

**THE TRIBAL AREA'S ADMINISTRATION
UNDER THE BRITISH RULE:
1849-1947**



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ISLAMABAD.
2011**



 Accession No. TH-8431

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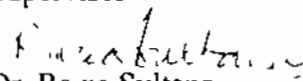
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REG No. 18-FSS/MSHIS/S09**

A thesis Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Science Philosophy in History,
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20 January 2011

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THE TRIBAL AREA'S ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE BRITISH RULE: 1849-1947

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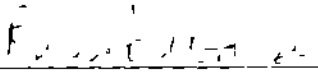
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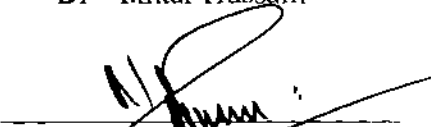
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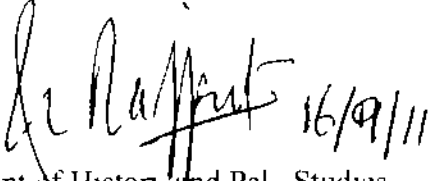
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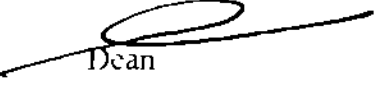
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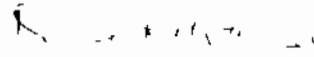
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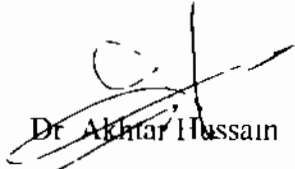
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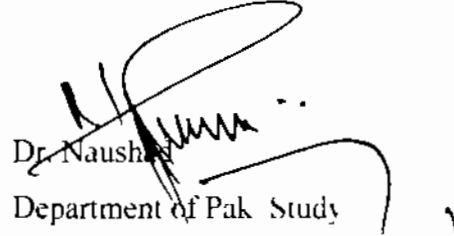
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**IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST MERCIFUL
AND BENEFICIENT**

DIDICATION

**To my beloved father SHAH BAZ NOOR, who
encouraged and advised me and also give me
financial support to get higher education.**

ABSTRACT

In the current scenario, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) evoke feelings of an area where civilization is yet to enter. Where people are averse to any outside influence and criminal activities are common, rather protected and appreciated. The reality, however, is absolutely different. The people of this deprived region need and love peace and development. Groaning under grinding poverty and lack of resources for a long time, they look up to the Government to pay due attention to their genuine needs to progress. They need schools, colleges, hospitals, roads and economic opportunities, like other people, to lead a respectable and secure life. An all encompassing development strategy can ensure the achievement of these goals and also act as a bulwark against the rising tide of extremism and militancy in the area.

The geographical location of FATA should not become a disadvantage for the people rather it should be used as an opportunity for prosperity. This thesis prognosticates the laws and Justice System in FATA its impacts, causes, losses and future strategy to control the situation. The administrative system in tribal area is destabilized and there is need to improve, reform and specially strengthen the Laws & Justice system of FATA otherwise its effects could spillover to the whole country.

On the issue of bringing about a change in administrative and judicial system of FATA, we have two schools of thought. The one called a semi Islamic-cum-traditional school of thought proposes to introduce a semi Islamic cum-traditional social and legal system, most likely on the pattern of Malakand division of NWFP. This school stands for minor changes in FCR and wants its replacement by Islamic laws led by religious leaders Qazi Hussein Ahmad and Maulana Fazl ur-Rehman along with some of their like-minded

tribesmen. The other school of thought, which is called progressive and moderate, stands for a complete social change and is of the view that, tribal children want to adopt civilized life thereby ready to accept life under civilized laws and social set up, so that they may be able to go side by side contributing to modern civilization along with other communities both on national and international arena. They need some major reforms not only in FCR but also in entire administrative, judicial and political system

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I find no words to pay my cordial homage to Allah Almighty for his countless blessings, especially in completion of this research work. If He had not blessed me with such a competent, helpful, and cooperative supervisor as Dr. Razia Sultana, I would have not been able to accomplish this task. Her critical comments and suggestions kept me on the right track throughout this work

There are several others whom I owe a lot in completing this task my thanks are due to my Sir Akmal Hussain Shah for his rigorous comments on the first draft of my research proposal, and I am in debt to Sir. Altaf Qadir, lecturer in History Department, University of Peshawar, without whose help data collection would have been very difficult and tedious process I extend my heartiest gratitude to the staff and administration of the Libraries from where I collected data It would be unfair to forget my teachers and friends for the prayers and moral support I cannot truncate the deep sense of gratitude to my family members: mother, brother, sisters and wife who remained supportive during my entire educational career

I also owe gratitude to my Sir. Safiullah Khan *Marwat*. friend Mr M Rahim *Hamdard*, Assistant Controller in KUST, Kohat, and cousin Atta-ur-Rahman, who always preferred my work on his personal priorities

TASEER ULLAH

16/7/11

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INTRODUCTION

The *Pakhtoon* populated areas are comprised of both the people of the tribal areas and the settled districts of NWFP (KPK) and Baluchistan. Through out history the various *pakhtoon* tribes inhabited these tribal areas. They remained constantly in conflict with invaders and empire builders. They opposed the rule of any central government. The *Pakhtoons* included many groups whose origins were obscure, most were believed to have descended from ancient Aryan tribes. But some such as the *Ghilzai*, may have once been Turks however, they all had their common *Pakhto* language. To the east, the *Waziris* and the *Mahsuds*, had lived in the hills of the central Suleiman Range, to west, north and northeast tribes such as the *Shinwaris*, *Yusufzais*, and *Mohmands* had moved from the upper Kabul River Valley into the valleys and plains of Peshawar. To south the *Afridis* had long been established in the hills and mountain ranges of the Khyber Pass and to north the *Durranis* had blanket the area of Qandahar.

Ahmad Shah Durrani (1747-1772) also faced other rebellions in the north, and eventually he and the Amir of Bukhara agreed that the Amu Darya would mark the division of their lands. Ahmad Shah had succeeded to a remarkable degree in balancing tribal alliances and hostilities and in directing tribal energies away from rebellion. The Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh advanced across the Indus and extend their control over the whole Peshawar valley; several of the *Pathan* tribes fell under their sway. It was, however, an unstable control. The Sikhs made no attempt to come to terms with the unruly *Pukhtoons* on the hills but established their frontiers along the edge of the tribal lands. During this period, as has been noted above, the British were still moving forward

In 1843, they overran and annexed Sindh, after defeating of the Sikhs, they took over the whole of the Punjab in 1849, including the trans-Indus territories upto the foothills bordering on the Amir's domains.

The region was annexed in the 19th century during the British colonial period, and though the British never succeeded in completely calming unrest in the region, it afforded them some protection from Afghanistan. The British Raj attempted to control the population of the annexed tribal regions with the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), which allowed considerable power to govern the local nobles so long as these nobles were willing to meet the needs of the British. Nevertheless, the Durand Line agreement of 1893 managed to hold the advocates of the 'forward policy' in check - only in so far as the imperial problem was concerned. The historical events that led to the formation of the tribal belt, today called the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) Spawned in the fire and fury of two contending empires, Czarist Russia and Imperial Britain (the 'Great Game'), FATA blazed its way through the pages of history, establishing for Imperial Britain a buffer bulwark on the northwest approaches to its colonial possessions. The zone running southward from the Hindu Kush to the Arabian Sea, known to the British rulers of India as North West Frontier, posed two basic problems: the international and the tribal. There was the possibility of invasion by a foreign power. The buffer has outlived its usefulness, and suggests that, as a relic of the past, it should cease to be treated as such.

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in Pakistan are bordering Afghanistan, outside the four provinces, comprising a region of some 27,220 km² (10,507

sq miles). The FATA is bordered by Afghanistan to the west with the border marked by the Durand Line, the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab to the east, and Balochistan to the south. The British during the Second Afghan War, appointed first Political Officer for the Khyber in 1878. The Kurram became Agency in 1892, the Malakand and the Waziristan Agencies were created in 1896. The Malakand was placed under the control of the Govt. of India, whereas other Agencies remained with the Punjab government until Lord Curzon created the North-West Frontier Province in 1901. Since then the Tribal Areas came under the direct control of the central government and the same arrangement is maintained till today. However, after independence in 1947, three Agencies had been created, the Mohmand in 1951, the Bajaur and the Orakzai in 1973.

Now the Tribal Areas comprise seven Agencies, namely Khyber, Kurram, Bajaur, Mohmand, Orakzai, North and South areas of Waziristan and six FR.s (Frontier Regions) namely FR Peshawar, FR Kohat, FR Tank, FR Banuu, FR Lakkı and FR Dera Ismail Khan. Due to the unchecked discretionary power placed into the hands of the *jirga* put into place by these nobles and to handle the human rights violations that ensued, the FCR has come to be known as the "black law."

HYPOTHESES

Three basic questions, related to the Tribal Areas under the British Rule that I will explore and evaluate during my thesis research which are, Why were the Tribal Areas so important for the British government in India during 1878-1947? What Policies the British government followed vis-à-vis tribal areas during those years? And Whether the

British government in India was successful in its strategic administrative policies with regard to the Tribal Areas?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

History and geography are so closely interrelated that it is believed, those who ignore their geography their history forget them completely. Keeping in view the significance of this point, particularly the geographical location of the tribal areas, no full fledged research has so far been carried out. So, it is for the first attempt to cover both historical and political aspects of Tribal Areas. Historically it will give an overall history of Tribal Areas, highlighting their role in freedom movement, and politically explaining the geo-strategic importance and comprehensive analysis of separate administrative system of British government in the areas; 1849-1947. Thesis will help both the administration and the politicians today to address the actual issues and problems of these Tribal Areas.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology Perused, during the course of study, is Descriptive as well as Analytical. Much narration has been written about the historical background and role of Tribal Areas but particularly analytical approach follow explaining the Tribal Area's geo-strategic importance, annexation and administrative system of British government in Tribal Areas during 1878-1947. An effort shall be made to rely more on analysis of data than mere narration.

For the historical and explaining the importance of Tribal Areas, two types of literature is available. The first is primary sources in the shape of agreements, the border administration office records, Police reports, diaries, Military actions and operations,

which are available at NWFP Provincial Archives Peshawar, FATA Secretariat and Tribal Research Centre in Peshawar, Tribal Cell Peshawar, National Archives and National Documentation Centre Islamabad Secondly, secondary sources in the shape of News papers, Articles, Gazetteers, Books, various Census Reports and Journals which are available i.e., NWFP Provincial Archives, Seminar Library (History Department) University of Peshawar, Libraries of Area Study Center, Pakhto Academy and Central Library of University of Peshawar, Islamia College University Library Peshawar, Seminar Library (History Department) Quaid-e-Azam University, Dr Razziuddin Siddiqi Memorial Library (Central) Quaid e-Azam University Islamabad, National Archives, National Documentation Centre and National Library in Islamabad, Central Library and Dr Muhammad Hamidullah Library (IRI) of IIU Islamabad, Libraries in Gomal University DI Khan, Central Library University of the Punjab and Punjab Public Library, Lahore

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TRIBAL AREAS AND PEOPLE

1.1 THE PAKHTUNS

There are theories about the origin of *Pakhtuns*, such as the Basic Israelite Kais Abdur Rashid founded the race, comprised of thirty-seven lineal descendant of Saul of Israel. Kais, a converted Muslim, lived near Ghur in Afghanistan in the seventh century. He visited Arabia and received knowledge from the Holy Prophet. His descendants moved to Kandhar after his death. There they met and intermarried with *Kandhari* people. *Kandhari* were the original inhabitants of Peshawar valley who had come of the White Huns. They had fled from there in the fifth sixth century.¹ All the tribesmen except few are Muslims of Sunni orthodox. They recognize all the successor of the Holy Prophet. Not only they respect the Holy Quran and Hadith but also some other traditional sayings.² Those new people took its language Pakhto from *Kandhari* and religion Islam from *Ghuris*. In the next few hundred years the growing population spread north and east and backward into Peshawar. Here some other indigenous groups were absorbed, such as the *Afridis* and *Khattaks*. These new groups were not from Huns.³ The tribesmen *Pakhtun* are warlike people. They are turbulent to whom violence comes naturally. *Pakhtuns* are somewhat hot tempered people but they are much disciplined. Due to their peace loving and devotion for humanity, they earned the crown of *Khudai Khidmatgar*. Abdul Ghafar

¹ James W Spain, *The Pathan Borderland* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1963), 40-41

² Athar Chand, *India, Pakistan and Afghanistan* (New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers, 1995), 9

³ James W Spain, 41

Khan was known the great symbol of peace and nonviolence⁴ The tribes of Frontier living between Kabul and Gomal River practice democratic nomes, because of this they were difficult to control

Two third of the British Army was deployed in this area to prevent the British settlements from the attacks of the tribal people The incentives of those attacks varied It was partly because of economical conditions and partly because of fanatical intolerance of the tribes⁵ Only Britain with it's inbreed sense of the need to impose law and order on subject people felt sufficient outraged by the persistence of *Pakhtun* rapacity and brigandage to maintain a consistent campaign of pacification This went on for more than one hundred years however British could not solve the problem of tribes, and when in August 1947 they handed over the control of India's north western defenses to the untried government of Pakistan, they handed over likewise a fluid difficult situation, fraught with much danger to the future of the region⁶

1.2 GEOGRAPHY

The whole tribal belt of the tribal area of *Khyber Pakhtunkhawa* (NWFP) is mountainous It stretches over about four hundred miles and merges into Baluchistan Its population is grouped into tight tribal communities. The main tribes here are *Bajauris*, *Mohmands*, *Afridis*, *Shinwaris*, *Turis*, *Wazirs*, *Mahsuds*, *Sheranis*, *Betanis* etc Each tribe has its own distinct individuality and shades of differences in social customs and pronunciation. But as a whole they are tied in one common language, culture and

⁴ Ather Chand, 103

⁵ Azmat Hayat Khan, *The Durand Line It's Geo-Strategic Importance* (Peshawar Area Study Centre, 2000), 24

⁶ Leon B Poulada, *Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929* (London Cornell University Press, 1973) 28-29

religion⁷ From geographical point of view the tribal areas lies between the high land massif of Central Asia and the plain of South Asia. The physical structures which separate these two areas from each other is the HinduKush range as well as those structures which provides access between the areas such as Khyber Pass are located on the Frontier. As a result *Khyber PakhtunKhawa* (NWFP) has been the site for a continual cultural flow across the territory. When population did not move itself through the Frontier Passes, Armies seeking to conquer or control Central Asia and Northern India had almost irresistibly attracted to this region. In their language, customs and features the *Pakhtun* reflect the history of the area.⁸ The Afghans will tell you that when God created the world there were lots of stones and rocks and other lumber left over which were all dumped down on this frontier.

There is one more range of hills to surmount before reaching the plains of India. There were rocks which reflect the sun rays all over without any relief from trees or heat of the blazing orb.⁹ The importance of geography is underscored by the way the mountains and gorges acted as geographical barrier that underwrote the cultural barrier between no-man land (*Illaga Ghair*) and settled areas. The ecology determined *Mohmand* Population Movements. The ecological and geopolitical situation and the absence of central government created the ideal type of *Pakhtun* society where structural boundaries are corresponded to administrative areas.¹⁰ The third natural division of the area exist between mountainous region, the settled districts and Afghanistan. To the extreme North

⁷ Syed Abdul Quddus, *The North-West Frontier of Pakistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), 11.

⁸ Sultan-i-Rome, "Geography of North-West Frontier Province in Historical Perspective", *Pakistan Perspectives*, Vol 11, Number 1 (January-June 2006), 129-130.

⁹ T. L. Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1975), 47.

¹⁰ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Pakhtun Economy and Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), 27.

lies the Agency of Malakand Mohmand hills lies between the agency and Khyber Pass These hills are very rough but they have considerable cultivable land Khyber Pass itself is a narrow belt leading westward from Jamrud on the Peshawar border to *Landi Khana* on the confines of Afghanistan¹¹ The tribal territory between the Indus and settled districts on the one side of Durand Line is varied in composition and more wilder and rugged in character. This area is consisted of lofty mountains with narrow, deep, remote and less accessible fertile valleys The agencies of Dir, Swat and Chitral in the North are mountainous with deep valleys and lofty ranges.¹²

1.3 PASSES

H C.Verma states that mountain passes plays important role in formation of geographical feature like other features. Historical background and pattern of the region is also dependant on the passes Movements through these passes not only broaden the horizon of man but also make them, understand the various cultures Battles for the passes not only the tread of Pakistan and Afghanistan but it is becoming the tread now of Indian subcontinent because whosoever captured the passes got the upper hand on the opponents. The mountain that lies to the North and North-West of the *Khyber PakhtunKhawa* form a boundary between Afghanistan and the Province

These mountains have some very important passes Passes have played vital role throughout the history The passes in the abovementioned area gave great strategic and political importance to the province throughout its known history in South Asia and for invasion from Central Asia of India and vice versa. James W Spain observes that since these passes and river valleys have played such a great part in history and are so essential

¹¹ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province* (Peshawar Saeed Book Band and Subscription Agency, 1983), 67

¹² Sultan-i-Rome, 117-118

to the maintenance of any kind of life in the wild mountain barrier through which they run. They are still worthy of note.¹³

1.3.1 Khyber Pass:

This famous pass is in the South of Koh-e-Hindu Kush. Its height is about 3373 feet. According to James W. Spain this pass is the most historic of all the passes in the world. It passes through the Khyber hills for thirty two miles. One almost direct line between Peshawar and Kabul and is the leading Pass and main route of communication between Afghanistan and South Asia.¹⁴

1.3.2 Kotal Peshawar Pass:

The Kotal Peshawar and the Shutargardan passes lie further south in the Kurram valley. These passes lead to Kabul and Ghazni respectively but have been mainly used for ordinary or local communication.

1.3.3 The Gomal Pass:

The Tochi and Gomal Passes in further south have their own strategic, political and commercial role. Although James W. Spain has termed this pass the wildest and less significant and isolated of the routes through frontier hills but it is not less important for its use for trading and access to lower Punjab and Sindh. It was the Gomal Pass through which most of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazna and Muhammad Ghuri in Punjab and Sindh and beyond were launched.

¹³ Ibid , 121

¹⁴ Ibid , 121-122

1.3.4 Katgala Pass:

This pass linking Dir and Bajure with Swat and onward with the plains of the Pakistan through the Malakand Pass and vice versa. It is also a source of link in the other direction with Afghanistan.

1.3.5 The Malakand Pass:

This pass is the main source of linkage between Chitral, Dir and Swat on one side of the province and the rest of the region on the other side. It is strongly known for the resistance offered in 1895 to mighty British Army. It is also known for the heavy battle fought against British for seven days. Besides, all these passes situated in the hills bordering Afghanistan, there are a number of other passes in these hills which are source of local communication and links but of no historic significance. A number of passes have also been found in the hills inside the tribal belt which have their role and significance from strategic commercial and communication aspects.¹⁵

1.4 ETHNICITY

Ethnicity, the population of the province belongs to different origins. The ethnological problem of the province is complicated. The folklore, tradition and legends are singularly silent about the races that inhabited this province before the *Pakhtun* invasions. The *Pakhtun* or Afghan are the terms used for the same ethnic group. These terms are used for the group who called themselves *Pashtun* or *Pukhtun*. There is one group who is Afghan by origin but they speak Hindko. They live in the various parts of the province like Mansehra, Abbot Abad, Kohat and Peshawar.¹⁶ The characters of those tribesmen variously assessed by outsider who lacks intimate knowledge. They have

¹⁵ Ibid, 122

¹⁶ Ibid, 126

indulged in glib generalization and have often sacrificed accuracy for vividness. It is true that tribesmen are primitive. Modern civilization has hardly touched them. They have escaped the vileness of so-called civilized world. As for their virtue is concern, how solid and genius these are compared with our shoddy ones. They are brave to the point of carelessness, impulsive, warm hearted. They are implacable enemies. If some one violate their code of honour, he becomes an enemy.

"Swift and merciless is their punishment that descends on transgressor, though not infrequently it breeds the spirit of vendetta, like the curse that befell the house of a true persists for generation. It is this code of honour whose sanctity and inviolability is kept above all by the tribesmen. It is the palladium of their social and economic order and because of its omnipotence there are fewer crimes in tribal areas as compare to settle districts."¹⁷

Afridi tribe lives in the Khyber Agency, the largest and most important and oldest agency. It was formed in Peshawar cantonment in 1879 in a de facto one with a creation of North West Frontier Province. One major clan of this tribe also lives in Kohat, Frontier region.¹⁸ Those inhabiting the area lying between the Durand and administrative boundaries of Pakistan. These are *Pakhtun* tribes who are the chief actors on the Frontier stage between 1890 and 1908.

Pak-Afghan border and administrative lines violate ethnic consideration. It is difficult to construct the true ethnic line. It is difficult because of their nomadic and migratory habits. They live on one side of the boundary for some part of the year and on the other side for the rest of part of the year.¹⁹ Troops were still slogging by the burning heat. They carry every type of fighting known to man. You look few barefooted tribal women, truded by carrying black eyed babies. Some time one may think, why are those people living here but it is their homeland where they are born and raised, over which they have

¹⁷ Syed Abdul Quddus, 12

¹⁸ David M Hart, *Guardians of the Khyber Pass* (Lahore Vanguard Books Ltd, 1985), 18

¹⁹ C Collin Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier 1890-1908* (London Curzon Press, 1975), 57

still the control. Any outsider should send a mighty army into torment them and spy on them and burn their homes ²⁰

1.4.1 Safety, Assassination, Kidnap:

All political officers could not trust the goodness of the tribesmen, said Emerson touring around and amongst the *Mahsud* Kidnap and assassination was a feature of Frontier life and the memories of those killed remained fresh in the minds of their Harman when Mullah Pawindah was at the height of his power In Bowring case the *Mahsud* who shot him was reported to have said afterwards, the sahib went to sleep with his feet towards Makkah and one shot him. Harman's murder took place just as he was to be relieved of double duty which was developed after Bowring's death of political agent and commandant of South Waziristan Militia The man who was to take over as political agent, Evelyn Howell was actually having dinner with Harman when he was killed Harman he said received a bayonet wound right through the heart and only his superb and wonderful strength and admirable courage enabled him to retain consciousness so long as he did.²¹

1.5 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TRIBAL AREAS

The history of the tribal area and its people may be seen in the imperial invasion and the resistance offered by the tribes. Two forces existed throughout the history of *Khyber Pakhtunkhawa*. These were sent for the occupation of tribal area to find a more durable Province This cycle was repeated frequently in the period between Alexander invasion in 323 BC and 1750 AD which marked the last invasion of India from the

²⁰ Gordon Sinclair, *Khyber Caravan* ((Lahore Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1936), 96-97

²¹ Victoria Schofield, *North-West Frontier and Afghanistan* (London Buchan and Enright, Publishers, Ltd , 1984), 185

West²² The tribal areas have sustained the pressure of inroads of various invaders. The first inroad made by Aryan. The earliest Vedic Hymns reveal them across the Khyber Pass Kabul, while the later one brings them as far as the Ganges. European scholars have inferred that Rig Veda was composed around 1400 BC.

