans". 121

Abdul Qaiyum in a letter informed the Quaid that on his way to Peshawar, he propagated the cause of Muslim League. After it he intended to go on a visit to the country side, the strong holds of the Khudai Khidmatgars. He said, "I am prepared to serve the great cause in accordance with your directions. The prospects for the League in NWFP are daily becoming brighter". However, Governor of the Frontier Province did not consider Qaiyum's entry into the League of much significance to local politics. He reported that "Abdul Qaiyum's (MLA Central) defection from Congress to the League will not, in my opinion, have much influence on others; he is considered a self-seeker." 123

Abdul Qaiyum was a shrewd politician. He chosed a right time to join the Muslim League. The Frontier Muslim League at that time was a

feud-ridden party. He was a new comer and was not in association with any faction. This gave him an advantage over all others. Although he had no large following, he possessed organizational ability which brought him into a leading position in the Frontier Muslim League. He had exercised little real power in Congress, yet he had held an office which gave him extensive experience in Legislative politics as well as he knew how to mould public opinion. 124

Quaid-i-Azam's Second Visit to Frontier Province

The Quaid arrived at Peshawar at 4 p.m. on 19 November 1945. He was greeted on airport by Samin Jan Khan, Allah Bukhsh Yusufi, Rahim Bakhsh Ghaznavi, K.B. Saad Ullah Khan, Fazle Mahmood, Faiz Mohammad Khan, Malik Shad Mohammad and many others. ¹²⁵ The arrangement for his stay were already made in the house of K.B. Mohammad Hasan Khan, at Nishtarabad, Peshawar. ¹²⁶ Quaid-i-Azam first of all convened a meeting in the house of K.B. Mohammad Hasan Khan, which was attended by almost all the prominent Leaguers like Bakht Jamal Khan, Sardar Nishtar, Pir of Manki Sharif, Sardar Aurangzeb, Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Taj Ali Khan and many others. It was decided that "all of them should support the official League candidates" in the forthcoming elections. ¹²⁷

There was a tug of war between Nishtar and Qaiyum Khan over the Presidentship of the Muslim League Conference to be held on 21-22 November 1945. To avoid confrontation, it was decided that Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan 'should preside over the Conference'. Apart from Mr. Jinnah, other participants among the prominent leaders outside the Frontier included Nawab of Mamdot, Sardar Shaukat Hayat and Mian Iftikhar ud Din. 128

Quaid-i-Azam arrived in the Conference alongwith thousands of League members, National Guard volunteers and hundreds of League workers. He was brought to the place in a great procession which according to Farigh Bukhari was the third historical procession in the history of the NWFP. On November 24, the Quaid delivered a speech dwelling at a number of issues critical to Indian Muslims in general and Frontier Muslims in particular. Starting with his analysis of the causes of failure of Simla Conference, the Quaid made it clear that "we are not fighting these elections to form Ministries. We are fighting these elections to get a verdict from the Muslims on the Pakistan Issue. If we fail

to realise our duty you will be reduced to the status of Sudras and Islam will be vanquished from India." He further explained that Muslims want Pakistan, which means Muslim majority rule in Muslim majority provinces with adequate and affective safeguards for the minorities. Referring to the Congress position on reforms in the Frontier Province in 1924, he pointed out that the Congress was not sincere to the cause of the province.

He advised the groups jockeying for positions in ministries to stop their nefarious activities. He said "For God's sake give up your intriguing and cliquish mentality. Muslim League has passed the stage of Ministry-making. We have a sacred duty to perform. We have to save the Muslim nation of 100 million strong. Beware! If you fail you will not only betray the trust of 100 million Muslims, but you will not survive to be Prime Ministers." ¹³¹

The Quaid stayed for a week in the NWFP. During his stay, he met with various professionals, students and businessmen. He visited Landi Kotal, Torkham - (Pak Afghan border). Manki Sharif, Nowshera and Mardan. On 27 November 1945, he flew back from Peshawar. His visit of the NWFP had far reaching effects. To some extent, his tour had also cleared the way for the forthcoming general elections of January, 1946.

The Governor NWFP in his report on Jinnah's visit to Frontier said that it "provided some fairly effective propaganda for the Muslim League and has, I think further strengthened its position." The successful visit of Jinnah in November 1945 led many to believe that the tide of popular opinion in the Frontier had finally been turned in favour of the League. 133

References and Notes

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- 2. Mian Zia ud Din to Liaquat Ali Khan, 27 Nov. 1940 AFM, F.342.
- 3. Ibid.
- 4. The Khyber Mail, Peshawar, 20 July 1940.
- 5. The Khyber Mail, Peshawar, 9 March 1941.
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- 8. Ibid., p.114.
- 9. Ibid., p.115.
- 10. Ibid., p.121.
- 11. Stephen Alan Rittenberg, The Independence Movement in India's North West Frontier Province, 1901-47 (Columbia University, unpublished Thesis, 1977) p. 274.
- 12. Jansson, op.cit., p.115.
- 13, Civil and Military Gazette (hereafter CMG) Lahore: 26 Fcb. 1941.
- 14. Jansson, op.cit., p.118.
- 15. The Khyber Mail, Peshawar: 20 April 1941.
- 16. Subhas Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle: 1920-1942*, (London: Asia Publishing House, 1964), p.428.
- 17. S.K. Majumdar, Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom (Lahore: People Publishing House, 1976), p.186.
- 18. Mian Zia ud Din, *The Memoirs of a Pakistani Diplomat*, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1976), p.70.
- 19. Jamil ud Din Ahmad, Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf; 1968) I, p.392.
- 20. G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents* (Karachi: Paradise Subscription Agency, 1968), p.306.
- 21. Nripendra Nath Mitra (ed), *The Indian Annual Register 1942. 1.* (Calcutta: The Annual Register Office, ned.), p.224.
- 22. Ibid., II, p.209.
- George Cunningham to Linlithgow. 22 March 1942, Nicholas: Mansergh, Lumby, (ed) The Transfer of Power, London, 1970, I; 458; hereafter TP
- 24. Ibid., p.833.
- 25. Gandhi wrote his famous letter to Every Briton:

I appeal to Every Briton - to accept the method of non-violence instead of that of war for the adjustment of the relations between nations - I venture to present you with a nobler and braver way, worthy of the braviest solider. I want you to fight Nazism without arms or, if I am to retain the military terminology, with non-violent arms...

You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want to the countries you call your possession. Let them take pos-

sessions of your beautiful island with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these, but neither your souls nor your minds. If these gentlemen choose to occupy your houses, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage over you will allow yourself, man, woman and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them; to which Winston Churchill, the new British Premier declared, "we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender."

- 26. Majumdar, op.cit., pp.186-187.
- 27. Governor's Report, 9 May 1945 Pol. 4107/1942 NDC
- 28. Aga Khan, The Memoirs of Agha Khan: World enough and time (London: Casell and Co. Ltd., 1954), p.290.
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- 30. Zia ud Din op.cit. p.65.
- 31. Governor's Report 8 Aug. 1942, (Pol: 6507/1942 70/1/P&J/5/219) NDC.
- 32. Resolution of Muslim League Working Committee, 20 Aug., 1942 TP. II: 771.
- 33. Ibid.
- 34. Ibid., p.774.
- 35. Governor's Report 23 Sept., 1942 (Pol. 8905/1942) NDC 70/1/P&J/5/2/219.
- 36. Sir Roger Lumley to Linlithgow. 15 Jan., 1942 TP, 1:28.
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- 40. Governor's Report, 23 June 1942 (Pol: 5115/1942) 70/L/P&J/5/219, NDC.
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- 45. Cunningham to Linlithgow, 24 May 1943 TP III:1006
- 46. Gupta, op.cit., p.134.
- 47. Sarhad, Peshawar, 31 May 1943 (Allah Baklish).

- 48. Jamil ud Din Ahmed, op.cit., p.543.
- 49. Gupta, op.cit., pp.136-137.
- 50. Cunningham to Linlithgow, 24 Aug., 1943 TP, 1973, IV:186-7.
- 51. These increments were in contrast to the amount the Congress Ministers (including the Chief Minister and the Speaker) used to receive namely, Rs.500/- per month plus car allowance. It increased the daily allowances of the assembly members from the previous Rs.10 on the plains and Rs.12-1/2 on the hills to Rs.20 and Rs.22-1/2 respectively.
- 52. Gupta, op.cit., p.138.
- 53. Jansson, op.cit., p. 131.
- 54. Cunningham to Linlithgow 13 Sept. 1943 TP 1973, IV:245.
- 55. Cunningham to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell. 9 Feb. 1943, TP, 1973, IV:708.
- 56. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.302.
- 57. Ibid.
- 58. Saadullah Khan to Quaid-i-Azam 7 Nov 1944 (NWFP-I: 74 Syed Shamsul Hassan Collections, Karachi (hereafter SHC).
- 59. Taj Ali Khan to Quaid-i-Azam nd., (NWFP-1: 19/SHC).
- 60. Quaid-i-Azam to Taj Ali Khan 18 Dec. 1944 (NWFP- 1:19SIIC).
- 61. Governor's Report, 23 Jan. 1945 TP, 1973, V:490.
- 62. Ibid., p.302.
- 63. Ibid., p.680.
- 64. Those who cast their votes against Sardar Aurangzeb were: (1) K.B. Saad Ullah; (2) Faiz Ullah Khan; (3) R.B. Mehr Chand Khanna; (4) Mohammad Abbas Khan; (5) Akbar Ali Khan; (6) R.B. Ishar Dass Sahni; (7) Bhanju Ram Gandhi; (8) Dr Khan Sahib; (9) Kamdar Khan; (10) Arbab Abdur Rahman Khan; (11) Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan; (12) Faqira Khan; (13) Lala Jumna Das; (14) Lala Hans Raj; (15) Mian Jaffar Shah; (16) Dr C.C. Gosh; (17) Akbar Ali Khan; (18) Abdullah Khan; (19) Ishar Singh; (20) R.B. Chaman Lal; (21) Hukam Chand; (22) Rochi Ram.

Those who favoured Aurangzeb were; (1) Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan; (2) Samin Jan Khan; (3) Arbab Sher Ali Khan; (4) Pir Syed Jalal Shah; (5) Sardar Aurangzeb; (6) Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar; (7) Mohammad Said Khan; (8) Malik-ur-Rehman Kiyani; (9) Sardar Ajit Singh; (10) Raja Abdur Rehman; (11) Khan Nasrullah Khan; (12) Mian Ghulam Hussain; (13) Nawab Baz Mohammad

- Khan; (14) Nawab Mohammad Zafar Khan; (15) Mohammad Zaman Khan; (16) K.S. Atai Khan; (17) Pir Mohammad Kamran; (18) Mohammad Ayub Khan.
- 65. Gupta, op.cit., p.152.
- 66. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Azadi ki Kahani Khud Meri Zubani (Karachi: Tahir News Agency, n.d.), p.74.
- 67. Gupta, op.cit., p.160.
- 68. Saad Ullah Khan to the Committee of Action 8 Aug. 1945 (NWFP-1:60-SHC).
- 69. Jansson, op.cit., p.137.
- 70. Rittenberg, op.cit., pp.308-309.
- 71. Ibid.
- 72. Abdur Rahman Riya to Quaid-i-Azam 25 March, 1945 (NWFP-1:38, SHC).
- 73. Zia ud Din to Quaid-i-Azam 25 March 1945 (NWFP- 1:37, SIIC).
- 74. Akhtar to Liaquat Ali Khan, 3 March 1945. AFM, 344.
- 75. Zia ud Din to Liaquat Ali Khan, 4 May 1944, AFM, 342.
- 76. The Committee of Action was set up for the first time during the annual session of the All India Muslim League in Karachi in December 1943. Formerly the Working Committee was in exclusive charge of controlling and directing the various Provincial Muslim Leagues to taking disciplinary action against such members and Provincial Leagues who acted against the directions of the Central Organization. It was simply an "instrument devised by the Central Muslim League to tighten its control over the Provincial Muslim League with a view to setting up a well-disciplined and monolothic organization."
- 77. Rittenberg, op.cit., pp.309-310.
- 78. Liaquat Ali to Zia ud Din, 31 May 1944, AFM, 342.
- 79. Qazi Abdul Halim Asar to the President of Committee of Action, 14 June 1944 AFM, 343.
- 80. Abdul Wadood to Members Committee of Action, 22 June 1944, AFM, F.343.
- 81. Maula Dad Khan to the Chairman Committee of Action, 22 June 1944 AFM, F.343.
- 82. The Members of the Working Committee Nawakali were: Purdil Khan President, Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Secretary, Qazi Mohammad Habibul Haq, Qazi Nazar Mohammad, Abdul Shakoor, Gulbar Khan, Shamshad Khan; and Saced Khan.

- 83. Abdul Qaiyum to Members Committee of Action, 22 June 1944 AFM, F.343.
- 84. Mohammad Hayat to Members Committee of Action 22 June 1944 AFM, F.343.
- 85. Secretary Anjuman-i-Tahafuz-i-Ghuraba to Members Committee of Action, 22 June 1944, AFM.
- 86. Ghulam Haider Akhtar to Committee of Action, 21 June 1944 AFM, F.343.
- 87. Mohammad Yusuf to Members of Committee of Action 15 June 1944 AFM, F.434.
- 88. Bakht Jamal Khan to Committee of Action, 14 June 1944 AFM, F.343.
- 89. George Cunningham to Wavell, 24 June, 1944, TP, 1973, IV: 1046.
- 90. Mohammad Zafar Ahmad Ansari's statement to the Press 26 July 1944, AFM, F.344.
- 91. The Khyber Mail, Peshawar, 20 Oct., 1944.
- 92. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.310.
- 93. Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan to Liaquat Ali Khan 12 Nov 1944. AFM, F.344.
- 94. Malik Ziarat Gul to Liaquat Ali Khan, 30 Aug. 1945 AFM, F.344.
- 95. Ghulam Rabbani Sethi to Quaid-i-Azam 29 Aug. 1945 (NWFP-1:58 SIIC).
- 96. Quaid-i-Azam to Sardar Bahadur Khan, 20 Nov. 1944, (NWFP-1:22 SIIC).
- 97. Governor's Report 23 April 1945 (Pol: 5827/1945) 10R/1/P&J/5/222, NDC.
- 98. Quaid-i-Azam to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar 2 May 1945 (Abdur Rab Nishtar Collections Vol. 1, Karachi) (hereafter Nishtar).
- 99. Ibid., 23 May 1945.
- 100. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.313.
- 101. Abdul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1964), p.101.
- 102. Majumdar, op.cit., p.213.
- 103. Azad, op.cit., pp.108.
- 104. Ibid pp.109-110.
- 105. Khalid bin Sayeed, Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1947 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1978), p.129.
- 106. Azad, op.cit., 110.
- 107. Ibid., p.116.

- 108. K.B. Sayeed, op.cit., p.133.
- 109. Mohammad Zaman Advocate to Quaid-i-Azam 15 Aug. 1945 (NWFP- 1:35, SIIC).
- 110. Cunningham to Wavell 9 Oct. 1945, TP, VI:318-9.
- 111. Governor's Report 9 Aug. 1945 (8239/1945 Pol:NDC)...
- 112. Waheed Ahmad, Jinnah-Linlithgow Correspondence (1939-43) (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1978). p. XVI
- 113. Khan Mir Hilali, *Turiali* (Peshawar: Maktaba Jamhooriat, n.d.), p.138.
- 114. Lawrence Ziring, Pakistan The Enigma of Political Development (England: WM Dawson and Sons Ltd., 1980), p.70.
- 115. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.317.
- 116. Jansson, op.cit., p.161.
- 117. Abdul Qaiyum to Quaid-i-Azam, 16 Aug. 1945 (NWFP- II:91 SIIC).
- 118. Jinnah to Qaiyum, 20 Aug. 1945, (NWFP-II:93 SIIC).
- 119. Jinnah to Qaiyum, 27 Aug. 1945, (NWFP-II:95 SIIC).
- 120. S.M. Shah to Quaid-i-Azam, 22 Aug. 1945 (NWFP- 1:55, SIIC).
- 121. Mohammad Zaman to Quaid-i-Azam, 15 Aug. 1945, (NWFP-I:5, SIIC).
- 122. Abdul Qaiyum to Jinnah, 29 Aug. 1945, (NWFP- II:96, SIIC).
- 123. Governor's Report No. 13, 9 Sept. 1945, (9061/1945 Pol. 10RL/5/222, NDC).
- 124. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.317.
- 125. Aziz Javed, Quaid-i-Azam, aur Sarhad (Pakistan: Idara-i-Tehkeek wa Tasneef, 1978), p.112.
- 126. Mohammad Shafi Sabir, Quaid-i-Azam aur Sooba Sarhad (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1986), p.108.
- 127. Ibid., p.109.
- 128. Ibid., p.112.
- 129. According to Farigh Bukhari there were three historical processions in the NWFP. First one in 1927 on the arrival of Maualana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, Second in 1931 of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and third one that of Quaid-i-Azam's procession in 1945.
- 130. Farigh Bukhari, Bacha Khan (Peshawar: Naya Maktaba, n.d.) pp.81-82.
- 131. Jamil ud Din Ahmad, op.cit., II, pp.238-244.
- 132. Governor's Report 8 Dec. 1945 (Pol. 12053/45) IOR/L/P&J/5/222, NDC.
- 133. Gupta, op.cit., p.173.

The Last Phase-I

Most important political leader, besides Abdul Qaiyum who joined the Muslim League in 1945 was Pir of Manki Sharif Amin al-Hasanat. The Pir of Manki Sharif was at that time a youngman of about twenty five years. Before attaining eminence in the Pakistan movement, he had not been widely known in political circles. He had, however, inherited large number of 'murids' from his ancestors. His disciples were mainly in the Peshawar Valley and the adjacent tribal areas. The Pir of Manki had opposed the Congress at least since the 'Quit India Movement' but had abstained from public activity until the Simla Conference convinced him that Indian politics had acquired an important religious dimension. For the rest of 1945 he concentrated on mobilizing the Province's religious clite, especially its 'Sajjada Nashins' who had previously remained largely as political, on the party's behalf.²

His efforts resulted in the Conference of Ulemas. On 14 of October, Pir of Manki convened the 'Conference of the Learned' at Manki Sharif. They made an organization, representing the Ulemas and Learned, which they named as 'Jamiat-i- Asfia'. Those who participated in the 'Jamiat-i-Asfia' at the time of its formation was more than one hundred and fifty. The members agreed to support the Muslim League provided that 'Shariat' was enforced in Pakistan after its creation.

In reply to Amin al-Hasanat, Quaid-i-Azam first of all, thanked them for their cooperation and support to All-India Muslim League. He appreciated their decision of supporting the Muslim League candidates in the forthcoming elections. As regards the enforcement of 'Shariat' the Quaid said:*

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 form the Constitution of Pakistan but the inhabitants of Pakistan in which 75% will be Musalmans and

For full text of the letter see Appendix 5.

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 even 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.⁶

Once Jinnah agreed to their conditions, the Pir Manki convened a 'tablighi' (missionary) conference in November at which he declared the Muslims should undertake a 'Jehad' to achieve Pakistan. To further that crusade, he organized delegations of 'anjuman' members to assist the League during the elections by lending its candidates the support of their saintly authority.⁷

The Elections of 1945-46

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Soon after the successful end of the World War II in Europe, the Conservative Party, led by Sir Winston Churchill in England, was defeated in the elections. The Labour Party emerged victorious. The Indian Muslims were unhappy over the victory of Labour Party, while it caused a great jubilation in Congress circles. The Labour Party took office on 20 July 1945.

The end of the war and a reversal of ministry in Britain added new dimensions to the Indian question. The British disposition under the Labour stewardship seemed to favour a settlement of India's future between India and Britain, as well as among the Indians. Any settlement, however, must be preceded by a re- appraisal of the existing political situation. The British Government, after all, must know the exact strength and position of the major contenders of power in India and find out whom to talk to and in what manner. It was necessary, in other words, to hold another election in India which was demanded by the Indians in general and the Muslim League in particular. On 21 August 1945 the Viceroy announced that elections should be held in India in the coming cold weather or at the beginning of 1946.8

In the issue of elections in 1946, the Muslim League was on its trial. It had to disapprove the Congress claim that several Muslim groups and parties, like the Nationalists, Ahrars, Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind, Muslim

Majlis, Azad Board, etc. who were opposed to the League ideology, represented overwhelming Muslim opinion.⁹

Saad Ullah Khan addressed a detailed letter to Quaid- i-Azam. He stressed the need of a more suitable person for the leadership of Provincial Muslim League for election campaign. After criticizing Aurangzeb Khan he offered his services as to be the leader of Frontier League in election campaign because he was a Leaguer, "am a Leaguer and will be a Leaguer."

Without wasting time, the Muslim Leaguers of the NWFP started preparations for the forthcoming elections. The Governor NWFP reported, the Leaguers hoped to win 32 out of 38 Muslim seats (in a House of 50) but they were 'too optimistic'. Most people seemed to expect that the League will come back with a small clear majority But "their organization and finances are so far behind those of Congress, that they are not in my opinion, as intrinsically strong as they think."

The League's Committee of Action sent two of its members, Nawab Mohammad Ismail and Khaliq uz Zaman, to the NWFP in late September to formulate plans for the elections in the Province. ¹² Quaid-i-Azam gave instructions to Sardar Nishtar that:

The first thing for you to do is, in consultation with them and other leaders, to form a really good adhoc Parliamentary Board, as the Provincial League is not able to function and is instead being managed, controlled and supervised by an adhoc Committee which was appointed some time ago.

On their recommendations, the Central Parliamentary Board in Delhi under the Chairmanship of Liaquat Ali Khan decided

to set up a proper machinery for running the forthcoming general elections in the Province on behalf of Muslim League. The Board has, therefore, decided for this purpose to set up three Boards, namely: (i) A Board, to be known as Muslim League Selection Board, ¹⁴ to select candidates for the forthcoming general elections; (ii) A Board, to be known as Muslim League Election Board, ¹⁵ for organizing and making all necessary arrangements for contesting the elections; (iii) A Board, to be known as Muslim League Finance Board, ¹⁶ for the collection of funds, and maintenance of regular and proper accounts. ¹⁷

Zafar Ahmad Ansari, Secretary, Central Parliamentary Board, had sent to Abdul Oaiyum Khan, Convener of Selection Board, some instructions. They were: (i) to convene, in consultation with the President of this Selection Board, a meeting of the Board within 10 days from the receipt of this letter; (ii) to get the Board to fix: (a) the amount of application fee, and (b) the amount of security money to be realized from candidates seeking election on the Muslim League ticket; (iii) to invite applications from intending candidates; and in accordance with the Government programme; (iv) to fix the last date for the receipt of applications from candidates applying for Muslim League ticket; (v) to see that the meetings of the Selection Board for selecting candidates are held at the Headquarters, as far as possible of each district after giving public notice so that the Board may take into consideration the representations of the various elements in the district; and (vi) to see that selection of candidates is made at least three weeks before the date of nomination so that rejected candidates may, if they so choose, file appeal before the Central Parliamentary Board against the decision of the Selection Board. 18

He also sent some instruction to Mian Zia ud Din, Convener, Muslim League Finance Board, "to collect donations, grant receipts, supervise and maintain proper accounts of the income and expenditure and disburse moneys in accordance with the approved budget." 19

The first proved to be the only committee with genuine power and, in fact, the only one that actually functioned. The impact of its decisions extended well beyond the elections to the later evolution of the Party's leadership. Most of the old Frontier League leaders were shunted aside to the powerless Election Board because they had been discredited by their involvement with the Aurangzeb Khan's Ministry or the factional conflict in the Party or had managed to remain untainted by the association which had relegated their former colleagues to the Election Board.²⁰

On the appointment of the Parliamentary Board, Asad-ul-Haq, Advocate, informed the Quaid that on the eve of the joint meeting of all the District adhoc Committees and the Provincial adhoc Committee at Peshawar to discuss the nomination of Parliamentary Board, a meeting of workers of the whole Province was convened under the Chairmanship of Maulavi Bakht Jamal Khan, the accredited leader of the sellless workers of the Province, to formulate suggestions to be placed before

the Central Sub- Committee consisting of Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman. It was unanimously resolved that the following suggestions be placed before the Committee: (1) No prospective MLA be nominated to the Parliamentary Board. (2) No previous MLA or Minister be included in the Parliamentary Board and (3) No title-holder be taken in the Board.²¹

Allah Bukhsh Yusufi showed great resentment to the Quaid telling him that the members of Selection Board, Election Board and Finance Board were all wealthy persons. The common workers, according to Yusufi were ignored from getting a share in the forth-coming election.²²

Factionalism prevailed within the circles of League during the nomination of the candidates. There were two dominant groups at that time. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan's group and Bakht Jamal's group. Sardar Aurangzeb's group in the struggle for Provincial League leadership, lost its grounds. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar was nominated as the Chairman of Election Board. He was a friend and supporter of Bakht Jamal Group. Aurangzeb Khan made a futile appeal to Quaid-i-Azam against the composition of the Board, to which the Quaid replied

At this juncture I think you will agree with me, that it is the duty of every Muslim to support the League candidate, no matter how much he feels aggrieved. This is no time for us to be guided by any personal considerations. Success of the League candidate, or candidates, is the success of the Muslim Nation. It enhances the prestige and the reputation of our National Organization, to which you have the honour to belong to and above all the paramount issue facing us is to secure the verdict of the electorate in favour of Pakistan, in the achievement of which lie the solution of 100 million Muslims and the posterity to come. I am confident that you will play your part fully and will whole heartedly support the League candidates.²³

Some of the prominent Leaguers which included Aurangzeb Khan, Saad Ullah Khan, Samin Jan Khan, Bakht Jamal Khan and Mian Zia ud Din were denied party tickets. However, after appealing to the Central Selection Board, Mian Zia ud Din succeeded in securing a Leagues candidate to contest the elections. According to Jansson the criterion was guided by one principle alone who would support Abdul Qaiyum and who would not.²⁴

The conflict at the top of the party's state was not unique. Disappointment over the choice of candidates led to disunity among party

workers at all levels and to the allienation of men who held no party posts but whose traditional stature made their support indispensable to the League. Many disgruntled aspirants sat out the elections, ran as independents, or threw their support to non-League candidates. Even Quaid-i-Azam also felt aggrieved on the party feuds. According to Fida Mohammad Khan, who when the Quaid visited Peshawar in 1945, had the honour to accompany him to Torkham.

During conversation every time I touched politics he felt upset saying, 'Ever since I have come to the Frontier, every leader who meets me either praises me (Quaid) or himself. It was all for the Muslim League ticket; I am fed up and fatigued.²⁶

Above all was the rivalry between Abdul Qaiyum and Sardar Nishtar. Both were the League candidates from the dual constituency of Peshawar. Both acted on their own behalf. They had nothing in common except one thing blaming one another.

Abdul Qaiyum Khan informed the Quaid about the general situation in the Frontier. After giving a brief summary of events in Hazara and Amazai constituency he turned against Nishtar and said, "I am wholeheartedly cooperating with Nishtar and will always do so for the League cause, but my entry in the League has upset him. He is working against me in the city". He accused the agents of Nishtar that they were telling to every one that the victory of Abdul Qaiyum was sure and that they "should cast both of their votes in favour of Nishtar". And that, the agents of Nishtar have been spreading the rumour that "I am a Congress 5th columnist in the League."

Inayat Kibrya, General Secretary, Sarhad Muslim Students Federation, Peshawar City, informed Jinnah that

I have to inform you with great regret that the position of the Muslim League in this Province is not so satisfactory as it is presumed to be. Unfortunately we could not avail ourselves of the very great enthusiasm created by your recent visit. Lack of cooperation and coordination, mutual jealousies and power politics have taken much of the wind out of our sails. Intensive propaganda is not being carried on, on a scientific basis for any scat, but I would particularly draw your attention to the plural constituency of Peshawar. There is a very strong and powerful widespread movement to cast both the votes for Mr. Abdul Qaiyum at the cost of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. If this movement is not checked, we are sure to lose one seat.²⁹

Asad ul Haq advocate informed the Quaid that he had thrown a challenge on behalf of the Muslim Nation.

The armies have entered the battle-field. Your soldiers have come with grim determination to fight and with full confidence in the outcome. But what has happened? Your lieutenants have sent disorder in the ranks, dismay in the hearts, confusion in the brains, but where? Alas! in their own army, they have preferred opportunism to sincerity, careerism to service, ignorance to education, unscrupulousness to integrity and defeat to victory! A certain empire under the Crescent has been bartered away for a doubtful Ministry under the Union Jack. 30

Quaid-i-Azam, during his stay in Peshawar, proposed to visit Pir of Manki Sharif in his village Manki Sharif. He informed him that

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.³¹

After Quaid's return from Manki to Nowshera, he stayed for some time in K.B. Musharaf Shah Kaka Khel's house. They discussed the contest for the local constituency. Sardar Nishtar predicted of the victory of Mir Aslam Khan Khattak, a wealthy contractor and League nominee, against Mian Jaffar Shah, the Congress candidate. But Ahmad Shah, the younger brother of Mian Musharaf Shah, repudiated Nishtar's claim. He told the Quaid "this is a high time for you to reconsider your candidate." Jinnah replied "My boy, this question was put to me in Karachi also. This is a question of principle not of personality. If the Board grants the ticket to a monkey you should exercise your vote for that monkey."

Pir of Manki in a detailed letter informed the Quaid about the general situation of the Frontier Province. He stressed the need of a counter propaganda against the Red Shirts, who were far more organized and much better disciplined. The Pir Sahib asked for greater support from the All-India Muslim League against the well-organized Congress in his Province and complained that the Central Organization had failed to pay adequate attention to the Frontier region in that critical time. He had criticised the role of local leaders and asked the Quaid to take personal interest in the affairs of the NWFP. 33 To which the Quaid replied

At the present moment it is not possible to make any new changes in our organisation although, your suggestion 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 of 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 than 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.34

The prominent Leaguers³⁵ under the leadership of Pir of Manki Sharif had made an announcement that they were ready to follow Abdul Ghaffar Khan provided that he joined the Muslim League to support the cause of Pakistan.³⁶

The Frontier League decided to contest all the 36 Mohammadan scats (3 urban and 33 rural) and the 2 land holders seats — altogether 38. Of these 38 nominees, there were three big Nawabs, On knight, seven K.Bs., three rich military contractors, and two army recruiting officers.³⁷ Asad ul Haq recommended the nomination simply as

Where Nawabs were available, K.Bs were rejected. Where K.Bs were to be found K.S. were ignored, where K.S. were the applicants, Khans had no choice and in the presence of the Khans commoners were of course a dirty lot.³⁸

The Congress advocated a free India while the Muslim League advocated a divided India. The key note of the Congress election manifesto were the setting up of a democratic federal republic of free India and the upholding of the principles of equality and liberty for all citizens, irrespective of differences of race, religion and culture.³⁹ The only issue raised by the Muslim League in the election campaign was Pakistan⁴⁰ and the representative status of the Muslim League.

The 1945-46 elections were contested not only by the Muslim League and Congress but by many other groups and parties. The Muslim League had asked the Muslims that it stood for furthering the cause of Islam. So casting their votes in favour of the League actually meant casting votes in favour of Islam. No doubt many middle-class Muslims voted for the League with a view to freeing themselves from the Hindu domination. But many active workers, students and intellectuals saw Pakistan as the pathway to Islam. They wanted the Divine Law of Islam to be the law of the new Muslim State.⁴¹

As regards conducting the elections, the Congress Parliamentary Board decided to act through the Provincial Committees and Local Parliamentary Board. In the NWFP, a Parliamentary Board was already functioning with Dr. Khan Sahib as Chairman and Mehr Chand Kanna as Secretary. There was, therefore, no organizational difficulty 42 for the Congress in arranging for its electioneering. The Frontier Congress followed a different electoral strategy from the League, nominating candidates for only those seats where its position was strong and who had the chances to come out victoriously. The Congress decided to contest altogether 40 seats -27 Mohammadans (1 urban and 26 rural), 9 general or Hindu seats, 3 Sikh seats and 1 Landholder's seat. 44

Apart from the League and Congress, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and some other small groups and parties also contested the elections. The Jamiat put up 4 candidates, the Ahrars put up 8 candidates, the Khaksars 11, the Akalis 3 and the Hindu Sabha 1. Besides, there were 33 independent candidates in the field taking the total number of candidates to 137. The parties which had played a prominent role in the Provincial politics previously had now seized functioning. One of these was the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist and the other was the Independent Party. Members of the former party had joined the Congress. The members of the latter party attached themselves either to the Congress or the Muslim League. But most of them had joined Muslim League.

The Muslim League was supported by the 'Ulemas' in the election campaign. The Pir of Manki's Jamiat-i-Asfia, declared

From the stand point of the 'Shariat' thère is in reality only one path for a Muslim. He should east his vote in favour of the candidate of the Muslim League. To east a vote for the Hindu Congress or any other party is treachery against Islam and conflicts with the unanimous opinion of the Ulema's. 47

Apart from the religious elites the students also supported the League and propagated its programme in far-flung areas. On 2 october, 1945 the Frontier students* of Aligarh University unanimously passed a resolution declaring their firm faith in Quaid's leadership and of their decision to proceed to the NWFP for active participation in the election campaign.⁴⁸

Abdul Ghaffar Khan accused the British canvassing for Muslim League. Islamia College, Peshawar, according to him, had been closed for election campaign in favour of Muslim League

The daughter of Begum Shahnawaz too, had come from Punjab with a group of girls to work in the election campaign. A large number of students from Aligarh Muslim University and from Islamia College, Calcutta, and workers and leaders of the Muslim League from many parts of India had been brought to the Frontier Province.⁴⁹

But a different picture was presented by some other authors. To quote Sharif al Mujahid

When the last elections were held in the winter of 1946, the Congress Ministry headed by Dr. Khan Sahib did everything in its power to deflect the electorate and return a Congress majority in the legislature: every thing from liberal distribution of sugar, cloth, kerosene, grain and other amenities as well as licences for guns and pistols (which are highly valued by the Pathans) to the crude and gross tampering of electoral rolls and ballot boxes. In addition, the 'Kalima-i-Tauheed' was inscribed on the Congress tricolour and the Congress volunteers who raised the slogans of Nara-i-Takbeer posed themselves as a movement for free Islam and the Quran. So

Mir Aslam Khan also accused the Congressites of fraud and rigging in the election.⁵¹ But, according to Gupta, on the whole, the Congress did not seem to have enjoyed any advantage in the elections because of its being in office. It was also not possible while facing a hostile bureaucracy and aggressive League.⁵²

Elections were held between 26 January and 14 February. The results of all the constituencies were announced by 18 February 1946. The Congress won an absolute majority, i.e. 30 out of 50 seats.⁵³ The

^{*} For their names see Appendix 6.

Muslim League won only 17 seats.⁵⁴ Two seats went to Jamiat-ul-Ulema while Akali Dal got one seat.⁵⁵

Party Congress	Total	Muslim Rural	Muslim Urban 1	General Rural	General Urban	Sikhs Land- Lords	
						2	_
Muslim League	17	13	2	::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::	·	-	2
Jamiat-ul- Ulema	2	2	_	_	_	_	
Akali Dal	1	_	-		_	1	_
	50	33	3	.6	3	3	2

PARTY POSITION IN THE 1946 ELECTIONS

In the Province's regions (Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat, Bannu and Tank Tehsil of D.I. Khan) the Congress won sixteen of the nineteen territorial constituencies it contested, losing the other three by slender margins. ⁵⁶ The League emerged in the elections as the representative of the Province's non-Pakhtun Muslims, winning eight of nine seats in Hazara, two of the three urban seats and both landholder constituencies. ⁵⁷ Interestingly, the League, according to Abdul Wahid Qureshi, received more Muslim votes than the Congress. League bagged 147133 votes in the Muslim Constituencies. The Congress scored 135922 votes. ⁵⁸

To the great surprise of the Congress, the nationalist Muslim Parties and the Unionist Party, the League secured overwhelming majority in Muslim constituencies. Muslim League was victorious in the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal, Sindh and the Punjab while the Congress swept the polls in the provinces of Orrisa, Madras, Central Provinces, the NWFP, United Provinces, Bihar, Assam and Bombay.

Cunningham reported to Wavell about the causes of failure of Muslim League in the NWFP. "It has been said that if Congress has not been in office, very difficult for Congress to get a dozen Muslim seats, because of favouring the people by giving them cloth, sugar etc." But he was of the opinion that it was simply an excuse because "most of the Muslim officials in superior appointments favour the Muslim League." The two reasons of the failure of League were their bad organization and the internal rift within Muslim League. Congress members had made many promises in economic fields. They appealed the lower people instead of the Big Khans who were mostly Leaguers. "On the contrary the Muslim League used the word Pakistan in their election campaign. But this is not really an intelligible war cry to 90% of their

hearers. To the average Pathan villager in these parts, the suggestion that there can be such a thing as Hindu domination is only laughable." Mian Zia ud Din explained in detail why Muslim League failed to sweep the polls in the NWFP. According to him the Congress avoided the name of 'Akhand Hindustan' or 'Pakistan'. The Congress members did not even publish their election manifesto "If they had done so, they would have had to explain their attitude on the question of Pakistan and then even the ignorant majority of the Muslim electorates would have probably become cautious". Further he told that "In fact they asked for votes in the name of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, and not in the name of Congress as such." Mian Zia ud Din gave the reasons why Congress succeeded in the elections? Personal influence of Abdul Ghaffar Khan had counted first of all. Then the internal trouble within Muslim League was responsible for Congress victory. There was lack of time for election preparations for the Muslim League.

By the end of February 1946, Dr. Khan Sahib formed the third Congress Ministry and soon afterwards Cunningham was replaced by Sir Olaf Caroe. The Third Khan Sahib Ministry consisted of 4 members, with Dr. Khan Sahib as the Chief Minister having the charge of Home, Political, Public Health and Public Works; Qazi Ata Ullah was the Minister for Revenue, Industries and Jails, Mohammad Yahya Jan was Education Minister and Mehr Chand Khanna was the Finance Minister. Allah Nawaz Khan was unanimously elected the Speaker when the new House met on 12 March 1946 and Lala Girdharilal became his Deputy. 62

In early March a meeting of Provincial Muslim League was convened. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Abdur Rab Nishtar, K.B. Kuli Khan, Nawab Siddiq Ali, MLA Central, Maulvi Nasir-ud-Din of Aligarh, Professor Mushtaq Ahmad, Manzur Ahmad of Aligarh University, Samin Jan Khan and other got together at the residence of Haji Abdul Malik Khan of Kafur Dheri. The Nawab of Hoti and the Pir of Manki Sharif also participated. They discussed about the opposition leader in the Assembly. The Nawab of Hoti opposed the selection of Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Barrister as Party Leader in the Assembly and dubbed him as 'Kashmiri' and used abusive language against him, but most of the members favoured him. Consequently, Khan Qaiyum was unanimously selected as the leader of opposition in the Provincial Assembly and the Nawab of Tank as Deputy Leader. him to the provincial Assembly and the Nawab of Tank as Deputy Leader.

The Cabinet Mission Plan

The Labour Government decided to send a Cabinet Mission to solve the Indian problem and its scheme was announced in 1946.⁶⁵ On the 15 March, just before the despatch of the Cabinet Mission to India, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, announced that his

colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision — I hope that the Indian people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to mark the transition as smooth and easy as possible. 66

The members of the Cabinet Mission were: Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India; Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade and Mr. A.V. Alexander, First Lord of Admirality. The Mission, soon after its arrival in New Delhi on 24 March 1946, plunged itself into a series of discussions with the representatives of the Congress, the Muslim League, the Sikhs and the Hindu Mahasabha. Liberal leaders like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar were also interviewed. Their talks culminated with a conference at Simla⁶⁷ between May 5 and 12 at which it became apparent that the gap between the two main parties was too wide to be bridged by direct negotiations. The Mission decided to propose a compromise of their own which they hoped would lay the basis for a future Indian constitution and clear the way for an interim central government. In May 1946 the Mission proposed some long-term and short-term arrangements for the Government of India. The long-term arrangements provided for autonomous Provinces, group of such provinces as were willing to be administered in common on certain subjects and a union, authorised to deal with Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. It further provided for the drafting of a Union Constitution, as well as group of provincial constitutions, by an elected Constituent Assembly. The proposed groups were Group-A Madras, Bombay, C.P., Orissa, U.P. and Bihar, Group-B Punjab, NWFP and Sindh and Group-C Bengal and Assam. The entire assembly would then be reconvened to frame a federal constitution.⁶⁸ As regards the short-term arrangements, the Mission proposed to establish an interim government of all the major political parties and hold elections for the Constituent Assembly. The Scheme was interpreted by the Congress and the Muslim League in their own way. The Congress opposed decentralization of power as well as their provision for provincial group secession contained in the Plan.⁶⁹ Firstly, Muslim League accepted the Plan as it saw the seeds of Pakistan inherent in it by virtue of the compulsory grouping of six Muslim majority provinces in Sections B and C.⁷⁰ But later on it rejected it because it did not contain a definite pronouncement in favour of partition and it relegated the creation of more than one Union to the realm of remote possibility. Indeed, according to Jinnah, "the Cabinet Mission has played into the hands of the Congress. It has played a game of its own."⁷¹

One of the main issues which made Congress reject the Cabinet Missions Plan was the procedural question involving the NWFP and Assam. They demanded for the voluntary grouping of Provinces while League insisted on compulsory grouping.

With grouping destroyed, Congress leaders felt they could circumvent the plan's intentions and create a united India with a strong central government. Thus they raised strong objections to coercing the NWFP and Assam into any group to which its elected officials did not wish to belong.⁷² The Frontier Congress resented compulsory grouping scheme. They feared the "domination of Punjabis" in their respective group (B). They always demanded that Pakhtuns should control their own affairs. Compulsion in grouping was contrary to their political creed.

Party leaders manipulated those anti-Punjabi prejudices in their attempt to discredit the Cabinet Mission Plan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan wrote in the *Pakhtun*

I receive many letters from all over the India In everyone it is said: "For God's sake, save us from the Punjabis", I do not wish to discuss why the Pakhtuns dislike Punjabis so much The Pakhtuns especially should spread the message of love and understanding. But I understand that every nation has its peculiar nature. There is a lot of difference between his (a Pakhtun's) ideas, emotions, and faith, and a Punjabis. A brother wrote (to) me on August 15, 1946, "Under this system our province will be directly under the influence of the Punjab.

Then we will have no future. Particularly these days since the Punjabis consider us 'Kasirs'. We are sed up with Punjabi imperialism."⁷³

Abdul Hamid, President Muslim League, Khalil Branch, published a hand-bill and warned the muslims of Frontier Province of the intensive propaganda of Abdul Ghaffar Khan on the instigation of Congress High Command. Abdul Ghaffar Khan's arrival from Delhi to the NWFP, according to him, was solely on behalf of his 'Hindu Masters'. He was sent to deceive the masses and his purpose was to give them under Hindu domination. But to Olaf Caroe, the Governor of the NWFP, "since Muslim constituted 95% of the population there had never been any possibility of their being subjected to Hindu domination."

Abdul Oaiyum Khan in a press statement in June, 1946, remarked Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has lately toured the districts of the NWF Province where he has been chanting a hymn of hate by rousing Pathans against the domination of Punjabi Muslims -. He conveniently forgets that if there is a danger of 16 million Punjabi Muslims dominating the six million Pathans in the tribal area, the NWFP and Baluchistan, the danger of domination by the Hindu group is much more real as their population is some thing like 100 times the population of this Province.... Before setting up the Government of North-West Pakistan [group B], we will see to it that Pathan interests are adequately and satisfactorily protected and that our province has a real say in the affairs of the Pakistan Government. The bogey of Punjabi domination has no foundation and the war-cry raised by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is due to the fact that his own political. existence is now being increasingly threatened from all sides.⁷⁶

In a meeting with Wavell and the Cabinet Mission Delegates Dr. Khan Sahib emphasized that "if they could not stay in a United India, they would like the Province to become entirely independent." Abdul Qaiyum Khan told the Cabinet Delegation if a Hindu administration were set up, the Muslims would revolt and there would be division on communal lines in all branches of the administration leading to a breakdown. In the event of a country Indian Government being formed, the NWFP would form an autonomous unit in Pakistan.

There were differences of opinion on various points in respect of the final outcome. The Cabinet Mission's long-term proposals came to a dead lock by the end of June 1946.⁷⁹

Direct Action Day and the Interim Government

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The Muslim League, in order to press its demands decided to adopt extra-constitutional means for the first time in its history.⁸⁰ In its Council's Meeting held at Bombay (27-29 July 1946) Jinnah said⁸¹

We have taken a most historic decision. Never before in the whole life-history of the Muslim League did we do anything except by constitutional methods and constitutional talks. We are to-day forced into this position by a move in which both the Congress and Britain have participated. Quoting Firdausi he warned them, that, we want peace, we do not want war. But if you want war, we accept it unhesitatingly.

Further, the Council directed the League members to renounce all their titles and honours conferred on them by the government. The Resolution moved by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan ran as

The Council of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to Direct Action to achieve Pakistan to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination

The Council directs the working committee to prepare forthwith a programme of Direct Action to carry-out the policy enunciated above, and to organize the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

As a protest against, and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British, this Council calls upon the Musalmans to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien government.⁸²

Khan Bahadur Jalalud Din was the first to surrender his title. 83 Following Jalalud Din, Mian Musharaf Shah; Malikur Rahman Kiyani; Dr. Mohammad Rahim Khan and Kuli Khan, all leaders from the Frontier renounced their titles in obedience to the Muslim League's resolution. 84

In pursuance of its resolution, 16 August 1946 was fixed as the Direct Action Day. The demonstration was organized on a large scale and in Bengal that day was observed as a public holiday by the League Ministry. The Hindus resented the decision. The day opened in Calcutta with rioting, loot, murder and arson which lasted for several days, causing immense loss of life and property. In Stephens, an eye-wit-

ness of that killing tells us, that, "The scenes of butchery and destruction, in what soon came to be called the "Great Calcutta Killing", were indescribable. At the end of three dreadful days, corpses bestrewed the town. Borne everywhere on the warm moist monsoon breeze came the stink of human putrefaction.... If you wished to watch how a vulture opened up a dead man's abdomen, you could see it on the pavements of wealthy Park Street."

The riots in Calcutta were shortly followed by a very serious outbreak in East Bengal. In the district of Noakhali about two hundred Hindus were killed. 88

The Cabinet Mission returned to England, leaving Lord Wavell to continue the efforts for the formation of an interim government. Following the League's rejection of the Plan, the Viceroy invited Congress to form an interim government. 89 On 24 August 1946, while the affliated cities were "still clearing up the mess, the whilfs of putrefaction issued from hitherto unfound bodies shoved down drains or trapped in burnt-out houses", 90 the names of the members of Nehru's interim government were announced. For Jinnah it was Viceroy's "double betrayal in going back on his solemn word in ignoring and by passing the Muslim League." 91

The interim government was sworn in on 2 September 1946. Nehru became the Vice President of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Vallabhbhai Patel, Asaf Ali, Rajendra Prasad, Jagjivan Ram, Syed Ali Zaheer and Sarat Chandra Bose also joined in.

The Frontier Muslim League registered its resentment at the installation in office of the Hindu Congress and its satellites at the Centre. Throughout the NWFP they hoisted blackflags on their houses, mosques, shops and places of business. They wore black ribbons and badges on their arms. 92

The news of the atrocities committed in Noakhali reached Bihar from where large numbers were in Bengal for employment. As a repercussion to Noakhali massacre, serious rioting broke out in Bihar. The Muslims suffered terribly. The number of Muslim dead, men, women and children, in this short, savage killing was about seven thousand to eight thousand. 94

Lord Wavell informed Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India about the communal violence

Every thing else in India is overshadowed by the savage outbreaks of communal violence in East Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces.... The Muslims are undoubtedly to blame for their policy of "direct action," which led to the Calcutta killings in August, where the casualties in the end were perhaps 50:50; and for the Noakhali and Tippera disturbances, which were probably instigated by the supporters of the Muslim League, though I am certain that the leaders of the Muslim League had nothing to do with it.⁹⁵

And so far as the figures of casualties were concerned, he said: I do not yet know the number killed in Bihar. Jinnah, as you will have seen put the figure at 30,000 and Nazimuddin, who is an honest and moderate man, put them to me at anything from 10,000 to 20,000. The official estimate is 4,000 to 5,000 and my own guess would be between 5,000 and 10,000. Nobody really knows yet, and nobody ever will know accurately. 96

In the NWFP a "Committee of Action" under the leadership of Pir of Manki Sharif was constituted so that it may lead the Direct Action Day campaign in the Province. Another prominent members of the Committee was Arbab Abdul Ghafoor. The Day was observed throughout the province. Nothing untoward happened. Peshawar also remained peaceful inspite of *hartal* and demonstrations. The Frontier Muslim League ensured that the disorders received the maximum publicity in the NWF Province in a manner calculated to sustain the sense of crisis at the highest possible pitch. They flooded the Province with stories of Hindu atrocities, sent investigating teams to the disturbed areas, and brought Muslim eye witnesses from the riots affected areas. Even photographs of Bihar victims were exhibited in various cities of Frontier.