The external record of history of this area begins with Greek invasions with invasion of India by Alexander in 327 BC²³. The tribesmen were not stranger to invasions and feuds, they were waiting for the soldiers behind the rocks or on the top of narrow valleys and they were ready with their daggers²⁴. The first Greek historian of India was Hekataios of Miletos (549-486 BC). The tribal areas are closely connected with Eastern Iran and the ancient Aryan (Afghanistan) then with Indus. The Iranians dominated the whole Indus valley and the area West of Indus. Around 516 BC Darius Hystapes sent a seaman Skylax to explore the course of river and subdued area West of Indus and North of Kabul, also adding the Kandahar (Modern Peshawar valley) to the Persian satrapy. The third Achaemenid king Darius occupied territories corresponding with modern Afghanistan including Bactria (Balkh), Arcia, (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar and Kandahara (the stretch from Kabul to Peshawar valley). Darius conquered the modern Sindh up to the Indus, referring to the new Province as Hindukush, providing the first distinction between the peoples now known as Indian and Afghans. The struggle for Western Gate way to India has been extended over many centuries proceeding the British period. British East India Company drove Europeans out some 300 years ago. Dew currents of Aryan invaders had crossed the North Western Passes forcing the aborigines

²² Aitchison, *Sir Charles Lord Lawrence* (Oxford, 1982), 21

²³ Teepu Mahabat Khan, 42

²⁴ Jules Stewart, *The Savage Border* (England: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2007), 2

southwards Various smaller and greater attacks between Darius and Persian were followed circa 500BC and Alexander the great two centuries later but it did not exist for longer time Between 997 and 1026 A.D. the great Muslim conqueror's Mahmud Ghaznavi made more than fifteen efforts of raids into Northern India Between 1175 A.D. and 1206 Mohammad Ghuri in his turn conquered Ghazni One of his generals became the ruler of Delhi after Tamerlane's troops. Another Central Asian warrior Babur the Turk invaded India from "Kabul" and in 1526 founded the great Mughal Empire with Delhi as capital. But even he was not the last Asiatic invaders ²⁵

In 1586 the *Mohmands* and others revolted under Jalala, the Roshnia heretic and invaded Peshawar Maan Singh was repulsed during attack through Khyber Pass and subsequently joined Akbar's forces At the same time *Yousafzai* and *Mandaur* Afghans had also fallen under the spell of the Roshania heresy In 1587 Zain Khan was sent to Swat and Bajure to suppress them The result of the feud was the defeat of Mughal, Babur and Akbar being killed ²⁶ In 1739 the Army of 16000 men *Pakhtun* horsemen led by ambitious Nadir Shah of Persia briefly seized Delhi, then still the Mughal capital They carried off the throne Peacock and Koh-e-Noor Diamond to grace his own capital Finally in 1756 the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Durrani invaded Northern India sacking Delhi and carried as much loot as he could back through Passes ²⁷ All the powers were in quest to occupy and expand further used this area as launching pad During these expeditions *Pakhtun* have direct contact with invaders and the invaders were greatly impressed by their unique qualities of morality, nobility, Chivalry, hospitality, equality

²⁵ Teepe Mahabat Khan, *The Tribal Areas of Pakistan, A Contemporary Profile* (Lahore Sang-e-Meel, 2008), 42-43

²⁶ _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India North-West Frontier Province", *Provincial Series* (Lahore Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002), 17.

²⁷ Teepe Mahabat Khan, 43

Pakhtun also love freedom and hate slavery. It may be pointed out that ever since the dawn of history, the tribesmen have all along preserved their independence and sovereignty against all odds

They also welcomed the Hindustani invaders. They provided manpower to all expeditions which Mahmud of Ghazna launched against Hindustan. Similarly Babur attacked India after securing the helping hand of *Pakhtun* by marrying the daughter of one Shah Mansoor of Bazdara in 1526. When Nadir Shah invaded India, he tried to force his way in the tribal area through his military might. At last he founded Khyber Pass closed but that was after a great loss in men and material and his saner senses worked. He held parleys with the tribesmen and after taking them into confidence, he was allowed to march. Ahmad Shah Abdali, the real founder of Afghan Kingdom, followed him. He enjoyed complete support of tribesmen during invasion of India in 1761.²⁸

1.5.1 THE TRIBAL AREAS DURING DURRANI'S RULE; 1747-1818 A.D.

Ahmad Shah Durrani was crowned in 1747 A.D. He was considered as "pearl of pearls" the founder of Afghanistan. A *Pakhtun*-Durrani was elected the king after the assassination of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah at Khabushan the same year. Throughout his tenure of ruling he consolidated chieftainship of petty principalities and forged provinces into country. His kingdom extended from *Mahsud* in the West to Kashmir and Delhi and from *Amu Darya* (Oxus) River in the North to the Arabian Sea in the South. To the East the *Waziris* and their close relatives, the *Mahsuds* had lived in the hills of Central Suleman Mountains since the fourteen century. Tribes like *Shimwaris*, *Yousafzais* and

²⁸ Badshah Gul Wazir and Jehangir Khan Mohmand, *Futuristics of Tribal Administration* (Peshawar: Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1995), 4-5

Mohmands had moved from the upper Kabul river valley into the valleys and plains West-North and North-East of Peshawar.

The *Afridis* have long been established in the hills and mountain ranges South of Khyber Pass. By the end of 18th Century Durrani had left the area West and North of Kandahara and were to be found as far as Quetta, Baluchistan.²⁹ Since then the rulers of "Kabul" exercised some sort of vague suzerainty over the tribal areas through hereditary chiefs selected by the *Amirs* of "Kabul" who paid allowances to the tribes through these Chiefs.³⁰ Ahmad Shah Durrani after assuming the reins of power consolidated his position and took measures to strengthen his empire. In this connection he led about eighty expeditions into India. In his first attempt the Afghan Force could not go beyond the Indus and the Afghan King was able to incorporate Punjab, Kashmir and Multan into his empire. At the time of his death in 1773 the Afghan empire of Ahmad Shah Durrani extended from Atrek to the Indus and from Tibet to the Arabia Sea.³¹

1.5.1.1 Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Hill Tribes of Khyber:

When Ahmad Shah Durrani was passing through the Hill Tribes of Indian Frontier, they offered no resistance to him because he was an Afghan and his every move was for Afghanistan. His national policy had impressed even this rude tribes.³² In the recent years many governments have come to power deeply impressed by tribally based society.³³ Ahmad Shah Durrani was truly genius and able to utilize external

²⁹ Abdul Sabahuddin, *History of Afghanistan* (New Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House, 2008), 48

³⁰ Aitchison, 21

³¹ Mohammad Khalid Ma'aruf, *Afghanistan and Super Powers* (New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers, 1990), 4-5

³² Dr. Abdul Ghami, *A Brief Political History of Afghanistan* (Lahore: Najaf Publishers, 1989), 208-209

³³ Leon B. Poullada, *Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929* (London: Cornell University Press, 1973), 8

circumstances in his favour to reconcile long smoldering inter-tribal conflicts. This was not because of nationalism but of his personal attribute. This became evidence when he died and conflicts flared up between *Sadozai* and *Barakzai* and continued till the transfer of throne to Dost Mohammad in 1835.³⁴ This change was the outcome of political tension between the Central Government and the fiercely independent *Pukhtun* tribes.

Ahmad Shah Durrrani was the first who had consensus in tribal jurisdiction, therefore he is said to be the founder of present day Afghanistan.³⁵ Taimur Shah (1772-1793 A D) brought no major change in Afghanistan's domestic and external politics.³⁶ Zaman Shah (1793-1800 A D) when became king after his father and grandfather continued the policies of his elders. External threats increased during this period.³⁷ Mahmud Shah (1801-1803 A D) period was of greater violence.³⁸ Shah Shuja (1803-1809 A D) the son of Taimur Shah ruled for six years. He signed a treaty of Friendship with British on 7 June 1809, including the condition that he could hinder the passage to outsiders in his territory. Mahmud Shah's second period lasted from 1809 to 1818 A D.³⁹ Ahmad Shah's successors governed so badly and irresponsibly that Afghanistan was trapped into Civil War within 50 years after his death. Many territories which were conquered with the help of Ahmad Shah's skill fell to others in a half century.⁴⁰

1.5.2 TRIBAL AREAS DURING SIKH'S RULE; 1818-1849 A.D.

The Sikh plan was to put a stop to all foreigners to their home land. The foreign Afghan hordes stood on the heights of Khyber Pass. The Mughal anxiously quitted and

³⁴ Ibid , 3

³⁵ Ibid , 12

³⁶ Mohammad Khalid Ma'arof, 5

³⁷ Abdul Sabahuddin, 49

³⁸ Mohammad Khalid Ma'arof, 5

³⁹ Abdul Sabahuddin, 49

⁴⁰ Ibid , 50

extending their greeting from Red Fort.⁴¹ After the Sikh gained power under Ranjit Singh in Punjab, they captured Dera Ismael Khan in 1818 A.D followed by Bannu and Marwat plains.⁴² At the same time some unheeded persons started insurgence around Peshawar Amir Khan lost his employment when he raised a campaign against the joint Marhatta and Pindarra powers as chief and in the result of his defeat, his chieftainship was terminated and later Amir Khan owned recognition by the English as a dependent Prince. The Sikhs during full strength paid no attention to the tribal area. They tried to streamline taxation in the plains and left hills area at their own risk. This action treated another gap between Afghanistan and India. This was the gap between the tribal and the plains or settled area.⁴³ In 1836, a Sikh *Sardar* was appointed replacing *Nawab* of D I Khan. Bannu was placed under control of Edwards. Herbert of Lahore of Sikh Darbar had first captured Nowshera in 1832 and then in 1834 they took over Peshawar under Hari Singh, who was killed by *Afridis* in 1837 and it was nearly the end point of the Sikh rule. *Hasht Nagar* and *Miranzai* were assigned as *Jagir* to local chieftains. That time the Italian general Evtale was the governor of Peshawar from 1838-1842 A D.

British closed the Sikh chapter on 29th March 1849. Punjab Frontier Force (PFF) a special force was raised for the maintenance of peace and tranquility at border under the board of administration at Lahore. It was consisting of 5 Cavalry regiments, the Corps of garts, 5 Infantry regiments, 3 Light Field batteries, 2 Garrison batteries, 2 Sappers and

⁴¹ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol IV (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, 2001), 531

⁴² Teepu Mahabat Khan, 46

⁴³ Victoria Schofield, 59-60

Miners companies and the Sikh camel corps These were then amalgamated with regular army in 1886 A.D ⁴⁴

1.6 HISTORICAL GEO-STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

Historically, the *Pukhtun* tribes secure within their mountain bastions cornered on the Suleman range and the Koh-e-Sufed range have successfully resisted all attempts to subdue them by Greeks, Persians, Kushans, Mongols, Mughals, Sikhs, British and Afghans. Most conquerors of the subcontinent were content to bypass these tribes wherever necessary paying transit tribute and submitting to their raids and lootings ⁴⁵ Invasions and expansion from subcontinent to Central Asia were also made through this area. The expansion of Mauryan Empire and the Hindu Shahi encroachment into Afghanistan, Mohammad Bin Tughluq is projected invasion over Central Asia, Mughal's expedition and invasion into Afghanistan and Central Asia Historically, the attacks emanated from these areas had been of concern to Britain, India, Iran, Afghanistan, Russia and even China. These forces had brought the world nearly to war on two occasions The name of the tribal territory or tribes like the *Wazir*, the *Mohmand* and *Mahsud* evoked strong feelings. Many places like Tirah is the most inaccessible of the tribal area The *Karakar* Pass where in 1586 the *Yousafzai* crushed out Army of great Mughal Akbar, Saraghon on the Samana range where the *Orakzai* wiped out Sikh detachment in 1897, in Waziristan the Ahni Tangi where the British force was almost decimated with 2000 killed and wounded including 43 officers, the dreadful *Shahur*

⁴⁴ Teepu Mahabat Khan, 46

⁴⁵ Leon B Poullada, 28

Tangi where entire Army convoys had been trapped and wiped out and the Khyber Pass, the most famous in the world ⁴⁶

The Province is the part of geographical area which has the passes and routs due to which it has the status of gateway, not only to India but to Asia and China as well. The history has displayed that most of the migrations and invasions were carried out through this area like the Aryan's migration and invasion, which started in 1900 BC till the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The invasions of Greeks, Scythians or Saka, Parthians, Kushans, Huns, Muslim invasions under Ghauris and Gahaznavis, Mogols, Turks, Iranian and Ahmad Shah Abdali all were launched through this area ⁴⁷. This piece of land is named after the tribe, which holds most dominant position as indeed we know it to have been in other parts of India. ⁴⁸ In spite of the mountains belt that surrounds the Peshawar city and valley its peace and tranquility might be threatened from four sides. In the North is the Malakand Pass, to the West lies the Khyber Pass, in the South is Kohat route from where invasion could be made. To the East is Bridge made by British over Kabul River provide passage to Peshawar valley. ⁴⁹

The British advances into Afghan War were the evident examples of area's playing role of "Gate" of Central Asia. It remained the gate of Central Asia not only in remote past but in near past and recent times also for it remained a base of anti Soviet proxy War in Afghanistan in the fourth quarter of twentieth century, which ended not only in the failure of communist revolution in Afghanistan and the expulsion of the Soviet forces from that country but also in the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the

⁴⁶ Akbar S Ahmed, *The Tribal Areas* (Karachi Oxford University Press, 1977), 5

⁴⁷ Sultan-i-Rome, 130

⁴⁸ _____, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. I (Lahore Aziz Publishers, 1978), 53

⁴⁹ Victoria Schofield, 48

emerging of the new Central Asia⁵⁰ It was the external pressure that confirmed and reiterated the perseverance of Pukhtun society. It was the nature of this pressure that partly determined the population shifts from and to the tribal area over the centuries especially in the context of rise and fall of empires in India.⁵¹ Khyber Pass is one of the most important channels between Kabul and India. It has good roads. The Pass was dominated by *Afridis* and they have promised to keep it open for trade in return of subsidy. A force was formed from all the neighbouring tribes commanded by British officers. They were guarding the forts and smaller post from Landi Kotal to Jamrud. The British Government had the right to construct a railway as well as road through the Khyber Pass⁵²

1.7 TRIBAL STRUCTURE / ORGANIZATION

With regard to the tribal organization of the *Pakhtun* the tribe is far more homogeneous in its constitution than among the *Balochi*, *Sayyed*, Turks and other clans have occasionally been affiliated to it but as a rule, people of foreign descent preserve their tribal individuality, becoming merely associated and not intermingled with the tribe among whom they have settled⁵³ There is one other term "border tribe" used and this is commonly used for *Pakhtuns*. They inhabit along with the Pak-Afghan border from Bajure to Waziristan. This extends practically the whole length of Afghanistan. This mountainous country has been characterized as unutterably rugged and unattractive. Accordingly, its inhabitants are categorized as 'almost entirely' *nang*⁵⁴ Although

⁵⁰ Sultan-i-Rome, 130-131

⁵¹ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Pukhtun Economy and Society*, 57

⁵² H. L. Nevill, 7

⁵³ _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India. North-West Frontier Province", 7

⁵⁴ Christine Noelle, *State and Tribe in Nineteenth-Century Afghanistan* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997), 163

Pakhtun have many virtues but in spite of those virtues they are not united people. They are divided into many groups and sub tribes, which are almost constantly quarrelling with each other. Nothing else than a common enemy can unite them⁵⁵ Every *Pakhtun* group is connected in some way to other *Pakhtun* group. All *Pakhtun* constitute a real cultural and social entity. It is almost impossible to constitute such a framework into which each group can be fitted. Each major group or tribe is subdivided into two or more small group or "*Khel*". The *Khel* further break up into extended family systems of varying degrees and magnitude. These divisions are also called *Khel*, *Kors* or *Kols*⁵⁶ These *Khels* are broken down into further family systems of varying sizes and complicity. All are descendant from common ancestor. Few tribes mainly *Yousafzais* and *Mohmands* have members living in settled areas as well as tribal territory⁵⁷ An individual *Khel* may have lost all connections with its parent tribe and may exceed in numbers than other tribe which include several *Khels*. Names are also misleading. Two groups which have no practical link and may vastly be dissimilar in size, they may have the same name.

There is a "*Sipah Claim*" among both *Afridis* and *Shinwaris* and *Usmankhel* between *Mohmand* and *Mahsud*. These *Pakhtun* are great believers in equality among individuals and among the member of tribe⁵⁸ Every one in *Pakhtun* society has the opportunity to come forth to the leading position of the tribe. The *Malik* or Chief is regarded for leading tribal delegations. He is superior to the humblest radical of them all. This is one of the distinguished characteristic of *Pakhtun*. The emphasis on equality is also rejected through

⁵⁵ Azmat Hayat Khan, 34

⁵⁶ James W Spain, 41

⁵⁷ Athar Chand, 8

⁵⁸ James W Spain, 41-42

one of their old customs of "*Waish*" (The redistribution of land every thirty years) This prevents any tribal man from getting too powerful and from exploiting his neighbours⁵⁹

1.7.1 *Mohmands*:

Mohmand is one of the biggest and important among the *Pakhtuns*. Their division is termed as upper and lower *Mohmands*. Those living in Peshawar valley are called lower *Mohmand* while those in mountains and Afghanistan are known as upper *Mohmands*. Lower *Mohmand* area lies to the South of Peshawar. To the North lies the *Budni* river and in the West it extended as far as the Khyber hills. This lower area comprises of the *Khalil Mohmand, Bara Mohmand, Mattani and Barozi-Khel* area.⁶⁰ This is an important *Pakhtun* tribe living partly in Afghanistan, and partly in settled area and Peshawar district. They are divided into nine clans. The *Safis* is in the North while *Shilmani* to the South. Their fighting force is used to defend them. They had fighting forces, comprised the area occupied by *Mohmand*, and were rocky and arid in character. Water is scarce, even then it is not always fit for drinking. Many groups and areas are dependant on rain water reservoirs.

Though many encounters had taken place against British troops but no decisive war was lodge against them. The *Baizais* live on both side of Afghan border. They constitute most martial clan. Water in their area is available and soil is cultivable and cultivated.⁶¹ In leadership *Mohmand* resemble *Nang* society. Technically every male member of tribal society aspired to leadership. Generally, recognized leadership qualities are bravery, generosity concern for the lineage and wisdom in council. Leaders are of Kinds,

⁵⁹ Azmat Hayat Khan, 34

⁶⁰ Ibid, 39

⁶¹ H. L. Nevill, *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1977),

- 1) *Malik*: 'petty chief', 'headman'.
- 2) *Mashar*: elder' (a more informal position than *Malik*)
- 3) Government appointed *Malik* (usually recruited from the 1st two categories)
- 4) *Kashar* 'young man' (a less influential leader who challenges, but simultaneously aspires to, the authority of the *Malik* and the *Mashar*)⁶²

1.7.2 *Shinwaris*:

Shinwaris are big and powerful tribe They occupy the Southern and Eastern portion of Ningarhar Province in Afghanistan This area extends from Landi Kotal in Khyber Agency to *Afridis* territory of Tirah and then South of Koh-e-sofard, where it touches Kurram Agency. They inhabit the area all along the Torkham, Jalal Abad highway They are subdivided into four groups These are Mandezai, Sangukhel, Sopah and Ali Sher Khel in Landi Kotal area. They have close contacts with their kinsman across the border⁶³

1.7.3 *Mullagoris*:

It is a small group living on British border South of the River Kabul They are not well-armed They are bold and courageous. They are succeeded in preserving their independence of the *Mohmands* and *Afridi* They have caused little trouble since they came in contact with British Government.⁶⁴

1.7.4 *Afridis*:

Afridis are famous, large and powerful tribe. They live in the area of Tirah which is about 00 sq. miles. All this is hilly area. To its West is Province of Ningarhar and to its

⁶² Christine Noelle, 146-147

⁶³ Azmat Hayat Khan, 39

⁶⁴ H L Nevill, 7

South is Kurram Agency⁶⁵ The origin of Afridis lies hidden in the mists of obscurity Some authorities have identified them with the Aparytae of Herodotus Others believe them to be *Pakhtun* origin the descendant of tone Karlamae The latest opinion of Sir Aural Stein is well-worth recording

“The *Afridi* tribes, though at present speaking *Pakhto*, contain a large, if not predominant racial element, which was established in *Tirah* long before the advent of those Afghan invader, who during *Muhammadan* times gradually pushed their way into the belt of hills and alluvial plains West of the *Indus*”⁶⁶

This is the most powerful of the frontier tribes Their members have martial qualities. They always quarrel with each other They are always ready to unite against common enemy or in defense of independence There is Khyber Pass to the North of this area. Peshawar district to the East and Mastura valley to the South and to the West is mountains of Koh-e-Sofaid and Afghanistan.⁶⁷

The *Afridis* are divided into eight major clans

(i)*Adam Khel* (ii)*Aka Khel* (iii)*Kamar Khel* (iv)*Kambar Khel* (v)*Kuki Khel* (vi)*Stipah* (vii)*Malikdin Khel* and (viii)*Zakha Khel*.⁶⁸

There is no proper village in this area scattered houses exist In summer season people return towards *Tirah* to their scattered houses or to the houses of their ancestors They dispersed to the “Cave Villages” in winter or to the settled districts *Khajuri* plains and *Bazar* valley reflects sectional interests and spheres of interest influence⁶⁹

1.7.5 *Mangals*:

They live in the *Paktia* Province of Afghanistan and upper and Southern valley portions of the *Kurram* valley This tribe is divided into five clans, *Miral Khel*, *Khajuri*

⁶⁵ Azmat Hayat Khan, 39

⁶⁶ C Collin Davies, 62

⁶⁷ David M Hart, 22

⁶⁸ Azmat Hayat Khan, 39

⁶⁹ David M Hart, 22

Zab, Marghai and Kamal Khel The major portion of these clans live in the Paktia Afghanistan.⁷⁰

1.7.6 Orakzais:

That tribe occupies the Southern valleys of Tirah. They are sometimes called lost tribes. *Yousafzai, Wazirs and Ghilzais* are also found amongst this tribe. People of very ancient time are found in this Tirah section.⁷¹ These people are less warlike. They are divided into seven clans of whom the *Massuzai* live at the head of *Khanki* valley on the border of Tirah. *Chamkams* living at the extreme Western end of *Orakzai* territory, *Bizotis* living to the North of *Ulban* Pass, near Kohat and the *Robia Khel* live on the Samana Ridge.

1.7.7 Zaimukhts:

This tribe is populated between *Orakzai, Kurram* and *Miranzai* valleys. They are a fine race. They have presented some trouble to British Government.

1.7.8 Tauris:

They originally came here by conquest. Formerly, they belonged to Afghan tenancy. But they gave up their allegiance at the outbreak of Afghan War in 1878. After that they rendered valuable services to British Army. They are vigorous and brave but quarrelsome among themselves.⁷²

1.7.9 Waziris:

It is a big tribe. It is one of the most famous tribe in the history of subcontinent. They gave very hard and tough time to the British Government. It was the *Waziris* tribe which was not subdued till the departure of the British. This is further divided into two

⁷⁰ Azmat Hayat Khan, 39

⁷¹ C. Collin Davies, 63

⁷² H. L. Nevill, 8-9

subsections named *Uthmanzai* and *Ahmadzai*⁷³ This tribe lives between the Kurram and Gomal rivers. The area occupied by this tribe is rugged and mountainous especially the area which is covered by *Mahsuds*.

The valley runs from West to East. The water courses are unimportant in dry weather but they become considerable in the rainy weathers. Road formation is difficult here except along the *Tochi* and *Gomal* valleys. Water-courses are rocky, are the sole channels of communication. These courses vary in width. Somewhere it is very narrow defile called "*Tangis*". This becomes the place where resistance is offered to the invaders⁷⁴

1.7.10 *Suleman Khel:*

This group is the most powerful among the *Ghiljai* tribes. A very small group, occupy the *Zermelan* plateau in the South Waziristan, the Western mouth of the Gomal Corridor. They have encroached into *Kakar Khurassan* up to *Qamardin Karez* on the Durand Line, dispossessing the *Lawun Kakar* of their grazing area.