The Frontier Muslims showed great resentment on the atrocities of Bihar Muslims. The Muslim Leaguers of North circle, Nowshera, wired Quaid-i-Azam and resented wholesale slaughter of innocent Muslims in Bihar and urgently requested strong measure to be adopted to check blood-shed. Qudrat Ullah Khan of Pir Pai, Nowshera sent Quaid-i-Azam a letter describing in a little bit details the proceeding of a mamoth meeting held by the people of Pir Pai and the surrounding villages of the Peshawar District to mourn the pitiable plight of the Bihar Muslims and was resolved that

we the Musalmans of the Frontier are shocked and grieved at the whole sale slaughter of our brethren in Bihar at the hands of Hindu Congress and the entire inefficiency of the Bihar Government, and the lack of sympathy of the Government of India and request you to afford adequate protection to Muslims and bring the offenders to jail and dismiss the incompetent Ministers otherwise the responsibility will be entirely yours if the Muslims also were to lose control as these things can no longer be tolerated. 102

In the beginning of November, the Frontier League devoted its attention almost exclusively to the situation there, 'bombarding' the Province with continuous propaganda about the sufferings of the Bihar Muslims. It also sent three medical missions, consisting of doctors, volunteers and party workers to fan out through the effected region to aid Muslims. Besides their aid missions, they wrote articles for the Provincial press in which they pointed lucid accounts of rape, murder, torture, destruction of Muslim homes, mosques and descretion of the Holy Qurans. 103

A deputation of the newly formed 'Muslim Minority Provinces Protection Board' consisting of Arbab Abdul Ghafoor, Fida Mohammad Khan and Mian Burhanuddin Khan had reached Patna. They interviewed Bihar League leaders and discussed ways and means of arranging the emigration of Bihar Muslims to the NWFP. From Bihar the deputation went Gwalior where about 15,000 Muslims were stranded and who had sent an SOS to the Frontier Muslims for help. Many returned to describe what they had seen at public meetings, displaying objects picked up in Bihar to dramatise the destruction - blood - stained clothing, torn page of the Holy Quran, and in one case a skull of an alleged Muslim victim. 105

After great loss of life and property, the Viceroy invited Jinnah for talks since he felt that without Muslim League's cooperation and entry into the Interim Government, the communal situation would become more explosive and riots could not be stopped. Jinnah too realized that it would be fatal to the interests of the Muslims to have the entire field of administration of the Central Government in the hand of the Congress. On October 26, the League joined the interim Government, Liaquat Ali Khan, I.I. Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Jogendar Nath Mandal were included in the Cabinet.

Re-organization of the Frontier Muslim League

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The League's Committee of Action called a select group of Provincial leaders to Delhi for consultation of the future on the Frontier League between April 11, and 18. On 19 April, 1946, Zafar Ahmad Ansari, Secretary Committee of Action of All-India Muslim League have appointed the following Muslim League Organising Committee for the NWF Province, with Khan Samin Jan Khan as Chairman, Khan Mohammad. Ali Khan of Hoti as Secretary and Arbab Noor Mohammad Khan of Lundi as Treasurer, to enrol primary members, to set up primary and district Leagues throughout the Province, to conduct and control elections of office-bearers of these Leagues and to have representatives of the various District Leagues elected for the Provincial Muslim League Council.

Personnel of the Organizing Committee

Hazara District: (1) Khan Abbas Khan; (2) K.B. Jalalud Din; (3) Captain Zain Khan; (4) Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan; (5) Khan Sultan Ali Boi; (6) Khan Mohammad Zaman Khan.

Mardan District: (1) Bakht Jamal Khan; (2) Khan Mohammad Yaqoob Khan; (3) Khan Ghulam Mohammad Khan; (4) Khan Samin Jan Khan; (5) Khan Mohammad Ali Khan of Hoti; (6) Mohammad Akbar Badshah Sahib Bamkhel; (7) Khan Purdil Khan.

Kohat District: (1) M.R. Kiyani; (2) K.B. Mohabbat Ali Khan; (3) Yousaf Khattak.

Bannu District: (1) Khan Habib Ullah Khan; (2) Pir Abdul Latif of Zakori; (3) Khan Damsaz Khan; (4) K.B. Risaldar Hakim Khan.

Dera Ismail Khan District: (1) Nawab Qutbud-Din Sahib of Tank; (2) Nawab Nasrullah Khan; (3) Abdur Rahim Khan Sadozai; (4) Mohammad Ramzan Khan; (5) K.B. Abdul Haye Khan; (6) Maulvi Noor Bukhsh.

Peshawar District: (1) Ibrahim Khan Jagrha; (2) Arbab Mohammad Sharif Khan; (3) Khan Rabnawaz Khan; (4) Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan; (5) Arbab Sher Ali Khan; (6) Khan Sher Bahadur Khan; (7) Khan Muhammad Yousaf Khan; (8) Khan Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao; (9) Mian Abdullah Shah; (10) Mian Mohammad Shah; (11) Arbab Noor Mohammad Khan.

Peshawar City: (1) Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan; (2) Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar; (3) Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. 107

Further it was decided that the new organizing committee consisted of forty members would supersede the adhoc committee formed by Qazi Isa. It was instructed to enrol new party members, establish League branches throughout the province, and conduct new party elections till the end of September.

Mian Zia ud Din, a veteran Leaguer criticized the newly organised committee for the NWFP. According to him some adventurals went to Delhi where they represented themselves as new blood which would perform miracles. These persons were given great prominence without any enquiry about their credentials. The Committee of Action of All-India Muslim League suddenly announced the formation of an organizing body for the NWFP. The names of most of the sincere and old workers of the League, according to Zia ud Din, were excluded from the list and some names of those persons were included who had brought down the League candidates in the elections.

This was an un-expected shock and created great resentment throughout the Province. It not only gave a bad name to the League but has created an impression in the NWFP that in order to become a League leader all that one to do is to announce one's conversion from some other organisation and to come down to Delhi with a few friends and represent himself as a Leader. The Committee of Action it appears only accepts the face value and such persons become the dictators of Provincial Leagues. ¹⁰⁸

The organizing committee, which met in Peshawar on May 1 and Kohat on May 16, allotted responsibility for rebuilding the Party among its members and created two three-men executive sub-committees to aid them in their respective districts.

Common men were aware of Hindu domination. They flocked around Muslim League.

We feared their's democracy because the Hindus were more than 36 crores while the Muslims numbered only 10 crores. We propagated that after clear cut majority, may be they nominate a Governor and Commander-in-Chief both would be Hindu or Sikh. Whomsoever they be, they will never care for our culture and civilization. We convinced the masses of our separate homeland where they would be free to act on their own behalf as regards their culture, education and civilization. 110

The people were convinced for their separate homeland. Muslim Leaguers propagated clear-cut programme of Pakistan. "We raised the slogans for an independent Muslim homeland — Pakistan." 111

Abdul Qaiyum Khan accused the Frontier Congressmen and said, I think the Congress must accept the demand of the Muslims for Pakistan which is the only way out of a very difficult situation. The other alternative is war to the knife." Further he said that the Hindu capitalists had spent enormous sums in providing uniform for Red Shirts and in transporting thousands of them up and down in the Province. A demand for volunteer's uniform was made by Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. He demanded at least two lakhs yard of clothes for twenty thousand uniforms.

The Pir of Manki toured extensively throughout the Province and propagated Pakistan in tribal areas which included a great number of his disciples. Later on he was made the Chairman of Frontier's Committee of Action. At its Peshawar meeting the organizing Committee also appointed Rab Nawaz Khan, the former Khudai Khidmatgar 'Salar-i-Azam' to command the party's volunteers. Numerous quasi-military units calling themselves 'National Guards' already existed in the Province, but they were mere adjuncts of local League branches. They had no hiarchy of command and no central leadership, Rab Nawaz Khan was instructed to mould them into a single cohesive body which would act as the Party's volunteer wing such as the Khudai Khidmatgar did for the Frontier Congress. 114

Besides countless individual public meetings, the Party convened a series of Pakistan Conferences. The Pir of Manki's Jamiat-i- Asfia arranged the first in Peshawar in late April. It was so successful that it was initiated in other districts in Bannu in May, Kohat and Mardan in June and Dera Ismail Khan in November. Each opened and closed with prayers and included speeches interlaced with poetry on political and religious subjects. Each passed a series of resolutions on the main issues of the day which invariably included condemnations of the Khan Sahib ministry for corruption and partisanship, and denunciations of the Congress as un-Islamic. 115

Pandit Nehru's Visit to Frontier Province

At the instance of the Political Department, Government of India; the British Indian Army carried on bombing raids in Waziristan. By the

end of August, 1946, the raids increased. The Muslim League propagated that the bombing was ordered by Nehru's Interim Government in collaboration with Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry. The fact was that Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry has no jurisdiction over the tribal areas as they were under the direct control of the Centre. However, the League succeeded in moulding the public opinion in tribal areas in their favour. 116 Soon after the Interim Government was formed, orders were issued for stopping of the aerial bombardment on tribesmen in South Waziristan.

In the midst of the communal disorders, Nehru decided to visit the Frontier in October, giving the League a chance to demonstrate the Province's opposition to the Congress. A Congress dominated Interim Central Government had been formed in September in which Nehru, as the member for foreign affairs, was responsible for tribal matters. Obstensibly his trip was undertaken in his official capacity, but party motives lay behind his decision. 118 Abul Kalam Azad warned Nehru that

Congress had just assumed office in the centre and had not yet consolidated its position. His tour of the Frontier at this stage would give the dissident elements an opportunity of organizing their opposition to Congress. Since a majority of the officials were also against the Congress, they would sympathise with, if not actively support, these opposition elements. It would therefore be better if he postpone his visit till a more appropriate time. 119

In the Foreign Department Telegram No. 8422, dated 28 September, 1946 Olaf Caroe, the Governor NWFP was informed that Pandit Nehru proposed to pay a visit to the Frontier in October which would have to be confined to one week. Pandit Nehru wished to be accompanied by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and felt Dr. Khan Sahib might wish to join him. He would also be accompanied by Mr. Weightman or Major Crichton. The telegram asked for a tentative programme for the visit. 120 Sir Olaf Caroe resented Nehru's proposed visit to Frontier. He flew to Delhi to try to dissuade Nehru "I told him that he would undermine the influence of my ministry and heighten communalism." Lord Wavell informed Pethick- Lawrence that Caroe "is disturbed about Nehru proposals to visit the tribal Areas and has come down to discuss the matter. I expect Nehru will have to have his way, but if a coalition is obtained first I shall try to get him to take a Muslim member of the

Cabinet with him, to show a united front."¹²² In case the negotiations failed, "there will be little advantage in my urging Nehru to postpone it. He will be very suspicious as a result of any such attempt. If he insists on going to the tribal areas we shall have to deal with the results as we can."¹²³

Olaf Caroe in Delhi discussed the Frontier's situation in detail with Abell, Private Secretary to the Viceroy and Lord Wavell, Viceroy himself. He was in opposition to Nehru's proposed visit to Frontier. Mr. Abell in his minutes disclosed that

the Governor was taking an exaggerated view, and Deputy Private Secretary of Viceroy, who knows the Frontier, agrees. It is quite impossibly out of date to suggest that the Foreign Member should keep away from the tribal areas and if there are unfortunate consequences we shall have to put up with them. 124

In Frontier there were two opposing camps regarding the proposed visit of Pandit Nehru. Khudai Khidmatgars and the Frontier Congress welcomed it while Muslim League issued a statement that Nehru was coming, "in order to persuade the tribesmen to accept the yoke of the new Hindu Government.... The Frontier Tribesmen have never accepted British domination. They will not submit to Hindu Raj either." 125

Press cuttings were sent by the Viceroy to the Secretary of States for India. *Dawn's* Principal headlines were: 'Deputation of Tribal Maliks meets Jinnah. Unflunching loyalty to League expressed. Hindu domination not to be tolerated'. 126

In Peshawar a meeting was held in which the Pir of Manki Sharif warned Mr. Nehru not to visit the NWFP otherwise he and the Government would be responsible for any incident that may take place due to his proposed visit. Tribesmen also addressed this meeting opposing the proposed visit of Nehru. There were, however, some Leaguers who despite, their differences with Frontier Congress, opposed the demonstrations against Nehru's visit to the NWFP. Pir of Manki, the President of Committee of Action, Frontier, seemed to be reluctant in organizing the demonstrations. He issued a statement insisting that any step taken by demonstrators to lower the prestige of Frontier Muslim League would be resisted by him. He advised the Leaguers to abstain from such demonstrations staged against the visit of Nehru. To which they replied that a resolution to stage the demonstrations on the eve of

the arrival of Nehru to Frontier was passed by Provincial Muslim League in one of its meeting. They had formed a Committee for this purpose. "The responsibility lay on them and you are exempted from such responsibility". Mian Ziauddin also stated that personally he was not in favour of demonstrations but was out-voted. 130

Olaf Caroe further advised the Viceroy that Jinnah should in generous fashion make it clear to his followers that Nehru "will be a guest of the people of the Frontier and that no counter demonstration should be staged on his arrival or during his tour". Wavell wrote to Jinnah that

Pandit Nehru is leaving on a short tour of the Frontier tomorrow. Though you and the Muslim League may have looked on the tour with disfavour, the formation of a coalition Government, which I hope to announce tonight, makes a great difference. Pandit Nehru will no doubt report on his return to a Cabinet of which the League representatives form an integral part, and he has told me that during the tour he will make a point of welcoming the formation of a Coalition. I hope therefore that you will recognise how undesirable it is that here should now be hostile demonstrations against a member of the Government, and that you will ask your Muslim League leaders in the NWFP to use their restraining influence. 132

To which Jinnah replied

I received your letter of the 15th of October, 1946, at 6.15 p.m. just as I was leaving for the meeting of the Working Committee regarding Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the NWFP tomorrow. After consulting my Working Committee I beg to inform you that the people of the Frontier look upon Pandit Nehru's visit with disfavour and it would be advisable if the visit could be postponed to a later date. 133

Further he informed him that no instructions to stage demonstrations had been issued in that connection to Frontier Muslim League. ¹³⁴ However, there are some impressions of Quaid's approval to stage the demonstration which can be found in the Pir'of Manki's letter to Quaidi-Azam. Writing to Jinnah he informed him that while preparing the grounds to stage hostile receptions against Nehru's visit, he feared the wrath of Jinnah but when he heard about his approval, he was satisfied. ¹³⁵ On 16 October, 1946, the Adam Khel Malik and Tribesmen

resolved in a representative 'Jirga' their staunch belief in Pakistan and assured Quaid-i-Azam of their full support and sacrifices. 136

Nehru arrived at Peshawar by air in the noon of October 16 and drove to the Premier's House, where he was received by Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Some five thousand Muslim League volunteers wearing green uniforms and carrying long lances, spears and staves, headed by Abdul Qaiyum lined the road leading to the entrance of the aerodrome and shouted slogans. As Nehru emerged, slogans were raised against him and an attempt was made to attack his car. Dr Khan Sahib was so worried that he took out revolver and threatened to shoot. The crowds gave way. When Abdul Qaiyum was asked why after the Muslim League had joined the Government the Leaguers were staging the demonstrations, he said: "There will be no peace in the Frontier even if there is peace elsewhere." To save Nehru, the police had to slip him by a back way. The reception became an entirely one sided affair, because in order to avoid any possibility of clash the Congress had refrained 138 from organizing a demonstration of greeting. 139

On the arrival of Nehru, Abdul Ghaffar Khan set out with him on their's tour to tribal areas. Before his coming to visit the NWFP, Abdul Ghaffar Khan had already discussed the miseries of the tribal people with him. They had no earthly possessions and were living among the barren mountains. "If there could be schools for their children they would be filled with new hope and courage, and all the troubles that arise from time to time would stop."

On the next day of his arrival to Peshawar, they slew to Waziristan. The Leaguers of Bannu did their best to dissuade people from Nehru's welcome greeting. They organized the people to resent in a way of demonstration on his coming to Waziristan.¹⁴¹

In Miranshah, North Waziristan, they met with representatives of Waziri tribe in a 'Jirga' which was also attended by Abdul Ghassar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib. After Dr. Khan Sahib introduced Jawaharlal Nehru to the tribesmen, their representatives asked about Nehru's mission to Waziristan. Some shouted, "We don't want Hindu Raj". They made it clear that the Waziris would not tolerate any interference with their independence. They recognised neither the Congress nor the Muslim League and they wanted to be left alone to lead their own lives as they thought it best. 142

From Miranshah Nehru flew to Razmak in South Waziristan. The camp and the piquets around it were sniped at before and when his

plane landed, the Mahsud Maliks gave Nehru a very hostile reception telling him that if the Mahsuds should have any grievances, they would turn to Jinnah. They would have nothing to do with the Congress. 143 From Razmak they went to Wana and Tank. The same things happened there. Wherever they went, they met with hostile demonstration, who even threw stones at them.

From Tank they went on an impromptu visit to Jandola. The political Agent there was a Hindu named Diwan Shivsaran Lal. "The tribesmen have given us a very warm welcome and they even brought sheep for us. We had long discussions with them and they were in agreement with every thing we said. Everywhere along the road to Jandola we were warmly welcomed by groups of tribesmen, who had been waiting for us to pass by". 144

On 20 October they motored through the Khyber. On the way to Torkham they were sniped by some of tribesmen. In Torkham they had tea and then proceeded to Landi Kotal, they found groups of people sitting by the side of the road. As soon as

we came in sight they began to pelt stones at us. The Political Agent [Sahibzada Khurshid] car was in front. He stopped the car and got out. The armed escort fired a few rounds and the people fled. A few stones were thrown at our car, but though the window was broken, no body was hurt. The only casualty was an Englishman in our party who had got down the car to take photos and had been hit by one of the flying stones. 145

The Afridis and Shinwaris protested strongly against the "forcible visit of Nehru to Landi Kotal quite against our will and without our consent which had injured our religious feeling." They blamed Nehru, Dr Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan for creating disturbances and demanded their written apologies. The Congress again accused the political Agent of Khyber Agency and other officials, of staging protests against their visit. These charges were later on conformed by Farid Ullah Shah, the then Assistant Political Agent of Khyber Agency. To quote him

At that time Colonel Khurshid was the Political Agent of the Khyber Agency. Two or three days before Nehru's arrival Khurshid sent for me and told me Nehru was coming to Khyber. He said that if the tribesmen should receive him in a docile way, all Musalmans of this part of the country will go

under the suzerainty of the Hindus; as a Musalman I should do something, but at the same time he warned me not to tell him of the action I would take. Do you know why? He was a religious man and if he was asked anything, he could say he did not know.

I went straight to Jamrud. I contacted a certain Kuki Khel 'Malik' called Swatai Khan. The only question he asked was as to what would be the reaction of the Political Agent. I told him: "Don't worry". I very strongly told him that no body was to be killed. They should resort to heavy sniping.

On return from Jamrud I contacted Mullah Sahib of Manki Sharif. He had then a lot of disciples among the Shinwaris and Mullagoris. So he also went on tour to Landi Kotal and the Mullagori area. 147

Swatai Khan Afridi sent a detailed letter to Quaid-i-Azam justifying their act resulting in Nehru's disgrace. He wrote

After Nehru had finished with his tour of Waziristan, he decided to visit Khyber Agency. The Political Agent Khyber Agency approached us and asked about our liking to meet Nehru. We replied that the road is government's property. We are not going to prevent him from going on the road but are not in a position to meet him because of our disfavour to Hindus and Nehru is the representative of Hindus. 148

Furthermore he accused Khan Brothers of giving Rs.100 to 4 'ghundas' in order to serve them with tea in Jamrud. The money was paid through Yahya Jan.

When I got the news, I became full with anger. The paid agents were going to present the Afridis. I challenged them, if they intended to garland the Congressites with flowers, I am going to garland them with bullets and if they were presented with tea, Panditji would taste his own blood in that cup of tea. 149

The same afternoon, Nehru proceeded to Malakand where they stayed till the following day. They spent the night at Head Aman Dara. On the way back to Peshawar, the convoy was stoned in Malakand as well as in Dargai. He was stopped at Dargai Bazar. He was scated in Mehr Chand Khanna's car. Their convoy was stoned and even they received minor injuries. With great difficulty they escaped through Abazai Canal and reached Peshawar. 150

Their treatment at Malakand and Dargai was, according to Congress members, the outcome of the conspiracy of Shaikh Mahbub Ali and Olaf Caroe, the Governor NWFP which he visited few days before their visit to Malakand Agency. According to Abdul Ghaffar Khan when they were stoned by the people in Malakand, the Political Agent Shaikh Mabhub Ali was watching them from a distance. Earlier Abdul Ghaffar Khan was warned in Malakand Agency by Rahat Khan, a Khudai Khidmatgar, of the evil motives of Mahabub Ali. 151

Pandit Nehru also charged Shaikh Mahbub Ali of the happening at Malakand Agency. He wrote to Olaf Caroe that they had been told previously that a group of persons were waiting outside the gate to create troubles. This information had been passed on to the Political Agent who was with them. When they started, the Political Agent's car proceeded them. Immediately after emerging from the gate of the Agency,

we saw two buses full of persons standing across the road and partly blocking it and about two or three dozen persons standing by the road-side. Immediately our car was stoned. The Political Agent obviously saw what was happening but he took no step. His car slowly proceeded. The men in the buses came down and surrounded our car, smashed all the glasses and made a dangerous and murderous attack upon us. Meanwhile the Political Agent calmly proceeded ahead leaving us completely isolated in the hands of this relatively small and hostile crowd. Ultimately we got through when Dr Khan Sahib took a revolver from the orderly in the car and brandished it about without firing it. The sight of this one revolver was quite sufficient to frighten the crowd who made way for us to pass. Indeed some of them were so frightened that they fell down as they were going back. This showed how easy it was to deal with this crowd. 152 Therefore, the behavior of Nawab Shaikh Mahbub Ali, the Political Agent at Malakand, "in these extraordinary circumstances can only be explained by one of two hypotheses: either he was completely incompetent and incapable of dealing with any situation or he approved of what took place and, therefore, did not intervene."153 Jawaharlal demanded that

in regard to the Malakand incident the known and established and admitted facts are so obvious that some action is immedi-

ately needed. It is possible that a proper inquiry might lead to further incriminating evidence; it cannot lessen the responsibility for misbehaviour of the Political Agent. 154

In January, 1947 Justice R. Clark, Judge of the Madras High Court was appointed by the Government of India to conduct a judicial enquiry into charges made against Shaikh Mahabub Ali relating to his conduct during Nehru's visit to Malakand Agency. Three witnesses were presented before the Bench. Pir Bakhsh Khan and Shafi Advocate pleaded the case. Sheikh Mahbub Ali was charged with negligence from his duty and on the suggestions of Lord Wavell, Mahbub Ali was retired.

Nehru's visit resulted in presenting the Muslim League with an opportunity for effective publicity. 156 Abdul Qaiyum informed the Quaid that "what we could not hope to achieve in several years, was in fact achieved within about a week". 157

On going back to Delhi, Nehru submitted a detailed account of his visit to the NWFP. He said his brief tour of the Tribal Areas was intended to provide him with an overall picture of the conditions prevailing there. For the understanding of problems and then to develop a policy for the welfare of the tribal people was the main object of his visit. He advocated for free education to the tribal people and condemned the system of paying allowance to some of the selected 'Maliks' thus creating a group of haves and have nots. This he described "as a kind of hush-money or blackmail". He pleaded for the free movements of those people with their own brethren - the people of settled districts. He criticised the role of Muslim League. After they had given a share in the Government, they treacherously organized the demonstrations on his visit to the Frontier tribes. The political service was in league with those demonstrators; he pointed out the case of Jandola, which he visited without any pre-planned programme and where he was greeted warmly. 158

Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, decided to pay a visit to the NWFP in order to "obliterate the impression left by Nehru". 159 He intended to go there on 14 November, 1946. 160 After his visit, he remarked

I have been on the short but extensive tour of the NWFP, during which I have addressed two 'Jirgas', one of Afridis at Landi Kotal and one of Ahmadzai Wazirs at Wana. I wanted to see for myself what the permanent effects of Nehru's tour had

been, and also to try and bring some encouragement to officials who had been so maligned as a result of it. I found the 'Jirgas' keenly interested in All-India politics. The idea of domination by Hindus, which is what they took Nehru's visit to imply, is anathema to these people. The Wazirs seemed to wish to align themselves with the Muslim League. I advised both the 'Jirgas' not to ally themselves with any particular party, but to wait on events, and remain united to negotiate new agreements with the future Government of India when the time come. ¹⁶¹

Muslim League stepped up in tribal areas. Their religious sentiments, according to Jansson, fanned by officials, students and regular Muslim Leaguers, weighed heavily in favour of the Muslim League and Pakistan. 162

References and Notes

- 1. Erland Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan?* (Stockholm: Amqvist and Wiksell International 1981), p.165.
- Stephen Alan Rittenberg, The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province: 1901-1947 (Columbia University: unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1977), p.315.
- 3. The participants of the Conference included, Maulvi Shakirullah, Nowshera; Maulvi Abdul Samad, Kohat; Maulvi Yusuf Jan, Peshawar; Maulvi Shams-ud-Din, Peshawar; Qazi Asad-ul-Haq, Mardan; Maulvi Ghulam Yahya, Mardan; Maulvi Abdul Karim, Ziarat Kaka Sahib; Nowshera, Qazi Abdul Hakim, Jalozai; Maulvi Fazal-i- Rabbani, Doaba; Maulvi Alam Khan, Bannu; Maulvi Abdul Wahab, Kohat; Siraj-ul-Haq, Mardan; Abdul Jalil of Utmanzai and more than 170 others.
- 4. Jamiat-i-Asfia, 14 Oct. 1945 (Pir of Manki Collections) (hereafter Manki).
- 5. Extracts from the Speech of Pir of Manki, 14 Oct., 1945 (Manki).
- 6. Quaid-i-Azam to Amin-ul-Hasanat, 18 Nov., 1945, (Manki).
- 7. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.316.
- 8. Amit Kumar Gupta, North West Frontier Province, Legislature and Freedom Struggle: 1932-47 (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1976), p.171.
- 9. Khaliq-uz-Zaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (London: Longmans Green and Co. Ltd. 1961), p.332.

- 10. Saad Ullah Khan to Quaid-i-Azam, 1 Sept., 1945 (NWFP-1:59 SIIC).
- 11. Governor's Report No. 13, 9 Sept., 1945 (Pol: 9061/1945) (IOR L/P&J//5/222 NDC).
- 12. Ritternberg, op.cit., p.318.
- 13. Quaid-i-Azam to Sardar Nishtar, 21 Sept., 1945 (Nishtar: I).
- 14. The Selection Board consisted of Nawab Istikhar Hussain of Mamdot, President; Abdul Qaiyum Khan; Convener; Arbab Noor Mohammad Khan; M.R. Kiyani; Khan Sohbat Khan; K.B. Jalal-ud-Din Khan; Habib Ullah Khan; Pir Sahib of Zakori, and Arbab Abdul Ghasoor.
- 15. The Election Board included Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar as the Chairman; Mian Zia ud Din as Secretary; Abdul Qaiyum Khan; Samin Jan Khan; Bakht Jamal Khan; Mohammad Kausar, Advocate; Niamat Ullah Khan; Taj Ali Khan; Fazal Karim Asif; Pir Syed Jalal Shah; Asad ul Haq, Advocate; K.B Jalal ud Din Khan; Arbab Sher Ali Khan; K.B. Mir Alam Khan, and Nawab Nasrullah Khan.
- 16. The Finance Board consisted of K.B. Ghulam Haider Khan; Sardar Mohammad Ayub Khan; Mohammad Ali Khan; Haji Karim Bakhsh; Mohammad Yusuf Khattak; K.B. Mohabat Ali Khan, and Mian Zia ud Din.
- 17. Extracts from the Proceedings of Central Parliamentary Board's Meeting 8 Oct., 1945 (Nishtar: I).
- 18. Zafar Ahmad Ansari to Mian Zia ud Din, 11 Oct., 1945, (Nishtar: 1).
- 19. Zafar Ahmad Ansari to Mian Zia ud Din, 11 Oct., 1945, (Nishtar: 1).
- 20. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.318.
- 21. Asad-ul-Haq to Quaid-i-Azam, 20 Dec., 1945, (NWFP- I: 90, SIIC).
- 22. Allah Bukhsh Yusufi to Quaid-i-Azam, 19 Dec., 1945, (NWFP- 1:89, SIIC).
- 23. Quaid-i-Azam to Sardar Aurangzeb, 14 Jan., 1946, (NWFP-11:6, SIIC).
- 24. Jansson, op.cit., p.148.
- 25. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.320.
- 26. The Pakistan Times, 25 Dec., 1945 (Lakha Collections F.No XX, (P.11), National Archives, Islamabad) (hereafter Lakha).
- 27. Abdul Qaiyum to Quaid-i-Azam, 4 Jan., 1946, (NWFP-II:101 SIIC).
- 28. Abdul Qaiyum to Quaid-i-Azam, 9 Jan., 1946, (NWFP- II: SIIC).
- 29. Inayat Kibrya to Quaid-i-Azam, 10 Jan., 1946, (NWFP-II: 2, SIIC).
- 30. Asad-ul-Haq to Qauid-i-Azam, 20 Dec., 1945, (NWFP- I: 90, SIIC).

- 31. Quaid-i-Azam to Pir of Manki, 20 Nov., 1945, (Manki).
- 32. Interview Mian Ahmad Shah, 16 July, 1945.
- 33. Amin-ul-Hasanat to Quaid-i-Azam., 16 Jan., 1946 (NWFP-II, 11 SIIC).
- 34. Quaid-i-Azam, to Pir of Manki, 17 Jan., 1946 (Manki).
- 35. They included Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar; Mohammad Akbar; Malik-ur-Rehman Keyani; Mir Alam Khan; Mian Musharaf Shah; Arbab Mohammad Sharif; Abdul Shakoor; Mir Aslam Khan; Arbab Sher Ali Khan; Sher Bahadur; Ata Ullah; Mohammad Akbar; Abdul Qaiyum; Mohabat Ali; Mohammad Akbar Khan Hoti; Sardar Khan; and Mohammad Yaqub.
- 36. Announcement of the Muslim League Candidates an Urdu Poster, 16 Jan., 1946 (Nishtar. 2).
- 37. Gupta, op.cit., p.174.
- 38. Asad-ul-Haq to Quaid-i-Azam, 20 Dec., 1945 (NWFP- I: 90, SIIC).
- 39. Gupta, op.cit., p.174.
- 40. Jansson, op.cit., p.148.
- 41. P. Hardy, The Muslims of British India (Cambridge University Press, 1972) p.240.
- 42. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who regarded constitutional politics as a futile exercise, had opposed the formation of the Second Congress Ministry in the Frontier. In March 1945 he attended the Congress Working Committee meeting at Calcutta and made it clear there that he had no intention to take part in the elections. This naturally affected the election campaign of Frontier Congress. It, in fact, considerably reduced the interest of the Congress sympathisers in the elections and immobilised a powerful section of the Khudai Khidmatgars. But in the last week of December 1945 he changed his mind and decided to take part in the Congress election campaign. He must have realized the importance of the elections by now, as well as the main issue - India or Pakistan. The way the British Officials were "working on behalf of the League" also led Abdul Ghaffar Khan to change his mind. His decision was momentous and a United Congress-Khudai Khidmatgar organization was immediately swung back into operation. By January 1946 Abdul Ghaffar Khan came to the forefront of the Congress election campaign and soon he was engrossed in it. Elections had to be won in the Frontier, according to him, "not only for the prestige of the Congress, but also for the freedom of India".

- 43. Gupta op.cit., pp.174-75.
- 44. Ibid., p.176.
- 45. Ibid., p.177.
- 46. Jansson, op.cit., p.150.
- 47. Jamiat-i-Asfia (Manki).
- 48. Copy of Resolution 2 Oct., 1945 (NWFP-I: 68, SIIC).
- 49. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, My Life and Struggle (Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, n.d.) p.175.
- 50. Sharif al Mujahid, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981), pp.135-36.
- 51. Interview Mr. Aslam Khan Khattak, 9 Sept., 1984.
- 52. Gupta, op.cit., p. 177.
- 53. The Congressmen who succeeded in the General elections of 1946 were (1) Mehr Chand Khanna; (2) Kewal Ram; (3) Bhanju Ram Gandhi; (4) Mehta Madan Lal; (5) Girdharilal Puri; (6) Mahasha Shiv Ram; (7) Mohan Lal Gulati; (8) Kotu Ram; (9) Kanwar Bhan Narang; (10) Mohammad Yahya Jan; (11) Abdul Qaiyum Khan of Upper Pakhli Hazara; (12) Amin Jan Khan; (13) Syed Qaim Shah; (14) Dr. Khan Sahib; (15) Arbab Abdur Rehman Khan; (16) Mian Jafar Shah; (17) Syed Yakub Shah; (18) Mohammad Zarin Khan; (19) Abdul Aziz Khan; (20) Manfat Ullah Khan; (21) Qazi Ata Ullah Khan; (22) Syed Ali Badshah; (23) Pir Shahinshah; (24) Sahib Gul; (25) Mohammad Aslam Khan; (26) Abdullah Khan; (27) Mohammad Yaqub Khan; (28) Akbar Ali Khan; (29) Sardar Ram Singh; (30) Sardar Ishar Singh.
- 54. The Muslim League MLAs were: (1) Abdul Qaiyum Khan; (2) K.B. Jalal-ud-Din; (3) Mohammad Farid Khan; (4) Zain Mohammad Khan; (5) K.B. Abdur Rehman Khan; (6) K.B. Mohammad Zaman Khan; (7) Sardar Bahadur Khan; (8) Raja Haider Zaman Khan; (9) Mohammad Abbas Khan; (10) Ali Gohar Khan; (11) Arbab Mohammad Sharif Khan; (12) Nawab Sir Mohammad Akbar Khan; (13) Habib Ullah Khan; (14) Abdul Latif Khan, Pir of Zakori; (15) Nawab Qutb-ud- Din Khan; (16) Mian Musharaf Shah; (17) Sultan Hasan Ali Khan.
- 55. Sardar Asad Ullah Jan Khan and Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan were Jamiat's successful candidates while Sardar Partap Singh was the only successful candidate of Akali Dal.
- 56. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.331.

- 57. Ibid., p.332.
- 58. Abdul Wahid Qureshi, *Tarikhi Faisala (Urdu)* (Karachi: National Book Foundation, 1976), p.126.
- 59. Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims: A Political History (1858-1947), (Lahore: Book Traders, 1976), p.304.
- 60. George Cunningham to Lord Wavell, 27 Feb., 1946, TP, IV: 1085-86.
- 61. The Khyber Mail, Peshawar, 5 April 1946.
- 62. Gupta, op.cit., p.180.
- 63. Khan Mir Hilali, *Turiali (Pashto)*, (Peshawar, n.d.), p.139 See also Chauhan's Personal Collections.
- 64. Syed Jamal ud Din Shah, Jalal Baba of Hazara (Peshawar: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, unpublished M.A. thesis, 1984), p.43.
- 65. B.G. Gokhale, *The Making of the Indian Nation* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1960), p.158.
- 66. C.H. Philips, The Evolution of India and Pakistan, 1857- 1947, Select Documents (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p.378.
- 67. Members of the All India National Congress's Working Committee who attended the Conference at Simla were: (1) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad; (2) J.B. Kripalani; (3) Mr Asaf Ali; (4) Acharya Narendra Deo; (5) Mr Shankar Rao Deo; (6) Dr Profulla Chandra Gosh; (7) Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan; (8) Mr Har-Krishana Mehtab; (9) Mrs Sarojini Naidu; (10) Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru; (11) Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, (12) Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel; (13) Dr Rajendra Prasad; (14) Dr Pathabhai Sittaramaya.
- Members of Muslim League Working Committee who attended Simla Conference were: (1) Mr. M.A. Jinnah; (2) Liaquat Ali Khan; (3) Mian Bashir Ahmed; (4) Maulana Akram Khan; (5) Sardar Aurangzeb Khan; (6) Maulvi Abdul Matin Chaudhry; (7) I.I. Chundrigar; (8) Haji Sattar Seth; (9) Mr Hussain Imam; (10) Nawab M. Ismail Khan; (11) Ch. Karamat Ali; (12) Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman; (13) Mr M.A. Isfahani; (14) K.B. Khuhro; (15) Mr Latif-ur-Rahman; (16) Raja M. Amir Ahmad Khan, of Mahmoodabad; (17) Nawab M. Istikhar Hussain of Mamdot; (18) Qazi Mohammad Isa; (19) Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din; (20) Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar; (21) Syed Abdur Rauf Shah; (22) G.M. Syed.
- 68. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.334.
- 69. Ibid., p.335.

- 70. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Foundations of Pakistan (Karachi: National Publishing: House Ltd., 1970) II, pp.538-539.
- 71. Ibid., p.544.

- 72. Gupta, op.cit., p.192.
- 73. Pakhtun, 9 Sept., 1946, quoted in Rittenberg, p.377.
- 74. Hand Bill by Abdul Hamid, President Muslim League, Khalil Branch, Peshawar; n.d. (F.No. 366 AFM).
- 75. Olaf Caroe to Lord Wavell 28 March 1946, TP, VII: 44-45.
- 76. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.338.
- 77. Note of Meeting between Cabinet Delegation, Wavell and Dr. Khan Sahib. 1 March 1946, TP, VII:74.
- 78. Note of Meeting between Wavell, Cabinet Delegation, Mr. Qaiyum and Saad Ullah, 2 March 1946, TP, VII: 89-90.
- 79. Gupta, op.cit., p.191.
- 80. Pirzada, op.cit, II, p.560.
- 81. Ibid., p.562.
- 82. Ibid., p.558.
- 83. Jalal Baba From a Taxi Driver to a Minister, *The Star* 11 Sept., 1953 (*Lakha* F/V No. 2 p.31).
- 84. The Khyber Mail, Peshawar, 9 August, 1946.
- 85. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Azadi ki Kahanai Meri Zubani (Karachi: Tahir News Agency, n.d.), p.95.
- 86. Sharf al Mujahid, *Indian Secularism* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1970), p.55.
- 87. Ian Stephens, *Pakistan: Old Country New Nation* (England: Penguin Book Ltd., 1964), p.128.
- 88. Mujahid, Indian Secularism, op.cit., p.56.
- 89. Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 11 Aug., 1946, TP VIII p.220.
- 90. Stephens, op.cit., p.129.
- 91. Jamil ud Din Ahmad, Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1964) II, p.321.
- 92. The Khyber Mail, Peshawar, 6 Sept., 1946.
- 93. Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1978), pp.410-411.
- 94. Mujahid, Indian Secularism, op.cit., p.58. 1946
- 95. Lord Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 22 Nov., 1922 TP, IX: 139.
- 96. Ibid., p.140.
- 97. Jansson, op.cit., p.177.

- 98. Ibid..
- 99. Two Bihari students Syed Abu Ahmad and Abu Kamal at their address at Kulachi on 12 December, informed the people of the holocaust in Bihar and exhorted the Muslim to get ready for action against Hindus.
- 100. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.345.
- 101. Muslim Leaguers of Nowshera to Quaid-i-Azam, 9 Nov., 1946, (NWFP-II: 75, SIIC).
- 102. Qudrat Ullah Khan to Quaid-i-Azam, 8 Nov., 1962 (NWFP-II: 73, SIIC).
- 103. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.346.
- 104. The Klyber Mail, Peshawar, 20 Dec., 1994.
- 105. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.346.
- 106. Jamil ud Din Ahmad, op.cit., p.357.
- 107. Zafar Ahmad Ansari to the Executive Members of Organizing Committee NWFP, 19 April 1994, AFM and Klyber Mail, Peshawar, 26 April., 1964.
- 108. Mian Zia ud Din to Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, 6 June, 1946, (AFM, Vol. 366).
- 109. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.341.
- 110. Interviews Mohammad Ashraf and Professor Imdad Hussain, 28 October 1984:
- 111. Interview Mian Zia ud Din, 13 Oct., 1984.
- 112. The Khyber Mail, Peshawar, 29 March 1946.
- 113. Abdul Ghafoor Khan to Nishtar, 5 May 1946, (Nishtar: 2).
- 114. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.341.
- 115. Ibid., p.342.
- 116. Gupta, op.cit., pp.192-193.
- 1 /. Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1964), p.169.
- 118. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.347.
- 119. Azad, op.cit., pp.169-70.
- 120. Foreign Department Telegram to Olaf Caroc, 29 Sept., 177, VIII: 626.
- 121. An Interview of Sir Olaf Caroe, quoted in Rittenberg, op.cit., p.348.
- 122. Lord Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 9 Oct., 1946, TP, VIII: 685.
- 123. Lord Wavell to Olaf Caroe, 30 Sept., 1946, TP, VIII: 627.

- 124. Minutes of Mr. Abell, The Private Secretary to the Viceroy, 30 Sept., 1946, TP, VIII: 627.
- 125. Jansson, op.cit., pp.181-82.
- 126. Lord Wavell to Pethic Lawrence, 1 Oct., 1946, TP, VIII: 637.
- 127. Jansson, op.cit., p.182.
- 128. Pir of Manki to Committee of Demonstration, Provincial Muslim League, n.d. (Manki).
- 129. Demonstration Committee of Provincial Muslim League to Pir of Manki, n.d. (Manki).
- 130. Mian Zia ud Din to Sardar Nishtar, 20 Oct., 1946 (Nishtar).
- 131. Olaf Caroe to Lord Wavell, 15 Oct., 1946, TP, VIII: 730.
- 132. Lord Wavell to Jinnah, 15 Nov., 1946, TP, VIII: 731.
- 133. Jinnah to Wavell, 15 Oct., 1946, TP, VIII: 737.
- 134. Ibid.
- 135. Pir of Manki to Quaid-i-Azam, 1 Nov., 1946 (Manki).
- 136. Malik Mirdast Khan to Quaid-i-Azam, 16 Oct., 1946, (NWFP-II: 46, SIIC).
- 137. D.G. Tendulkar, Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1967), p.384.
- 138. When asked, why a rally of Khudai Khidmatgars was not arranged, Abdul Ghaffar Khan said that Pandit Nehru was visiting the Frontier in his official capacity as Minister for the External Affairs, and, therefore, the Agent to the Governor-General was responsible for making arrangements for his reception. He left the official agencies free to organize the sort of reception, they wanted to give him.
- 139. Jansson, op.cit., p.182.
- 140. Abdul Ghaffar, op.cit., pp.183-184.
- 141. Gul Mohammad Khan Sadozai to Quaid-i-Azam, 17 Oct., 1946, (NWFP-II:53, SIIC).
- 142. Tendulkar, op.cit., p.386.
- 143. Jansson, op.cit., p.183.
- 144. Abdul Ghaffar, op.cit., p.186.
- 145. Ibid., pp.186-87.
- 146. Afridis of Tribal Territory to Quaid-i-Azam, 22 Oct., 1946, (NWFP-II: 60, S/IC).
- 147. Jansson, op.cit., p.186.
- 148. Swatai Khan to Quaid-i-Azam, 25 Oct., 1946, (NWFP-II: 64, SIIC).
- 149. Ibid.

- 150. Interview Mohammad Khan 30 Oct., 1984. Mohammad Khan was then 'Subedar' in Malakand Levy and at that time was posted in Dargai.
- 151. Abdul Ghaffar, op.cit., p.188.
- 152. Pandit Nehru to Olaf Caroe, 26 Oct., 1946, TP, VIII: 820.
- 153. Ibid., p.821.
- 154. Ibid.
- 155. They were Mohammad Khan, Incharge Dargai levy, XEN Roads, Abdus Samad Khan of Mardan and Levy Incharge Subedar Major Mir Hamza of Shriqira, (Peshawar). Mohammad Khan, op.cit.,
- 156. Lord Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 22 Nov., 1946, TP, VIII: 766.
- 157. Abdul Qaiyum to Quaid-i-Azam, 25 Oct., 1946 (NWFP-II: 113, SIIC).
- 158. Pandit Nehru to Olaf Caroe, 26 Oct., 1946, TP, VIII:814-25.
- 159. Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 30 Oct., 1946, TP, VIII:844.
- 160. Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 5 Oct., 1946, TP, IX:12.
- 161. Lord Wavell to Fredick Bourne, Governor of Central Provinces and Bihar, 20 Oct., 1946, TP, IX:120.
- 162. Jansson, op.cit., p.188.

The Last Phase-II

Civil Dis-Obedience Movement in the NWFP

By 1947, the election results of the previous year were no longer an accurate gauge of political sympathies in the NWFP. Public opinion had shifted in favour of the Muslim League, but there was no institutional way for the change to be reflected in the Provincial Assembly. League leaders could cail for Khan Sahib's resignation, but with its solid assembly majority, the Frontier Congress could not be expected to surrender willingly its control of the Provincial Government. With no legal recourse, the League decided to resort to civil disobedience movement in order to displace the Frontier Congress and ensure a further test of public opinion in the NWFP.

There was no large-sale violence in the NWFP in the autumn of 1946 but the situation was very grave. The Muslim League accused the Hindus and Sikhs responsible for the food shortage. They were blamed as the black-marketing merchants. There was some sort of tension in Hazara and D.I. Khan districts. Some non-Muslims quit Tank for D.I. Khan and the NWFP altogether.

In December the situation deteriorated rapidly. On the night between the 7 and 8, trans-border tribesmen attacked the village of Battal in Hazara and burnt the bazar. The following night the village of Oghi suffered the same fate. These raids "were well-organized and instigated by Mullahs working on fanatical tribes in retaliation for events in Bihar". A few days later a lorry evacuating Hindus from the area was attacked by tribesmen, probably with the aid of local villagers. Fourteen evacuees were killed and twenty seven wounded, most of them women and children. Further atrocities followed, resulting in exodus of Hindus and Sikhs to Kohalla, Muzaffarabad, Haripur etc. ²

The Government sent forces to enforce punishment in form of a fine in cash and gifts on the Nandihar tribes for their incursion into Hazara district, the murder of innocent villagers and the destruction of

the bazars of Battal and Oghi.³ The so-called Black Mountain tribes, responsible for the raids were heavily fined. They were also directed to surrender a certain number of rifles and give certain number of men as hostages for good behaviour in the future failing which a punitive expedition would be sent against them.⁴ Furthermore, the Government promulgated NWFP Public Safety Ordinance in addition to Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code prohibiting public speeches, processions and assemblies of more than five persons, in different towns of Hazara.

The Frontier Muslim League exploited the situation for its own benefits. Prominent members of the League toured Hazara telling people to defy Government orders. The ministry was accused of pursuing a repressive policy aimed at crushing the Muslims and the Muslim League. It was well-known, said Abdul Qaiyum, that 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.⁵

Dr. Khan Sahib in a statement said that the trouble in Hazara was non-communal in character and was caused by men in search of loot.⁶ Further he deprecated that a communal colour had been given to the incidents, which were really akin to border raids and incursions.

The Frontier Provincial Muslim League in its meeting held at Abbottabad decided to send a deputation of three members to contact Muslim members of the Interim Government in New Delhi to acquaint them with the situation in Hazara and to enlist their support against a threatened expedition to the Black Mountain areas. Friday, January 17 was to be observed 'Hazara Day' through the NWFP. Further it advised the Muslims not to pay fines imposed on them.⁷

The Nandihar tribes, who numbered about one lakh and a large proportion of them being armed, however, had complied with the terms imposed on them and no punitive action by troops 'is now likely it is learnt here.'8

On January 12 the Frontier Provincial Muslim League defied Section 144 order in Mardan by taking out a large procession and holding a "Bihar Symposium". However, no arrest was made. At the end of January, the Provincial Government issued a communique declaring the death of 25 persons and misplacement of 108. At the start of February, the Provincial League Council decided to challenge the minis-

try over its reaction to the disorders in Hazara. It appointed a War Committee with the Pir of Manki, at its head and ordered all the (League) Committees of the Province to keep an army of 'Mujahideen's ready to undertake civil disobedience against the Hazara Safety Ordinance. 11

All of the things relating with Hazara issue were temporarily dropped because a by-election was scheduled for the mid-February in the area of Mardan District - a stronghold of Muslim League. The party leaders did not want to jeopardize their chances of winning the Kamalzai constituency's election. Abdul Qaiyum Khan was confident of winning the election. He reported the Quaid about their struggle and election campaign was "in full swing". Ishaq Khan, the League nominee had strong position, "God willing we will win this seat". Soon Qaiyum Khan informed the Quaid about the success of League's candidate in the by-elections in Mardan. Votes polled by the contending parties in 1946 elections in that constituency were:

Muslim League	8354
Congress	8185
Muslim League Majority	169

In the by-election of 1947 votes polled by parties in the same constituency were:

Muslim League	8941
Congress	8353
Muslim League Majority	588

There was thus "no change", though there was a slight increase in the Muslim League majority from 169 to 588. The total number of votes polled went up from 16539 to 17294. 14

In the by-elections the women workers of Muslim League also supported the cause of Ishaq Khan against Mian Shakir Ullah, the Congress nominee. They went to Mardan from Peshawar. During elections the Congress members showed their resentment on the participation of women League workers from Peshawar. 15

Once the Leaguer had won the elections, they were free to act on their own behalf to start civil disobedience movement. It is interesting to note that nothing suggests that the League's central leaders gave direct orders to provoke a confrontation with Dr. Khan's Ministry. The decision fully owned its origin to Frontier League leaders although with the passage of time they were supported fully by Muslim League's High Command. The Provincial Muslim League were waiting a chance. They

got the pretext of conversion issue of a Sikh woman and was reinforced by the events in Punjab.