1.7.11 *Kakars or Kakads:*

Kakads is the big tribe. They live to the South of Gomal River but the *Suleman Khel* encroachments have been made across the Durand Line. There were powerful tribesmen who spilled the Durand Line. But the British Government did not challenge their trespassing. It is said that *Suleman Khel* clan was asked to counteract the depredation of the powerful *Baluch Mari* tribe⁷⁵

⁷³ Azmat Hayat Khan, 40

⁷⁴ H. L. Nevill, 9-10

⁷⁵ Azmat Hayat Khan, 40

1.7.12 *Darvesh Khel:*

It is the major *Waziris* clan. They live temporary in one place and migrate at other time They are warlike, and hard race They show more unity as compare to others in the North They have special hostility with *Mahsud* tribes They have two branches known as *Kabul Khel* and *Madda Khel* ⁷⁶

1.7.13 *Ormuris:*

In Kaniguram live people who are called *Baraki* But they are known *Ormuri* to their neighbours They differ in customs and characteristics from their neighbours *Mahsuds* and there is very little fact about their origin Their language *Ormuri* or *Bargista* is akin to the *Gahalcha* languages of the Pamirs and therefore like Pakhto, Eastern Iranian ⁷⁷ They cover the most mountainous part of the Waziristan they are inaccessible and that is their safeguard That also is the reason of their freedom They are known the most courageous and accomplished free boaters on the whole *Khyber Pakhtunkhawa*. They are said to be against the all men and all men are said to be against them They are united in themselves but are ignorant and unscrupulous at the same time ⁷⁸

1.7.14 *Dawaris:*

In the North Waziristan in the valley of Tochi lives a tribe known as *Dawar* They speak *Pushto* They are not considered to the *Pakhtun* descent They are not warlike They form a strong contrast to their neighbour *Waziris* They are considered to be the

⁷⁶ H L Nevill, 10

⁷⁷ C Collin Davies, 66

⁷⁸ H N Nevill, 10

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worst of border tribes Climate here is unhealthy They have the pernicious habit of opium, smoking and drug usage.⁷⁹ Agriculture is the chief occupation of this tribe.⁸⁰

1.7.15 *Bittanis*:

The *Pakhtun* tribe holding land on both sides of administrative boundary is called *Bittani* Its territory stretches from Gomal to *Marwat* *Bittani* resembles *Waziri* in many characteristics They are more civilized than *Mahsuds*. They have long standing feud with *Mahsuds* because *Mahsuds* wanted raid on Tank and Bannu border⁸¹ and they have to pass through their area⁸² Some parts of this such as Tirah and Waziristan are severally left alone, provided the tribes do not compel attention and interference by the raids into British territory which were perpetrated by their more lawless spirits⁸³

1.8 THE TRIBAL LAW

Overall *Pakhtun* land is mountainous The mountains are spread along the frontier of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Many tribes live on both sides of the border Many tribes including *Mohmands* enjoy considerable independence in Pakistan and *Pakhtunkhawa* on a long stretch of tribal territory *Pakhtun* customs rather than the Government law administer it.⁸⁴ The *Pakhtun* customs and traditions of tribal area are imbedded in ancient history As compare to the *Pakhtun* of the settled area, the tribal *Pakhtun* has undergone very little change in their social practice because of the detachment from the national stream Their way of living is still very close to the *Pakhtunwali*, old Customs, *Rivaj* and *Jirga* The way of this lagging behind the modern civilization is the lack in urbanization

⁷⁹ C Collin Davies, 66

⁸⁰ H L Nevill, 10

⁸¹ C Collin Davies, 66

⁸² H L Nevill, 10

⁸³ T L Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier* (Karachi Oxford University Press, 1975), 48

⁸⁴ Andre Singer, *Guardians of the North-West Frontier The Pathans* (Karachi Liberty Books (Private) Ltd , 1982), 20

and also the absence of many modern institutions⁸⁵ A *Pakhtun* tribesman is a Judge in his own. He loves nothing better than to dispense justice. Revenge is considered as shared duty to such tribesman.

For better administration law enforcement is necessary in society. The tribal areas have their own code of conduct or *Pakhtunwali*. That code regulates the tribal life and affairs⁸⁶ It is a little, rough and tormented democracy. The same is activated by the force and influence of *Maliks, Khans*, and Chieftains. Their influence is based on their personnel bravery, wisdom and strength. *Pakhtun* in the settled area retain and maintain the language and culture and sense for their identity with their tribal neighbours. Even in the settled area the family is regulated by customs not by law. Customs are chain with which the man tries to keep intact the pattern of society.

In the tribal area where about four million people live without any police, judge, courts, lawyers, one seldom hear of adultery and murders. One can hardly see the case of elopement because it carries great risk and price which is very high⁸⁷ Their bad habits are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity and obstinacy. On the other hand they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends and kind to their dependants, hospitable, brave, hard, frugal laborious and producing. They are less disposed than the nations in their neighbourhood to falsehood, intrigue and deceit⁸⁸ The code is maintained by observing many principles of *Melmastia* (hospitality), *Badal* (revenge), *Nang* (honour) and these codes play important role. Disputes or other controversial matters are conducted and decided by assembly of elders called *Jirga*. In society where public business is decided

⁸⁵ Teeju Mahabat Khan, 70

⁸⁶ Azmat Hayat Khan, 34-35

⁸⁷ Athar Chand, 8

⁸⁸ Ibid, 9.

without letters or written rules. The tribesmen learn to speak lucidly, persuasively and often wittily, who had much experience of the *Jirga* while a political officer in Waziristan⁸⁹

1.9 JIRGA SYSTEM

The *Jirga* or assembly of elders which decides almost all matters of public and private nature is working in ~~Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan~~ Provinces. That process is like the Athenian democracy. The *Jirga* represents the basic root of democracy in operation. Every individual has the direct say in shaping the course of things round him. Democracy or *Jirga* in tribal area is practiced spiritually and by moral force without the influence of votes.⁹⁰ *Jirga* is the most important *Pakhtun* institution. Strength of *Jirga* depends upon the democratic aspects of any *Jirga*. Decisions by *Jirga* are unanimous. It does not determine guilt or inflict punishment. Settlements are achieved in accordance with established *Pakhtun* traditions.⁹¹ The *Jirga* has three main functions. The *Jirga* regulates all patterns of life at all levels within tribal society. *Jirga* decides the choices of new public places like Mosques or Community Halls. *Jirga* has also decided relations or disputes with other tribes. *Jirga* also provides a mechanism to communicate decisions and opinions to Government and the Government's decisions to the tribe.

The sanctity accorded to *Jirga* is not broken even in fighting times. Any one who defies the decisions of *Jirga*, his house is burnt soon or his property is destroyed. *Jirga* governed the conduct of *Pakhtun*. It is the tradition and devotion to honour.⁹² The *Jirga* has to give its finding on matters and the Political Agent had to accept it if unanimous.

⁸⁹ Victoria Schofield, 119

⁹⁰ Syed Abdul Qudus, 174

⁹¹ Athar Chand, 9

⁹² Syed Abdul Qudus, 174-175

The convicted has no right to appeal. The Agent is supposed to receive such orders.⁹³ In the past the *Pukhtun Jirga* was the only body the British Government recognized for any treaty or negotiation. In Baluchistan agreement with tribal chief was sufficient. It is an accepted fact that the agreements once entered into by genuine tribal council are generally accepted.⁹⁴

The history of the Tribal Area and its people may be seen in the imperial invasion and resistance offered by the tribes. The cycle of invasion repeated frequently in the period between Alexander invasion in 323 B.C and 1750 A.D. Then Durrani (1747-1818) considered "Pearl of Pearl" came and during their rule consolidated chieftainship of petty principalities and forged province in country. The Sikh (1818-1849) plan was to put a stop to all foreigners to their home land and the Afghan hordes stood on the heights of Khyber Pass. British closed the Sikh chapter in 1849.

⁹³ Athar Chand, 11

⁹⁴ Azmat Hayat Khan, 36

CHAPTER 2

THE TRIBAL AREAS ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE BRITISH RULE;

1849-1890 A.D.

British switch area the rule from Sikhs in 1849. Various tribes living in different tribal areas were brought under British sphere of influence. Here the *Khyber Pakhtunkhawa* (NWFP) had two boundaries. Pak-Afghan border (Durand Line) the international boundary represented one and other was the administrative line demarcating actually the zone held by British. This area between two boundaries was a tribal belt and was known as a no man's land. In fact it was not a part of India on map. The population here did not have any direct allegiance to British Government. They did not allow anybody to annex their land. Beyond the military road, the tribesmen did what was right in their view. They lived inside their forts like buildings along with women. There were not to be treated as British subjects but as British protected persons independent as long as they remain passive but subject to protection as soon as they became active. The British claimed and wanted to have the right to bomb the tribesmen from air for security purpose¹. After the death of Ranjith Singh in 1849, the British conquered the Punjab and inherited all the territories which the Sikh kingdom had. It covered the trans-Indus territories with some tribal population as well. When the British arrived in Peshawar in 1849 to take the charge of Peshawar and other districts, they came in direct contact with tribal people. The North Western boundary of the new Province was drawn along foothill in the settled areas. This broadens the area whereas Sikhs have only their influence in the near vicinity of their forts². Lord Dalhousie formally annexed the Province of Punjab in 1849. Maharaja Duleep Singh was sent on pension and was further dispatched to England.

¹ Athar Chand, 6

² The East India Company was established in Surat in 1612 during the re-ign of Emperor Jahangir

The British Frontier moved from Beas to Attock and beyond. When Sikh Rule came to an end the British force marched towards Peshawar valley and other districts of Dera, Mardan, Kohat and Bannu which were previously occupied by Sikhs.³ In 1850 the Punjab went into the control of British which extended from Bengal to Indus, from Kashmir to Comorian that was how the British under the India Company strengthened its grip over the entire subcontinent. Further they planned to integrate many areas of princely states and permanently alienated lands, bequeathed by deposed monarch to nobilities that had great effects and paid no taxes according to the regulated system of British Rule. There were regions along both Northern Frontiers that continued to lure the Imperial giant into military ventures. These forays ended in victories in Burma in 1852 and 1885. In Afghanistan they endured frustration and tragic losses in 1878-1880. British conquests were rather quicker than expected. Dalhousie directed his Empire for fostering modernization in the name of civilizing the natives.⁴

2.1 BRITISH ARRIVAL AND THE TRIBAL AREAS

The British came in contact with tribes even in the service of Sikhs and they won hearts of the people. They were lenient and polite in their manner while the Sikh only used force to receive taxes. They were harsh and rude in their manner. The British had long time and association with the tribal people. The British gained much experience and on the account of it, they draw a line at Fort Sandeman. There were two different tribes living on both sides of this line. Both on the North and South the tribes have different characteristics. So they needed to treat in different ways while the Sandeman's and Napier 224-225 had found tribes with definitely acknowledged leaders who they followed. In the *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa* side the position was quite different. Here each individual was a leader in himself.

³ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 39

⁴ Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 224-225

In 1847-1848 under the guidance given by Henry Lawrence, resided in Lahore, distinguished empire builders like Friderich Mackeson (1839-1853), Herbert Edwards, John Nicholson and James Abbot ventured across the Indus and came to deal with the tribes who had no accepted leaders.⁵ At first no attempt was made to proceed into the tribal area or to secure the passages through mountains. The administration under British Rule of the NWFP (*Khyber Pakhtunkhawa*) had two aspects: To ensure the security of settled districts and to maintain the civil administration boundary on the Durand Line. However the effective control of the British Government over *Khyber Pakhtunkhawa* could not extend beyond settled area.⁶ Sardar Gul Mohammad (led a joint commission with Henry McMahon to mark the line from Domandi to New Chaman and also issued a report dated 26 February, 1895) sent a letter to Mr Grant (British Diplomat and Indian Army Officer) regarding the demarcation of some portion of Afghan Waziristan boundary. His Excellency the viceroy sent to the *Amir*, the Waziristan demarcation papers and maps for ratification. The Government of India has not received any reply and until the *Amir's* answer had been received, no questions of revising the line could be entertained.⁷

In 1849 the Afghan Army of Dost Muhammad Khan was defeated at the hands of British. They did not stop before Kabul. The British Army pursued the fleeing Kabul army up to Khyber Pass. For celebration of victory they built an arch like gate and a well at *Shadi Bagh*. Then the whole former NWFP now Khyber Pakhtunkhawa came under British Rule. The people were already under foreign rule, so they accepted the British. But the British first contested with people of Plain areas and did not interfere with tribal area but later on things went from bad to worst and

⁵ Izzat Awan, *Pattern of Administration in the Tribal Areas of Pakistan* (Peshawar Provincial Civil Services Academy, 1972), 5-7

⁶ Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* (Karachi, 1983), 329

⁷ Tribal Cell Record, *Foreign Frontier Government of Punjab Received from Civil Secretariat*, Serial No 1685, Bundle No 16 (Peshawar NWFP Provincial Archive, 1896), 5

bloodshed started.⁸ The British brought to an end the meteoric rise of Sikhs in Punjab. But the British did not have any lasting grudge against them. During those encounters the British learn that the Sikhs were brave and hard and fit for soldiership and could be employed for the consolidation of their empire. In this light was evolved their relationship with Sikh, pampering them as well as keeping them under control, thus depriving the Sikhs of their independence and state. They turned out to be one of the most effective instruments of the British Rule. After having crushed two war-like communities the Muslims and the Sikhs, the British could now implement their cultural and political plans in their more specific sense.⁹ On March 29, 1849 British annexed proclamation the Frontier territory. The districts of Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara were brought under British control for short time. Board of Administration at Lahore controlled them. But at about 1850 they were formed into regular Division under British Commissioner, formed part of *Liah* Division till 1861, Bannu and Dera Ismael Khan were given into *Liah* Division. When two Deputy Commissioners were appointed then both districts were included in Derajat Division, this arrangement was maintained till the formation of NWFP (*Khyber Pakhtunkhawa*). The internal administration differed not from rest of Punjab. For maintenance of law and peace, a Punjab border force was raised known as Punjab Frontier Force. Various changes were made in the composition of force, which at length, in 1886 was removed from the control of Punjab Government and amalgamated with regular army.¹⁰ But the Peshawar was the earliest incumbent. The lands of this division were fertile. Peshawar was also the headquarter of forces originally.

⁸ Mohammad Shafi Sabir, *Story of Khyber* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1966), 70

⁹ Syed Shabir Hussain, *Sikhs at Crossroads* (Islamabad: Kamran Publishing House, 1984), 56

¹⁰ _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India: North West Frontier Province", 19

It was not a suitable arrangement to impose important duties commissioner or general on foreigner which in each case were of the most onerous description¹¹ When the British took over the territories from Sikhs in 1849 after the third Sikh War, they gave serious thought to the proposal of withdrawing to Indus on several occasions First suggested by Political Agent Sir James Outran in 1854, the Indus Frontier was also advocated by several other officers on the spot including John Lawrence, later Governor General of India from 1863-1868 The stress on the Mutine John Lawrence went so far as to advocate the restoration of the trans-Indus territories to the Afghans But the proposals were negated by Lord Canning in his telegram 'Hold on Peshawar to the last'.¹²

2.2 GREAT GAME/ GEO-STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE TRIBAL AREAS

The great game refers to the subtle game of exploration espionage and imperialistic diplomacy through Central Asia played between Russian expansion threatening to collide with the increasing British dominance of the India Sub-Continent, and its first phase spanned nearly over a century almost until the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention took place The term is traced back to Arther Connolly and was popularized by British novelist Rudyard Kipling in his work He is described the rivalry and strategic conflict between the British Empire and the Tsarist Russian Empire for supremacy in Central Asia All in this matter Afghanistan was the center of conflict and activity Later it was called the buffer state In Russia the same rivalry and strategic conflict was known as the tournament of Shadow¹³

The British Government had to face the threat of expansion of Russian influence in Central Asia It considered the Russian penetration in Central Asian regions as a potential threat to its

¹¹ _____, Confidential, "Reorganization of the North West frontier Border Military file and cognate questions, file no 19 (Quetta Agent to the Governor-General's Office, 1860-70), 3

¹² Syed Abdul Quddus, 61

¹³ Teepu Mahabat Khan, 49

imperial interests in India. This fear became the decisive factor in British Frontier Policy and close relation with Afghanistan. This plan was regarded as safeguarding British India from Russian expansionism.¹⁴ The Russian Government objected to recognize Badakhshan and Wakhan as formed parts of Dost Mohammad dominions, but Prince Gortchakof veiled the point and did not dispatch to court Brunnow dated 19th Jan 1873 but communicated to Earl Granville on Feb 1873, which closed the controversy.¹⁵ During Nineteenth Century the British were feared of Russian invasion. They could never believe that Napoleon's death had put an end to European dreams of invading the Subcontinent. The most possible route for invasion would be through Afghanistan and over rugged Khyber Pass. If Persian were to help, an easier passage through lower *Baluchi* country would be forged to Sindh.¹⁶ Before the great game was initiated on boarder of Afghanistan and the adjoin area, there was 2000 miles of an unmapped land between British India and Russia at the start of 19th century. Afghanistan was a conflagration zone where British reverted to military intervention, resulting in many battles, including the three Afghan Wars in 1839, 1878-1879 and 1919.¹⁷

2.3 THE BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS FRONTIER TRIBESMEN

Two schools of thought emerged out of debate in the British Government that how best to meet the threat of expansionism of Russian. These were known as close border school and Forward Policy School. The time of British administration from annexation up to the formation of NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhawa) can be divided into two periods, the first from 1849 to second (2nd Afghan War in 1878, and second from that period up to the formation of NWFP in 1901. The first

¹⁴ Olaf Caroe, 371

¹⁵ Selections from India Office Library and Records, "London Afghanistan- Narrative on British Relations with Afghanistan-Adolphus Warburton Moore" (Islamabad Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1838-1878) 45

¹⁶ Stanley Wolpert, 218

¹⁷ Teepu Mahabat Khan, 51

thirty years were known as the testing time of Close Border Policy. The last 20 years were called the development period of Forward Policy.¹⁸ The *Pakhtun* tribes on border, like *Mohmands*, *Afridis* and *Waziris* had given very tough time to British Government for decades. Very often they caused tremendous loss to them in men and money. The aim and objective of the British expedition was of punitive character when rendered necessary by the violent conduct of tribes. It had been two fold. Firstly, to stop them from lawlessness by defense and secondly, to win them through peacefulness or civilized manners and orders.¹⁹

2.3.1 The Policy of Masterly Inactivity

There were two opposing forces to the policy, on one side advance to Quetta if not to Herat, on the other, a retreat to Indus, if not a policy of inactivity behind a closed border and no dealing with Afghan. Support of Lawrence was not pursued but his policy of non-interference in Afghan affairs lasted till the close of his viceroyalty in 1869. There were thus two opposed policies as to the political strategy to be followed in Khyber Pakhtunkhawa (NWFP).²⁰

2.3.2 The Close Border System

The Close Border System was more conservative. The British Indian Government should not assume her responsibilities in those areas where it is unable or unwilling to administer the integral part of its domains. Opinions as to just where British India's North West Frontier should be drawn varied at different time. Viceroy Lord Lawrence (1863-68) was prepared to revert to the Indus as a natural boundary. Most officials accepted the boundary left by Sikhs i.e. the Western border of Peshawar and Kohat Divisions as the proper international boundary. They pointed out that this area was administered constantly but not successfully since 1849.²¹ The Close Border

¹⁸ Olaf Caroe, 371

¹⁹ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 48

²⁰ Izzat Awan, 10

²¹ James W Spain, 115

Policy means the direct British Rule only in settled areas of the NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhawa) and leaving the tribal areas to administer their own affairs. It also implied non-interference in Afghanistan. British believed that stable and peaceful Afghanistan would make an effective deterrent against Russian expansionism. Therefore the British refrain from any military action against Afghans in Afghanistan.

The main feature of this policy was to guard the border closely with a view to ensure the security of the settled districts from frequent raids by tribal. The intension was to treat the tribal area as an outside zone and to confine the tribes to their respective areas. No aggression and non-interference in tribal areas were the main objectives of this policy. These areas were commonly referred to as unadministered territory (*Illaqa Ghair*) or Yaghistan²². The tribesmen were allowed entry into British territory and to trade freely. But the British were told not cross into the tribal territory. Agreements were concluded with tribesmen to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with Government.

According to the British writer the tribesmen frequently broke those agreements. Then the Government had to impose fines, stop allowances or blockades when those actions proved ineffective. Then the Government sent expedition into tribal area²³. From 1849 to 1889 the Punjab undertook sixty-two expeditions. Lawrence policy was of non-interference with *Amir*, modified arms and money policy, ignored the immediate menace of Russians. If his approach was came into the British choosing area, "do not conflict but meet them"²⁴.

2.3.3 Principle of Border Protection

On the contrary, the system pursued was of extending civilizing influence, of schools, hospitals, trees of fruit plantation, finding opportunities for occupation for border young men in

²² Olaf Caroe, 347

²³ C C Davies, 18-36

²⁴ Izzat Awan, 11

military regiments, giving them contracts to construct and build military roads and barrack, giving allowances to tribal Chiefs and *Maliks*. The objective was to see the tribes settle down and refrain from molestation of the car run routes. The British Policy was to relieve the British officers from undue burden of trans-Frontier garrison duty, the watchful guard of unimportant valleys and to save military expenditure due to the maintenance of Indian troops beyond the border as possible.

The principle development had been of entrusting, most of the border protection to *Khassadars*, working under their *Maliks* those were units raised from the tribesmen themselves, and of keeping "bodies of regular troops organized in small brigades of all arms, located within the Frontier."²⁵

2.4 BRITISH EXPEDITONS AND TRIBAL REVOLTS

The period from 1857 onwards was more turbulent. In 1859-60 operations were undertaken in the area of the *Waziris* between Thall and Bannu. They overran the *Mahsud* area, in 1869, after burning of Tank. Besides, undertaking the Ambela campaign in 1863, they also undertook the Black Mountain (Kala Dhaka, now called *Torghar*) expedition in 1868. The next expedition against the *Waziris* was launched in 1881. This time onwards and upto 1897 sixteen (16) different expeditions were undertaken on the end of which the *Pakhtun* revolt of 1897 occurred. In the period between 1888 and 1892 a large number of expeditions were dispatched against the Issazai clans of Kala Dhaka and their neighbours in the Cis-Indus areas of *Swatis*, *Alatis* and *Parai Sanyeds*.²⁶

At first the clashes that arose between the British and *Pakhtuns* were simple and did not involve any political element. They just emerged due to the differences that took place because of the hostility that rooted in the existential fear of both the parties against each other. Because the

²⁵ Rai Bahadur diwan Chand, 48-49

²⁶ Teepu Mahabat Khan, 46

new administrators i.e. the British officers were making their presence in the area felt while the tribesmen, on the other hand, were not ready to accept their existence which in other words meant for them a form of slavery which was against their culture and traditions²⁷ In 1853, Major Jacob wanted to punish the *Maris* by employing British troops In this regard he advised the Khan of Kalat to collect the whole force of the State and set out an expedition against them in 1858-59 Thus, Sir Henry Green, heading the expedition, killed a large number of the tribesmen, destroyed their field and forts and carried off 1,800 cattle.²⁸

2.4.1 Tribal Areas during the Mutiny of 1857

In 1857 India was aflame with the revolt called the Mutiny When the news of this revolt reached Peshawar, the British immediately held a council of War to propose the measures to be adopted The breath of Mutiny, however, passed lightly over the frontier Soon after the battle they renewed their battle with the British By strengthening their hold on Peshawar and the adjacent towns, the British introduced tax system in the area The Pakhtuns fought back, killing the tax collector and, occasionally ambushing British patrol Consequently, the British sat in town and seldom came to the hills.²⁹ From 1857 to 1878 the *Afridis* were subsidized by the Afghan Government, who kept a garrison of their troops at Ali Masjid but still the *Afridis* did not have good terms with the Afghans³⁰

2.4.2 The Khost Rebellion of 1856

In 1856-57 the Khost rebellion was motivated by M. A'zam Khan son of Amir Dost M. Khan (Ex Governor of Kurram and Khost) The *Turis*, however, refused to join this rebellion After some minor resistance in February, the joint forces of *Khostwals* and *Wazirs* besieged the

²⁷ James W Spain, 175

²⁸ _____, Confidential, "Reorganization of the North West Frontier Border Military File and Cognate Questions, File No 19, 4

²⁹ Athar Chand, 9-10

³⁰ Ibid, 10

fort of Khost in March 1856 with the objective to reduce the physical presence of Muhammadzai administration. Later on the tribes of Khost declared their willingness to pay revenues under the following three conditions, after mediation by Sahibzada Zia ud Din who was respected both in Khost and Waziristan.