In January 1947, a pregnant Sikh woman Basanti, whose husband and other family members had been killed by Muslims, was abducted and 'converted to Islam,' 16 She was married to one, Mohammad Zaman. Mohammad Zaman was being considered as one of those Muslim marauders gangsmen who had killed her husband. This caused much outcry amongst the non-Muslims of Frontier, in general and among the Sikhs in particular. To find out whether her conversion was voluntary or not, the authorities brought the woman to Peshawar, where she was put up in Dr. Khan Sahib's house. At the end of her stay with the Premier she stated in the presence of her Muslim husband as well as her Sikh family that she wanted to return to Sikhism. She was sent back to Hazara, where she was placed in protective custody in jail.

Although she told the Peshawar city magistrate on February 18 that she wanted to be sent back to her people, the rumour quickly spread that she had embraced Islam freely and had been forced by Dr. Khan Sahib to revert to Sikhism. The next day, according to *The Pakistan Times*, Khan Sahib satisfied a group of its leaders including Abdul Qaiyum and Mohammad Ali Khan that "no kind of compulsion or coerscion had been used". Nonetheless, the party distorted the incident into a justification for civil disobedience.¹⁷

On February 20, 1947, some League processionists marched to the residence of Deputy Commissioner demanding that Basanti be immediately handed over to Muslims. 18 The demonstration took a violent turn which resulted in the arrest of the League leaders including Abdul Qaiyum and Samin Jan Khan. The Provincial League Council held a meeting at which a "war council" was formed to "carry on the struggle which has been forced upon them". The members of the War Council were instructed to go underground to avoid arrest. 19 Mian Abdullah Shah, the Peshawar District League President who had served as one of the Afghan Jirga's underground leaders in 1930, was chosen as its President and Sher Bahadur Khan of Badrashi as its Secretary. One other member of the Council, Mian Mohammad Shah of Pabbi, a former Provincial Congress Committee's member, managed to avoid arrest throughout the agitation. These three were aided during the first month by the Pir of Manki whom the Congress Government did not detain until March 28 for fear of arousing his 'murids' especially those in the

Tribal area.²⁰ Added urgency for the agitation was provided the same day by Prime Minister Attlee. He announced in Parliament that power would be transferred to Indian hands not later than June 1948 and that if the Indians could not work out a constitution, the British Government would relinquish control as it saw it.²¹

Completing the agitation's central leadership, the shadow figure of Major Khurshid Anwar, 'the Naib Salar-i-Ala' of the All-India Muslim League National Guards, came to the NWFP from the Punjab on February 28 and remained until April 24. Provincial leaders were unclear whether the High Command had sent him, an impression he nurtured, or whether he had come on his own since his responsibilities as 'Naib Salar-i-Ala' included the Frontier. The ambiguity was never resolved, but since he was an important party official, he was accommodated by other underground leaders. He operated separately from the War Council, although in frequent consultation with its members. 22

On the following day the Provincial Muslim League organized a demonstration in front of Dr. Khan's House. In the protest meeting they demanded return of Sikh woman to her Muslim husband; the release of its leaders arrested in Mardan in addition to a resentment over the dealing of Black Mountain tribes by the Frontier Government. They protested over the "Black Laws" in Hazara. They forced its way through the cantonment's barbed wiregates, fought off teargas and reached Khan's garden. The mob in Khan Sahib's garden was dangerous: it broke all his windows and threw stones into the rooms, but did "not succeed in storming the house. The old man was as brave as lion and went out on top of the porch to tell the crowd what he thought of them. He refused to give away any points and eventually the Deputy Commissioner was able to get the crowd to move on to the jail."²³

Some of their leaders including Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Fida Mohammad Khan, Bakht Jamal Khan, Syed Mazhar Gilani, Hafiz Abdul Haq. Haji Ghulam Ghaus Sehrai, Pahlawan Tila Mohammad and many others were arrested.²⁴ The Government responded by taking firm measures.²⁵

Other Provincial League leaders were directed to start civil disobedience movement in their own respective District. Jalaluddin Khanwas made incharge of Hazara, Malik ur Rehman Kiyani of Kohat, Habibullah Khan and Malik Damsaz Khan of Bannu, Pir of Zakori of D.I. Khan but they all were arrested and the command passed on to younger ones.

The first phase of civil disobedience, which lasted until early March, was characterized by noisy but peaceful demonstrations and minor property damage but no intentional sabotage or communal violence. The activities were confined to processions, picketing, raising Muslim League flags on government buildings and blocking railway tracks. The League leaders regularly called on party workers to keep the demonstration peaceful. The Congress ministry delayed arresting some men inspite of clear evidence that they were directing the agitation and allowed others to be released after short jail terms. At times it even promised League leaders, safe conduct so that they could confer with government officials.²⁶

Pakhtun, the leading journal of the Khudai Khidmatgars speaking on the League's civil disobedience movement remarked:

to compare the ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib with the Premier of Sindh and his treatment of a religious sect the Hurs'; and the way the League ministry treated the Khaksars in Lahore, the Ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib is far better. Dr. Khan Sahib never spared his relatives. He treated his own son Ubaid Ullah Khan in a harsh manner and sent him to the gallows without any hesitation after his participation in the agitation of Mustiabad; the Leaguers, he treated very politely. If they had any demands, the best method for them was to put forward those in a humane way before Dr. Khan Sahib but not in an intensifying manner. The Leaguers treated Dr. Khan Sahib in an inhumane way and as they treated this kind hearted, simple man, never a Premier was treated in the past.²⁷

Communal violence started shortly after the disturbances which occurred in the Punjab as a result of the League's agitation against the Khizr Hayat ministry. Lord Wavell earlier had reported to Pethick-Lawrance that "it seems likely too that the fall of the Unionist Ministry in the Punjab will put an intolerable strain on the Congress Ministry in NWFP". 28 On 5 March, 1947, the Premier of Punjab Sir Khizr Hayat found himself forced to resign. The Leaguers thought it their greater triumph. Following his resignation, heavy rioting broke out in Lahore and then in many parts of the Punjab. The Punjab riots enflamed the communal feelings in the NWFP.

After the resignation of the Punjab Ministry, the NWFP came to occupy the central position in Indian politics. It was as essential for the All-India National Congress to retain the control of this province as it was for the All-India Muslim league to wrest it out of the hands of the Congress. The fear that the communal rioting in Punjab might spread into the NWFP put the Provincial as well as the Central Government under ever greater pressure than before.²⁹

Dr. Khan Sahib accused the Provincial Muslim League of staging communal violence. Referring to the influence of League, the Premier said that politically it was defunct body. Only a handful of Khans, 'Pirs' and 'Mullahs' who in the past were in the service of irresponsible foreign rulers and played traitor's role to their country had now gathered under a different label. "They naturally feel disturbed" he said, "because they cannot exploit the wide-wake Pathans and so they had taken recourse to provoking the people on religious fanaticism". Further he said, "the actions of the Muslim League's here required no explanation but the Government has allowed absolute freedom of speech. In fact speeches, which will not have been allowed not only in this country, but no where in the world, have been ignored in this province". 30

In an effort to disrupt the opening of its budget session in Peshawar on March 10, League leaders mobilized a large procession which marched towards the assembly hall in the cantonment. Police, supported by the troops, did its best to stop the crowd at a rail-road crossing bridge at between the cantonment and city proper. After a four hour impasse, part of the procession tried to force its way through. Mob made ugly rushed and troops had to open controlled fire. Seven rounds fired, 15 casualties sustained of which two³² have subsequently died. ³³ In the evening and the following days, League sympathisers took revenge by killing more than twenty Hindus and Sikhs and looting and burning their houses. Soon the violence spread from Peshawar to the other districts. ³⁴ Mitchell, the Chief Secretary writes.

... they turned their anger against Hindus and Sikhs, partly because of the very bad communal rioting in the Punjab, which had rouse feelings here, partly because they regarded the firing as an attack by the Congress Party, which is represented as a Hindu party, on the Muslims. Then and on subsequent days about twenty five Hindus and Sikhs have been stabbed or shot in the city and cantonment.³⁵

Dr. Khan Sahib offered a stout resistance to all the happenings.³⁶ As a result of those communal disturbances a 12 hour curfew was imposed in Peshawar city. Further the curfew "has also been imposed in Haripur, Havelian Mansehra, Abbottabad, Buffa and Shinkiari, Troops are standing by also in Abbottabad and Haripur".³⁷ But the imposition of curfew in Peshawar city and the military action "taken seems to have resulted in little if any improvement and the situation still remains very tense".³⁸

The Committee of Action, All-India Muslim League deputed Abdur Rab Nishtar, member, Committee of Action, and Siddiq Ali Khan, 'Salar-i-Ala', All-India Muslim League National Guards, to visit Peshawar, in order to study the situation in the NWFP.³⁹

From then on, violence became an integral part of civil disobedience. League leaders continued to issue appeal to keep the agitation non-violent. By their own admissions, party officials from the War Council down to the local level helped in organizing the disturbances which followed March 10. They did not, however direct a systematic campaign of communal terrorism for the entire agitation was too decentralised for that. Much of the trouble occurred spontaneously by March 1947 which was result of the acute deterioration of communal relations.⁴⁰

The Pir of Manki in a press statement repudiated the claims of Mehr Chand Khanna, the Provincial Finance Minister that the League movement in the Frontier preached communalism. He made it clear that he advised his 'murids' to protect the life and wealth of the minorities. 41 The Pir of Manki Sharif was given a free hand to move in the Frontier anywhere he liked. He preached the civil disobedience movement against Khan's ministry. Replying to a question Dr. Khan Sahib said that he was going to take action against the Pir of Manki under Section 144 Criminal Penal Code. Further he said that the Muslim League was carrying on "a religious war" against him and the Muslims in Congress. "They call us infidels" he said with a laugh, "but Pathans are very shrewd". They follow the actions of their leaders and not their words". He emphatically denied any suggestions that he would resign. He said that Muslim League agitators were drawn from supporters of the old British reign, which was now nearing its end. He re-emphazied the fact that this Government was in a strong position and its overthrow was only a pious wish of the Muslim League and their friends.⁴²

The Pir Sahib of Manki, a prominent League leader of the NWFP, was arrested in the end of March from the Muslim League office near Kabuli Gate in Peshawar City.⁴³ He was sent to Haripur Jail, where many of his companions were already detained.⁴⁴

On the arrest of Pir of Manki, a campaign launched by his brothers Pir Ahmed Gul and Pir Fida Mohammad in the villages of District Peshawar. They addressed several public meetings telling the people to continue the agitation until "Pakistan is achieved". 45

The Ministry responded further by importing over 10,000 Khudai Khidmatgars from the countryside, which according to Olaf Caroe, for the moment, "has sent Congress stock up, but it was a totalitarian move and as such will bring its revenges, more particularly as it has been undertaken by a party whose power is by no means consolidated on this Frontier."

Referring to the League's agitation Dr. Khan Sahib remarked there are some parasites in the Province who consider me their worst enemy, since I am out to crush these people who are sucking the blood of the poor. Now-a-days they are creating disruption in the healthy life of the Frontier Province. But I am not all worried. So far I have been giving them every latitude. But now my cup of patience is full to brim. I will not let them play havoc any more.⁴⁷

He made it clear that, "we are not going to be cowed down by the present civil disobedience of the Muslim League in the NWFP". 48

Apart from Peshawar District, the other districts of the NWFP were also affected by the communal disturbances. In Kohat and Hazara there were many cases of looting, arson and communal murders, driving a large part of the minorities out of their homes. The communal violence reached climax within ten days of roiting in Dera Ismail Khan. On 15 April troops and constabulary were sent from Bannu to assist the military and police already in the town "A procession started from the Muslim League office this morning" reported a press communique issued on 15 April, 1947, and "divided itself into different parties. One party went towards the courts and the post office and caused damage to the buildings. The other parties went into the city and set fire to shops and residential houses in different parts of the town". Rioting and

arson spread to Tank on April 17 and Kulachi on April 22. Mahsuds and Bhittanis from the tribal territory added to the disturbances by launching raids out of a mixture of religious zeal and a desire for loot. By April 25, when the military brought the district under control, 118 people had been killed and almost all of the 16,000 minorities living in its rural areas and thousands more from its towns had fled to refugee camps in Dera Ismail Khan city or, outside the Province. 50 Although the campaign was largely spontaneous and the leadership highly decentralised, some groups were obviously more important than others.

Sarhad Muslim Students Federation

During the campaign of civil disobedience movement the students played a prominent role. The students, from the very beginning were supporters of Muslim League in the Frontier. On the eve of Quaid's visit to Peshawar in 1936, they played a leading role; but they had not yet been properly organized. Those studying in Aligarh from the NWFP aroused the Pro-Pakistan feelings among their fellow students. They accompanied them to the meetings of Muslim Students Federation in the Punjab, Delhi and other parts of India and took a keen interest in the proceedings of the conferences. Slowly and gradually they organized themselves.

The Sarhad Muslim Students Federation was founded in the early months of 1942. It was of great service to the Muslim public in general and the Muslim students in particular. It was suspended for some time but after the fall of Muslim League Ministry in 1945, the Sarhad Muslim Students Federation was reorganized.⁵¹ It was after the mid-forties that the students came forward with their support to the Pakistan Movement. The Quaid-i-Azam paid a historic visit to the NWFP in 1945. The Sarhad Muslim Students Federation presented him with a purse of Rs. 8,000 for the forthcoming election campaign, which was to decide the fate of Musalmans. Another sum of Rs. 5,000 was donated by the students to the Bihar Relief Fund. 52 Mohammad Sadiq alias 'Pakistan' informed Quaid-i-Azam that "the Muslim students are seriously thinking of giving fitting reply to the Congress manoeuver's." Further, he informed him that "there is a definite move among the students to go in batches to the villages during the vacations for the political education of the mass2s". 53 Inavat Kibrya told about the determination of Sarhad Muslim Students Federation of "blow for the blow will be dealt and the opponents will be forced to realise that the Muslim League is a hard-nut to crack." Further, he told the Quaid, that they would be able to counteract the insidious propaganda put forward by the Congress and the whole of the capitalist regime.⁵⁴

Islamia College, Peshawar was the centre for the activities of those students. Many Professors and even at times the Principals supported the League cause and gave a free hand to the Muslim students to approach the masses in connection with Pakistan. During the campaign, members of the federation were sent out to spread propaganda for Pakistan. A large number of demonstrations were organized and some students even were involved in small-scale terrorism.⁵⁵

Some of the senior officials acted as the informers for these students. Demonstrations were dealt with very leniently by the police. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, Peshawar Cantonment, one Fiaz Ullah Khan, figures prominently in this context. Whenever, Fiaz Ullah Khan ordered a 'lathi-charge', the policemen with his approval beat only the ground and their own buses. Fiaz Ullah Khan also used to attend meetings where the measures to be taken against the activities were discussed and then he informed the students what the Government proposed to do. ⁵⁶ Another senior official who acted as the informer of Sarhad Muslim Students Federation was Khushdil Khan. Khushdil Khan had every time informed the students about the aims of the then Congress Government.

Normally whenever the students were arrested, the authorities declared their arrests and sent them three to six miles away from the city. On one occasion, on the instructions of the High Command, the students insisted on getting properly arrested. They were arrested but treated in a police manner. According to Mian Amin-ul-Wahab, Dr. Khan's prisons were the best ones particularly for the students because there was no 'Bigar' (forced labour) on them.⁵⁷

An important point to be noted here is that students did not worry about the consequences of their demonstrations as long as they were met by the Police who were Muslims. The position was however, different if they were met by the army headed by the British officers. One such occasion was the opening of the assembly session. The students took out a procession which was joined by the followers of the Pir of Manki. Mr. Khurshid Anwar also took part in this demonstration. They were met by a unit of Hindu troops⁵⁸ under British command and were

warned not to cross a certain line. It was made clear to them that if they do so, the troops would open fire. The demonstrators violated the orders and the troops fired. Some of the demonstrators, mainly the followers of the Pir of Manki who were in the front, fell. The strategy of Khurshid Anwar was that let the troops shed Muslim blood and it was done. Later on the demonstrators killed some Hindus in the city and set their houses on fire. As result of these demonstrations many students were arrested but they were set free when the Principal of Islamic College Peshawar requested for their release. ⁵⁹

It would not be out of order to mention here that Mr. Khurshid Anwar also organized an underground movement comprising the young men from the Sarhad Muslim Students Federation and the National Guards. The members of the movement had a small wireless transmitter maintained and recharged for them by the Muslim troops in the army. The underground movement also published a secret cyclostyled paper called Sada-i-Pakistan. 60

Women and Agitation in the NWFP

A remarkable feature of the civil disobedience movement was that large numbers of women came out of their seclusion to participate in the agitation. Particularly in Peshawar and Mardan they played the most prominent part. The women Muslim League was created in 1943, Mrs. Sardar Aurangzeb worked hard in organization of women branch of Muslim League in the Frontier. "Whenever we needed it she solved our problems particularly the conveyance problem". 61 Before the elections of 1946, in October 1945, the Central Sub-Committee of All India Muslim League decided to send a delegation to the NWFP under Lady Abdullah Haroon, Other members of the delegation were Begum H.A. Hakim; Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain; Fatima Begum; Begum Zubaida Shah and Begum Karim Dad Khan. It reached Peshawar on 17 October and was welcomed by the Frontier women under the leadership of Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar. Two largely attended meetings were held on 18 and 19 October at Peshawar in which inspiring speeches were delivered exhorting the audience to stand solidly behind the League and contribute generously to the election fund. At the end Rs. 1,500 were collected.⁶²

The first women procession, consisting of about thirty women, was taken out from the residence of Begum Abdul Wahid, President of the

Peshawar City Women's Sub-Committee, and roamed about in different bazars and streets of Peshawar. Likewise, similar women processions were taken out on the 12, 13 and 15 March from the office of the Peshawar City Muslim League.⁶³

Begum Kamal ud Din chaired a meeting of Peshawar women, who decided to engage actively in the campaign. They met again on March 18 to reorganise the Frontier Women's League, choosing new officers including Begum Qazi Mir Ahmad as President. Begum Musti M. Ayub Khan was made the Vice-President; Begum Shaikh Abdul Wahid, the Secretary; Begum Faqir Mohammad Khan as the Joint Secretary; Begum Sherin Wahab as Assistant Secretary; Begum Sardar Haider Propaganda Secretary and Begum Salim Khan, as Treasurer. The members of Working Committee included Begum Qazi Abdur Raus; Begum Fida Ali Khan; Begum Salim Khan; Begum Sardar Hussain; Begum Abdul Wahab; Begum Jan Mohammad; Begum Niaz ud Din; Begum Fazal ur Rehman; Mother of Mustasa Ashras; Mumtaz Majid; Mumtaz Jamal; Ilmas Akbar Jan; Fahmida Raus; widow of Abdul Karim; Mother of Tila Mohammad Khan; Mubarak Jan; Begum Shaikh Sanaullah and Begum Jan Gul. 65

To express their resentment it became their routine to defy Section 144 in front of the Courts and other government offices. Women in 'burkhas' took out almost daily demonstrations in Peshawar. The Minister's policy was to arrest no women and to resort to coercion only as a last resort. The police linked arms to block the women's processions, and when their lines were broken, retreated and reformed their passive barricades.

The women Leaguers enjoyed greater freedom during the agitation than their male counterparts, paradoxically as a result of the social conservatism which has curtailed their involvement in politics in previous years. The League had caught the Frontier Congress in a cultural trap, for Pakhtun values prevented them from using force against the women protesters. To strengthen the Frontier Women's activities against the Government, the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee decided to send a delegation. The first batch consisting of four women, namely Fatima Begum, Begum Karim Dad Khan, Begum Zubeda Shah and Nasira Siddiqui, reached Peshawar in the end of the March 1947. They met the local workers and leaders and helped them in the campaign. The strength of the social consisting of the social workers and leaders and helped them in the campaign.

In beginning of April, 1947, a huge procession of women picketed Dr. Khan's house. At the gate they met with Mr. Latimer, Secretary to Olaf Caroe, and demanded the resignation of Dr. Khan Sahib, promulgation of Section 93 in the Frontier; an early settlement on disobedience movement: release of Muslim League leaders and workers from jails. and finally that they could not further "tolerate any dictation from Wardha through Dr. Khan Sahib's regime in the Frontier Province. where the population was 95% Muslims".68 They told Latimer that they would wait two days for reply and then dispersed. The women helped the male workers of League in a better way. They arranged the demonstrations in very organized way while the male leadership was in prisons, they took the leadership in their hands and guided the workers of League against Dr Khan Sahib Government in a very systematic manner. They hoisted the Pakistan flag on the Secretariat. They faced many hardships. They toured main centres of the Province and organized masses against Congress.⁶⁹ It was in the course of attempting to impede a train on April 15 that the only serious injuries of the women's movement were occurred. Five women had to be hospitalized while another forty suffered minor injuries after they sat down on the tracks too abruptly for the engine driver to stop. 70 Following the incident, the War Council intervened on one of its rare occasions, ordering that in future the women should take care not to expose themselves to serious physical dangers. 71 In his statement of the 3 June, Quaid-i-Azam appreciated the efforts of Frontier Women saying "I cannot but express my appreciation of sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Musalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties". 72

In the civil disobedience movement one remarkable fact was the outburst of violence in Peshawar District jail. The political prisoners already had demanded reforms inside the prison. They made frequently protests over the harsh treatment meted by the authorities. A casus belli was provided to them on 19 May 1947. The political prisoners protested over the hanging of three prisoners. They burnt the hang-board and released those waiting for their destiny. General Smith - the Incharge of Prisons, was informed about the situation. He ordered the political prisoners to be collected in one place. In the meanwhile a Sikh contingent entered inside and started beating the prisoners. Even after using tear-gas they "threw four to five hand-granades". 73

The Congress Government had already ordered the forces to treat the Leaguers with an iron hand They acted on their behalf. More than 85° persons got injuries. Some of them were seriously injured. Two⁷⁴ of them later on succumbed to death. Some of the prominent Muslim Leaguers were charged with more than ten charges each. They included Mian Musharaf Shah; Mohammad Yusaf; Bakht Jamal Khan; Mir Alam Khan; Shah Nawaz Khan; Sarfaraz Khan; Arbab Abdul Ghafoor; Khan Mir Hilali; Akram Khan; Fida Mohammad Khan and Syed Mazhar Gilani. 75

Mountbatten's Visit to the Frontier

Lord Mountbetten arrived in Delhi on March 22, 1947 and was installed as Viceroy on the 24. He was accompanied by a formidable personal staff in the persons of Lord Ismay and Sir Eric Mieville who had considerable Indian experience. There were four other members of the Staff among whom was Alan Campbell - Johnson who was incharge of Press and Public Relations Affairs. 76

On 16 April the Viceroy held a meeting in Delhi with Caroe, Nehru, Liaquat Ali, Baldev Singh and other staff of the Viceroy. They discussed in detail the situation in Frontier. Caroe demanded fresh elections to which Mountbatten responded that "the object at present must be not to hold elections, but to ensure a return to settled conditions, with a view to turning over the NWFP as peacefully as possible."

After the Governor's Conference, Mountbatten arranged a meeting between Dr. Khan Sahib, Caroe and himself. As a result the Frontier Government offered to release all political prisoners not charged with violence and to lift the ban on public meetings. The League leaders, however, "refused to avail themselves of the amnesty unless the ministry resigned and new elections were held". The Viceroy met with Jinnah and persuaded him to visit Frontier "to ask his supporters there to refrain from violence". It was eventually decided that Jinnah "should instead issue an appeal from Delhi by press and radio to his supporters in the NWFP to refrain from violence".