- (a) Na'ib Ghulam M. Khan was not to govern their territory because he was a tyrant
- (b) Lands which had been sequestered by the government after their original owners had fled (probably in the attempt to evade revenue payments) were to be returned
- (c) The government forts erected in Khost should be abandoned and the garrison withdrawn.³¹

2.4.3 Tribal Revolt in 1859-60

During this period a number of revolts from the tribesmen and the British attempt to overcome the revolts took place mainly upon the control of the communication routes in Waziristan. These revolts resulted in a *Mahsud* attempt to destroy Tank and an unsuccessful invasion of the British over the *Mahsud* area. In 1878-80 a series of expeditions against the *Afridis*, *Mohmands*, *Zaimushis*, *Bhittanis* and *Kabul Khel Waziris* were required to protect British prestige and communications during the Second Afghan War.³²

2.4.4 N. B. Chamberlain's Expedition

In November, 1859, a clan of the *Waziris* called *Kabul Khel* had been implicated in the murder of a British Officer on Bannu-Kohat Road. He was appointed to the command of the troops who marched out from Kohat on December 15, 1859, and crossed the right bank of the Kurram River in four days and camped in the territory of the Amir of Kabul on December 20. The *Waziris*

³¹ Christine Noelle, 176

³² James W Spain, 175

had taken their positions eight (8) miles away from here in the West of Bilan Khel called Maidani³³

However, till 1860, no military expeditions could be undertaken for one reason or the other. Later on the first conflict was cleverly planned and most efficiently carried out by the native officer in command with the help of a small body of cavalry.³⁴

2.4.5 Ambela Campaign, 1863

The year before 1863, the *Sayyed's* followers had proclaimed one of their periodic Jihads against the British. To prevent border raiding the British had blocked most of the Northern Yousafzai area. By this the tribesmen also seized the opportunity to join the *Sayyed's* followers. The Bunerwals, sections of *Uthman Khel*, *Mohmands* and mixed groups from Dir, Swat and Bajour surrounded besieged force of more than 9000 men, thus, making it unable to move for a month. However, by this time the tribesmen had fallen out with the religious colony and with each other. So the attempt was indecisive, but the *Sayyed's* colony was driven further North into Buner³⁵. At last the villages of Ambela, L'alu and Malka were burnt, and hostages taken from Chamla and Buner in guarantee of their promise not to permit a settlement of the fanatics in their land³⁶.

2.4.6 The Distinct British Reverse

During Chamberlain's expeditions of 1860, while attacking the Barari Pass, the infantry, assaulting the left of the enemy's position, were driven down the hill in confusion before a charge by the hostile swordsmen³⁷. The *Bizoti* section of the *Orakzais* led expeditions against the *Jowakis* in 1868, and 1877. This was called the distinct British Reverse. The plan of these operations was,

³³ H L Nevill, 43

³⁴ Ibid, 46

³⁵ James W Spain, 175-176

³⁶ Henry Priestley, *Afghanistan and its Inhabitants* (Lahore Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1981), 45

³⁷ H L Nevill, 107-108

mainly, designed to draw the tribesmen down from the hills bordering the Ublan Pass and then to Attock and cut-off their retreat. However, they resulted in a severe loss to the British troops in spite of the expected victory.³⁸

2.5 THE FORWARD POLICY

In February 1874, the British government that had supported Lord Lawrence's non-intervention policy in Afghanistan was replaced by a Government headed by Benjamin Disraeli

This Government took the following factors into account.-

- (i) Non-intervention policy in Afghanistan was getting British interest no further
- (ii) The relations with the Afghan ruler
- (iii) The growing menace of Russia
- (iv) Little knowledge of internal affairs of Afghanistan³⁹

Rawlinson gave particular weight to the position of Russia on the Oxus as chastening British supremacy in South Asia. Therefore, a positive policy had to be adopted towards not only Afghanistan but Persia. Such a policy might include the payment of subsidy to the *Amir*, the provision of arms and of officers to train his army, the establishment of a permanent British Envoy at Kabul, and the occupation of Quetta. Lord Lytton (1876) vigorously pursued the Forward Policy in connection to possess and control the natural frontiers⁴⁰. Thus, the Government introduced the Forward Policy for the Tribal Areas and took a number of measures,

- (i) In 1891, agreements were made with the tribes of South Waziristan to open the Gomal Pass

³⁸ Ibid, 110

³⁹ Izzat Awan, 11-12

⁴⁰ Ibid, 10-11

(ii) In 1891, the Samana Range was occupied enabling the Government to dominate Miranzai valley and Southern Tirah.⁴¹

The policy of resolving to stick to the *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa* (NWFP) and of defending India against any possible Russian, or foreign attack on the borderline then existing, gave way in 1878, to the Forward Policy of abiding occupation of Afghanistan or a part thereof in British interest. No answer being received, within the period fixed to the dispatch of an ultimatum the British occupied Quetta and established a British agency at Gilgit followed by a declaration of war and an attack of Kabul from three different routes. It was considered that

“The administrative line, which really followed the boundary which the British had inherited from the Sikhs, possessed no military value whatever, and was like most Indian Frontiers, more likely to provide subjects of dispute than to secure to a clear-cut division of interests between two neighbouring States.”⁴²

The Forward Policy favoured pushing the international boundary as far westward and northward as physically possible and by dint of changing existing conditions in the extended area through both education and force of arms, exercising full sovereignty over the whole. Obviously this procedure would sooner or later bring India and Russia face to face in Central Asia. There were different opinions, where this should come about. Some said India's Frontier lay on the Oxus, others were satisfied with the Hindu Kush. During and immediately after the Second Afghan War, the proposal for a “Scientific Frontier” on a line from Kabul through Ghazni to Kandahar was popular. The British were in actual occupation of the three cities in 1879-1880.⁴³

The British fear of the Russian expansionism in Central Asia and its advance towards Afghanistan posed a great danger to the Frontiers of British India. To organize the defense of India, it was necessary to control the passes to the North-West, and to set up advance military posts

⁴¹ Lal Baha, *N W F P Administration under British Rule 1901-1919* (Islamabad National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), 7

⁴² Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 42

⁴³ James W Spain, 116

in the Tribal Areas which would facilitate the occupation of strategic points and control over the tribes. For this purpose, the Close Border Policy was replaced by the 'Forward Policy' in 1890s⁴⁴

2.6 TRIBAL REVOLT AGAINST THE FORWARD POLICY

In the 1890's, under the impact of a revitalized Forward Policy, the climate of Frontier war and politics began to change. British power was being displayed more and more, and its tentacles were encroaching on the hills. Sandeman's push up the Gomal had cut off some of the southern tribes from unimpeded access to their usual routes to Afghanistan and had reawakened unrest among the *Wazirs* and *Mahsuds*. At the opposite end of Tribal Territory, the tribes of the Black Mountain were outraged by a British attempt to top the exploit of 1868 by sending an expedition over the crest of the mountain, and in October, 1890. The tribes drove the troops back down the mountain. Early in 1891, a British column attempting to construct pickets along the crest of the Samana Range, which separates Kurram from the Tirah, was attacked and driven back by the *Orakzais*⁴⁵

2.7 THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL OFFICER (AGENT)

The annexation of Punjab by the British in 1849 brought the Raj in contact with the tribal areas through the "Closed Door" and "Forward Policy". After the Tirah uprising, *Sakhakhel* expedition took place in 1878-79. Khyber Rifles (then, *Jesailchis*) was raised in 1878 as "irregulars" to maintain peace in the area. Treaty of Gandamak was signed in 1879 and Major P.L.N. Cavagnari became the first Political Officer. This designation enlisted till the end of the 19th century whereby Major Roos-Keppel was appointed as the first Political Agent in 1902⁴⁶

The Political Officer in the Tribal Areas was the symbol of government and the focal point of encapsulation. He administered the Agency on behalf of the Federal Government and combined

⁴⁴ Lal Baha, 6

⁴⁵ James W. Spain, 176

⁴⁶ Teepu Mahabat Khan, 54-58

wide-ranging executive powers. His role had been defined as 'half-ambassador and half-governor'.⁴⁷ Political Officer was usually selected from an elite cadre, the Indian Political Service. About two-thirds of the Service was from the Army and one-third from the Indian Civil Service. The power, prestige and glamour of the Political Officer's job was unrivalled in the British colonies including India. However, the vast responsibilities, unceasing tension and external dangers of the job could result in death by assassination or even by suicide. Sometimes, the pace of the Frontier was too much even for traditional political officers, as Sir Olaf Caroe recalled when he was Governor of the Province in a case which ended in suicide as the officer 'had found it too much for him'.⁴⁸ In practice expeditions were also sent to discover a better military frontier for the British possession. To achieve this objective, military expeditions and at times conciliatory methods were also adopted. It was during the second Afghan war in 1878, that a special Political Officer was for the first time, appointed for the Khyber Pass, known as the Political Agent, who conducted relations with the tribes. Subsequently, to maintain and enforce good behaviour on the tribes, a system of tribal subsidies was instituted. But all these measures proved unavailing.⁴⁹

The Political Agent is at the centre stage of the administrative, judicial as well as development functions. This centrality is hardly any enviable proposition as it readily entailed an enormous burden of responsibility that even the ablest individual should have dreaded. The position is justifiably a subject of criticism for a number of reasons. The concentration of nearly all the functions in one office was clearly asynchronous with the prevailing public service delivery pattern. It put a back-breaking strain on the individual assuming the office and unless the holder was of outstanding qualities, it was well nigh, and usually, beyond his capacity. The Political Agency system was hardly responsive to the needs of the common man as they suffered from too

⁴⁷ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Pukhtun Economy and Society*, 310

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 30

⁴⁹ Lal Baha, 6

much reliance on the *Malik* and *Safedresh*. The problem of centralization was not just limited to the Agency administration which was more likely at the centre, and not top, of the pyramid. At the top of the pyramid was the Governor who did not share his powers with any legislative or judicial body, nor even a body like the cabinet.⁵⁰ The main duties of the Political Officer were to ensure general peace in the Agency, especially in headquarters, to protect government roads and buildings and, generally, to supervise development work. His success with the clans and tribes depended to a large degree on his personal rapport with them. It was not surprising, therefore, that a close relationship and identity developed between the Political Agent and what he called 'his' tribes, and this identity often led him to a deep interest and knowledge of tribal organization and customs.⁵¹

The twentieth-century political officer was undoubtedly more on his own in terms of responsibility than his counterparts in the armed forces. He could be in a place forty to fifty miles away from the nearest British officer, and anyone who served on the Frontier was only too ready to admit that without the co-operation and respect of the local people, he would not have been either so welcome or so successful. Since the Pakhtuns admired men with powers of leadership such as they had seen in their predecessors, personality still played an important part. The political officer soon found that he would need all his ability to deal with an enormous variety of problems, ranging up and down the Frontier.⁵² The regular criminal, civil and revenue laws did not apply in the Tribal Areas and the tribes conduct their affairs through their own set of codes, the *Pukhtunwali*. It was only on the main roads and in the agency headquarters that the Political Agent could take action against criminal behaviour under the Frontier Crimes Regulation. However, the political officers ensure that no inter-tribal conflict, however remote, got out of control and that no

⁵⁰ Teeju Mahabat Khan, 264

⁵¹ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Pukhtun Economy and Society*, 30

⁵² Victoria Schofield, 172

law and order problem assumed uncontrollable proportions. A great deal of the administration depended on the Political Agent's personality and relations with the tribes and their leaders

Administration of the settled areas was carried out along an established pattern with a Deputy Commissioner for each of the five districts, and political officers who would be expected to assist him. The Resident in the tribal territory of Waziristan coordinated the work of the Political Agents in North and South Waziristan. They in turn were helped by Assistant Political Agents (APAs) as well as Assistant Political Officers. These men—often Pakhtuns—were invaluable to the Political Agent, as General Curtis recognized. It needs a *Pakhtun* to unravel the intricacies and lay bare the realities of tribal politics. They were the 'eyes and ears of the Political Agent'. Part of the APA's duty was to pay the tribal police, the *Khassadars*, "who would generally give you a thumbprint in your book in recognition of payment".⁵³ Pure tribal structure did not admit hereditary rights of leadership and socio-political division between superior and inferior status. The *Malik* (from the Arabic for King) represented traditional tribal leadership based on respect for age and, where evident in individual cases, the other qualities of leadership, like the virtues of wisdom, generosity and bravery were highly respected in Pakhtun society. In the tribal areas it was still a common saying that 'every man is a *malik* unto himself'. The *masher-kashar* (elder-youth) conflict that had taken various quasi-political shapes those days was another aspect of that problem.⁵⁴

2.8 ANGLO-AFGHAN RELATIONS

Afghanistan by virtue of its striking location on the map provided an ideal entrecote.⁵⁵ It may be convenient to have on record a connected narrative of British relations with Afghanistan

⁵³ Ibid, 172-174

⁵⁴ Akbar S. Ahmed, *The Tribal Areas*, 7

⁵⁵ Suhash Chakravarty, *From Khyber to Oxus* (New Delhi: Orient Longman Ltd, 1976), 5

since the year 1838.⁵⁶ The first major clash between the advancing British and the Afghans came in 1838-40 when Governor General Lord Auckland in collaboration with the Sikhs sent an enormous army to enforce British primacy on Afghanistan. The Afghans rose magnificently against it and only a single Englishman returned to India alive. This unhappy venture was repeated forty years later in the Second Afghan War (1878-80) when Lord Lytton occupied Kabul, again to force the Afghans to permit a permanent British mission there. On 3rd September 1879, the Afghans rose again and massacred Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British Envoy. The British military under Lord Roberts quickly re-occupied the city and burnt the Great Bazaar, only to withdraw early in 1880 in the face of growing guerrilla resistance.⁵⁷

In the earlier days when District Officers conducted relations with the tribes and the international frontier had not been defined, the anomaly was not so apparent. But even then, under pressure of the Russian advance in Central Asia, a scheme was propounded by Lytton in 1877 with a view to giving the Central Government a more direct control over Frontier administration and policy, and improving the relations of the districts with their trans-border neighbour.⁵⁸ By 1875, the Khanate of Khiva surrendered to the Russians amidst intensive competition between London and Moscow for dominance in Inner Asia. In an effort to establish some kind of balance, a Russian-Afghan-British Boundary Commission demarcated Afghanistan's northern border in 1885. Up to the year 1893, the Wana Plain and the Tochi Valley in Waziristan (occupied by *Wazirs* and *Dauris*), the Samana Crest in *Afridi* territory, and the *Turi* Kurram Valley were occupied by British forces.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Selections from India office library and Records, "London Afghanistan- Narrative on British Relations with Afghanistan-Adolphus Warburton Moore" (Islamabad Cabinet Division N.D.C Government of Pakistan, 1838-1878), 1

⁵⁷ Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak, *A Pathan Odyssey* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 66

⁵⁸ Olaf Caroe, 413

⁵⁹ Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak, 66

2.8.1 The Second Anglo-Afghan War, 1878

The British had already undertaken preparations for an advance in Afghanistan. Quetta had been secured by a treaty from the Khan of Kalat because with this 'bastion of the frontier' in their hands, the British could threaten the flank of any army advancing upon the Khyber. On knowing about the Russian mission in Kabul, Lord Lytton dispatched a counter mission which could not get Sher Ali's permission to go beyond Ali Masjid. Greatly incensed, the Viceroy wanted the *Amir* to apologise and receive the mission. The *Amir's* explanation was not considered satisfactory and the Second Afghan War (1879-1880) was launched. Like the first, this war ended, quite contrary to the hopes of the English whose net gain was restricted to the annexation of Khyber Pass and the districts of Kurrum, Pishin and Sibi.⁶⁰ It was apparent that the Russian and the Afghan territories were soon to become coterminous along the Upper Oxus and throughout the northern frontier of Afghanistan. It was also evident that Merv would soon be occupied by the Russians and that they would make great exertions to establish permanent communications between their Caspian and Turkistan bases through the valley of Attrek and along the northern frontier of Persia.⁶¹ It was at Ali Masjid in 1878 that Sir Neville Chamberlain's friendly mission to the *Amir* Sher Ali Khan was stopped and repelled with threats. An ultimatum was therefore handed to the *Amir's* general, Faiz Muhammad, in Ali Masjid, and the day specified having passed without the return of an answer, Afghanistan was invaded by three British columns, one of which started from Jamrud at the mouth of the Khyber.⁶² In 1878, the British once again nitrous over Russia advances into Central Asia, helped unite the Afghans by invading their country in the Second Afghan War. Initial British military successes again bogged down in such a political morass that the British, who had invaded Afghanistan to overthrow an allegedly pro-Russian *Amir*, in the end were delighted to hand the

⁶⁰ Colonel N D Ahmed, *The Survival of Afghanistan* (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1973), 42

⁶¹ Suhash Chakravarty, 188

⁶² Victoria Schofield, 60

country over to Abdur Rahman, an exiled grandson of Dost Mohammed, who had spent eleven years in Russia. Fortunately for the British, Abdur Rahman, "the Iron Amir," was first and foremost an Afghan, and, having won the throne in 1880, he did everything within his power to keep both Russia and Britain at arm's length.⁶³

On the second day of the campaign the fortress of Ali Masjid was brilliantly captured by the British troops under General Browne. The successful passage of the Khyber, and the unopposed occupation, first of Dhaka at the Western mouth of the pass, and then of Jalalabad in the plains beyond, immediately followed. The treaty which closed the war in May, 1879, left the Khyber tribes for the future under British control. From that date the history of the Khyber Pass is bound up with that of the Khyber Political Agency, which includes *Mullagori* area on both sides of the Khyber Pass. None of it is administered, but the pass was kept open and is picketed twice a week for the passage of caravans. When the British took over responsibility of the frontier area, they found it impossible to turn a blind eye to the raids into the settled areas, more especially when their own stores of weapons and ammunition became the objective of a raid. Initially they did not consider that the dividing line as left by the old Sikh administration would remain so clear cut. They hoped eventually that the tribal territory would be incorporated within the overall administration of the British Empire. Prior to the Second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878-1880 the *Afridis* described themselves as 'servants' of the Muhammadzai Amirs. Yet this allegiance was more of a formal nature and their connection with the court of Kabul was limited to the collection of allowances. For the most part, the Khyber tribes continued to use the competition between British and Muhammadzai interests in their Lands for their own benefit.⁶⁴

⁶³ Leon B. Poullada, 5

⁶⁴ Christine Noelle, 171

But frequent expeditions into tribal territory showed how fiercely the tribes fought to guard their independence. By the next century the line between the settled areas and the tribal territory almost amounted to another frontier. "Settled areas are sort of open level country in which the forces of law and order can function easily", observed Ambrose Dundas, a British political officer in the inter-war years.⁶⁵ Before this the British had to contend with Khyber tribes two times during first and second Afghan wars when the *Afridis* stopped their way. In this connection skirmishes took place between the parties at some places but later on as a result of the efforts of Major Cavagnary and Colonel Mackeson, six *Afridi* tribes undertook to guard Khyber Pass in return for which the British government agreed to pay the *Afridis* an annual allowance of six thousand rupees.⁶⁶

In 1858 Lawrence again supported Lumsden's views for withdrawal to Indus. But the Forward school of British administrators and soldiers not only prevented any such withdrawal to Indus surrendering all territory from Peshawar to Quetta but on the contrary advocated an advance to Kandahar and Herat. The Second Afghan war of 1879, however, finally settled this controversy between the advocates of Forward Policy and those supporting withdrawals to Indus. The British decided to withdraw from Kandahar but to retain Peshawar, Quetta, Pishin and Sibi regions. Thus, the second Afghan War also could not get the *Pakhtun* area back to the Afghans.⁶⁷ Credit goes to the Afghan people who by sheer force of their will-power, kept the English at bay and never accepted a British resident in their territory until they were completely free from British influence. The threat of this will-power was so great that the Afghan rulers would prefer the risk of a war to that of an internal uprising.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Victoria Schofield, 60

⁶⁶ Mohammad Shafi Sabir, 70.

⁶⁷ Syed Abdul Quddus, 61

⁶⁸ Colonel N. D. Ahmed, 58

2.8.2 The Treaty of Gandamak, 1879

By the year 1879, Sher Ali withdrew to Russian territory, where he died; and his son, Yaqub Khan, agreed to the treaty of Gandamak, by which he was settled as Amir of Kabul as soon as he had agreed to receive a British Resident at Kabul, and to cede to certain English districts of Loralai, Zhob, Pishin, Quetta, and Nushki including the British occupation of the passes. The attempt to put a British envoy at the Afghan Capital, after the first phase of the Second Afghan War in 1879, had ended in fierce rising against the British Residency, resulting in the murder of the envoy Sir Louis Cavagnar. The boundary line fixed in 1880, added the Eastern half of the old sub-province of Kandahar to the Indian Empire. ⁶⁹ By the Gandamak Treaty of 1879, it was agreed that the British Government should retain control of the Khyber Pass, and, in pursuance of this agreement, allowances were fixed for the *Afridis*, aggregating Rs 87,540 per annum. The management of the pass was entrusted to the tribesmen. Some local levies called *Jezaichis* (which, later on, became the Khyber Rifles) were also raised for escorting caravans through the Khyber. ⁷⁰

2.9 COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS AND TRIBAL STRATEGY

As a result of the Treaty of Gandamak, the British apparently seemed to have succeeded in getting what they wanted. ⁷¹ In the disposition of the lands over which the invaders had passed, and which the British spent a hundred years trying to subdue, came to dictate their political future. Whereas those in the plains could be conquered easily and might need protection, those living in the hills could well defend themselves. In addition, because of the severe winters and hot summers, there was continual migration to the plains in winter, to the hills in summer, regardless of who ruled where. At the same time, the poverty of the hill tribes made raiding into the plains an

⁶⁹ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Ohrai, 42

⁷⁰ _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India North West Frontier Province", 232

⁷¹ Azmat Hayat Khan, 123

essential part of their daily lives.⁷² The ethnic and religious factor lent a particular bitterness to the last colonial encounter. For all the twentieth century and post-colonial 'mystification' of the British-Pakhtun encounter, *Mohmand* clashes with the British from the earliest days were severe and savage almost immediately after officially inheriting Peshawar from the Sikhs in 1849.⁷³

Later on, under the impact of a revitalized Forward Policy, the tribesmen revolted that disturbed the British government too much. The Political Agent's personal equation with the tribes counts. His personal relations and the confidence he inspired in the tribesmen enabled him to function successfully. But the Political Agent occupies an important position in the system. He is the liaison officer between the Government and the tribes. He has multifarious functions to perform. He looks after the welfare and interests of the tribal people and if required settles their disputes. He is assisted in his work by a small staff.

Anglo-Afghan relations from very beginning were not good. They fought for the first time in 1838-40 during the first Anglo-Afghan War. Second big clash happened in 1878-80 known as second Anglo-Afghan War, when Lord Lytton occupied Kabul, again to force the Afghan to permit a permanent British Mission there. There were also frequent small expeditions into the tribal territory by the Afghan government.

⁷² Victoria Schofield, 59

⁷³ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Pakhtun Economy and Society*, 65-66

CHAPTER 3

THE TRIBAL AREA'S ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE BRITISH RULE; 1890-1901 A.D.

With the passage of time, the knowledge of the British Government about the tribal and the area increased, they came to realize that the *Pamirs* were the route from where the fear of invasion moved back. Here amidst a solitary wilderness 20,000 feet above sea level, absolutely inaccessible to man and was no living creatures except the *Pamir* eagles. However, they were always concerned that the Russians would be able to stir up trouble in an area so close to India. Therefore, after a series of political crises between Britain and Russia in the late nineteenth century, the *Pamirs* were taken as the point of departure in fixing the Northern Frontier and was a fitting tri-junction among the three Great empires of the world at that time i.e. Russia, China and Britain.¹

Besides, the armament of the tribesmen all along the Frontier (*Pakhtunkhawa*) began to improve, necessitating some changes in the minor tactics of both sides. Before 1890 the tribal were very differently armed, they therefore depended for success on the army strength rather than on firearms but as their weapons improved then they realized the value of a long-range rifle for firing into a camp, throwing a convoy into confusion or harassing a retirement. Then they showed less inclination to commit themselves to a hand-to-hand struggle in broad daylight without preparing the way by fire first.² Secondly, the Second Afghan War also caused these ideas to be shelved, when Khyber, Kurram, parts of Waziristan and Malakand were occupied. The disarray and lack of logic

¹ Victoria Schofield, 40

² H L Nevill, 11-12

became obvious even to the British mind when in 1895, the management of the state and tribes effected by the great move forward over the Malakand had been entrusted to a Political Officer (Agent) placed directly under the orders of the Government of India and second by the experiences of the tribal uprisings of 1897-98, given added point to the arguments of the logicians.³

3.1 ANGLO-AFGHAN BOUNDARY AND THE TRIBAL AREAS

Before 1890, the boundary between the British India and Afghanistan extended from the Hab River to the West of the Mehar, Jacobabad, Taunsa, Bannu, Kohat and Peshawar. In these border areas, the *Pakhtun* and *Balochi* tribesmen were often raiding and the British were unable to directly control the tribal area. But later on, they introduced a 'Forward Policy', which meant pushing or extending the international boundary towards West and North as far as was physically possible. As a result of that Forward Policy, the British in 1891 occupied the Northern area of the tribal boundary known as Samana Crest, which is a high edge in the hills and dominates the Miranzai valley and the Southern Tirah.⁴ While from *Koda Khel* peak, the boundary extends along the watershed between the Kabul River and *Panjkora* River through the *Silala Kotal* upto the main Kabul Sapa range which also forms the watershed between the *Panjkora* and *Kunar* Rivers. The range runs first East-ward and then North-Eastward to a peak that is in the East of *Chigar Sarai*, which is about 9370 in the North-Western Trans-Frontier Map. In this map, the boundary after crossing the Kabul River and at any place from the *Koda Khel* peak northward is so clearly showed and defined by natural features that any further

³ Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1958), 414

⁴ Hamza Alavi, etc "Evolution of Boundaries in Pakistan", *Pakistan Perspective*, Vol 1, No 1 (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre University of Karachi, 1996), 23

demarcation would be quite impracticable unless a large military force accompanied the British Commissioner ⁵

3.2 THE DURAND LINE AGREEMENT; 1893 AND THE TRIBAL AREAS

Durand Line is the name of about 2200 km long Pak-Afghan border, right from Wakhan to the Iranian border. This line was demarcated in the light of the Durand Agreement signed in November 1893 in Kabul. This is perhaps the only agreement of the world so widely misquoted and distorted. A well-organized campaign is going on in the North West Frontier Province (*Khyber Pakhtunkhawa*) to create confusion in the minds of general public regarding the Durand Line ⁶

3.2.1 CAUSES

The Durand Line Agreement was signed due to following reasons,

- (i) By the Treaty of Gandamak in May, 1879, the British retained strategic points. The principal clauses of the Treaty were that Afghanistan should conduct its foreign affairs according to the wishes of the British government and that the *Amir* should receive a permanent envoy at Kabul or elsewhere in Afghanistan as required. The British retained control of the Khyber Pass, the districts of Kurram, Pashin, and Sibi. They also agreed to pay the *Amir* a subsidy of 60,000 pounds per year. The British apparently seemed to have succeeded in getting what they wanted.⁷

⁵ Selections from the Record of the Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, "*Pak-Afghan Relations, Anglo-Afghan Treaty, 1893*" (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1893-1921), 18

⁶ Lutfur Rehman, "Durand Line: A Pakistani Perspective", *Pakistan and changing Scenario Regional and Global* (Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2008), 132

⁷ Teepu Mahabat Khan, 54-55

- (ii) Some parts of this, such as Tirah (the country of the *Afridis* and *Orakzais*) and Waziristan (the court of the *Waziris* and *Mahsuds*), were severely left alone, provided the tribes did not compel attention and interference by the raids into British territory, which were frequently perpetrated by their more lawless spirits⁸
- (iii) Indirectly, the problem of tribal territory prevented the British from establishing their boundaries between Afghanistan and the British Empire upon what were considered to be the most easily defensible geographical lines. If they could not control the territory in between how could they maintain their lines of communication to their advanced positions? To defend northern India, the British needed ideally to secure those forward positions in Afghanistan whose occupation had made invasion into India so easy in the past and for preference the boundary would be fixed along geographical lines⁹
- (iv) The Zhob expedition, which was undertaken for the purpose of enabling us better to protect Afghanistan against Russian invasion, was far from agreeable to the *Amir* of Kabul. It created suspicion in his mind, so much so that he sent some of his officers into that country, over which he considered he had suzerain rights, and this was one of the reasons why it was necessary to send, in 1893, Sir Mortimer Durand to meet the *Amir*, and arrange the different spheres of influence of Afghanistan and British India on the Frontier¹⁰
- (v) Whereas certain questions have arisen regarding the frontier of Afghanistan on the side of India, and whereas both His Highness the *Amir* and the Government

⁸ T. L. Pennell, 48

⁹ Victoria Schofield, 60-61

¹⁰ Selection from the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, "Report on the Administration of the Border of the North-West Frontier Province, The Durand Line Agreement", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1893-94), 2

of India were desirous of settling those questions by a friendly understanding, and of fixing the limit of their respective spheres of influence, so that for the future there might be no difference of opinion on the subject between the allied Governments, it was thereby agreed.¹¹

- (vi) Agreement signed at Kabul on 12th November 1893 Whereas the British Government had represented to the *Amir* that the Russian Government pressed for the literal fulfillment of the Agreement of 1873 between Russia and England by which it was decided that the River Oxus should form the Northern boundary of Afghanistan from Lake Victoria (Wood's Lake) on the East to the junction of the Klokcha with the Oxus¹²

3.2.2 AGREEMENT

In 1893, the *Amir* consented to a precise fixing of boundaries, and a mission, under Sir Mortimer Durand, proceeded to Kabul to discuss the question¹³ Sir Mortimer Durand was the chief of the Mission, and Colonel Elles, Dr. Fenn, Lieutenant Smith, Lieutenant MacMahon, Mr Donald and Mr. Clarke were also present as members it was arranged and the Afghan tribes ran as far as the Fort of Shighnan to the district of Wakhan. The agreed boundaryline was difficult to demarcate as the physiographic of the area was extremely complex and the tribes inhabiting the area were against any fusion upon their freedom.¹⁴

An agreement was signed definitely fixing 'the line which the Government of India and the *Amir* had agreed to regard as the frontier of Afghanistan from Chandak (in

¹¹ S Fida Yunas, *The Durand Line Border Agreement 1893* (Peshawar Area Study Centre University of Peshawar, 2003), 5

¹² Azmat Hayat Khan, 257

¹³ Ibid , 256

¹⁴ Hamza Alavi, etc , 23

the valley of the Kunar River, 12 miles North of Asmar) to the Persian border' Commissions were next issued to demarcate the boundary¹⁵ Being fully satisfied of His Highness's goodwill to the British Government, and wishing to see Afghanistan independent and strong, the Government of India would raise no objection to the purchase and import by His Highness of ammunitions of war, and they would themselves grant him some help in this respect.¹⁶

3.2.3 RESULTS

- (i) The modified Frontier line fixed in 1894 along the top hills of the Suleman range of mountains, and known as the Durand line, now brings the tribesmen living in the Khyber, Mohmand, Tirah, Kurram, and Waziristan within the British sphere of influence.
- (ii) The position of the British Government in N.W. Frontier districts became stronger when the Eastern slopes of the Suleman Mountains came within their control¹⁷
- (iii) The proposed withdrawal from Wana and the Upper Tochi raised a question of policy The occupation of those valleys (Wana in 1894 and the Tochi in 1895) followed the Durand Line Agreement of 1893 and the subsequent delimitation of the Waziristan portion of the Indo-Afghan border¹⁸

The Kabul negotiations were peaceful, however, compared to the experiences of the commission assigned to fix the boundary in the field Antagonism greeted the commission in most areas, and tribesmen, especially in Waziristan, several times

¹⁵ _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India North West Frontier Province", 25-26

¹⁶ Azmat Hayat Khan, 259

¹⁷ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 42

¹⁸ Selections from the Record of the Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, "*Pak-Afghan Relations, Border Affairs*" (Islamabad; Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1893-1921), 6

attacked the group¹⁹ One of the boundary features was Pillar XII. The Durand Line began near the Mintaka pass South of Pillar XII in a wild mountainous area Demarcation of the Durand line was carried out by a joint Anglo-Afghan Commission during 1894 and 1896.²⁰

Successive Afghan governments in 1905 subsequently recognized Durand Line, 1919, 1921 and 1923. Simultaneously, it was a wrong concept that the treaty existed for 100 years as there was no existence of any document which stated its expiry time As in the beginning, the validity and legitimacy of Durand Line was confined to the lifetime of Afghan rulers who had ratified it Thus, keeping in view that, it could be said that it had duration of even less than 100 years When King Abdur Rehman died, King Habibullah Khan got an invitation from Lord Curzon for paying visit to India in order to discuss the bilateral subjects²¹ Even highly educated people, both in Afghanistan and Pakistan, were not clear about the nature of this accord. Some people were involved in such propaganda due to ignorance while others were doing so to further their vested interests Successive Afghan governments had also propagated that under the accord, a major portion of that country had gone into the control of Pakistan.²²

3.3 EMERGENCE OF THE TRIBAL AREAS/ BIRTH OF THE AGENCIES

The British found that culturally and also temperamentally the tribesmen in our *Khyber PakhtunKhawa* (NWFP) were much different from the ones they had come across on the rest of the Indian Subcontinent They were leaderless and too fond of their way of

¹⁹ Musa Khan Jalalzai, *Afghansitan, Central Asia, Pakistan and the United States* (Lahore Bookbiz, 2003), 35

²⁰ Teepe Mahabat Khan, 56

²¹ Muhammad Saleem Mazhar and Naheed S Goraya, "Border Issue between Pakistan & Afghanistan", *South Asian Studies*, (Lahore Cente for South Asian Studies University of the Punjab, 2009), 206

²² Lutfur Rehman, "Durand Line A Pakistani Perspective", *Pakistan and changing Scenario Regional and Global* (Islamabad Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2008), 132

life, too sensitive to any encroachment on their liberty and every movement towards their territory was taken as a hostile act, which they felt it, their duty to resist. The pattern, which was acceptable to others, was revolting to them. They were unwilling to accept what a foreign power thought was good for them. They were only willing to establish contact with the outsider only if their internal pattern was left undisturbed. The tribesmen, on their part, made the matters worse by being consistent in their attitude of resisting the British advances for a period spread over 100 years²³. The necessity of improving the relations of the British districts with the trans-border tribes had been constantly felt by the British administrators and statesmen, since the occupation of N W Frontier Province (KPK), as part of the Punjab.

A special Political Agency for the Khyber was started in 1878, with duty to keep the pass open. The cession of Kurram in 1879, by the Afghan Government, led to a similar agency being created for Kurram area in 1892. The Durand line demarcation in 1894, under which the *Amir* of Kabul ceased to exercise any control on the independent tribes of the border, the British Government assumed a responsibility over the tribal territory intervention between the five settled districts of the *Khyber PakhtunKhawa* (NWFP), and the rugged mountain regions on the border of Afghanistan. The remaining Agencies of Malakand, North and South Waziristan were developed in 1895-1896²⁴.

3.4 THE NEW ORDER

The shape of new order of things began to emerge hot on the heels of the bloody stalemate of 1897-98. British Frontier policy in the future it was announced would be based on three points,

²³ Izzat Awan, 5

²⁴ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 68

(i) Concentration of forces, (ii) Avoidance of unnecessary interference with the tribes, and (iii) Control of the arms traffic

These points represented something of a compromise between the two schools of thought. The fingers already in the tribal area were to be maintained, but no effort was to be made to administer the tribes which dwelt around them. However, tribal capability for aggression was to be limited by denying, insofar as it was possible, additional armament. The absolute necessity of the last provision became apparent in the fighting of 1897-98 when the tribes demonstrated possession of proficiency in modern weapons²⁵

In January of 1899, Lord Curzon of Kedleston became Viceroy of India. He had been for many years keenly interested in Indian affairs and had also traveled extensively in Central Asia. He thoroughly agreed with the India Office's assessment and brought with him to India authority to do something to improve the situation. After more than a year of study, Curzon, in a long and well-argued minute, proposed making the Frontier districts into a separate unit and brought the tribal territory directly under the Government of India. This, he stated, would "entrust tribal management exclusively to those who know the tribes"²⁶

3.4.1 Frontier Crimes Regulation (F.C.R.)

The British had bestowed on tribe elder's powers nothing less than those of the Pharaoh of ancient Egypt. The members of the *Jirga* were made demi-gods dealing with civil and criminal cases. The cases included murder, adultery, theft, matrimonial and land dispute. The Frontier Crimes Regulation (F.C.R.) and Public Safety Acts introduced in the tribal areas further strengthened the powers of the tribal chiefs. Those enactments also

²⁵ James W. Spain, 120

²⁶ Ibid, 121

regularized the *Jirga* system which would be likened to the *Panchayat* system. But the system seemed to be superior to the *Panchayat* system, as the latter was an unofficial body of eldersmen without any judicial powers. The *Jirga* system was both an official body and a judicial body dealing with the day-to-day problems of the tribesmen.²⁷

The provisions of the Frontier Crimes Regulation were often used against those who advocated reforms for the Province. People were asked to furnish heavy securities to keep the peace under section 40 of the regulation, and those who failed, were locked up for any term extending to three years. The regulation was intended for punishing crimes but was used against Political workers.²⁸

3.4.2 Means of Communication

Kurram was now accessible from Kohat by the Khushalgarh-Kohat-Thal branch of the *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa* (NWFP) Railway and did not enter the Agency, but a good Tonga road ran from the terminus at Thal to *Parachinar* (54 miles), crossing the *Kirman* stream by a fine bridge. From *Parachinar* the road was unmetalled and passed via *Kharlachi* to *Hariob*. Unmetalled roads or bridle-paths also led from *Parachinar* to *Peiwar*, from *Kharlachi* to *Peiwar*, from *Mir Jamal* to *Uchadarra*, and from *Parachinar* to *Wala China* via *Lakka Tigga*. All were constructed in 1893.²⁹

3.4.3 Role of the Frontier Constabulary in the Nineties

The British on succession realized that they had to create there area as administered districts. As military aid was not always forthcoming for ordinary matters such as the pursuit of ordinary raiding, gangs or reprisals against a section of tribes inside the district border, it was felt that a special force was necessary for applying political

²⁷ Syed Abdul Quddus, 179

²⁸ Attar Chand, 12

²⁹ _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India North West Frontier Province", 241

pressure and to work for general border defence. Therefore, for this purpose they built a special force known as Frontier Constabulary.

The normal role of the Frontier Constabulary was the patrolling of the border with the object of prevention raids and also to check smuggling of food grains from the settled areas. The force was for all purposes, a mobile force available for concentration at any point wherever the need arises. The force did not carry out the normal duties of the Police, i.e. prevention and detection of crime and protection of law and order in the settled district.

3.4.4 Role of Police in Relation to the Tribal Areas

Up to 1900 the pay of the Border Military Police compared favourably with the current rates of unskilled labour. The rise in prices since then gradually reduced the purchasing power of the pay until it ceased to be a living wage. In consequence, it became necessary to enlist men frequently for service in their own villages, where they spent most of their time in agricultural or other income by illicit means in the settlement of petty civil and criminal cases.³⁰

The Police force was mainly concerned with the law and order situation in the settled districts. However, as the tribal areas adjoin the boundaries of the settled districts the problems were created. The police by law were prohibited from operating in the tribal areas, which were administered through the Political Agents.³¹

³⁰ Selection from the Records of Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, "*Pak-Afghan Relations, Border Affairs and Re-Organization of the North-West Frontier Border Military Police*", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, August, 1911-March, 1913), 5

³¹ Izzat Awan, 18-28

3.4.5 Allowances

The redistribution of the allowances granted to the tribe in 1895, after the close of the *Masud* expedition, was made with special reference to the reorganization of the whole scheme of *maliks*. The principle which underlies the new arrangement was that the power and influence of a limited number of leading *maliks* in the tribe, and more particularly in their respective sections, should be enhanced by every possible means, so as in the first place to enable them to control their respective sections as effectively as possible, and secondly to enable Government to deal with a definite number of tribal representatives.³²

Allowances were the most misunderstood part of the tribal administration. As many did not know the history of these allowances, sometimes they in haste term these as 'dole money'. This was not true. Allowances on the Frontier were given either for some services rendered like *Khassadari* duties or to compensate for the loss of some property or water right or traditional income etc.

3.5 THE FORWARD POLICY IN THE NINETIES

Throughout the nineties, and particularly during the Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin, there was the forward tendency along the frontier. Outposts were established and Political Agents appointed to deal with the Wild men of the hills.³³ In 1890, the British pushed their base out beyond the Close Border. Appropriately, it was Sandeman who led the way. From Zhob in Baluchistan, he moved up the Gomal, picketing it and establishing levy posts in key positions. The *Khidarzai*, *Shiranis*, who opposed the expansion, were

³² _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India North West Frontier Province", 225

³³ Izzat Awan, 13

handled by an expedition and forced to agree to the establishment of levy posts in their area³⁴

Throughout the nineties of the 19th century, the tribal areas were abnormally disturbed.³⁵ Revolts took place and the tribal area was aflame from Waziristan to the Malakand Pass³⁶ There were two main reasons for this

- a) The Forward Policy pursued under Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elgin, and
- b) The intrigues of the *Amir* of Afghanistan.

The opening years of the period under consideration witnessed punitive expeditions against the *Shiranis* inhabiting the slopes of the far-famed Takht-i-Sulaiman,

- (i) The *Orakzai* clans in the neighbourhood of the Samana range.
- (ii) The *Issazai* tribes of the ill-omened Black Mountain, and
- (iii) The petty chiefs of Hunza and Nagar³⁷

Lord Roberts seemed to have changed his opinion when he stated his views on Forward Policy in course of a speech in the House of Lords on March 7, 1898 he characterized it as "the policy of endeavouring to extend our influence over, and establish law and order on, that part of the border, where anarchy, murder, and robbery, up to the present have reigned supreme a policy which has been attended with the happiest results in Baluchistan and on the Gilgit frontier, is necessitated by the incontrovertible fact that a great European power is now within striking distance of our

³⁴ James W Spain, 117

³⁵ C C Davies, 71

³⁶ Izzat Awan, 13

³⁷ C C Davies, 71

Indian possessions and in immediate contact with a state for the integrity of which we have made ourselves responsible”³⁸

As we know, it was the last alternative that finally prevailed and which formed the present Pakistan-Afghanistan border. The selection of the last alternative was also a natural consequence of the Forward Policy. The Forward Policy culminated in and was partly the cause of the 1897-98 tribal wars along the Frontier³⁹

3.6 THE TRIBAL REVOLTS AGAINST THE FORWARD POLICY

In the 1890's, under the impact of a revitalized Forward Policy, the situation of tribal war and politics began to change. British power was being increased more and more and extended to the hill tribesmen. Sandeman's pushed up the Gomal had separated some of the Southern tribes from unimpeded access to their usual routes to Afghanistan and had reawakened unrest among the *Wazirs* and *Mahsuds*. At the opposite end of tribal territory, the tribes of the Black Mountain were also raised by a British attempt to top the exploit of 1868 by sending an expedition over the crest of the mountain, and in October 1890, the tribes drove the troops back down the mountain⁴⁰

3.7 BRITISH EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE TRIBAL AREAS

While the introduction of the Forward Policy, the tribes began revolt against the same Policy. To control those tribal revolts and maintain law and order in those areas, the British Government sent a number of expeditions against them.

From 1888 to 1892, some large expeditions were dispatched against the *Issazai* clans of Kala Dhaka and their neighbours in the Cis-Indus areas of Swatis, Alatis and

³⁸ Azmat Hayat Khan, 90-91

³⁹ Akbar S. Ahmed, *The Tribal Areas*, 7

⁴⁰ James W. Spain, 176

Parari Sayyeds. In 1891, the first and second Miranzai expeditions were against the Orakzai tribes living along the crest of Samana.

In 1894, the *Ahmadzai Wazirs* of Wana had requested the British Government to occupy their country and the British Government sent the deputation of the Commissioner of the Derajat to demark the border between Waziristan and the Afghan territory but Mullah Powinda and the *Mahsuds* attacked the Commissioner's escort in the Wana plain. Therefore, the British Government sent expedition against them and was resulted in the submission of the tribes and occupation of Wana in 1894 ⁴¹

3.7.1 The *Mohmand* Expedition

The *Mohmand* under leadership of the notorious *Mullah* Hadda invaded the Peshawar valley across the Kabul River, where stood the old Sikh fort of Shabkadar, with the Shakargarh Bazar full of Hindu Shopkeepers. This invasion was put down by a brilliant cavalry action of 13th Bengal Lancers, under orders of General Elles ⁴²

3.7.2 The *Tirah* Expedition, 1897

Tirah Valley in 1897 was, as it still is, the common home and ultimate refuge of all the Khyber tribes. It was also used as a base for the *Afridi* raids into the settled territories of the plains to terrorize the plain dwellers and to plunder their property ⁴³. They attacked the British garrisons, and closed the Khyber Pass, at a time of excitement spreading into the *Mohmand* country. The *Afridis* had enlisted many men in the Indian army, and drew handsome allowances from the British Government, but even they had yielded to the Mullah's cries of "Faith in danger," and the Khyber Rifles posted at Landi

⁴¹ Teeju Mahabat Khan, 46-47

⁴² Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 53

⁴³ Javed Iqbal, "Khyber during the Frontier Uprising of 1897: Lessons to Learn from the British Policy in the Tribal Areas", *Biannual Research Journal*, (Peshawar Area Study Centre University of Peshawar, 2009), 116

Kotal, under Captain Barton, who himself was ordered to come to Peshawar, had to face alone their own clansmen risen in arms against the British forces ⁴⁴

The Tirah Expedition of 1897 was undertaken to punish the *Afridi* tribes. During the expedition, a number of houses were demolished, including the extravagant house of *Mulah Said Akbar*, which had been constructed lavishly in three years time ⁴⁵

3.8 THE 1897 UPRISING IN THE TRIBAL AREAS

In 1897, a serious uprising against the British on the North West Frontier, spreading to the entire tribal belt between the then British India and Afghanistan, shook the British hold in the area and caused a lot of concern to the British authorities ⁴⁶

Contemporary British opinion was divided on the causes of the 1897 rising. Some officials were convinced that, (i) the outbreaks all over the Frontier had been coordinated and planned as a major effort to drive the British from the area. (ii) Others believed that the incidents were spontaneous and unconnected. (iii) Some ascribed them to a spirit of religious fanaticism. (iv) The more far-sighted saw them as a reaction to the British forward movement into tribal territory in the 1890's ⁴⁷

The Tribal resentment was simmering by 1897 due to a multitude of factors including (i) resentment against the Greeco-Turkish War, (ii) demarcation of the Durand Line, occupation of the Samana Range, the Kurram valley, *Dawar* and *Wana*, (iii) the passage of British troops through various tracts, and (iv) administrative grievances such as the tax on Kohat salt

⁴⁴ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 53-54

⁴⁵ Javed Iqbal, 116

⁴⁶ Javed Iqbal, 107

⁴⁷ James W Spain, 179

Mills had explained four causes for the rising of the *Afridis*, viz , (i) the increase in the salt tax, (ii) the fact that their women who ran away to Peshawar were not sent back by the British Government, (iii) their objection to the presence of the British forces as far as the tomb of *Akhund* in Swat, and (iv) the fear that a military road would be built along the Khyber Pass.⁴⁸

The instigation was caused by some formidable *Mullahs* like Hadda *Mullah* in the *Mohmand* area, Mastana *Mullah* in Swat and *Mullah* Said Akbar Aka Khel in Khyber, and the instigation by the Afghan authorities. The uprising was concentrated in the *Mohmand* and Malakand areas but Khyber Pass and the areas around it also felt the tremors of this first large scale revolt against the British.⁴⁹

3.8.1 CAUSES AND MOTIVATION OF 1897 UPRISING

A number of factors/causes were responsible for the uprising but important among them were,

3.8.1.1 Visit of Durand Mission and Demarcation of Frontier

The root causes of the 1897 Uprising were the visit of the Sir Mortimer Durand's Mission to Afghanistan in 1893, the conclusion of the Durand line agreement and the consequent demarcation of the Durand Line, which divided the tribal areas and the tribesmen. The agreement and the consequent boundaryline between British India and Afghanistan not only divided the Frontier tribesmen but also brought most of them under the British sphere of influence. This caused and generated the fear of the loss of their independence, by the English, and hence caused resentment throughout the Frontier

⁴⁸ Teepu Mahabat Khan, 47

⁴⁹ Javed Iqbal, 107

3.8.1.2 Turko-Greek War and Role of Turkey

The Turko-Greek War, which though was fought outside India in Europe and had no direct relation with the tribesmen but contributed to the uprising. As an agent from Turkey reached Kabul early in May 1897 and under his influence the Afghan *Amir* told the leading *Mullas* to go and preach a Holy War. The spirit of religious War was in the air and not only Turkish emissaries left Constantinople for India but correspondence between the *Mullas* of the Tribal Area and that of Delhi also took place.