Quaid-i-Azam issued a statement on 23 April, 1947, in which he appealed the Muslims to maintain peace. He said

For names see Appendix ~ 7.

the Viceroy last evening discussed with me specifically the grave situation that has arisen in the NWFP and not withstanding his pre-occupations, he has interrupted the important business with which he is so immediately concerned and has decided to go to the Frontier on Monday next. The fact that His Excellency is going to the Frontier is undoubtedly a clear indication of his earnestness to examine in the situation personally and to establish contact with the leaders in the province, and his determination to remove the root-cause of the serious trouble and situation that has arisen in the Province.

As a result of my talks I feel that the Viceroy is determined to play fair and in view of these circumstances, I appeal to the Muslims generally and Muslim Leaguers in particularly to maintain peace, law and order so as to give the Viceroy every opportunity to fully understand the situation.⁸⁰

When the news of the Viceroy's visit to Frontier reached Peshawar, the Provincial Muslim League leaders called a meeting at Peshawar Central Jail for which facilities were provided by the Government. Having met on 24 April, the deliberations went on till 27. The members took stock of the whole situation and resolved to present the following memorandum to the Viceroy through their accredited representatives.

- 1. From 1945 after the assumption of power, by the Congress Party prepared itself actively to crush the Muslim League;
- 2. To win the elections malpractices were used by Congress such as:
 - a) Mr. Dhawan son-in-law of Mehr Chand Khanna was appointed as Election Officer despite the fact of the Muslim majority province;
 - b) Muslim League voters were left out deliberately while Congress bogus voters were enrolled;
 - Pro-Congress Presiding, Returning, Revising and Polling Officers appointed;
 - d) Coloured boxes were used for the first time made it easy to temper with the Ballot Boxes, which were found broken in several cases after the polling;
 - The distribution of essential commodities, the issue of Licences, permits, depots etc. was manipulated strictly in party interest;

- f) In order to got the support of Pathans, arm licences were freely issued to many people;
- g) They had interfered in administration of justice, repeated and frequent abuse of the Frontier Crimes Regulations for party purposes;
- Recruitment, promotions and transfers were made on party lines.
 In short cases of favouritism, nepotism, bribery and corruption very common in Congress Ministry in order to come out of general elections.
- 3. By these unfair means won the elections and formed their Ministry with the support of Hindu and Sikh members, who have been unjustly given a weightage of 25% in this Province, where they are only 5%.
- 4. Having firmly established themselves, the Congress Ministry launched an offensive against the Musalmans in general and Muslim League in particular, in compliance with the policy of All India Policy of the Hindu Congress with a view to prevent the establishment of Pakistan.
 - Then they stated the humiliation of the Muslims such like that of the imposing fines on Hazara etc. etc. They quoted the example of the women's conversion to Islam and their handing her back to Hindus.
- 5. Under these circumstances, the Provincial Muslim League met at Peshawar on 20 February 1947 and adopted the resolution demanding: an amicable and just settlement about the converted girl; withdrawal of Hazara Public Safety Ordinance; withdrawal of all orders imposed under Section 144 Cr.P.C. refund of all fines imposed under Section 22 F.C.R. in the Province and the cancellation of all steps taken under F.C.R.
- 6. They also referred to the Civil Dis-obedience Movement which was enhanced by the most provocative speeches of Congress Ministers adding fuel to the fire.
 The statement of the British Prime Minister dated 20

February, 1947 gave further impetus to the movement because "the people desired to join hands with the rest of Muslim India".

- 7. In view of the above facts, we therefore, make the following demands:
 - All our previous demands enumerated in the Resolution of 20th February 1947, stand and should be met in full;
 - b) The immediate application of Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935;
 - c) The dissolution of the Legislature, in order to hold fresh elections, based on correctly and impartially prepared electoral rolls.⁸¹

The above statement was signed by the Pir of Manki Sharif, Samim Jan Khan and Abdul Qaiyum Khan.

The visit of Viceroy took place on 28 and 29 April. A day before his departure, the Viceroy had a conversation with Jinnah. Jinnah pressed Viceroy to meet an orderly procession but the Viceroy refused to do so on the grounds that it would be surely disliked by Dr. Khan Sahib. Instead he told him that he was ready to meet six delegates from Muslim League in Government House. Halik Feroz Khan Noon and other leaders called upon Muslim League workers in various places to demonstrate their strength on the eve of Viceroy's visit to Peshawar. The news that he was coming had swept over the Frontier. On twenty four hours notice by the leaders of Muslim League, tens of thousands of men from every corner of the province were converging on Peshawar. Overflowing their trucks, in buses, in cars, on special trains, chanting and waving their arms, they had spilled into the capital for the greatest popular demonstration in its history.83

On arrival in Peshawar, Mountbatten and his party immediately found themselves confronted with a crisis. Campbell Johnson, who accompanied Viceroy in his tour to Frontier narrated.

Sir Olaf Caroe, the Governor, in a state of some agitation, advised us that there was Muslim League demonstration, less than a mile away, which was to place its grievances before the Viceroy and was ready to risk breaking the law by forming a procession and marching on Government House. The only alternative, according to Caroe, was for the Viceroy to forestall this plan by marching on them and showing himself to the multitude. The demonstrators were estimated at well over seventy thousand, and had been gathering from the most remote parts

of the Province, many of them having been on the march for several days. Mountbatten had a brief "Council of War" with Caroe and the Premier Dr. Khan Sahib, and it was agreed that the Viceroy should show himself without delay.⁸⁴

Any sort of speech was out of the question. The Viceroy and the Vicerine decided to wave their hands at them and this was enough. Soon the demonstrators turned friendly and for the slogan "Pakistan Zindabad" they added "Mountbatten Zindabad". After a while they dispersed and returned home. 85

In the evening of the same day, the Viceroy started interviews with various personalities. He had a long and detailed interview with Dr. Khan Sahib in the presence of Olaf Caroe. Mountbatten received a deputation of 12 Leaguers including Samin Jan Khan, the Pir of Manki and Abdul Qaiyum Khan who were released on parole. The Viceroy asked for the views of the Muslim League representatives on th general situation of the Frontier Province. Abdul Qaiyum presented their demands. The Viceroy then described his two meetings in Delhi, the first with the Governor of the NWFP, Pandit Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan; the second with the Governor, Pandit Nehru and the Chief Minister, and the results of those meetings which were to release all political prisoners; Frontier Ministry should permit meeting and freedom of speech but not processions or picketing; and that the Viceroy should visit Frontier at once. Then the Viceroy congratulated the Muslim League of showing the discipline and obeying the orders of Jinnah to make a procession. He went on to explain that he was being put in a very awkward position; the British would hand over power in June, 1948 and wished that the handover should be both peaceful and in accordance with the wishes of the people. Upto that time, therefore it was necessary that the Viceroy and Governors should be guided by the advice of responsible ministries, and should support them in the face of any attempt to overthrow them by violence. Hence, it was not possible even if he thought it right, to take separate line at this movement in the NWFP in advance of a general settlement, because he would rightly be accused by his Congress colleagues in the Central Government of yielding to violence. Nor could be give any details of what he had in mind. If, however, the Muslim League called off a programme which resulted in violence (he did not make any accusation that they were solely responsible for the violence) then he would be able to make not only a fair

decision but to reach a decision in consultation with the leaders in Delhi who included Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan. If these two leaders and the NWFP Muslim League Party were not satisfied with the decision, it would be open to them at that time to consult together as to their future plan of action. It was not to be expected that the League High Command would be satisfied with any decision concerning the NWFP which was not likely to meet with the approval of the local Muslim League. It was necessary that he should be left to take his decision free from any implication that he was acting under duress.

The Viceroy made it clear that they would be informed within two months, about the procedure of hand over of authority. Abdul Qaiyum Khan stated that "in their view the best solution of the problem is to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan". His Excellency the Viceroy further asked that "until a decision was announced about the transfer of power to all Provinces, they should withdraw their unconstitutional pressure against the NWFP Government". Finally the Viceroy agreed to put them in one Jail so that they could meet together, they should be free to consult with each other and that a representative (or group) should be allowed on parole to go to the Delhi and consult with Mr. Jinnah. 86

According to the schedule, the next day Mountbatten went to Khyber where the met a 'Jirga' of the Afridis and other tribes of the Khyber Agency. The demand of the 'Jirga' was that in case they (the Britishers) leave India, the Pass should be returned to them. They made it clear to the Governor General that although they did not belong to any of the major political parties of India yet their sympathies were with their brothers in faith. On return to Peshawar, the Viceroy met another 'Jirga' of the tribesmen of North and South Waziristan. Their demand was that Pakistan should be established and Dr. Khan Sahib forced to resign. They further said that if their demands were not acceded to, they would use force: Mountbatten assured them that he had "taken note of what they had said". 87

On his return from the visit of the Frontier, the Viceroy from Delhi wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah praising the orderly and well behaved meeting of Muslim Leaguers whom Viceroy and Vicerine personally met. 88 In a meeting with I.I. Chundrigar, the Viceroy told him that "if the Muslim League had not completely stopped all violence on the Frontier before I left on the transfer of power, I should hand the

Province over to the Congress Government". ⁸⁹ The same thing was made clear by Viceroy to Jinnah and Liaquat Ali, to which Liaquat Ali replied that he "saw no chance of the movement being called off. If the Muslim League had called it off immediately after His Excellency's visit, it would be said that the League was under British orders and that Mr. Jinnah counted for nothing". ⁹⁰

Samin Jan Khan and Abdul Qaiyum Khan went to Delhi to meet Jinnah and requested him to permit some kind of discussion between Abdul Ghaffar Khan and themselves in Delhi. In return Jinnah reaffirmed his support for their decision to continue civil disobedience in a public statement on 7 May, 1947. He did however, order them to put a stop to the communal killings in the Province. The Provincial League Council did not call off civil disobedience until June 4, after the announcement of Lord Mountbatten's partition plan which included a referendum in the NWFP. 92

Olaf Caroe's Removal From Governorship

From the very beginning Dr. Khan Sahib, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other Congress leaders were convinced of Caroe's anti-Congress attitude. When Nehru decided to visit the Frontier, Caroe did his best to stop him, but in vain. All the hostile receptions on the eve of his visit were reported to have had the support of the Governor who was a friend of the League. By the end of 1946 the Governor had fallen into disfavour with the Provincial Congress as well as the Congress High Command. Olaf Caroe served as Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar during the agitation of 1930, and had developed an anti-Congress attitude because as he was a loyal British civilian.

On 19 March 1947 Nehru informed Wavell that

"There is no cooperation between the Prime Minister and the Governor. Indeed there is distrust and lack of confidence in each other, and the Frontier Ministry think that the Governor's weight is usually cast on the side opposed to them". He gave a solution of the problem, "Sir Olaf Caroe should therefore, be requested to retire from his present office at the early date". 93

It was said that in March 1947 Caroe asked Dr. Khan Sahib either to form a coalition with the League or face a general election. By April' Caroe's determination to impose section 93 in the NWFP, by suspending the ministry, was quite well known. When the Congress Ministry

wanted to raise a body of Home Guards to meet the situation of law-lessness and prepared a bill to this effect, the papers were deliberately shelved in the Governor's secretariat. Pandit Nehru suggested the resignation of the Governor NWFP, because Olaf Caroe had shown himself to be very partial towards the Muslim League and to influence the British officials in that Province accordingly.

On 14 April Mountbatten warned the Frontier Governor that to be able to reach a solution he might have to order Caroe to leave his office. Caroe then offered to resign immediately but the Viceroy told him to stay on for time being. 97 Abdul Ghaffar Khan also asked Gandhi to "ask the Viceroy to remove the Governor. We won't have peace till he is gone". 98 On 4 June 1947, Pandit Nehru informed Viceroy that Dr. Khan Sahib's immediate question was about the change of Governor in the NWFP. "This matter has been before you for sometime. There has been progressive deterioration in the relations between the Provincial Government and the Governor and it is hardly possible to carry on the administration if this continuous conflict goes on". 99 At last Mountbatten advised Caroe that he "should go on leave as soon as it can be arranged for your temporary successor to arrive and that you should remain on leave until 15 August, or such date as the two new Governments are in a position to select the new Provincial Governor". 100 Caroe went on leave and in his place Lieutenant General R.M.M. Lockhart took over as acting Governor (26 June 1947 - 13 August 1947). 101

Later on Jinnah invited Sir George Cunningham to serve as the Governor NWFP for one year, ¹⁰² which was disliked by some prominent Leaguers. Arbab Abdul Ghafar dubbed him as the most unsuited person because of the disfavour which he gained from the peoples of the NWFP and his appointment, to him, it seemed, would result in the downfall of the Muslim League in the NWFP. ¹⁰³

Referendum

On February 20, 1947, His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. 104 Mountbatten was given the mandate to revive the already dead Cabinet Mission Plan and to transfer power. 105 The Viceroy told Liaquat Ali that one of the proposal "now under examination was that Provinces should be left to choose their own future" but as far the case of the NWFP "the number of elected members of the Constituent

Assembly for this Province was too small to leave the decision in their hands." 106

Mountbatten during his visit of the NWFP had indicated the idea of a referendum but he had not said what its form would be. The draft plan of partition which Mountbatten put before the Governor's Conference on 15 and 16 April and which Lord Ismay and George Abell carried to London, envisaged the holding of a fresh election in the NWFP. But neither the Provincial Congress nor the Congress High Command was ready to accept the solution. Dr. Khan Sahib denounced "the conspiracy" to put the NWFP under section 93 and the Congress Working Committee opposed the plan of fresh elections in response to disorders for up-setting a legitimate Government. 107 On 6 May Mountbatten wired to the Secretary of State that Nehru was prepared to accept referendum provided it was not held under Governors' rule and that if the Ministry was allowed to function in the normal way. However, hardly two days had passed when the Viceroy had to tell the Cabinet that he had discussed the matter with the Frontier leaders, particularly Abdul Ghaffar Khan to which Mr. Nehru was again raising objections. 108 He said "Nehru will only accept a referendum on the issue of whether NWFP is to join Pakistan or Hindustan, and that if we try to force through an election merely as a result of pressure from the Muslim League Civil disobedience Movement, Congress will refuse to take part in the election as a strong gesture of their disapproval". 109 Further he said that "although a referendum might not suit Congress, at the same time they would be able to protest less against it than against an immediate referendum."110 Such a referendum would have to take place under Section 93 and would precede a fresh election.¹¹¹ Nehru had accepted this in view of "my assurance that I do not intend to dissolve the Ministry or go into Section 93". 112

Lord Ismay informed Mountbatten that as regards referendum in the NWFP "we await your further injunctions; but you ought to know that Cabinet Committee yesterday were very doubtful about it because it might lead to further since if referendum was in favour of Pakistan it would have to be followed by a general election". 113 Pandit Nehru said in a meeting with Viceroy, that if the NWFP were dealt with under a separate procedure (as was envisaged in the present plan), enormous complications would ensure. "Whatever was done in the NWFP should be in the All India context". It was essential to know definitely which

way the NWFP wanted to go. But the same principles should apply throughout India and a referendum in the NWFP would result in demands for referenda from hundreds of places in India. ¹¹⁴ To which the Viceroy pointed out that, the longer such a referendum would be postponed and the present situation was allowed to drag on, the worse feelings would become. A referendum would quickly settle matters one way or the other and that His Majesty's Government would never agree to the transfer of power until and unless the position of the NWFP decided. ¹¹⁵

The idea of a holding a referendum in the NWFP was opposed also by Gandhi. Writing to Mountbatten he warned the Viceroy that "Referendum at this stage in the Frontier is a dangerous thing in itself" and that in any case "nothing should or can be done over Khan Sahib's head as Premier". He was also informed by the Congress High Command that if he yielded to force by dissolving the NWFP Ministry and going into section 93, not only would "this be wrong morally and legally but it would shake the confidence of Congress, and might well invite violence in other parts of India leading to further attempts to overthrow legally constituted and popularly elected governments". When Jinnah was informed about holding of a referendum instead of new elections, at first he was upset, but when told by the Viceroy about the abolishment of weightage (12 seats in 50) which the Hindu-Sikh minority had had in the NWFP, he also preferred referendum to an election. 118

Lord Ismay after consulting various members of the Cabinet asked Viceroy if an option of independence be given to the NWFP, ¹¹⁹ which the Viceroy rejected because "obviously it could not possibly stand by itself". ¹²⁰ In great haste a new plan was worked out by the Viceroy. For approval of the plan the Viceroy himself went to London. The new plan had not given the option for independence of the Provinces. On 2 June, 1947 Mountbatten presented his famous plan later known as 3rd June Plan before the principal Indian leaders which included Jinnah, Liaquat Ali and Abdur Rab Nishtar from Muslim League's side and Nehru, Patel and Kripalani from Congress's side. Beldev Singh represented the Sikhs.

Mountbatten, after he had his round of interviews and meetings, presented his own plan which provided to the demissions of authority to the Provinces or to such confederation of Provinces as might decide to group themselves before the actual transfer of power. Members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab should meet separately

in two parts, according to the Muslim or Hindu complexion of their areas, and if both voted for partition, the provinces would be partitioned. There was provision for Sylhet district to opt out of Assam and for a referendum in the NWFP. After copies of plan had been handed round, he said he felt it would be asking the Indian leaders to go against their consciences if he requested their full agreement. ¹²¹ His intention, he said, was to meet with them again the following morning. He hoped that before that, before midnight, all three parties, the Muslim League, Congress and the Sikhs, would have indicated their willingness to accept the Plan as a basis for a final Indian settlement. If this was the case, then he proposed that he, Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh announce their agreement jointly to the world the following announcement from London. "Gentlemen" he concluded, "I should like your reaction to the plan by midnight". ¹²²

So far as the main subject of our topic is concerned we are dealing only with Jinnah's statement* which he broadcasted on the 3 June 1947. He advocated for the peaceful transfer of power in India. He appealed to all the communities with a special reference to the Muslims. Referring to the question of Referendum in the NWFP, the Quaid said:

Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances, I request the Provincial Muslim League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and the Musalmans generally to organise our people to face this referendum with hope and courage, and I feel confident that the people of Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. 123

The Council of All India Muslim League had appointed the Quaid the sole authority whether to accept the Plan or reject it. They accepted the "Plan as contained, in His Majesty's Government's announcement of 3rd June as a compromise". 124

The Congress Working Committee met on June 3. One of the first points which came up for discussion was the future of the NWFP. The



For full statement of Mr. Jinnah see Appendix-8.

new plan had created an awkward situation for the Congress. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his party had always supported the Congress and opposed the Muslim League. The League regarded the Khan Brothers as their mortal enemies. Partition would place the Khan Brothers and the Khudai Khidmatgars in an awkward situation. It would throw them at the merey of the Muslim League. 125 Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his party decided to boycott the referendum so that

the world might learn of the gross injustice that was to be inflicted upon us. Not only was the Viceroy's order for a new referendum illogical and unreasonable but it was also discrimination and partial.... Whereas every where in India the representative Assemblies had been asked to decide whether they wanted to remain in India or go over to Pakistan, the North West Frontier Province Assembly had not been given this right to choose. This was an insult to the whole nation of Pakhtuns, which we could not under any circumstances tolerate. 126

Abdul Ghaffar Khan reportedly said that the Frontier would regard it an act of treachery if the Congress now threw the Khudai Khidmatgars "to the wolves". Both Sardar Patel and Rajgopalachari strongly favoured holding referendum in the Frontier Province. Ultimately when the Working Committee accepted the partition and the referendum in the NWFP Abdul Ghaffar Khan told Gandhi and the Working Committee

We Pakhtuns stood by you and had undergone great sacrifices for attaining freedom, but you have now deserted us and thrown us to the wolves. We shall not agree to hold referendum because we have decisively won the elections on the issue of Hindustan versus Pakistan and proclaimed the Pakhtuns view on it to the world. Now as India had disowned us, why should we have a referendum on Hindustan and Pakistan? Let it be on Pakhtunistan or Pakistan. 127

Despite the fact that Gandhi and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, opposed the Plan, Congress accepted it, deserting their brothers-in-arms in the Frontier Province. Abdul Ghaffar Khan then declared that the Frontier Congress would not take part in the referendum. On 24 June 1947 he issued a statement appealing the Khudai Khidmatgars not to participate in the

^{*} For full text of his speech see Appendix-9.

referendum.¹²⁸ At the request of both the Congress and Muslim League it was decided that the referendum should take place under the supervision of the army. The Viceroy informed Nehru to tell Dr. Khan Sahib that he was asking the Commander-in-Chief to provide nine British officers of the Indian army to supervise the referendum in the NWFP. 129 Dr. Khan Sahib was provided with a list of suggested names of fifteen army officers to help him run the referendum to which he agreed and said that any eight of the lifteen should be selected. 130 As a result of this consent Brigadier Booth was appointed the Referendum Commissioner. Eight senior officers from the army were placed under him for the purpose of conducting the referendum. They were made incharge of the settled districts. For each district their was a supervisor but in Peshawar and Mardan two supervisors were appointed for each district. The supervisors were assisted by assistant supervisors who were also army officers. In addition to these officers a number of Commissioned Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Havaldar clerks were spared for the conduct of referendum.

As practically it was not possible to spare all the military officers for all the 460 polling stations in the province, so it was agreed upon that the usual Provincial Election Staff should be allowed to perform the ordinary duties at the Polling Stations in the province.¹³¹ But they had to comply with the orders of the Members of Election Commission which consisted of the Army Officers.

The Viceroy met the leading Indian leaders and it was agreed that:

- 1. It is desirable that, in this referendum:
 - electioneering speeches, which can only lead to bloodshed should as far as possible be avoided;
 - b) the issue should by clearly put before the voters;
- 2. To achieve these objects, it has been suggested:
 - a) that electioneering speeches should by agreement between the parties, be banned; and
 - b) that election posters should be prepared containing side by side and in very simple, improvacative and agreed language, the issue what the two future Dominions will be and the respective advantages they have to offer to the NWFP. A map would be printed showing the areas of the two Dominions. 132

The Viceroy instructed the Governor NWFP that "each side should have equal facilities in the matter of the supply of petrol" and that an amnesty should be announced for the political prisoners, excluding those charged with serious criminal offenses. 133 In the proposed poster for the referendum, first of all in a short paragraph they had discussed about the partition plan of India into two separate States of India and Pakistan and also some sort of explanation of the 3rd June Plan of His Majesy's Government, which had already been accepted by the All-India Congress Committee and All-India Muslim League Council. Then in the given map there were three parts: those areas which had joined India (Hindustan); those areas included in Pakistan and those areas which had yet to decide whether to join Hindustan or Pakistan, Hindustan was shown in Red colour while Pakistan in Blue. The areas which had yet to decide were in White. 134

The Quaid-i-Azam had appointed some of the prominent Leaguers to visit the NWFP and to pursuade the people to join hands with Pakistan. He sent Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Syed Wajid Ali and I.I. Chundrigar with the instructions to assist the local leaders in referendum campaign. 135

Meanwhile Abdul Ghaffar Khan started his tour of the Province urging his followers and supporters to boycott the referendum. The Viceroy did not like it. He wrote to Gandhi to dissuade him from doing that because it would lead to violence which he (Viceroy) and Gandhi did not like. 136 Gandhi then wrote to Abdul Ghaffar Khan that

there should be no demonstration against the Muslim League, that it should be enough that in the present state of tension and misrepresentation Khudai Khidmatgars should not vote at all one way or the other, that they were entitled so far as internal affairs were concerned to claim and to have complete autonomy without any interference from Pakistan or the Union, and that they could come to a decision as to the choice between the Union or Pakistan when the Constitutions of the two were promulgated and when the Frontier Province had fashioned its own autonomous Constitution. Above all, every occasion for clash with the Muslim League members was to be avoided. Real Pathan bravery was now on its trial. It was to be shown by cheerfully meeting blows or even meeting deaths at the hands of the opponents without the slightest sort of retaliation.

Boycott would certainly result in a legal victory for Pakistanis, but it would be a moral defeat, if without the slightest fear of violence from your side, the bulk of Pathans refrained in a dignified manner from participating in the referendum. There should be no fuss, no procession and no disobedience of any orders from the authority.¹³⁷

To which Abdul Ghaffar Khan replied

I and my workers have been going about from village to village asking the people to remain absolutely nonviolent even under provocation on the part of the Muslim Leaguers. The Muslim Leaguers are daily taking out processions, raising highly objectionable slogans. They call us Kafirs and resort to abusive language. I have been personally hooted.... We have been working under very difficult and trying circumstances but have adhered to non-violence in thought, word and deed. How long a state of affairs like this can last, it is not easy for me to say. In a nutshell, the Muslim Leaguers backed by officials are out to create disturbances. We have done everything humanly possible to avoid a clash. ¹³⁸

Gandhi informed the Viceroy about his correspondence with Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He remarked that "the Khudai Khidmatgars who bravely fought the British, are not men who shirk defeat at the polls". 139

The polling began on 6 July 1947. The referendum results were made public on July 20. According to the officials results there were 572,798 registered voters. Out of them 50.99% exercised their votes. 289,244 votes were cast in favour of Pakistan, and 2,874 in favour of India. 140

Commenting on the results of the referendum, Abdul Ghaffar Khan remarked

As we took no part in the referendum, the Muslim League have no hurdles to cross. Inspite of violence, deception, fraud and the British complicity, the League got hardly 50 per cent votes, and the fate of Pakhtuns was sealed.¹⁴¹

Lockhart, the Governor NWFP after informing Mountbatten of the results of referendum in the NWFP stated that

In nearly all Mohammadan constitutencies the number of votes cast for Pakistan shows a large increase over those cast for the League candidate in the Election (1946), and in so far as one can deduce party preference from the Referendum results the

League would now command 28 seats in the Legislate Assembly against 16 commanded by Congress (including 12 Hindus and Sikhs seats); 3 constituencies would be doubtful. 142

The Viceroy showed his satisfaction about the results of referendum. He said that

My visit to the NWFP confirmed me in the view that they would join Pakistan. I am therefore particularly glad that I insisted on the referendum inspite of the strongest possible opposition upto the morning of the 3rd June from Congress. They also prophesied that there would be the most frightful rioting and bloodshed if I insisted on the referendum. It is therefore all the more satisfactory to record the absence of any really serious disturbance during the ten days which the referendum occupied. ¹⁴³

After the referendum was over, the Muslim League Party renewed their demand of the resignation of Khan Sahib Ministry. But Dr. Khan Sahib "had no intention of resignation but in a private conversation he had said that if he is assured that a general election would be held in the reasonably near future he would resign". Later on they asked the Governor General, to issue a direction to the Governor under sub-section (1) of Section-54 of the Government of India Act, 1935, to ask for the resignation of the Ministry and, if they refuse, to dismiss them under the power given to him by Sub-Section (5) of Section 51 of the Government of India Act, 1935. In such an event the Muslim League would be asked to form a Ministry. The Viceroy further discussed the question of dismissing the Ministry of the NWFP with Sardar Patel, who had expressed the hope that nothing unconstitutional would be done, and that in any case any step of this nature "should be postponed until the 15th August."

Lockhart informed the Viceroy about his meeting with Khan Sahib, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Qazi Ata Ullah

Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Qazi had seen Liaquat Ali in Delhi and latter had been conciliatory. In fact from his attitude and Jinnah's appeal to let "bygone be bygone" in statement on 30th July had hoped Jinnah might accept Ministry's co-operation. However, from other sources of information Khan Sahib and party learned that Ministry might be dismissed before fifteenth. For that reason his party decided to keep away from celebrations on 15th August. They did not intend violence. 147

Sir George Cunningham the new Governor of the NWFP, who had taken over from Lockhart on the 13 persuaded Mr. Jinnah (with great difficulty) "to let him try his hand with Khan Sahib to obtain a satisfactory, settlement without having recourse to such drastic means". 148

On 14-15 August 1947, Pakistan, the new separate homeland for the Muslims came into being. Within a week the Congress Ministry in the NWFP was dismissed. Abdul Qaiyum Khan was installed as the new Chief Minister of the province.

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 - I replied, but we have never seen men wearing red clothes".
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- 24. Mohammad Shafi Sabir, Quaid-i-Azam aur Sooba Sarhad (Urdu), (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1986), pp.218-219.
- 25. Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 26 February, 1947, TP., IX:819.
- 26. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.368.
- 27. Pakhtun, 1 March, 1947, pp.3-4.
- 28. Lord Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 5 March, 1947, TP., IX:870.
- 29. Jansson, op.cit., p.193.
- 30. CMG., 6 April 1947.
- 31. Pethick Lawrence to Lord Wavell, 14 March, 1947, 1947 TP., IX:954.
- 32. They were Nawab Khan of Pabbi and Mohammad Ali of Matani, Peshawar.
- 33. Olaf Caroc to Wavell, 13 March, 1947, TP., IX:930.
- 34. Jansson, op.cit., p.194.
- 35. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.194.
- 36. Wavell to Pethick Lawrence, 19 March, 1947, TP, IX:991.
- 37. CMG., 14 March, 1947.
- 38. Mountbatten to Pethick Lawrence, 9 April, 1947, TP X:166.
- A Press Communique issued by Mohammad Zafar Ahmad Ansari, Secretary All India Muslim League's Committee of Action, AFM:366.
- 40. Rittenberg, op.cit., pp.371-372.
- 41. Inqilab, Labore, 28 March, 1947.
- 42. CMG., 18 March, 1947.
- 43. Ibid., 29 March, 1947.
- 44. Interview Ghulam Rasul of Ziarat Kaka Sahib, 1 May, 1984.
- 45. Interview, Pirzada Ahmed Gul of Manki Sharif, 9 September, 1984.
- 46. Olaf Caroe to Mountbatten, 22 March, 1947, TP,, X:I.
- 47. CMG., 11 April, 1947.
- 48. Ibid., 15 April, 1947.
- 49. Ibid., 16 April, 1947.
- 50. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.374.
- 51. Mukhtar Zman, Student's Role in the Pakistan Movement (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1978) p.76.

- 52. Ibid., p.77.
- 53. Pakistan (Mohammad Sadiq) to Quaid-i-Azam, 31 May, 1945, (NWFP-II:87, SHC).
- 54. Inayat Kibrya to Quaid-i-Azam, 6 June, 1945 (Students 11: 54, SHC).
- 55. Jansson, op.cit., p.195.
- 56. Ibid.
- 57. Interview, Aminul Wahab Kaka Khel, 17 January, 1986.
- 58. According to Shafi Sabir, the Government appointed a Dogra Regiment in order to crush the Muslim Leaguers.
- 59. Jansson, op.cit., p.196.
- 60. Ibid.
- 61. Interview, Mrs. Sardar Haider, 18 November 1984.
- 62. Sarfaraz Hassan Mirza, Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement, (Lahore; Research Society of pakistan, 1969), p.76.
- 63. Mirza, op.cit., p.107.
- 64. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.377.
- 65. Sabir op.cit., p.190.
- 66. Rittenberg, op.cit., pp.378-379.
- 67. Mirza, op.cit., p.108.
- 68. CMG., 3 April, 1947.
- 69. I have interviewed several prominent Women Leaguers. All of them spoke of the hardships they faced during the civil disobedience movement against Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry. They included: (a) Qanita Begum, 7 October, 1984; (b) Begum Nazir Tila, Mohammad Khan, 10 December, 1984; (c) Sardar Jamal, 27 November, 1984; (d) Mrs. Sardar Haider, 25 November, 1984; and (e) Mumtaz Majid, 31 Oct., 1984.
- 70. Ibid.
- 71. Rittenberg, op.cit., p.381.
- 72. G. Allana, Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents, (Karachi: Paradise Subscription Agency, 1968), p.540.
- 73. Mohammad Khan to Pir of Manki n.d. (Manki).
- 74. Two of them Syed Mubarak Ali Shah and Mohammad Zafar died. Both belonged to Peshawar.
- 75. Sabir, op.cit., p.223.
- 76. S.K. Majumdar, Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom (Lahore: Peoples Publishing House, 1976), p. 251.
- 77. Minutes of Viceroy's Third Miscellaneous Meeting, 16 April, 1947, TP., X:291.

- 78. Jansson, op.cit., p.201.
- 79. Minutes of Viceroy's Seventh Miscellaneous Meeting,24 April, 1943, TP., X:379.
- 80. M. Hanif Shahid, Quaid-i-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches, Statements, Writings and Letters (Lahore: Sang-e- Meel Publications, 1976), pp.57-58.
- 81. Memorandum submitted to H.E. Mountbatten by the Delegation of NWFP Muslim League NAI, F.No. 22, pp.28-30.
- 82. Mountbatten to Olaf Caroe, 27 April, 1947, TP., X:471.
- 83. Larry Collins, Dominique Lapierre, Freedom at Midnight (New York: Simon and Sihuster, 1975), p.129.
- 84. Alan Campbell-Johnson, Mission with Mountbatten (London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1953), p.74.
- 85. Jansson, op.cit., p.202.
- 86. A Record of Meeting between H.E. and 12 Muslim League leaders at Peshawar, 28 April, 1947, NAI, F.No. 22, pp.26-27.
- 87. Jansson, op.cit., p.203.
- 88. Mountbatten to Jinnah 1 May, 1947, NAI, F. No. 22, p.24.
- 89. Record of Interview between Mountbatten and I.I. Chundrigar, 2 May, 1947 TP., X:561-62
- 90. Record of Interview between Mountbatten, Jinnah and Liaquat Ali, 2 May, 1947, TP., X:559.
- 91. Caroe to Mountbatten, 31 May, 1947, TP., XI:28.
- 92. Rittenberg, op.cit., pp.384-385.
- 93. Pandit Nehru to Lord Wavell, 19 March, 1947, TP., IX:989.
- 94. Amit Kumar Gupta, North West Frontier Province Legislature and Freedom Struggle: 1932-1947 (Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research 1976), p. 194.
- 95. Minutes of Viceroy's Eighth Staff Meeting 2 April, 1947, TP., X:115.
- 96. Record of Interview between Mountbatten and Gandhi 3 April, 1947, TP., X:103.
- 97. Record of Interview between Mountbatten and Olaf Caroe, 14 April, 1947, TP., X:235.
- 98. Record of Interview between Mountbatten and Gandhi, 2 June, 1947, TP., XI:48.
- 99. Pandit Nehru to Mountbatten, 4 June, 1947 TP., XI:172.
- 100. Mountbatten to Caroe, 6 June, 1947, TP., XI:172.
- 101. The Earl of Listowel to Mr Attlee, 11 June, 1947, TP., XI:280.

- 102. Jinnah to Mountbatten, 25 July, 1947, NAL, F.No. 2, p.240.
- 103. Arbab Abdul Ghafoor to Sardar Nishtar, 1 August, 1947, Nishtar: 3.
- 104. A Statement of His Majesty's Government, 20 February, 1947, (F.No.2: p.15, NAI).
- 105. Sharif al Mujahid, "Introduction" in S. Hashim Raza, Mountbatten and Pakistan (Karachi: Quai-i-Azam Academy 1982), p.20.
- 106. Minutes of Viceroy's Fifth Miscellaneous Meeting, 21 April, 1947, TP., X:355.
- 107. Gupta, op.cit., pp.196-197.
- 108. Jansson, op.cit., p.205.
- 109. Mountbatten to the Earl of Listowel, 1 May, 1947, TP., X:530.
- 110. Minutes of Viceroy's Twenty-Fifth Staff Meeting's, 3 May, 1947, TP., X:580.
- 111. Mountbatten to Lord Ismay, 3 May, 1947, TP., X:599.
- 112. Mountbatten to Lord Ismay, 6 May, 1947, TP., X:633.
- 113. Ismay to Mountbatten 7 May, 1947, TP., X:636-637.
- 114. Minutes of Viceroy's Tenth Miscellaneous Meeting, 8 May, 1981, TP., X:671.
- 115. Ibid., pp. 672-733.
- 116. Gandhi to Mountbatten, 8 May, 1947, TP., X:667.
- 117. Viceroy's Personal Report No. 6, 8 May, 1947, TP., X:683.
- 118. Ibid., p.684.
- 119. Lord Ismay to Mountbatten, 10 May, 1947, TP., X:748.
- 120. Mountbatten to Ismay, 10 May, 1947, TP. X:728.
- 121. Jansson, op.cit., p.100.
- 122. Collins, Lapierre, op.cit., p.192.
- 123. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Broadcast, 2 June, 1947, N.41., F.No. 10, p.38.
- 124. Mountbatten to Kripalani, 12 June, 1947, NAI, F. No. 2, p.57.
- 125. D.G. Tendulkar, Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1967), p.424.
- 126. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, My Life and Struggle (New Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, n.d.) p.177.
- 127. Tendulkar, op.cit., p.424.
- 128. Ibid., p.451.
- 129. Mountbatten to Nehru, 3 June, 1947, TP., XI:101.
- 130. Minutes of Viceroy's Fourth-First Staff Meeting, 10 March, 1947, TP., X1:239.

- 131. Jansson, op.cit., p.221.
- 132. H.E. The Viceroy's Meeting with Seven Indian Leaders, 13 June 1947, Quaid-i-Azam Papers, F.No. I: p.6, National Archives, Islamabad, (hereafter QAP).
- 133. Lord Ismay to Jinnah, 22 June, 1947, NAI, F.No. 2, p. 101.
- 134. Sir Eric Mieville to Jinnah, 27 June, 1947, NAI, F.No. 2, pp.77-78.
- 135. Jinnah to the Nawab of Amb, 15 July, 1947, NAI, F.35, p.I.
- 136. Mountbatten to Gandhi, 5 July, 1947, TP., XI:910-911.
- 137. Gandhi to Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Abell to Latimer), 6 July, 1947, TP., XI:943-944.
- 138. Abdul Ghaffar Khan to Gandhi, 12 July, 1947, quoted in Tendulkar, op.cit., pp.445-446.
- 139. Report of Mr. Gandhi's Remarks, 30 June, 1947, TP., XI: 810.
- 140. Lockhart to Mountbatten, 23 July 1947, TDR/L/P&J/5224 NDC.
- 141. Tendulkar, op.cit., p. 448.
- 142. Lockhart to Mountbatten, 23 July, 1947, 224 NDC.
- 143. Viceroy's Personal Report No. 14, 25 July, 1947 TP., XII:333-339.
- 144. Sir Eric Mciville to Jinnah, 20 July, 1947, NAI, F.2, p.238.
- 145. Notes by Mr. Mohammad Ali and Sir. G. Spence, 30 July, 1947, TP., XII:433.
- 146. Minutes of Viceroy's Sixty-Sixth Staff Meeting, 2 August, 1947, TP., XII:485.
- 147. Lockhart to Mountbatten, 6 August, 1947, TP., XII:562.
- 148. Viceroy's Personal Report No. 17, 16 August, 1947, TP., XII:763-764.

CONCLUSION

The Frontier Muslim League was the first ever Muslim political organization of the Province. Established in 1912, as a result of the pan-Islamic movement, it soon ran into conflict with the authorities since the League Organizers had already been listed as 'extremist' and 'dangerous' elements by the Frontier Government. They could not be tolerated specially during the war period. Some of them were jailed and ousted from the Province. Syed Ali Abbas Bukhari, the prime-mover, escaped to Afghanistan. Since then nobody headed the Muslim League in the Frontier Province till mid-thirties.

As a result of 1930-31 disturbances, the Government realised that they could no longer rely on the big Khans but had to give political rights to a much wider strata of population. They granted Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to NWFP in 1932 and made it a Governor's Province raising it to the equal status of other Governor's Provinces in India. Above all they introduced the Government of India Act of 1935 under which general elections were held and resulted in the victory of Congress but it remained ousted from power. The British installed Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum- the Sir Syed of Frontier-as the Chief Minister. But soon after the decision of All-India Congress Committee, the local Congress agreed to form a Ministry with Dr. Khan Sahib as its head.

The newly installed Congress Ministry was primarily a rural middle class government and ralied upon the common masses. The big land-owners were more favourably inclined towards Muslim League, which had started functioning after the Quaid's visit to the Frontier in 1936. Men like K.B. Saad Ullah Khan and Sardar Aurangzeb Khan started to champion the cause of Muslim League in the NWFP. Thus the Frontier Muslim League was dominated by conservative and pro-British land owning classes. There were some professional classes in the League too. But their number was few and far between.

The most striking feature of Frontier Muslim League was its taking part in the Lahore Session of All India Muslim League in March, 1940.

The local Muslim Leaguers decided to participate in the Session in large number because Lahore was comparatively nearer to Peshawar. They found a tense situation created by the authorities. Two days earlier, the incident of firing on the Khaksars occurred. With their arrival in 'Pandal' a new life started in the League's camp. The charge of the Session was given to Frontier League delegates who performed their duties in a best way.

With the beginning of Second World War in 1939, the Frontier Congress Ministry in collaboration with other Congress Ministries in India resigned. The NWFP came under the Governor's Rule. Jinnah had persuaded Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India to form a Muslim League Ministry in the Frontier, but in vain. Finally, they got a chance and a new Ministry under Sardar Aurangzeb was formed. They did nothing for public welfare instead were motivated by self-interests. Prominent Leaguers were ignored and instead a Khanite class was formed. K.B. Saad Ullah Khan was one of those rivals of Sardar Aurangzeb who was treated in an unbecoming way by the Chief Minister. All India Muslim League High Command appointed a Committee of Action in order to investigate the charges of corruption, nepotism and personal motives behind Party's name used by Sardar Aurangzeb and his Ministers. As a result, after its meeting with the local leaders and investigation, the Committee of Action submitted its report asking for the dismissal of the local organization.

As the situation arising out of the Second World War eased and the Congress Civil Dis-obedience Movement got subsided, Congress MLAs were released from prison. They passed a vote of no confidence against Sardar's Ministry and enabled Dr. Khan Sahib to resume power for the second time.

In the middle of 1940 Frontier religious leaders flocked to Muslim League. In Frontier the most prominent among them were Aminul Hasanat, the Pir of Manki Sharif, and Abdul Latif, the Pir of Zakori. They both had large number of 'Murids' (both in tribal and settled areas). They preached for a separate Muslim homeland far from the domination of Hindus. They had struck a common cause with the Muslim Government servants who also supported the cause for a separate country - Pakistan. The students and women also played a key role in winning over the public opinion in favour of Pakistan.

In 1945 the Labour Government came to power in England. At Simla, Round Table Conferences were arranged. All of the leading

representatives of political parties were invited. But the talks failed due to Quaid's stand that in Viceroy's Executive Council, Congress had no authority to nominate the Muslim member, Jinnah's stand was liked by the Muslims generally and the Musalmans of the NWFP particularly. This infused a new life into Muslim League in the NWFP.

Jinnah made a visit of the NWFP in 1945 in connection with the forthcoming elections. He visited tribal areas and went as far as Torkham. However, the Congress got an overwhelming majority winning 30 seats out of a Legislature of 50. Muslim League won only 17 seats.

Throughout the forties, another issue emerged. It was whether India was to be partitioned or kept united? The Congress was against the division of India, while the Muslim League demanded that India should be partitioned into two independent States. When the 3 June Plan was announced, the position of the Congress members in Frontier became untenable. India was going to be partitioned and the choice was now between a Hindu India and a Pakistan. After accepting the partition plan, the Khudai Khidmatgars were in a very desperate situation. They were left over by their friends to their fate. For them to join India was geographical impossibility, but to join Pakistan was equally harsh for them. Pakistan, they thought would be a 'Punjabi dominated' country in which the Frontier would lose its voice. So to joining Pakistan, for them, was to enter a new phase of "slavery". Therefore, they wanted to insert a third option of PUKHTUNISTAN alongwith the two options of India or Pakistan. As neither the Government agreed to their option, nor the All India Congress Committee pressed for it officially, the Khudai Khidmatgars boycotted the Referendum saying that without the option of Pukhtunistan the referendum was absurd.

However the Referendum was to be held in the NWFP, according to the 3 June Plan on the issue of Pakistan or India under the command of Mr. Booth, an army officer. The referendum resulted in favour of Pakistan. Consequently the Congress Ministry was dissolved and a new Ministry under Abdul Qaiyum Khan was formed by Quaid-i-Azam in August, 1947.

APPENDIX - 1

Names of the very first councillors of City Muslim League, Peshawar.

Syed Lal Badshah; Mian Abdul Karim Afandi; Syed Chan Badshah; Mohammad Yaqub; Babu Abdur Rauf; Kala Khan: Sardar Aurangzeb Khan; Malik Nasir; Mian Zia ud Din; Mian Mohammad Shafi; Ismail Ghaznivi; Syed Mushtaq Hussain; Agha Syed Ali Shah; Malik Malang Jan; Maulvi Abdur Rab; Lala Igbal Din; Hafiz Fazle Mahmood; Pahalayan Tila Mohammad; Dost Mohammad Khan; Sved Mohammad Shah; Professor Imdad Hussain; Pahalavan Faqir Mohammad; Mohammad Ashraf Khan; Mian Abdur Rehman Siddique; Lala Agha Mohammad Khan; Mian Bilor Din; Lala Mian Mohammad; Abdul Majid; Mian Gul Mohammad: Dr. M. Afzal Gilani; Syed Hussain Shah; Syed Bashirul- Hassan Gilani; Haji Karam Elahi Sethi; Shaikh Baz Mohammad; Ghulam Rabbani Sethi; Master Mohammad Hussain; Rahim Bakhsh Ghaznavi; Sardar Gul; Haji Abdur Rahim; Syed Sikandar Shah; Haji Nasir Ahmed; Syed Mohammad Zaman Shah; Pahalavan Shah Zaman; Syed Habib Shah Badshah; Lala Mohammad Azim; Haji Abdul Shakoor; Haji Abdur Rehman Chan; Haji Chaudhri Methi Khan; Munshi Sher Ali Khan; Mian Ghulam Hussain; Fazle Mahmood; Syed Abdullah Shah; Khan Mohammad Anwar Khan; Allah Bukhsh Yusufi; Haji Karim Bakhsh; Master Mohammad Hussain; Syed Zakirya Shah,

The Participants of Lahore Session of All India Muslim League from Frontier were:

Peshawar City: Syed Lal Badshah, Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb, Mian Zia ud Din, Haji Karim Bakhsh, Shad Mohammad Khan, Haji Ibad Ullah Khan, Syed Mohammad Zaman Shah, Haji Abdur Rahim, Haji Karam Elahi, Syed Bashir-ul-Hassan Gilani, Syed Sikandar Shah, Maulvi Abdur Rab, Hafiz Fazle Mahmood, Mian Abdul Karim Afandi, Syed Zulfiqar Gilani, Khawaja Allah Bukhsh, Pahalavan Tila Mohammad, Hafiz Ullah Khan, Fazle Mahmood Dora, Abdul Aziz, Ghulam Mohiud Din, Abdul Majid, Mohammad Yaqub, Baz Mohammad, Mian Gul Mohammad, Amin Jan, Qazi Mohammad Ali, Mohammad Ismail Ghaznavi and 20 other National Guard volunteers.

District and Tehsil Peshawar: Mohammad Amir Khan, Sultan Mohammad Khan, Faiz Mohammad Khan, K.B. Arbab Sher Ali Khan, Arbab Madad Khan, K.B. Mohammad Akram Khan, Arbab Shamsuddin Khan, Arbab Mohammad Jan, Malik Fateh Khan, Mohammad Amin Khan, Haji Abdur Rehman, Mohammad Khan and Rehmat Khan etc. From Nowshera Abdul Wahid Advocate and Mian Ma'ab with 10 other persons.

Tehsil Charsadda: K.B. Saad Ullah Khan, Sahibzada Khalil ur Rehman of Tangi, Sahibzada Khalil-ur-Rehman of Khobai, K.B. Abdul Jabbar Khan, K.S. Yar Mohammad Khan and 100 other volunteers.

District Mardan: Maulana Shad Mohammad, Bakht Jamal Khan, Sohbat Khan, Hamid Ullah Khan, Pir Mohammad Khan, Fida Mohammad Khan, Mohammad Bahram Khan, Shah Pasand Baba, Mohammad Shah Badshah, Sahibzada Fazle Akbar, Pir Abdul Khaliq, Qazi Mohammad Akbar and many other.

Kohat District: Khan Taj Ali Khan, Zafar Ali Khan with 15 members of Council and 20 other National Guards.

D.I.Khan District: Shahzada Fazl Dad, Abdus Samad Khan, Mohammad Nawaz Barakzai, Maula Dad, Ahmad Hasan, Abdul Karim Faiz Khan, Ghulam Mohammad, Mohammad Hayat, Allah Bukhsh and Mohammad Din.

Hazara District: Hakim Abdul Aziz Chishti, Sajjad Ahmad Jan, Sardar Bahadur Khan etc.

APPENDIX - 3

Pakistan Resolution

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguard should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution, for them and other minorities, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This Session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally, by the respective regions, of all powers, such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

Application Form

Application form containing the declaration mentioned in Section 11 of the Rules and Regulations of the Muslim League Provincial Parliamentary Boards.