3.8.1.3 Forward Policy

The demarcation of the Durand Line once again brought the believers of the Forward Policy to the forefront. Isolated forts garrisoned by British troops frowned down upon his native hamlet or terraced fields. Dazzling white roads, wound their way like serpents towards his fastnesses in the mountains. In the wake of demarcation commissions had sprung up long lines of white boundary pillars, enclosing his country and threatening that independence which was his proudest boast.

It is therefore my considered opinion, after sighting all the available evidence, that the 1897 disturbances were mainly the result of the advances which had taken place in the 'nineties'.

3.8.1.4 Successful Operation of Afghans in Kafiristan

The Afghans, under *Amir* Abdur Rahman, invaded Kafiristan. The operation was successful as most part of Kafiristan was occupied and named Nuristan, as a separate Province. A section of the high command of the colonial authorities in India believed that this success inspired the tribes, being success of the Muslims against non-Muslims and

induced them to listen to the *Mullas* call for *Jihad* for the next attempt so as to exterminate the British Government from India

3.8.1.5 Role of the Afghan Amir

The Afghan *Amir* apprised the Viceroy of his apprehensions that the consequences of taking away the Frontier Tribal Area would be worse, but the benefits of the tribesmen giving and leaving under him (the Afghan *Amir*) and the area should not to be taken away of him but the English authorities did not agree.

3.8.1.6 Factors and Events of Local Nature

There were some factors that though were of local nature but contributed to the uprising. For example the colonial government raised the tax on the rock salt exported from Kohat district, 'from eight annas to two rupees a *maund*' As the salt was one of the tribesmen's principal sources of income, this aggrieved the tribesmen especially the *Mullas*

Similarly, the colonial authorities annoyed the tribesmen when they refused 'to return to the *Afridis* some captive women who had fled from the tribesmen to take refuge in the settled districts'

3.8.1.7 Links with India and Afghanistan

Those who were in the forefront of the Uprising who proved the lever, who instigated the people and lead them against the English forces and positions, had their links and connections both in India and Afghanistan, with the anti-British elements, which proved a stimulus for the uprising

3.8.1.8 Role of the *Mullas*, Religious Fervour and Fanaticism

The *Mullas* and religious fervour were the main forces that helped in inducing and enticing the tribesmen for taking arms against the infidel alien power whether it was the Afghan *Amir*'s publication of a book on *jihad* and his calling a council of the religious *Ulama* and the local religious figures call for the name of *jihad* and so forth⁵⁰ From 1890 onward to the sudden uprising of 1897, apparently the *Afghans* had no grievances against the British. The British claimed that the uprising was mainly caused by the activities of 'Mullas of an extremely ignorant type' who dominated the tribal belt, supported by many disciples who met at shrines and were susceptible to all intrigues and evils, inciting the tribesmen constantly against the British⁵¹

Hostility towards the British grows along the tribal territory. Several tribes join in a *jihad* to raid the infidels there. General Sir Bindon Blood with the Malakand Field Force puts down the revolt.⁵² It is conceivable that any one of these theories were an explanation, or that causes, each in turn, have helped to kindle the spirit of revolt. Or it is possible that the true reasons for the great Frontier disturbances of 1897 are to be found in purely local causes, and that the subsequent gigantic proportions to which they reached were due entirely to the momentary success over the British Raj which flattered the characteristic vanity of the fanatical Muslim on the Frontier and made him believe that the days of the *Sirkar* were numbered, that the flag of Islam was to be unfurled and all infidels from Kabul to Cape Comorin swept into the sea⁵³

⁵⁰ Sultan-i-Rome, 158-167

⁵¹ Javed Iqbal, 108

⁵² Jules Stewart, *Khyber Rifles* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2005), 206

⁵³ H. Woosnam Mills, *The Pathan Revolt in North-West India* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1996), 5

3.8.2 THE EVENTS OF 1897 UPRISING

On June 10, 1897, Mr. Gee, a Political Officer in the Tochi, arrived in Maizar, a group of small villages in the upper part of the Tochi Valley, inhabited by *Madda Khel Wazirs*. Gee's immediate purpose was to select a site for a small fort to be built in the neighborhood. The Maizar villages were under official disapprobation for the killing of a Hindu the year before and had not yet paid the fine assessed against them. Gee's unexpected arrival with an unusually large escort frightened them. For one of the few times on record, the tribesmen grossly violated their own code of honor. After welcoming Gee and his party and feeding them, the tribesmen attacked the British without warning. Most of the British military officers were killed, but Gee and a portion of the escort managed to escape.⁵⁴ The situation in the Tribal Area of British India did not remain normal due to the aforesaid causes and factors, despite having no evident signs of discontent and disturbance. Therefore, 'by the summer of 1897, the whole North-West Frontier from the Gomal River to the hills South of Chitral was in a condition of seething irritation.'⁵⁵

Widespread tribal risings began almost at once. When the Afghan Commander, General Nadir Khan unexpectedly appeared with an army before Thal at the neck of the Kurram valley, the militia system broke down all over the Frontier. Major elements of the Khyber Rifles and the Tochi and Wana Scouts mutined and most of Western Waziristan was abandoned to the Afghans, who occupied Wana briefly. *Mohmand* and *Afridi lashkars* closed the Khyber Pass and the tribes cheerfully abandoned their subsidies in

⁵⁴ James W Spain, 177

⁵⁵ Sultan-i-Rome, 169

anticipation of loot. The whole tenuous control of the tribal area built up over twenty years disappeared almost over night.⁵⁶

In 1897, came a general uprising in the tribal territory that the British had gone to so much trouble to ensure was unquestionably theirs. It spread rapidly from Tochi to Swat and included *Mohmands, Orakzai, Afridis, Wazirs, and Masuds*. In North Waziristan, a British Political Officer was killed after having been welcomed into a *Wazir* village.⁵⁷ The *Afridis* remained quiet for some time, but in August they attacked the Khyber posts and sacked the fortified *Sarai* at Landi Kotal. They met with opposition from the Khyber Rifles but the garrison could not hold out owing to want of water.⁵⁸ The ensuing outrage spread next to Swat and Malakand and onwards to the *Mohmand* who were aroused by Najmuddin, the *Hadda Mullah*. About 5,000 tribesmen, except the Tarakzais, advanced into the Peshawar valley on 7 August, 1897. All the posts in the Khyber held by the Khyber Rifles fell before the *Afridis*.

The British dispatched two brigades of 7,000 men to *Dattakhel* in the Tochi valley who subdued the *Madakhels*.⁵⁹ The column consisted of ten thousand men, a massive body of soldiers for a Tribal Area operation. This, however, represented only a fraction of the seventy-five thousand troops that were eventually mobilized in the course of the Tribal Revolt, which took more than two years to put down and required punitive operations against most of the major tribes, in particular the *Mohmands, Orakzai, Afridis* and *Wazirs*. British India had not known such an outburst of rebellion since the Sepoy

⁵⁶ James W. Spain, 150-1515

⁵⁷ M. Aslam Khan Khattak, 67

⁵⁸ "Imperial Gazetteer of India: North-West Frontier Province", *Provincial Series*, 232

⁵⁹ Teepu Mahabat Khan, 48

Mutiny, forty ((40) years before, and Churchill was hardly overstating the threat when he wrote, 'The whole British Raj seemed passing away in a single cataclysm'⁶⁰

3.8.2.1 The *Wazirs* Rising at Maizar

The purpose of Gee's visit to the area 'was to fix a site for the most westerly levy post in the valley, and also to meet, by arrangement, the *Madda Khel Maliks* there and discuss the question of the distribution of a fine which was outstanding against the tribes.' The fine worth rupees 2,000 was imposed on the tribes 'for the murder of a Hindu writer attached to the imposed on the tribes to the levy post at Sherani' But 'the inhabitants of the group of villages known as Maizar objected to the payment of their share of the fine, on the ground that the whole burden borne by the guilty parties'⁶¹ A brigade of troops was marched into the independent territory of the *Waziri* tribes in October 1894 to support those who were to mark out the boundary under the agreement⁶²

3.8 2.2 The *Mohmands* Rising

The dust of the fighting at Malakand and Chakdara was yet not settled down and the colonial authorities were planning of punitive expeditions against the tribes involved, that the series of the risings spread down the Peshawar border The news of the preparations of an attack by the *Mohmands*, under Najmuddin alias *Hadda Mulla*, on the British controlled territory reached the colonial authorities early in August 1897 The army officials wanted to take precautionary measures but were bared by the civil authorities, as they gave no importance to the news Materializing their plan, in the afternoon of 1 August 1897 some four to five thousand *Mohmands*, under the command

⁶⁰ Jules Stewart, *The Savage Border* (England Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2007) 113

⁶¹ Sultan-i-Rome, 169

⁶² Selection form the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, "Report on the Administration of the Border of the North-West Frontier Province, *Waziristan Expedition*", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1894-95), 13

of *Hadda Mulla*, entered the British control territory in the Peshawar district some eighteen miles from Peshawar city

3.8.2.3 The *Afridis* and *Orakzais* Rising

Next came the turn of the *Afridis* and *Orakzais* as campaign for similar rising got strength among them as a result of endeavours of *Aka Khel Mulla* namely *Mulla Sayyed Akbar*. In the middle of August 1897, the British authorities received reports about negotiation between the *Afridis* and the *Orakzais* on the British posts in the Khyber Pass, Kurram valley and the Samana ridge. *Afridis* were to rise and take possession of the British posts in Khyber Pass while the *Orakzais* would rise and massacre the Sikhs and other troops garrisoning the British outposts in Samana and other parts of the Kurram Valley. Accordingly, the first to rise were the *Afridis*, playing the role assigned to them in the pre-planned plot towards the end of August 1897. On August 21, the *Afridi* clans of *Aka Khel*, *Malik Din Khel* and *Zakha Khel* had started their march from Tirah to the Khyber Pass in order to take possession of the forts up to Bara and Jamrud. The British forces sent in large numbers from all parts of India to deter the *Afridis* and *Oakzais* from attacking the British posts had no effect on the *Afridis*. On August 23, the *Afridis* attacked the Khyber Pass in a great force, their line extending a mile and a half, and occupied the whole length of the Pass, from Ali Masjid to Landi Khana, on the same day⁶³

The difficulty and delay in arranging the simultaneous rising of the *Orakzais* and *Afridis* provided time and opportunity to the colonial authorities to take defensive and precautionary measures⁶⁴. In August, 1897, the British Government had got the news that the *Afridis* and the *Orakzais* had planned a simultaneous rising in Khyber and Kurram. In

⁶³ Javed Iqbal, 111-112

⁶⁴ Ibid, 175-176

October 1897 a very big British army under Sir William Lockhart met the *Afridis*. Skirmishes took place at many places but at last an agreement was reached due to political expediencies and *Afridis* entered into peace with the British after paying fifty thousand rupees and eight hundred rifles as reparations. This amount was far less than the loss because all the weapons of Landi Kotal, Shahgai and all other Khyber forts and cantonments fell into the hands of *Afridis* and it did not amount less than lakhs of rupees⁶⁵

Where the Orakzais wiped out a Sikh detachment in 1897, in Waziristan, Ahnai Tangi where a British force was almost decimated with 2,000 killed or wounded including 43 officers killed, the dreaded Shahur Tangi where entire convoys have been trapped and wiped out, and of course, the most famous Pass in the world, the Khyber⁶⁶

3.8.2.4 The *Mahsuds*

James W Spain stated that strangely the *Mahsuds* usually were ready to fight at the slightest provocation, played little part in the 1897 Uprising. Olaf Caroe, however, explained this point by stating that 'the southward spread of the conflagration was checked by the fact that the first outbreak had occurred prematurely in the Tochi. Because of this controlling operations were well underway there before Tirah rose due to which the troops in Tochi were able to interpose a screen between Tirah and the *Mahsuds*, who indeed were in chastened mood after an expedition in 1894, three years before. They, however, rose next year in 1898, in the leadership of *Mulla Powindah* and remained active against the British for three years

⁶⁵ M Shafi Sabir, 71

⁶⁶ Akbar S Ahmed, *The Tribal Areas*, 5

3.8.3 CAUSES OF FAILURE OF 1897 UPRISING

Nevertheless, they did not succeed in ousting the British from the tribal area and their attempt failed, at least to that effect, with their withdrawing. However, the tribesmen each one of whom, in Ghani Khan words, 'will wash his face and oil his beard and perfume his locks and put on his best pair of clothes when he goes out to fight and die' too possessed and showed the same rather more gallantry, courage and bravery.

3.8.3.1 Lack of Planning and Non-Acquaintance with Long-Drawn War

The whole tribesmen took arms at the instigation of their religious leaders and attacked the British positions. But contrary to their expectations they failed in achieving their goal and objective in the first assaults or within a few days.

3.8.3.2 No Discipline and Organization

There was no proper discipline and organization in the rank and file of the tribesmen. They took the field as a tribal *lashkars*. Although lack of organization has always been the keynote of those guerilla tactics which have baffled again and again the armies of civilized nations, the tribesmen though knew the tactics, however, lacked the higher level of the art of War and the domain of strategy.

3.8.3.3 The *Faqir's* False Claims

When the *Sartor Faqir* appeared in *Landakay* in July 1897, so as to rise the people against the British, he made strange claims such as having an invisible army from heaven at his side for his assistance, the power of making himself invisible and feeding multitudes with a few grains of rice. Besides, supernatural and unseen support, he claimed to have been visited by all deceased *Faqirs* who told him that the mouths of the British guns and rifles would be closed and that their bullets would be turned to water and

that he had only to throw stones into Swat River each one of which would have effect of a gun on the British forces

3.8.3.4 False Promises of Afghan *Amir* and *Sipah Salar*

Despite denial of any role in the affair, the Afghan *Amir*, Abdur Rahman, had a role in causing the uprising one way or the other. Besides, his *Sipah Salar* at Asmar, Ghulam Haider Khan, played an important role in causing the uprising at least by instigating the tribesmen, especially the religious leaders who led the rising. He wrote to the *Sartor Faqir* on 20 July, 1897 to commence a jihad and promised to afford him help. The tribesmen, therefore, expected the Afghan *Amir's* and his *Sipah Salar's*, moral and material support. But the *Amir* showed a volte-face at the critical juncture and denounced and disavowed the tribesmen and their action and asked his subjects neither to assist nor give a refuge to the tribesmen involved in the rising.

3.8.3.5 No Arrangements for Provision and Supply of Food and Ammunition

The tribesmen took the field everywhere without making arrangements for the supply of food and ammunition in case the fighting took the shape of War instead of battle. Contrary to their expectations, the British forces resistance was tough and the Colonial Government arranged for reinforcements without wasting time. On the other side fresh contingents from both the neighbouring and remote areas joined the tribesmen, especially at Malakand and Chakdara, but most of them were unarmed and those who possessed arms shortly exhausted ammunition. In such a situation, viz. lack of rather no arrangement for the provision and supply of ammunition and food for those fighting, they could not continue fighting the mighty British arms for long.

3.8.3.6 The *Faqir's* Precipitation of Matters and Non-Simultaneous Rising

The Uprising of 1897 was a coordinated effort and planned to be simultaneous all-along the Frontier and throughout the tribal area. The situation would have been more critical for the British government for they were then to arrange for reinforcements on all the fronts at a time. This would have divided their forces and attention to different fronts and not only facilitated the tribesmen but made their task easy to greater extent. But the *Sartor Faqir's* haste and precipitation of matters foiled the plan of a simultaneous uprising all along the tribal area and indirectly contributed to failure of the tribesmen cherished goal.

3.8.3.7 Lack of Proper Coordination among the Tribesmen and the Leaders

There was some sort of coordination, communication and link among the leaders of the uprising and their supporters from abroad. Therefore, simultaneous uprising all along the Indian border was planned but the uprising, however, was yet not started pre-plan that the Maizar attack and fighting happened and then the *Sartor Faqir* precipitated the matters. It, therefore, slackened the coordination and communication among the tribesmen as well as the leaders of the uprising. Moreover, there were no arrangements for communication and links between them in the course of the uprising and fighting unlike the British side.

3.8.3.8 British Supremacy in Arms, Ammunitions and Communication System

British were continental and global power having mighty armed forces. Despite having been brave, courageous and warriors and possessed valour and zeal but the tribesmen had no match for the British in arms, ammunitions and communication system, which were in fact required of them for fighting such a formidable enemy. The British

supremacy in arms, ammunitions and communication system thus became a vital factor in the failure of the tribesmen in their attempt against such a strong power

3.8.3.9 Regular, Trained, and Disciplined Forces on the British Part

Despite having plus points as warriors and fighting on their home-ground and in large number, the tribesmen neither possessed regular armed forces trained on modern lines nor artillery required at least for assaults on the British garrisons stationed and posted in forts and Piquet mostly on hills and hills tops. They were full of fervour, zeal and determination and were large in number though a divided and unorganized huge mob

3.8.4 THE CONSEQUENCES OR EFFECTS OF THE 1897 UPRISING

The tribesmen though failed in achieving their goal, the consequences and effects of the Uprising were of no less significance and could not be underestimated

3.8.4 1 Year of Diamond Jubilee Turned into Troublous One

The year 1897 was the year of the Diamond Jubilee of the then British Queen, Queen Victoria, coming into power and hence its celebration in royal manner was arranged. Therefore, on 22 June 1897, the Queen, touched her fingers to the brass transmitting key in the telegraph room at Buckingham Palace and started to click out a message to the 372 million subjects of the British Empire. It was the morning of her Diamond Jubilee sixty years on the British throne. Moreover, It was the year of the Silver Jubilee of the English success against the Indian in the Indian War of Independent 1857 and also the 49th year of the English direct occupation of the Frontier settled areas

3.8.4.2 Punitive Expeditions

The wave of the Uprising came to end in September 1897, but it was not an end of the fighting and troubles between the colonial authorities and the tribesmen. As a result, the colonial authorities deemed it necessary to send punitive expeditions-despite the punitive expeditions being condemned which had not always proved successful, even in the most limited sense against the tribes who took part and remained involved in to affair so as the pacify and take them to task ⁶⁷

3.8.4.3 Restoring British Authority in the Khyber Pass

On December 18, 1897, the British forces recovered the Khyber Pass as far as Fort Maude on the 23rd December, Al Masjid was reoccupied and on the 26th December, they marched to *Landi Kotal*. On their way, they found villages deserted, barracks destroyed and the Government property damaged. The *Shinwaris* of *Landi Kotal*, who had assisted in the early attacks on the Khyber posts, had by then submitted and paid up their fines. To prove their repentance, they assisted in picketing the hills and keeping off the *Zakha khel* raiders. They even restored some of the property taken away by their men when the *serai* at *Landi Kotal* was attacked and plundered ⁶⁸

3.8.4.4 Fine Levied, Properties Destroyed and Agreements Extracted

H L. Nevill stated that to compel the surrender of guerillas, such as the Frontier tribesmen of India, by the usual process of breaking down the means of defense would entail operations as prolonged and costly as to be out of all proportion to the interests at stake. Therefore, other means must be found to achieve the same result, such as the

⁶⁷ Sultan-i-Rome, 180-189

⁶⁸ Javed Iqbal, 114-115

destruction of villages and personal property, which has always been the only effective way of dealing with the elusive tribesmen in the Tribal areas of India

3.8.4.5 Piquet Built

To protect their garrisons and strategic positions in future, the Colonial Government built piquet around the garrisons and along the lines of march. Because, as H.L. Nevill has pointed out, "the tribal has a strong dislike to having an enemy above him, so, by holding the commanding points in the vicinity of a camp, the tribal not only prevented from using them as positions for his sharpshooters, but the best posts of observation, the necessary preliminary to accurate sniping are denied to the tribal."

3.8.4.6 Recalling of British Forces to Settled Areas

To pacify the tribesmen, remove their fear of further British expansion into the tribal area, their resentment against the forward policy, moved Lord Curzon, the new viceroy and withdraw the forces behind the administrative border, which was completed by 1902. This reduced tension considerably and it took unusually long period

3.8.4.7 Death of Forward Policy

As the Forward Policy and move was a major cause of the Uprising, a huge cry was raised against it in the British circles, which compelled the policy makers to re-think over this policy. Consequently, wiser counsels prevailed under Lord Curzon, whose policy could be described as one of withdrawal and concentration. In other words, the policy pursued in the nineties was to be replaced by one of non-interference resembling in many respects the old 'Close Border System'.

3.8.4.8 Extension of Railway Lines and Roads

In the cause of the Uprising, the colonial authorities felt the need of the extension of the railway lines and roads to different parts of the Frontier tribal area and also to improve the communication system for strategic reasons to enable the forces to reach the war front in a short span of time, in such a critical situation, and also to send the arms and ammunition easily. Therefore, railway lines and roads were stretched and extended either to the borders of the tribal area or inside the tribal area as well, where it was feasible and could be managed.

3.8.4.9 Formation of NWFP (*Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*) as a Separate Province

The separation of the trans-Indus areas from Punjab and forming it as separate Province, though was not a new Phenomena as for at least a quarter of a century, viceroys, administrators and generals had tentatively or otherwise put forward proposals for the creation of a new administrative unit, which according to Collin Davies, they hoped would usher in an era of peace on the blood-stained border and proved a panacea for most of the evils to which it was subject⁶⁹

The necessity of improving the relations of the British districts with the trans-border tribes had been constantly felt by the British administration and statesmen, since the occupation of N.W.F.P. (*Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*), as part of the Punjab. In those border areas, the *Pakhtun* and *Balochi* tribesmen were often raiding and the British were unable to directly control the tribal area. So, in 1893, Sir Mortimer Duran led a mission to *Amir* of Afghanistan (Kabul). The line was demarcated in the light of Duran Agreement. Secondly, their administration was separated from other areas of British India in the nineties. Thirdly, a particular Forward Policy was introduced for Tribal Areas. The

⁶⁹ Sultan-i-Rome, 193-196

British pushed their base out beyond the Close Border It had reawakened unrest among the tribesmen.

CHAPTER 4

THE TRIBAL AREA'S ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE BRITISH RULE; 1901-1947 A.D.