- A. I am a member of the Muslim League and I shall not stand on any other ticket except that of the Muslim League.
- B. I offer myself for election to the Provincial Legislative Assembly/Council for the constituency of ______and hereby apply for Muslim League ticket.
- C. If I am not accepted as a Muslim League candidate I hereby declare that I shall not seek election against the candidate selected by the Muslim League Central or Provincial Parliamentary Board either independently or on any other party ticket. I further undertake to actively support the candidates selected by the said Board for any constituency in the province and to assist them to the best of my ability.
- D. I hereby undertake to conduct the election campaign in accordance with the instructions issued by the Muslim League Central or Provincial Parliamentary Board.
- E. I further undertake that I will follow the principles, policy and programme laid down by the Muslim League Central and Provincial Parliamentary Boards and abide by their rules and manifesto and will conform to the directions issued by the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Legislative Assembly/Council for the guidance of its members.
- F. I also undertake to resign my scat in the Legislative Assembly/Council whenever I am called upon to do so by the Muslim League Central or Provincial Parliamentary Board.

G.	If I, in violation of this pledge, decide to stand against the
	duly selected League candidate or act in any manner
	prejudiced to the interests of such candidate the Muslim
	League Provincial Parliamentary Board shall be at liberty to
	forfeit my security and I shall have no right to claim a refund
	of it.

Signature:	
Designation:	
Address:	
Date:	

Quaid-i-Azam to Pir of Manki Sharif

Central Office All India Muslim League, Daryaganj, Delhi Camp Delhi November 18, 1945

My dear Sajjada Nashin Sahib

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th November and I thank you very much for it. 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 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 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 Organization 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 wordly gain nor thank God 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.

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 good 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 the Frontier Conference and I am looking forward to meet you personally and have the pleasure and the honour of a talk with you.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah

Sajjada Nashin Sahib of Manki Sharif, N.W.F.P.

APPENDIX - 6

Those Muslim Students of North West Frontier Province in Aligarh University who signed the resolution included the following names:-

- 1. Agha Khan Baba Khan of Peshawar;
- 2. S.M. Igbal Shah of Peshawar;
- 3. Khwaja Abdur Rasheed of Hazara;
- 4. Mohammad Khurshid of Hazara;
- 5. S. Arif Hussain of Mansehra;
- 6. Abdul Malik of Shinkiari, Hazara:
- 7. Abdur Razzak of Kohat:
- 8. S. Abdur Rashid of Manschra;
- 9. Mumtaz Khan of Kohat;
- 10. Mohammad Ishaq of Abbottabad;
- 11. S. Akhtar Ali Shah of Bannu;
- 12. Mian Fazli Majid of Charsadda, Peshawar;
- 13. Niaz Ali Khan of Charsadda, Peshawar;
- 14. Amir Zaman Kundi of Tank Tehsil, D.I. Khan;
- 15. Bostan Khan of Peshawar;
- 16. Shafi Ullah of Umarzai, Peshawar;
- 17. Mohib-ur-Rehman of Kohat;
- 18. S. Mukamil Shah of Peshawar;
- 19. Mahtab Khan of Mardan;
- 20. Fatch Ullah Khan of Bannu;
- 21. Abdur Rashid Khan of Peshawar;
- 22. Abdul Aziz of Tank, D.I.Khan;
- 23. Mohammad Anwar of Charsadda, Peshawar;
- 24. Abdur Rauf of Charsadda, Peshawar;
- 25. Sarwar Din of Nowshera, Peshawar;
- 26. Ances Ahmed of Peshawar;
- 27. Shah Jahan Babar of Pir Pai, Nowshera, Peshawar;
- 28. M. Ahmed Shah of Peshawar;
- 29. Inayat Ullah of Kohat;
- 30. Ataur Rehman of Peshawar;
- 31. Asghar Ali of Peshawar;
- 32. Karim of Nowshera Kalan Peshawar;

- 33. S. Shamshad Hussain Gilani of Kohat;
- 34. Lal Bad Shah of Pir Pai, Nowshera, Peshawar;
- 35. Qazi Khan of Chakdara, Malakand Agency;
- 36. Abdur Rashid of Charsadda, Peshawar;
- 37. Inayat Ullah Shah of Abbottabad, Hazara;
- 38. Mohammad Ghulam Noorani of Abbottabad, Hazara;
- 39. Ghulam Jilani of Abbottabad, Hazara;
- 40. Zahoor Mohammad of Mardan;
- 41. Mohammad Al-ud-Din of Sarwar Gani, NWFP;
- 42. Abdur Rahim of Deh Bahadar, NWFP:
- 43. Mohammad Abdullah of Mansehra;
- 44. Mohammad Idris of Baffa, Hazara:
- 45. Allah Bukhsh of Peshawar;
- 46. Fazle Hashim of Surkh Dheri, Mardan;
- 47. Abdul Qadir of Deh Bahadur, NWFP;
- 48. Mchammad Ali Khan of Nowshera, Peshawar; and
- 49. Arbab Abdul of Tehkali Bala, Peshawar.

APPENDIX - 7

The following were those persons who were injured as a result of the jail incident. Mohammad Khan, one of the eyewitnesses, sent their names to Pir of Manki Sharif.

Arbab Ata Ullah; Inam Ullah:

Mohammad Ashig:

Taza Gul:

Mohammad Usman;

Noor Gul;

Arbab Hukmat Khan; Siddique Akbar;

Sadar Abdul Aziz;

Sardar Mohammad Khan;

Said Rehman;

Ali Gohr;

Hazrat Umar Shah;

Zafar;

Said Khan;

Shakir Ullah;

Zia-ul-Haq;

Usman Ali;

Fazle Rahim;

Wahab Khan;

Maulvi Mohammad Umar Khan;

Mohammad Din;

Gohar Khan;

Salim Shah:

Sherin;

Munir Khan:

Feroz:

Allauddin:

Abdul Jalil:

Dost Mohammad Khan;

Ghulam Sarwar (II);

Gul Lala;

Fazal Khan;

Ghulam Sarwar (1):

Sumandar;

Rahimullah;

Tawab Shah;

Abdul Qadir;

Sher Bahadur; Inamul Haq:

mamor rray,

Qazi Misbahul Haq;

Mir Ahmed Shah;

Ghulam Sher; Ziarat Gul:

Sved Ali:

0,00...,

Mana Gul;

Abdul Baqi;

Said Ali;

Aman Ullah;

Abdur Rahim:

Hazrat Gul:

Atai Khan;

Hashin Khan:

Nusrat Shah:

Qaiyum;

Fam Jan;

Jamshed:

Khan Mohammad:

Mujib Khan;

Zain ud Din:

Fazal Ghani:

Jan Mohammad;
Qazi Mir Azam;
Jan Gul;
Salim Gul;
Inayat Ali;
Bakhshi Ahmad;
Said Rahim;
Mohammad Jan;
Zahir Gul;
Haji Mohammad;
Mohammad Ayub;

Khan Akbar;
Mohammad Ishaq Khan;
Khaista Khan;
Mushtaq Ahmad;
Chand Bhai;
Ajab Gul;
Sher Bahadur;
Sultan;
Mohammad Ishaq;
Abdur Rashid;
Mohammad Zarif;

Text of Broadcast by Mr. Jinnah on 3 June, 1947

I am glad that I am afforded the opportunity to speak to you directly through this radio from Delhi. It is the first time, I believe, that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address the people through the medium of this powerful instrument, direct, to the people on political matters. I hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions, which will reach directly you, life warm rather than in the cold print of the newspapers.

The statement of Government, embodying the plan for the transfer of power to the people of India, has already been broadcast and will be released to the press and will be published here and abroad tomorrow morning. It gives the outline of the plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration. We have to examine it cooly, calmly and dispassionately. We must remember that we have to take the most momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great sub-continent inhabited by 400,000,000, people.

The world has no parallel of the most onerous and difficult task which His Excellency had to perform. Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian Leaders. Therefore we must galvanise and concentrate all our energies to see that the transfer of power is assisted in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Moslems in India to maintain peace and order. We must examine the plan, its letters and spirit and come to our conclusions and take our decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment He may guide us to enable us to discharge our responsibilites in a wise and statemen like manner having regard to the sum total of the plan as a whole.

It is clear the plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view, and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. It is for us to consider whether the plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be acceptable by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point I do not wish to prejudge. The decision of the Council of the Ali India Muslim League which has been summoned to meet on Monday, 9th June, and its final decisions can only be taken by the conference according to our constitution precedents and practice.

But so far as I have been able to gather, on the whole reaction in the Moslme League circle in Delhi has been hopeful. But for us the plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before a final decision can be taken. I must say that I feel the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely - and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by the highest sense of fairness and impartiality, and it is up to us to make his task less difficult, and help him, as far as lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of the transfer of power to the peoples of India in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now that plan has been broadcast already, and makes it clear in paragraph eleven that a referendum will be made to the electorate of the Legislative Assembly in the N.W.F.P. who will choose which of the two alternatives in paragraph four they wish to adopt.

The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor General, in consultation with the Provincial Government. Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances I request that Provincial Moslem League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the employment of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to, and I call upon all the leaders of the Moslem League and the Musalmans generally to organise our people to face this referendum with hope and courage, and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all classes of the Musalmans, and particularly the great part that the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without a personal bias, and this is hardly the moment to do so, I deeply sympathise with all those who have suffered and those who died and

whose properties were subjected to destruction, and I fervently hope the Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner, and it should be the anxiety of everyone to obtain a fair, free and clean verdict of the people of the Frontier.

Once more I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order. Pakistan Zindabad.

Statement by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

24 June, 1947

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan Opposes Frontier Referendum

An appeal to all Khudai Khidmatgars and others who believe in a free Pathan State not to participate in the referendum in the Frontier, and to keep away peacefully from it is made by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who had just returned to Peshawar after attending a joint meeting of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, the Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party, the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Zaline Pakhtoon.

In a statement on June, 24th, he says: "Recent development have placed great difficulties in our way. In the announcement of June 3rd it has been stated that a referendum will be held in the N.W.F.P. where the only alternative which will be put before the electors of the present Legislative Assembly will be whether to join the India Union Constituent Assembly. This limits our choice to two alternatives, neither of which we are prepared to accept. We cannot vote as we want to vote for a free Pathan State. The way this question will be put makes it a communal question, and people will be confused because of this communal approach. We do not want to encourage communalism in our province."

Alleging that even now, leading members of the Muslim League are carrying on a "raging and tearing campaign" to frighten people from voting against them in the Frontier, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan says that holding a referendum in the circumstances and on the issues mentioned in paragraph four of the announcement of June 3rd, which are essentially communal in their nature, appear to be "the result of a deep-rooted conspiracy".

He says: "In view of this situation, it was pointed out to the Viceroy that it would be necessary to provide an opportunity for us to vote in the referendum for a free Pathan State. The Viceroy said he was unable to change the procedure laid down except with the consent of the parties. I consulted the leaders of Congress and they assured me they were perfectly willing for this opportunity to be given to us. Mr. Jinnah, however, on behalf of the Muslim League, entirely opposed the idea of a free Pathan State, and would not agree to the opportunity being given us to vote for this. It is therefore clear that the Muslim League wants to take full advantage of the communal issues involved."

Maintaining that the great majority of Pakhtoons are for the establishment of a free Pathan State, he says: "In these circumstances, I am convinced that we cannot associate ourselves with this referendum ... but this does not mean that we should sit still. A new struggle has been forced upon us—. However, I wish that, even at the eleventh hour, Mr. Jinnah had recognised the justice of our position and refrained from dividing Pathans from Pathans".

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Abdul Aziz, Mian, born and bred at Peshawar; education Peshawar and England; studied law got the degree of Bar-at-Law; joined the London Muslim League; very first President of Frontier Muslim League; after dissolution of that branch went to Delhi in 1917; was elected the President of All India Muslim League in 1933; rendered great services for the cause of Muslims League in British India; after 1934 went to Japan and spent his remaining life in propagating Islam.

Abdul Hakim, Qazi, belonged to Jalozai (Nowshera); started political career during the Rowlatt Bill agitation; joined Khudai Khidmatgars; imprisoned in 1930-31; deserted Khudai Khidmatgars and joined Muslim League in 1936; General Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League; Liaquat Ali Khan described him as an 'enthusiastic worker in the cause of Muslim League'.

Abdul Qayyum, Sahibzada, (1866-4 December 1937), born in Topi (Swabi); education, Peshawar; served the Foreign and Political Dpartments of Government of India; Political Agent Khyber; Member Indo-Afghan Boundary Commission 1894-95; a friend and close associate of Sir George Ross Keppel-the Chief Commissioner of the Frontier; founded Islamia College, Peshawar in 1913; helped the British in cooling down anti-British activities in Tribal Belt during the First World War; Retired from Government service in 1919; awarded Qaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal in 1929; Member Central Legislature; Member Round Table Conference, London, 1930-31; campaigned for the introduction of reforms in the Frontier Province; advised Abdul Ghaffar Khan to affiliate his Khudai Khidmatgars with a strong party on all India level because the British were planning to dub them as the agents of the Bolsheviks; since 1932 till 1937 Minister of the NWFP; elected in 1937; vote of no-confidence passed against his Ministry in September 1937; shocked, died shortly after.

Aminul Hasanat, The Pir Of Manki Sharif (1922-28 January 1960), born in Manki Sharif (Nowshera); father Abdul Rauf himself a learned man; gave him religious education as well; Aminul Hasanat succeeded.

his father at the age of 12 years; large number of murids (followers) in Tribal Belt; organised the Sajjada Nashins and formed Jamiat at Asfia in 1945; promised to support the All India Muslim League provided that 'Shariat' would be enforced in Pakistan; invited the Quaid to Manki Sharif; the Quaid visited Manki Sharif in 1945; took an active part in organizing the anti Nehru demonstrations during Nehru's Frontier visit in October 1946; played an important role in the Civil Disobedience Movement against the Frontier Congress Ministry; remarkable part in the referendum; organized the Tribal raids on Kashmir; severely treated by Abdul Qaiyum Khan after the birth of Pakistan; founded Jinnah Awami League; retired from active politics in 1955; died in a road accident.

Bokhari, Ali Abbas, (1887-1926), born in Peshawar; education, Peshawar and England; came back without a degree; anti-British; close association with Ali Brothers and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad; active supporter of Turkish cause; collected donations for Turkey; first General Secretary of Frontier Muslim League; participated in the Annual Sessions of All India Muslim League held at Agra (1913) and Bombay (1915); arrested and sent to Campbelpur; migrated to Afghanistan; Member of the Afghan Medical Mission to Waziristan; died in August 1926 in Afghanistan.

Fazli Wahid, Haji Sahib of Turangzai, (1850-19 Dec. 1937), belonged to Turangzai (Charsadda); disciple of Najmuddin Akhun Zada-the Hadda Maulavi Sahib; anti-British; started Azad Madrassas but the idea disliked by the British authorities; put a ban on those Madrassas; arrested but after short time released; moved to Independent Tribal belt in order to reorganise the Pashtuns against the British; supported the Mujahidins in their just cause; his disciples gave much trouble to the British; tried his utmost best to harm the British; died in 1937.

Khun Abdul Ghaffar Khan, (1890-20 Jan. 1988), Also known Bacha Khan and the Frontier Gandhi; son of Bahram Khan, a Mohammadzai; born in Utmanzai (Charsadda); education, Peshawar, Aligarh and Deoband; a friend and disciple of Haji Sahib; established Azad Madrassas alongwith Haji Sahib but they were banned; entered politics since anti-Rowlatt Act Agitation; joined Hijrat Volunteers; led a caravan to Afghanistan; met King Amanullah Khan and advocated for the upgrad-

ing and promotion of Pashto Language; Member of Muhajirins Committee at Kabul; on return joined the Khilafat Movement and became its Provincial President: formed Aniuman-i-Islah-ul- Afaehana: started reformation in Pashtun Society; attended several meetings of All India National Congress: imprisoned several times during 1920s; started a Pashto Journal "Pakhtun" May 1928; organised Afghan Jirga and the Khudai Khidmatgars in 1929; arrested in April 1930 and was sent to Guirat Jail; came into close relation with famous Congressites; spent most of his time with Ghandhi which resulted in adoption of his nonviolence creed; tried to affiliate his party with the Muslim League but failed; Congress welcomed them; released in March 1931 after Gandhi-Irwin pact but was again arrested; released in 1934 but was externed from the Punjab and the NWFP; offered the Congress Presidentship in 1934 but declined the offer by saying "I am a Khudai Khidmatgar and the Khudai Khidmatgars only renders services", Member of Congress Working Committee 1935; again imprisoned and in 1937 released and was allowed to enter his Province; resigned the Working Committee's Membership in 1939 because they favoured violence; withdrew his resignation when the policy was revised; severely beaten and arrested during 'Quit India' movement; released in 1945; a delegate to the Simla Conference from Congress' side; opposed the partition scheme betrayed by the Congressites at that last hour of trial; boycotted the Referendum; Member Pakistan Constituent Assembly; took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan; was kept away from the Quaid; founded Pakistan Peoples Party in 1948; arrested and was awarded Rigorous Imprisonment till 1954; was anti-One Unit; formed the National Awami Party in July 1957; again and again arrested; decided to migrate to Afghanistan; awarded Nehru Award; returned Pakistan in 1972; organised anti- Kala Bagh Dam Movement; during his last days was very much disturbed on the genocide of Peshtuns in Afghanistan; died on 20 January 1988; buried in Jalalabad; three sons one daughter.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, (1901-1981), Kashmiri by origin; born in Chitral; education, Peshawar, Aligarh and England; practised law at Peshawar; joined Congress; descated twice; it was after, on the seat vacated by Dr. Khan Sahib, elected unopposed as the Member Central Legislative Assembly in 1937; Deputy Leader of Congress Party in the

Assembly till 1945; an admirer of Khan Brothers; dedicated his book 'The Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier' to Dr.Khan Sahib; joined Muslim League in 1945; elected Member from the Peshawar's dual Constituency on League's ticket; Leader Muslim League Party 1946; organised a big demonstration on the eve of Pandit Jawahar Lal's Frontier visit in October 1946; played an important role in the civil disobedience movement against Dr. Khan's Ministry; First Chief Minister of the Frontier Province after the creation of Pakistan; harmed some staunch Leaguers as well as Khudai Khidmatgars accused of firing on the Khudai Khidmatgars in Babarha in 1948; replaced by Sardar Abdul Rashid as the Chief Minister of Frontier 1953; Minister in Centre; President Pakistan Muslim League; disqualified from taking part in politics under EBDO; apologized and was allowed to resume his political career; member National Assembly 1970; Minister in Bhutto's regime; lost in the general elections of 1977; died in 1981.

Khan, Bakht Jamal, born in 1900 in Swabi; political career started with Khilasat Movement; earlier he had contacts with Haji Sahib of Turangzai; in late 1920s. The Khudai Khidmatgars; several times imprisoned; in late 1930 joined the Muslim League; within a short time became its Provincial President; during Aurangzeb's Ministry relations with the Premier became bitter which resulted in the snatching of the League Presidentship from him; took part in the civil disobedience movement against the Congress Ministry as well as in Referendum; took no part in active politics after the birth of Pakistan.

Khan, Jalaluddin, (1903-Jan. 1981) popularly known as Jalal Baba; belonged to Abbotabad; started political life with the participation in Khilafat and Hijrat Movements; the British awarded him with the title of Khan Bahadur which he renounced in 1946; joined the Muslim League in 1937; took an active part in the Referendum in the NWFP; fell victim to Qaiyum Khan after the birth of Pakistan; left Muslim League and joined the Republican Party; served as Home Minister till 1958, never again did hold any government office; died in January 1981.

Khan, Saadullah, (1880-1948), born in Umarzai, Charsadda; a big land lord; education, Peshawar and Lahore; Khan Bahadur title awarded in 1919; went to Political Department; acted as Assistant Commissioner Peshawar, Mansehra; District Judge Hazara; was the city Magistrate of Peshawar at the time of Qissa Khawani firing in April 1930; after retirement joined Sir Sahibzada's Cabinet; Member Working

Committee of the All India Muslim League; against Sardar Aurangzeb's Ministry accused him of corruption; died after birth of Pakistan in 1948.

Khan Sahib, Dr. (1883-9 May 1958), belonged to Mohammadzai clan; son of Bahram Khan; elder brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan; born at Utmanzai. Charsadda: education, Peshawar and England: doctor by Profession; during First World War joined the hospital corps and served the British in France; returned India in 1920; joined the Indian Medical Service; his unit was ordered to proceed to Waziristan for action against Waziris, but he refused to go and work against his own people resigned and started practice in Peshawar; started his political career; imprisoned in 1930 and sentenced to three years Rigorous Imprisonment: released in 1934 but not allowed to enter his province, elected as the Congress Member for Central Legislative Assembly in absentia; Member the NWFP Legislative Assembly; First Congress Chief Minister 1937-39; become Chief Minister of the Congress Ministry for the second time in 1945 and for the third time in February 1946 till his dismissal by the Quaid in August 1947; imprisoned and remain in jail for about six years; Minister of Communications 1954-55; Chief Minister West Pakistan (Under One Unit) 1955-58; founded Republican Party 1956; stabbed to death in Lahore on 9 May 1958.

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan, (Sardar): born in 1899 in Kulachi, Dera Ismail Khan; belonged to Gandapur clan; education D.I. Khan, Peshawar and Aligarh; started practice in 1927; acted as the Secretary to Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum during the Round Table Conferences in London; elected as Member the NWFP Legislative Assembly in 1937; second to Sahibzada in his party; joined Muslim League after his death; Chief Minister of the Frontier Province 1943-45; disliked by many Leaguers including K.B. Saadullah Khan; Ambassador of Pakistan in Burma 1949-53.

Mohammad Wali Khan, (Qazi), belonged to a respectable Qazi family of Peshawar; education, Peshawar, Professor in Staff College Quetta 1905; Staff Officer in Bhopal; participated in Balkan Wars; on return organized Muslim League in Peshawar; active in Khilafat Movement; anti-British before his arrest escaped to Afghanistan; leading role in the Third Anglo-Afghan War awarded the tile of 'Grand Khan' by the Afghan Amir; later on went to Europe; an experienced journalist; started 'Crescent', 'Muslim Standard' and 'Orient' from Europe came back after Independence in 1959; died on 10 Ocotber 1959.

Nishtar Abdur Rab, (Sardar), (13 June 1899-14 February 1958), born in Peshawar; education, Peshawar; had a command on Persian language; L.L.B. from Aligarh in 1925; joined Congress 1928; imprisoned with other volunteers in 1930; resigned after two years; associated with Local bodies in Peshawar in various capacities 1929-38; affiliations with Jinnah since 1936; Member the NWFP Legislative Committee All India Muslim League 1944-47; lost the elections 1945-46; one of the four League representatives at Simla Conference 1946; Member for Communications Interim Government 1946; Minister Communications and Transport 1947-49; Governor of Punjab 1949-51; Minister Industries 1951-53; President All Pakistan Muslim League 1956-58; died on 14 February 1958.

Shad Mohammad, (Malik), (13 October 1912-2 December 1988), born at Peshawar; education, Peshawar; political life started from the Khilafat Movement; joined Congress in 1929; participated in the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement; resigned the Congress and joined League in 1936; later on became the Joint Secretary of the Frontier Muslim League; did his utmost best to introduce it on one hand and to organize it on the other; participated in the historic Lahore Session of All India Muslim League in March 1940; took part in Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the leaguers against Khan's Ministry; after the birth of Pakistan was harshly treated by Abdul Qaiyum Khan; after independence took no part in active politics; possessed a remarkable memory; died on 2 December 1988.

Yusufi, Allah Bkhsh, (25 Dec. 1900-13 Mar. 1968), born in Peshawar; education, Peshawar and England; on his return joined the national struggle; participated in anti-Rowlatt Act Agitation; Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movement; Secretary Hijrat Committee; a friend and disciple of Haji Sahib of Turangzai; joined Congress in late 1920; with the help of Mian Jaffar Shah published and circulated "The Frontier Tragedy" had very close relations with Ali Brothers; in late 1930s joined the Muslim League; also a victim of Qaiyum Khan's harsh treatment; after the establishment of Pakistan left Peshawar and settled in Karachi; died on 13 March 1968; two sons.

Zia ud Din, Mian, (30 July 1901-5 Dec. 1987), belonged to a respectable Kaka Khel family; education, Peshawar and England; started practice in Peshawar; at times was a close associate of Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum; Member the NWFP Legislative Assembly; took an active part

in Muslim League affairs and was selected its General Secretary; did his best in popularising the Muslim League in the NWFP; associate of Liaquat Ali Khan; after the establishment of Pakistan served the country in many capacities like of Ambassador in Germany, Japan, and High Commissioner in India; represented Pakistan in United Nations; died on 5 Dec. 1987.

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