From 1849, to the close of the nineteenth century, British administrators on the Frontier were responsible to the government of the Punjab, except in certain cases concerning trans-border affairs.¹ The British maintained security. They put down the risings. They held on to the Passes and the roads although they were never able to establish control over the hills.² Various schemes had been propounded for an alteration of this arrangement, with the double objective of securing closer and more immediate control and supervision of the Frontier by the Supreme government, and of making such alterations in the *personnel* and duties of Frontier officials as would tend to the establishment of improved relations between the local British representatives and the independent tribesmen.³ Lord Curzon, the new Viceroy, on assuming the office in January 1899, noticed the lukewarm attitude of the Punjab officials towards the Frontier. He criticized the Punjab administration, which according to Curzon, had no idea or interest in the Frontier affairs. The only solution to the problem laid in the detachment of certain areas from the Punjab to form a new Province. Curzon left no time in giving his ideas a practical shape.⁴

On the 8th November 1909, Sir George Roos-Keppel submitted proposals on those lines, involving an initial expenditure of nearly ten (10) laces and an increased annual

¹ Jams W Spain, 142

² Attar Chand, 11

³ _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India North-West Frontier Province", 26

⁴ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *North-West Frontier Province History and Politics* (Islamabad National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research Centre of Excellence, QAU, 2007), 11

expenditure of nearly 2 1/2 lacs. For financial reason it had then become impossible to sanction his proposals and in March 1910, Mr. Merk, the officiating Chief Commissioner, was requested to frame a cheaper and possibly temporary scheme to remove some of the worst defects of the existing organization (i) By improving the pay and prospects of the force, (ii) by appointing two British Military Officers to each of the five district corps, and (iii) by raising the clerical and menial establishment to the requisite strength While Mr. Merk's proposals were still under consideration, Sir George Roos-Keppel resumed charge of the office of Chief Commissioner and represented his objections to Mr Merk's proposals⁵

4.1 THE TRIBAL AREAS AND THE FORMATION OF NWFP

Until the year 1901, the Province formed part of the Punjab, but during Lord Curzon's time, in 1901, the Frontier Policy, with its military and economic aspects, was closely examined as part of the foreign relations of British Indian Government with Afghanistan and Russia Lord Curzon, with his familiarity of conditions in Central Asia, considered himself to be an expert in this matter, and against the wishes of the Punjab Government, which had hitherto managed the Frontier affairs quite successfully since the annexation He decided to separate North-West Frontier Province (*Khyber PakhtunKhawa*) with its five settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan and five agencies directly under the Government of India, the former under the charge of a Chief Commissioner, assisted on the Judicial side by the Judicial Commissioner, and on the revenue and executive sides by the Revenue Commissioner,

⁵ Selection from the Records of Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, '*Pak-Afghan Relations, Border Affairs and Re-Organization of the North-West Frontier Border Military Police*'. (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, August, 1911-March, 1913), 9

and the latter under the same officer in his capacity as Agent to the Governor-General⁶ Viceroy Lord Curzon imposed the new regime on the Frontier in simplified administration considerably. All authority was vested in one man who held the titles of Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province and Agent to the Governor General, he controlled the political relations with the tribes in direct communication with local Political Officers, and, as Chief Commissioner, he exercised in the settled districts taken from the Punjab the functions which the Punjab Government relinquished”⁷

Establishing a strip of tribal territory between the Province and Afghanistan, which was directly under the control of the Government of India. Formerly the region had formed part of the Punjab Province. It was decreed that the new Province was to be a sealed book, a hunting ground for the officers of the political department and the military. The Police force in the five districts was 6,000 strong, costing about three million rupees a year. Special laws and regulations were enforced for the Province.

Under the Frontier Crimes Regulation people could be sentenced to transportation of life without being brought before a court of law. The accused person could not claim to have the benefit of legal advice or to be defended by counsel. Certain pro-British landlords or businessmen would be invited to try people even for serious offences like murder.⁸ This tract of country, 40,000 square miles in area, ethnographically and geographically part of the Afghan heritage, had been a problem to the British for over a century. Crime was rife along the border, especially on the Waziristan side. As late as 1919-20, for example, there were 611 raids with 293 British subjects killed, 392

⁶ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Ohrai, 70

⁷ Jams W Spain, 142

⁸ Attar Chand, 11

wounded, 461 kidnapped and property valued at nearly 200,000 looted. The British had to exercise considerable vigilance to keep the tribes under control.⁹

4.1.1 The Objective of the Separation of the Province (*Khyber PakhtunKhawa*)

The objective with which the severance of the five settled districts and the tribal areas from the Punjab came into effect, under the scheme of a separate North-West Frontier Province (*Khyber PakhtunKhawa*), was that the conduct of external relations with the tribes on the Punjab Frontier should be more directly than hitherto under the control and the supervision of the Government of India.¹⁰ Secondly, it was designed to separate it from the administration of the Punjab and focus attention on the area as an entity in itself. The new province was to have its own Chief Commissioner, with Deputy Commissioners reporting to him. The first Chief Commissioner was Sir Harold Deane, who had been the first Political Agent of the Malakand in 1895.¹¹

4.1.2 The Secretary of State's View about the Scheme of the Formation of New Province

The Secretary of State, in sanctioning the general idea underlying the proposal, was not completely satisfied with the scheme. He observed that "in the case of the settled districts" which were proposed to be detached from the Punjab,

"it was clearly undesirable that the people who had already enjoyed benefits of a highly organized administration with its careful land settlements, its laws and regulations, and the various institutions of a progressive civil Government, should be thrown back from the stage which they had already reached."¹²

4.2 ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF THE TRIBAL AREAS

For administrative purposes, the North-West Frontier Province (*Khyber PakhtunKhawa*) was divided into five regularly administered districts, each in charge of a

⁹ Ram Gopal, 178

¹⁰ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 70-71

¹¹ Victoria Schofield, 149

¹² Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 71

Deputy Commissioner and Extra Assistant Commissioners to assist him and trans-border tribal territory made up of five Political Agencies or five Tribal Areas of Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan, the trans-border territory was held by the tribes subject only to the political control of the Chief Commissioner in his capacity as Agent to the Governor-General, assisted in the case of Waziristan by the Resident in Waziristan, and under him each Agency was administered by a Political Agent, while each of the Deputy Commissioners of the settled districts regulated the political relations of the tribes of the tribal area adjoining his district ¹³

4.2.1 Administration of Justice

As regards the territories beyond the border with certain modifications, the provisions of the Indian Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes and of the Frontier Crime and Murderous Outrages Regulations, had been extended to the administered portions of the Political Agencies of Malakand, the Khyber, the Kurram, Northern and Southern Waziristan and also to the Shirani country under the provisions of the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act. The Political Agents in Northern and Southern Waziristan and the Kurram exercise all the powers of a District Magistrate and Court of Session in respect of offences punishable under the Indian Penal Code. The functions of High Court as regards appeal, reference and revision being exercised by the Judicial Commissioner ¹⁴

4.2.2 Medical Hospitals and Dispensaries

The Medical Department was under an Administrative Medical Officer. Two of the five British districts and three of the Political Agencies were in charge of full-time

¹³ Ibid, 70

¹⁴ _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India North-West Frontier Province", 59-61

civil surgeons Military Medical Officers were in collateral charge of the other Districts and Agencies. A Military Assistant Surgeon was in medical charge of the Khyber Assistant surgeons were in sub-ordinate charge of hospitals and dispensaries at the headquarters of Districts and sub-divisions Minor dispensaries were in charge of Hospital Assistants of different grades There were female dispensaries at Peshawar and Kohat, under female Medical Subordinates The supply of Hospital Assistants was obtained chiefly from the Lahore Medical School.¹⁵

4.2.3 The New Security Forces

The Scouts, *Khassadars* and Frontier Constabulary as they presently exist were organized. A Scout unit, officered by British officers from regiments of the Indian army was assigned to each agency As a precaution against future large scale desertions no more than one-third of the Scout enlistees could be from tribal territory The main duties of the Scouts were to maintain British political control in the tribal area and to preserve a necessary minimum of order there while preventing raids into the districts Total enlisted strength of the Scout units in the Frontier agencies in 1921 was 7,285¹⁶

4.2.4 Militia and Levy Corps, Militia

The system of tribal militia and local levies was necessary for, (i) the protection of the tribal country, (ii) it was also hoped that by offering increased facilities for military employment, would solve the question of the poverty and unemployment which was one of the abiding problems of the unadministered hills This system naturally differed on various parts of the Frontier, from the crude and rudimentary native levies, who were employed in Malakand, to the Khyber Rifles, who were well-equipped and trained by

¹⁵ Ibid , 76

¹⁶ James W Spain, 151-152

British officers.¹⁷ (iii) Secondly, the overwhelming problem which faced the British on the Frontier was security, security against the Russian menace beyond the *Pamirs* and the Oxus, and security for the new Province against its numerous lawless inhabitants and the wild tribesmen of the hills.¹⁸

When the Agencies across the administrative border were first occupied, they were garrisoned entirely by regular troops but levies were raised from among the local tribesmen to convoy travelers, collect information, and act as a means of communication between the Political Officers and the tribes. From those levies had been raised the later militia corps, which contained an equal proportion of men living on either side of the administrative border and thus combined the advantages of local levies with the steadying element of outside influences.¹⁹

4.2.5 The Problem of Law and Order

When Curzon arrived in India in January, 1899, he found the Forward Policy very much in force. The five British fingers were armored and extended into the Malakand, the Khyber, the Kurram, North and South Waziristan. Scattered along them were more than 10,000 troops, the aftermath of the great Rising of 1897. The small tribal levies and militia units which had been established there were shattered and Britain depended for control of the Frontier obviously and solely on armed might.²⁰ There was little doubt that in the circumstances then ruling Curzon was right. In the time of Harold Deance, the first seven years of the new Province's existence, there were no expeditions except some counter-raids on the *Mahsuds* to wind up Merk's blockade. Under Roos-Keppel, who

¹⁷ C C Davies, 102-103

¹⁸ James W Spain, 145

¹⁹ _____, "Imperial Gazetteer of India North-West Frontier Province", *Provincial Series*, 72

²⁰ James W Spain, 149

succeeded Deane and ruled for eleven years, the Province stood firm throughout the trials of World War I and although Turkey universally respected in the non-Arab Muslim World entered the lists against the *Pakhtun* Roos-Keppel did indeed start his tour of Office with two small operations, the scale of which is sufficiently shown by the fact that one of them was called the Week-end War There was also a small and successful Waziristan expedition against the *Mahsuds* in 1917 But it is broadly true to say that it was not until 1919, when the Great War was over²¹

Tribal revolt against British Rule was limited to periodic mass uprisings Perhaps even more of a thorn in the British side was the day-to-day defiance of law and order in the settled districts as well as in the tribal area The most important and difficult task of the *Khyber PakhtunKhawa* (N.W F P) security authorities Raiding from the hills into the settled districts continued throughout the period of British Rule, while the number of raids dropped off somewhat in the later years but their size and intensity increased proportionately²² The main events, which made the 1930's the most turbulent period the Frontier experienced under British Rule, most prominent among them were the 1930 uprising in the country around Peshawar and the prolonged test of strength between the British and the tribesmen in Waziristan in 1936, 1937, and 1938

In the neighbouring Indus Kohistan Mulla Wali Dad revived early in the year the inflammatory preaching which set that border a blaze in 1935 In that he was believed to be supported, from ulterior motives, by the chief Khan of Allai, Roshan Khan The movement flickered out with an abortive attack on a Frontier Constabulary outpost and

²¹ Olaf Caroe, 418

²² James W Spain, 186

later in the year Wali Dad was captured and Roshan Khan made his peace with the Government²³ Besides, there was already peace on the Black Mountain border

4.2.6 The Frontier Crimes Regulations (F.C.R.)

In general, the Frontier Crimes Regulations applied to both the Province and Tribal Territory. The main concern of the latter, however, laid in the formalization of the concept of collective responsibility initiated by Coke and Edwardes half a century earlier²⁴. It had not been possible that year to collect sufficient material for an authoritative paragraph on tribal constitution, but an attempt would be made to give something on those lines next year. The tribal areas were as the expression implied divided geographically between various tribes, or clans, claiming descent from a common ancestor and having common interests and a common history²⁵.

The first set of Frontier Crimes Regulations (I) was promulgated in 1872. It was revised in 1887 (II). In 1901, after separation of the NWFP from the Punjab, a third set of FCR (III) was enacted. These, intended by Curzon to take into account the peculiar relations which existed between the Province and Tribal Territory, remained in force except for a few brief periods of suspension, during British Rule and are still in amended form, in use today in Pakistan.

Among other items, the Frontier Crimes Regulations (III) of 1901 provide for, the referral of civil and criminal cases to *jirgas* appointed by deputy commissioners, blockade of tribes as penalties, community fines, prohibition in certain cases of the

²³ Selection from the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, "*Report on the Administration of the Border of the North-West Frontier Province*", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1937-38), 2

²⁴ James W Spain, 145-146

²⁵ Selection from the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, "*Report on the Administration of the Border of the North-West Frontier Province, The Tribal Constitution*", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1947), 8

erection of new villages, the removal of established villages where necessary to maintain law and order, imprisonment with a view to prevent crime, and the regulation of village *Hujras* (guest houses). Whereas the *Mahsud* tribes were acting in a hostile and unfriendly manner towards the British Government and towards persons residing in British India, the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan with the previous sanction of the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner North-West Frontier Province (*PakhtunKhawa*) was pleased by the public proclamation under Section 21, sub-sections (d) and (e), of Regulation III of 1901, and with retrospective effect from the 18th November, 1915 ²⁶

4.2.7 Population and Finance

The shift in the pattern of population flow into the districts was of greater interest than the change in numbers during the period in which British administration was consolidated. Accurate figures were not available for the early years but it appeared that throughout the nineteenth century, the main influx continued to come as it always had from the West. In 1891, for example, a total of 123,625 moved into the districts from Afghanistan and the tribal areas, while only one-third as many came up from India. By 1931, immigrants from the west had dropped to 55,707 while newcomers from the East had risen to 99,484.

In general, budget figures indicated that even in good years the provincial administrators were unable to make ends meet and that a single bad year such as 1930-31, resulted in an enormous deficit. Expenditures for security dominated the budget throughout British Rule in the twentieth century. Education fared very poorly indeed.

²⁶The Commissioner Office, N W F P, Action taken against Mahsud tribes", *Political Department*, annual file no 2A (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1916), 3

Despite an increasing population, land revenue and excise taxes remained fairly constant²⁷

4.2.8 The Subsidy System

There are three distinct kinds of subsidy (i) The *Lungi* (ii) The *Muajib*, and (iii) The *Kharcha*

- (i) The *Lungi* is paid to individuals, usually *Maliks* or other influential persons. It is generally paid on a regular basis, monthly, semi-annually, or annually. Payment varies from a few rupees to several hundred rupees per month. The importance of the *lungi* does not lie solely in its monetary value.
- (ii) The *Muajib*, the allowance paid to a tribe or a *khel* as a unit, is probably the most important of the subsidies. It is usually turned over to the *Maliks* representing the tribe in the presence of a *jirga*. Distribution within the tribe is according to long-standing custom and dissension over the division is rare.
- (iii) The *Kharcha* is expense money paid for some specified task performed for the Political authorities. It may be merely a rupee or two to cover the food of a messenger or a much more considerable sum to recompense a *Malik* who has assembled a *lashkar* to chase back across the border a party of Afghan intruders²⁸

4.3 GEO-STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE TRIBAL AREAS AS A BUFFER ZONE

The Tribal Area is a significant and geo-strategic area of the world. It played a remarkable role throughout the known history. David Dichter observes, few areas in the

²⁷ James W Spain, 147-148

²⁸ Ibid, 156-159

world have played so notable role in a transitional zone between peoples and cultures as the Tribal Areas Region of Pakistan. From a physiographical point of view, the Tribal Areas lies between the highland massif of central Asia and the plain of Hindustan. The physical structures which separate these two areas from each other such as, (i) the Hindu Kush Range as well as these structures, which provide access between the areas, (ii) the Khyber Pass located in the Tribal Areas. As a result, the Tribal Areas has been the site for a continual cultural flow across its territory. The Tribal Area is part of the geographical area that has the passes and the routes which has the status of not only of the 'Gates to India' but also that of the 'Gates to Central Asia and China' as well. For most of the known history frequent migrations and invasions from Central Asia and the West took place to and over India through this area.²⁹ How far the Russian intentions of an invasion of India were real remained a subject of controversy in the Political quarters of Europe in the nineteenth century and no amount of our study of this problem would lead us anywhere.³⁰

Due to its strategic location, especially in view of the Great Game, the Tribal Areas of British India had been of special importance to the Colonial government. From the 1840s to 1940s, it has remained a subject of special interest for historians, travelers, politicians, military men and administrators. It is still a rich field of research for political scientists, anthropologists, sociologists and other scholars, though there is a dearth of scholarly studies in certain areas.³¹ The strategic location and the internal instability were regarded the main cause of keeping it away from the reform scheme introduced in other Provinces of British India. The tribal territories were considered inseparable from the

²⁹ Sultan-i-Rome, 129-130

³⁰ Colonel N D Ahmad, 47-48

³¹ Syed Waqar Ali Shah, 9

settled districts³² I have to impress upon Her Majesty's Government that after the speech of the noble and gallant Lord, in which reference has been made to certain strategically considerations which were to govern all their dealings with the Frontier tribes, the matter ought not to be allowed to stand as it did then. This question should be thoroughly threshed out with regard to the number of troops available in India to the effect of any measures such as those recommended upon the Indian army and to the financial power of India to defray the expenditure which would be involved if the policy advocated by the noble and gallant Lord was to be pursued³³

In 1919, during the Third Afghan War, King Amanullah was not only prompted by a desire to break British control over Afghan Foreign Policy and interference in internal affairs but also to recapture the territories lost to the Sikhs. Again the history of the first Afghan War was repeated, Amanullah had begun to lean towards Communist Russia to gain his objective of getting back the lost territories. But before things could take a dangerous turn for British India, Amanullah was overthrown by the machinations of the British. The Third Afghan War was an attempt at re-establishing Afghanistan's former Frontiers with India of redressing what the Afghans felt was a great injustice to them.³⁴ Amanullah, supported by tribes on both sides of the Durand Line, attacked the Kurram valley and occupied parts of Waziristan, while the *Afridis* once again closed the Khyber Pass. For the British the situation was complicated by mutinies in their tribal militia units. Fighting stopped in August 1919, and the war formally ended in the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921, which took two years to negotiate but restored Afghanistan's

³² Ibid, 12

³³ Selection from the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, "Report on the Administration of the Border of the North-West Frontier Province, The Strategically Question should be fully discussed", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1912), 17

³⁴ Syed Abdul Quddus, 61-62

independence in foreign affairs while ending the subsidies, which the UK had hitherto been paying to Kabul³⁵ At the time of the Third Afghan War (1919-20) Sir George Roos-Keppel, a famous Frontier Chief Commissioner wrote

"I consider and have always considered that the Government of India should lay down and follow a definite policy of civilizing the Frontier Tribes up to the Durand Line They should do so by crushing their fighting power, disarming them, making roads through their country, and establishing and maintaining order which would be welcomed by a large percentage of the people who are tired of anarchy"³⁶

The most important event of the closing decade of the nineteenth century was the demarcation of the Russo-Afghan and Indo-Afghan (Duran Line) Frontiers More than one circumstance was responsible for the precise placing of the Afghan boundaries The most important reason was the desire on the part of both Russia and England to avoid a direct clash by keeping their Frontiers further apart from each other The fresh Russian advance in Central Asia spurred the demarcation³⁷ Towards the end of the century the situation changed Russia extended its power deep into Central Asia, Bokhara, Samarkand and Khiva British India threat was mounted "The Great Game", became a frantic scurry for advantage between two expanding empires Peace and progress on the Frontier were of little concern to the men who ruled India Security was the all important objective To this end, Afghanistan was looked upon as a Buffer-State The settled districts along the Indus were included as an integral part of India The tribal territory in the hills was a marchland, which must be dominated The Passes were occupied, new roads were built, forces were established and garrisons stationed in them It was part of the Forward Policy In the words of Colin Davies. To the tribal border, there appeared a vision of a great mailed list isolated forts garrisoned by the British troops commanded the

³⁵ M Aslam Khan Khattak, 67

³⁶ Ibid , 73

³⁷ Azmat Hayat Khan, 126

trade-routes running through his territory or frowned down upon his native hamlet or terraced fields³⁸ It also pointed out that international interest in the area and its problems were not new. China, Russia and Britain (now U.S A) were as deeply involved in its politics as they are today William Moorcroft, Superintendent of East India Company, who visited in 1821, wrote, an agent of the Russian Government, Agha Mehdi was on his way for the second time within a few years to visit both the rulers of Laddakh and Ranji, bearing letters of goodwill, a considerable sum of money and some commercial goods The Geo-Political considerations indicated as to what had embittered the feelings of the Afghans were the taking away of tribal inhabited territories by the Sikhs who perpetrated brutal atrocities on their Muslim subjects and made their existence miserable Similarly, their successors the British were no less antagonistic towards the *Pakhtun* and waged constant war against them causing great hardships and miseries to the inhabitants of the entire area.³⁹

4.4 ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATIES AND THE TRIBAL AREAS

The Durand Agreement of 1893 was reaffirmed by the Anglo-Afghan Treaties of 1905, August 8, 1919, November 22, 1921, and of 1930 In the 1935 Government of India Act, India was formally defined as including the area known as Tribal Territory in accordance with its delineation on official maps With the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to Pakistan the "*res transit cum suo oneri*" treaties of the extinct State concerning boundary lines, remain valid and all rights and duties arising from such treaties of the extinct State devolve on the absorbing State.⁴⁰

³⁸ Attar Chand, 10

³⁹ Syed Abdul Quddus, 64

⁴⁰ Syed Abdul Quddus, 97-98

4.5 THE FIRST (1ST) WORLD WAR AND THE TRIBAL TERRITORY (1914-918)

When the First World War began in 1914, the *Mullahs* in Kabul preached *Jehad* against the British, in sympathy with the Sultan of Turkey, who had joined the war on opposite side. The King of Kabul was steadfastly true to his obligations of the badge of friendship and the bond of peace. On the strength of friendship, in spite of the strong position occupied at Kabul by the fanatical religious party, the British Government could safely send out their Indian army and most of the British forces to participate in the Great War in Europe.

At the outbreak of war about ten thousand *Cis-Frontier* men and over five thousand *trans-Frontier* tribesmen were already serving in the army. The supply of recruits commenced under pre-war system in 1914 and lasted for 35 months. About seventeen thousand combatants were enlisted in that manner. Late in October, 1917, the territorial system of recruitment was adopted and district recruiting committees under the auspices of the Provincial Board were organized.⁴¹

During the First World War, the situation on the Tribal Areas of India, which had been a perennial source of danger for the British Government of India, gave them many anxious moments. It was feared that Habibullah Khan, the *Amir* of Afghanistan, who had been enraged at not being consulted over the Anglo-Russian Convention of August 1907, would become still more hostile, events in Europe providing him an opportunity to declare a preventive war against the British. An Anglo-Afghan War would be certain to arouse the Frontier tribes and involve them in a tribal conflagration.

⁴¹ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, 73-75

Throughout the First World War the Tribal Area remained clam and Afghanistan stayed neutral. However, the murder in February 1919 of the *Amir* Habibullah brought about a change. It was immediately clear that his successor, Amanullah, was going to be less co-operative with the British than his father. The War, such as it began at a time when the British were weary from the fighting in Europe and most of the troops had been demobilized, it would have been much more serious but for the fact that they had far superior weapons. In particular machine-guns as well as the use of Lorries to transport supplies up the Khyber Pass ⁴²

4.6 MODIFIED FORWARD POLICY

Once more the pendulum swung over this insoluble problem. The "Close Border" Policy gave way to the "Modified Forward Policy" and once again the British pushed forward into the Tribal Area. His Majesty King Amanullah did not look at this Modified Forward Policy with approval and trouble continued in the area between the Durand Line and the "Administered Area". When King Amanullah was dethroned, King Nadir Shah assumed control in Afghanistan in 1929. In June 1930, the King told the British Minister at Kabul that the whole Frontier Policy of the Afghan Government would be activated by a desire for peace on both sides of the Frontier and a spirit of true friendship towards the British Government. The Policy may be said to have been negative but it went as far as the King dared to go ⁴³

The Forward Policy then was one of slow but steady growth. It aimed at the defence of the Tribal Areas not only against foreign aggression but also against the marauding proclivities of the turbulent tribes who inhabited the Indian borderland. To

⁴² Victoria Schofield, 152

⁴³ Izzat Awan, 13-14

that end was to be secured a strong and unified state in Afghanistan with well-defined Frontiers, within which British influence was to be predominant, not by the mere desire for it, but by a steady control over the *Amir's* foreign relations Secondly, the Frontier was to be slowly extended to its logical limits through active interference in the affairs of the predatory and Warlike tribes of the Tribal Areas ⁴⁴

The British Policy in the tribal areas at the closing chapter of their reign can be summarized as follows -

a) Defence point of view:

The growing communist influence to be guarded against The Army to occupy all strategic points, important from the defence of India point of view

b) Civil Administration point of view

- i) To ensure that no gangs were formed in the tribal areas for raiding the adjoining districts
- ii) To ensure that any fugitive from law was to be returned to face the trial

4 7 THE THIRD ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR, 1919 AND THE TRIBAL AREAS

The third Anglo-Afghan War of 1919, which was participated by the assassination of the then ruler of Afghanistan Habibullah Khan In May, 1919, Amanullah, the son of Habibullah, the new *Amir* of Afghanistan, for a series of complicated and into a very convincing reason, declared full independence and war on British India's Tribal Areas and Northern Frontier ⁴⁵ General G D Crocker led British forces General Nadir Khan commanded Afghan Army Native soldiers under British command joined with the Afghans to avenge General Rex Dyer's massacre at Amritsar After a month of

⁴⁴ Azmat Hayat Khan, 91

⁴⁵ James W Spain, 150

skirmishing in the Khyber Pass and other tribal areas, the Afghans surrendered and the treaty of Rawalpindi affirmed Afghanistan's independence.⁴⁶ The two High Contracting Parties mutually accepted the Indo-Afghan Frontier. The Afghan Government agreed under Article V of the treaty concluded at Rawalpindi on the 8th August 1919, corresponding to the 11th Ziqada, 1337 Hijra, and also the boundary West of the Khyber laid down by the British Commission in the months of August and September 1919, pursuant to the said Article.⁴⁷

The result was the signing of Rawalpindi Agreement of 1919 and Afghanistan was granted self-determination in Foreign affairs. On the other hand, Afghanistan and the Russian Soviet Republic signed a Treaty of Friendship in May 1921 under which the Soviet provided Amanullah aid in the form of cash, technology and military equipment.⁴⁸

4.8 THE *FAQIR* OF *IPI*—A MYSTIC WARRIOR OF WAZIRISTAN

Mirza Ali Khan alias *Faqir of Ipi* remained a controversial figure and legendary character in the history of South Asia as his life had many facets, both overt and covert. While the local tribes believed, in his attributes as a mystic but to the British he was a 'devil incarnate' and to Muslim Political Agent he was 'saint warrior and the protagonist of *Pukhtunistan* movement in tribal area even after the creation of Pakistan. For more than one decade his body and mind were full of tasks and thoughts against the British rule. He could not think of anything else but hostility against the British, which he haunted like a 'devil incarnate'. He had first started causing trouble in the mid-thirties in what came to be known as the Islam Bibi case, a young Hindu girl was abducted by a

⁴⁶ Jules Stewart, *Khyber Rifles*, 206

⁴⁷ Selection from the Records of Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, "*Pak-Afghan Relations, Anglo-Afghan Treaty, 1919*", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1919), 23

⁴⁸ Teepe Mahabat Khan, 61

Muslim and converted to Islam. The case went to court and the ruling went in favour of the Hindu but sentiment was on the side of the Muslim. The first hostile demonstration was led by the *Faqir* of Ipi, at that time an obscure man whom the British could not have expected to rise to such notoriety. But after he and his following of no more than a thousand men started making large-scale attacks on troops, destroying bridges, cutting down telephone wires, military action was seen as the only solution. The main opponent of the British on the Frontier between the two World Wars was the Scarlet Pimpernel of Waziristan, an unknown priest from the small town of Ipi. Like the *Mullah* Powindah twenty years before him, he declared a Holy War against the British and succeeded in eluding capture by hiding out in caves in Waziristan. He tested the endurance of the Political, Scouts, Army and Air Force alike at one time or another, they were all involved in the attempt to catch the *Faqir*.⁴⁹

One should not lose sight of an important factor that in his entire struggle against the *firangi* (British), he was assisted in matters of money by the Afghan Government as well as Germans and the Italians. The Axis Powers could not find a fiercer fighter than the *Faqir* in all the British colonies during the Second World War. The implication of the *Faqir's* factor for that reason was an international one.⁵⁰

4.9 TRIBAL ROLE IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Great movements have deep underlying causes and therefore, the credit for creating a national awakening and building up powerful organization does not belong to an individual, but to people as a whole. To many the story of the North has been a dual phenomenon, the complete individuality of the *Pakhtun* and yet its unity with the rest of

⁴⁹ Ibid, 190-191

⁵⁰ Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, "The *Faqir* of Ipi—A Mystic Warrior of Waziristan", *Pakistan Perspectives*, Vol 11, No 2, (July-December 2006), 45

India towards the attainment of a common goal. It found adequate manifestation in the *Khudai Khidmatgar* Movement growing out of the very soil of the Frontier Province (*PakhtunKhawa*) and slowly finding a place in the larger Freedom Movement of the Subcontinent. In this connection it is significant to note that while the *Pakhtun*, are intensely Freedom-loving and resent any kind of subjugation. Most of them were beginning to understand that their Freedom could well harmonize with the conception of Indian Freedom. That was why they had joined hands with the rest of their countrymen in a common struggle, instead of favouring the scheme of breaking up India into many States⁵¹

Till 1919 there was quiet on the Khyber front but during the said year due to influence of *Hijrat* and *Khilafat* Movements and the third Anglo-Afghan War a storm appeared on the tribal horizon. *Amir* Aman Ullah Khan launched an invasion on Thal (Kohat) Fort. This area was situated in the vicinity of Tirah. *Afridis* were naturally affected by it. As Khyber Rifles was completely composed of *Afridis* they refused to serve in it as a protest and showed no-confidence against the British. So this regiment was disintegrated. Soon an agreement was reached between *Amir* AmanUllah Khan and the British. After the agreement Khyber Rifles and *Khassadars* were reinstated⁵². Under those arrangements, the Viceroy in Council directed all diplomatic interaction with the *Amir* of Kabul. It was perfectly true, that the action of the Lieutenant Governor was simply on the orders of Agent of the Governor General, who admitted him to his

⁵¹ Attar Chand, 53

⁵² M. Shafi Sabir, 72

confidence in proportion as it might be advantageous to the public service⁵³ From May to the end of December, 1930, the situation on the Tribal Areas had been of chief interest. In the Malakand agency, the rulers of Dir and Swat had made loyal offers of assistance in early May, 1930. But, a week later there had been some agitation in *Panjkora* and movement of small parties of *Utman Khel* had been reported from the direction of Bajaur. The *Spinkhwarra Mulla*, who had great influence with *Utman Khel* had apparently decided to hold aloof. The Kurram Agency was quiet from May, 1930, to the beginning of September 1930. However, on Kurram border overt action was by their neighbours, the *Para Chamkannis* who launched attack on militia posts and villages in Kurram valley. Militia and village levies engaged them with good spirit. Prompt and very successful air action was taken against hostile formation after due warning against the villages from which they came⁵⁴. On 23rd April, 1930, the British showed their short-sightedness by firing on a crowd of unarmed Muslims. There were *Afridis* also among the killed. Moreover, Islamic sentiments would excite them. So on 30th May an *Afridi* army descended on the *Bara* valley and entered villages of Peshawar district. In retaliation the British bombed the *Khajuri* plain. On 12th August *Afridis* attacked food grains go down near Peshawar city railway station. They also attacked Peshawar city but by this time the British had made arrangements for protection of the city. *Afridis* had done all this to express sympathy with the Congress but the Hindus did not at all appreciate their brave patriotic sentiments. Often in Central and Provincial assemblies Hindu Congress

⁵³ Selection from the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, "*Pak-Afghan Boundary, Bajour, Mohmand (including Chitral)*, Vol III", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1924-36), 49

⁵⁴ *Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai*, 165

members branded *Afridis* and *Waziris* as robbers and hooligans. That was why those Muslim patriots began to hate Congress⁵⁵

The Tribal Freedom Movement gained ground and the British were subjected to frequent attacks along the Frontier. The situation calmed down by 1932, but operations continued against the tribes up to Partition in 1947. Religious fanatic *Faqir* of Ipi led an uprising by *Wazir* and *Mahsud* tribesmen. Rebellion put down but he escaped into mountains⁵⁶. Whether the Jabar Khel or other sections of the *Musa Khel* who owned lands in the Bohar Dag were likely to protest against the British Government. The British Government subsidized those tribes who hold land there⁵⁷. Between 1936 and 1939, the British Government was fully occupied trying to contain those uprisings. The Afghan Government raised the matter of independence for the tribal belt at the time of the Cripps Mission in 1942 and was told to take it up after the war when constitutional change took place in India. Like the Afghan Government, however, the tribes surprisingly made little trouble during the Second World War⁵⁸. In case the Government embarked on this Policy of granting allowances tribal *Jirga* composed of all the sections of *Mohmands* should be asked to go thoroughly into the matter and suggest the scale of allowances according to the real strength of individuals and sub-sections. The question of granting allowances to *Safis*, *Kandaharis* and *Shimwaris* should be taken up when the Presumptive area was to be

⁵⁵ M. Shafi Sabir, 72

⁵⁶ Victoria Schofield, 206

⁵⁷ Selection from the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, "*Pak-Afghan Boundary, Bajour, Mohmand (including Chitral)*, Vol III", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N. D. C. Government of Pakistan, 1905-20), 19-20

⁵⁸ M. Aslam Khan Khattak, 69

taken under control, otherwise the present calm and quiet atmosphere should not be disturbed.⁵⁹

The Tribal had come to realize that the division of India would result in an all-round weakness in the modern World, where no part of it would have sufficient resources and strength to preserve its own freedom. The days of isolationism were no more. A new conception of international collaboration and co-operation was seeking to be born. The Tribal hate compulsion and dictation of any type but out of their own free will, they were prepared to work in unity and co-operation with others in this country as well as their brethren of the Tribal Territories, who had so long been kept aloof from them and forced to lead a life unworthy of a people.⁶⁰

4.9.1 The *Khilafat* Movement and the Tribal Areas

The *Khilafat* Movement from across the Indus spread far and wide in the whole Province. The Indus could not be the barrier for the ideas coming from beyond it. As the events progressed in India, the interest in the agitation had also arisen in the villages and tribes of the Tribal Areas. Following the dictates from the down country, the citizens of Peshawar city did not participate in the Official Peace Celebrations for the simple reason that the fate of Turkey was still unsettled and it should be a time of mourning rather than merry-making.

The *Khilafatists* took an active part in the non-cooperation movement and provoked anti-government sentiments all over the Province. The inhabitants of Peshawar, Bannu and Hazara responded to their call. Quite a few people's renounced honours and

⁵⁹ Selection from the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, 8-12-1945 ' *Pak-Afghan Boundary, "Bajour, Mohmand (including Chitral), Vol IV "*, (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1936-47), 207

⁶⁰ Attar Chand, 54

titles conferred on them as well as resigned Government jobs. According to Lal Baha, there were sixty resignations in police, thirty-one in *Mohmand* Militia, and seventy-one among other employees, sixty-eight among *patwaris* in the Charsadda *Tehsil* and many in the Peshawar *Tehsil*. The arrest of the local leaders and volunteers proved to be a set-back to the *Khilafat* Movement in the Tribal Areas. In addition to this, many other factors too were responsible for the downfall of the movement in the Province. The most important among those were the collapse of non-cooperation movement in 1922, the revival of Tukey under Mustafa Kamal in 1922, deposition of the Sultan in 1923 and abolition of *Khilafat* itself in 1924. Though the *Khilafat* movement collapsed but certain *Khilafat* committees remained in existence for a few years.

4.9.2 The *Hijrat* Movement and the Tribal Areas

An offshoot of the *Khilafat* agitation was the *Hijrat* movement. The *Khilafat* agitation received a psychological impetus from the traditional *Hijrat* of 18,000 Muslims to Afghanistan. In the month of August so many followers of the Prophet, determined to shake off the dust of the impious Raj, moved into *Darul-Islam* that was Afghanistan. Many Indian Muslims decided to leave their country as a protest against the British policy meted out to the Ottoman Caliph. India was dubbed as *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of war) and it was now a religious obligation to give up every thing and seek refuge in *Dar-ul-Islam* (land of Islam). Such great scholars as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Abdul Bari of Firinghi Mahal, Lucknow, issued fatwas in this regard.

According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, "after examining all the reasons contained in the *Sharia* as well as contemporary events, interests of the Muslims and pros and cons of political issues, I feel definitely satisfied that from the view point of the

Sharia, the Muslims of India have no choice but to migrate from India. All Muslim who would like to fulfill Islamic obligations must quit India. Those who cannot migrate immediately should help the migrants as if they were themselves migrate from the country. The *Sharia* gives us no alternative course except migration⁶¹. The *Hyrat* movement started in Sindh and spread to the Tribal Areas. But the Afghan authorities declined to admit the emigrants and they had to go back. Many lost their lives on the way. According to *India* in 1920, the road from Peshawar to Kabul was thrown with the graves of old men, women and children who had succumbed to the difficulties of the journey. The unhappy emigrants when they returned found themselves homeless and penniless with their property in the hands of those to whom they had sold it for a tithe of its value⁶².

4.9.3 Civil Dis-Obedient Movement

Captain Mir Badshah and Gulab Khan, Shingri, H K, F k, were the only prominent persons in Waziristan, who participated in the Civil Disobedient Movement, launched by the Muslim League in the Province of the North-West Frontier (*Khyber PakhtunKhawa*), that they were asked to carry on sympathetic activities in the Tribal Territory, when the Civil Disobedience Movement was in full swing in the Province and many Muslim Leaguers were in jail. For starting activities of this nature in the Tribal Territory, Captain Mir Badashah and Gulab Khan were fined Rs 75,000/- by the local

⁶¹ Syed Waqar Ali Shah, 43-46

⁶² Ram Gopal, 144-145

administration at the instance of Dr. Khan Sahib, who was then the Chief Minister of this Province.⁶³

4.10 THE SECOND (2ND) WORLD WAR, 1939-1945 AND THE TRIBAL AREAS

The Second World War broke out September 1939 and the following were the main political parties of India. The Indian National Congress was mostly Hindu with a considerable number of Muslims. In the Frontier, the *Khudai Khidmatgars* group of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan also known as 'Red Shirts', were deadly opposed to British Rule and were part and parcel of the Congress. On the other hand the Muslim League, whose leadership at the time came from the titled gentry, tended to be pro-British and mostly Muslim.⁶⁴ During World War II, Britain and USSR cooperated as Allies which brought an end to their Great Game hostilities. They even pressured Afghanistan in 1940 for the removal of a large German non-diplomatic contingent, which was felt by both governments to be engaged in espionage. The end of the Second World War left Britain completely exhausted and the United States replaced Britain, asserting its influence in the Middle East in pursuit of oil and containment of the Soviet Union. Many commentators refer to 'The New Great Game', and there are references in the military, security and diplomatic communities to 'The Great Game' as an analogy or framework for events involving British India, Afghanistan and now the Central Asian republics.⁶⁵

4.11 THE FINAL DAYS OF BRITISH RULE AND THE TRIBAL AREAS

The years between the end of World War II and the departure of the British passed almost uneventfully on the Tribal Areas. There were no major risings, although an

⁶³ Selection from the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, 8-12-1945 "Civil Secretariat, North-West Frontier Province Political Branch. File no 748-s T B I", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1947), 8

⁶⁴ M. Aslam Khan Khattak, 45

⁶⁵ Teeju Mahabat Khan, 61

occasional bombing of a tribal village was still deemed necessary and travel in the tribal area was still a question of arranging one's schedule to coincide with the "Road Open Days". The Russian menace reappeared on the horizon, but the attention of the rulers of India was pre-occupied with the great agitation for independence sweeping those parts of India normally much more tractable than the Frontier. When the decision for independence and partition was made, the Frontier administrators took in hand the process of the plebiscite and then departed after almost a century's rule. As W. K. Fraser-Tytler, a distinguished official who served both on the Frontier and in Afghanistan, admits, they had not solved the problem of the Frontier, and in August, 1947, the British handed over to Pakistan "a fluid, difficult situation fraught with much danger to the future"⁶⁶. According to H. E. the Viceroy Lord Wavell, addressing about 200 representative *Afridi* leaders who met him in *Jirga* at Landi Kotal on Friday morning

"Your freedom is your most precious possession. The maintenance of this freedom which has been guaranteed to you under the treaty your ancestors made so many years ago, with the British Government is a matter of the outmost importance, and I assure you that there is no intention of handing it over to any political party."⁶⁷

4.12 THE TRIBAL AREAS AFTER THE PARTITION, 1947

In 1947, Mr. Jinnah ordered the withdrawal of troops from Waziristan. He told the tribesmen that it was a concrete and definite gesture on our part to treat you with absolute confidence and trust you as our Muslim brothers. Noble as the sentiments were they did not end tribal raids and risings. My own approach to the problem with Afghanistan centered on the importance of a confederation between Pakistan and Afghanistan⁶⁸. A deputation consisting of 15 *Maliks* and representatives of the tribesmen of the Kurram

⁶⁶ James W. Spain, 160-161

⁶⁷ "Viceroy's Assurance to Afridi Leaders, Freedom is your most precious possession", *The Statesman*, (November, 18, 1947, Islamabad), 16

⁶⁸ M. Aslam Khan Khattak, 77-78

Agency met Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah on Monday morning at his New Delhi residence.

The deputation represented over 50, 000 tribesmen on behalf of whom they offered unflinching loyalty and allegiance to the Quaid-i-Azam. They discussed various other matters regarding tribal territories with the League President for about 40 minutes.⁶⁹

During twentieth century, the British mainly exercised the administration in those Tribal Areas. Because of frequent changes in Government of Britain, these Policies were followed neither consistently nor consecutively but one after the other in an irregular way. During these years, no new law or policy was introduced in the Tribal Areas but the old were given practical shape. Due to great Geo-Strategic importance under the British rule, the Tribal Area had played a vital role as a "Buffer Zone" between the great powers Russia and British India.

⁶⁹ Selection from the Records of the North-West Frontier Province, "Civil Secretariat, NWFP, Political Branch, File No 1243, 37/8 FRP", (Islamabad, Cabinet Division N D C Government of Pakistan, 1932), 16

CONCLUSION

Knowledge of the historical background of the tribal culture and temperament and of the stresses created by other powers, which came into contact with them, is essential for understanding Frontier administration. The Tribals were different from the other Indians. Also, the *Pakhtun* tribes to the North of Fort Sandeman were different from those to the South of it. The various tribal mores, customs and laws constituted the "*Rewaj*" but the "*Rewaj*" is being replaced by the Shariah laws. The *Jirga* is a council of judges, which decided legal and other cases. The Tribal Areas had great Geo-Strategic importance and played a vital role because it had passes and routes due to which it had the status of gateway, therefore, all the invaders used the Tribal Area as their way to invade India i.e., Greeks, Persians, Kushans, Mongols, Sikhs and British etc.

The British imperial authority in the N W F P (*Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*) lasted for a century from 1849 till 1947 when Pakistan was established. It was extended gradually from "influence to way to ascendancy to control and finally to domination". But their domination was restricted to settled areas and was always challenged and restricted in the tribal areas. There were almost continuous uprisings, especially in Waziristan, and in consequence continuous military operations to contain them throughout the period of British supremacy in the Sub-continent. On the whole the British adopted a "Carrot and Stick" policy. The standing objective of the general policy of their government of India in regard to the frontier was "to preserve the peace of the border and to foster good relations with the tribes with a view to their gradual pacification, civilization and economic betterment". But in reality the British failed, as they made no attempt to educate the

people and to industrialize the region. Fortunately, this problem has been taken up to some extent by Pakistan

There was rivalry and strategic conflict between the British and the Czarist Russia Empires for supremacy in Central Asia known as the "Great Game". All in this matter Afghanistan was the center of conflict and activity. Later it was called the buffer state. The British were feared of Russian invading the Sub-continent. The most possible route for invasion would be through Afghanistan and over rugged Khyber Pass. This fear became the decisive factor in British Frontier Policy and close relation with Afghanistan. And the British policy towards problems in the Northern and Southern parts was not the same. The basic problem before the British was that of the tribal control and administration. They followed various policies to achieve their end,

- (i) The Non-Intervention Policy,
- (ii) The Forward Policy (later Modified)
- (iii) The Closed Border Policy

Because of frequent changes in government of Britain, these Policies were followed neither consistently nor consecutively but one after the other in an irregular way.

The geo-strategic importance or bulwark still stands today but not as a sentinel, nor even as a "prickly hedge" guarding north-west approaches to Pakistan. Advances in military technology and changes in the international balance of power have taken care of that. Today, FATA is a mere belt of territory supposedly acting as a "buffer zone", between the Afghan border and the settled districts that are administered now under Pakistan's legal system.

The period from 1857 onwards was more turbulent because many military expeditions were undertaken against the tribesmen by the British government but those tribesmen were not ready to accept their existence, which in other words meant for them a form of slavery, which was against their culture and traditions. Today, insurrection in Pakistan's tribal areas cannot be easily contained and it cannot be defeated by exclusively military means. No matter the sophistication of modern weapons and the advanced systems available to identify their targets, whereby dozens, scores or even hundreds of tribal might be annihilated in the single engagement, there is no possibility that the religious and cultural intolerance of these people can be eradicated. For every tribesman who is killed, another, at least one other, rises to take his place. It was ever so, and will ever be so. At the moment attainment of the government's objectives appears impossible, but establishment of calm would be a first step in transforming a lawless and unproductive battlefield into a region of relative modernity.

The tribes joined Pakistan of their own accord particularly because of religious and cultural homogeneity. In the present arrangement, the tribal society is largely left to itself to manage its affairs. But the Political Agent occupies an important position in the system. The tribesmen can be brought round to accept mainstream administrative system only by making the administration honest, efficient and dedicated. But the best suggestion is that its unique, separate legal status be abolished and merged into and integrated wholly with the political, administrative and legal infrastructure of Pakistan.

APPENDICES

Appendix-I Details of the Agencies

(i) The Khyber Agency

The Khyber Agency has an area of 991 square miles. The country of the *Afridis* West and South of Peshawar lies between North Latitude, 33 32 and 34 51 and between East longitude, 70 37 and 77 56 It is contained in the fork formed by the Koh-e-Sufaid (White Mountain) range at Witugar Peak in longitude 70 37 The North prong of this fork runs eastward for nearly 60 miles and falls into the Peshawar valley around Jamrud and *Khajurai* areas The small range of Khyber may be said to separate the plain of Peshawar from the valley of the Kabul River, its highest peak is 3,500 feet above the plain It is pierced through at two places, on the south by the valley of the Khyber, and further north by the Kabul River

The *Afridi* tribes live entirely within Pakistan territory and inhabit most part of the Khyber Agency, which is the senior most tribal agency, created in 1879 Even though the Agency headquarters is in Peshawar it was not built until after the formal inauguration of the NWFP (KPK) as distinct from the Punjab in 1901 For Political and administrative purposes, the authorities have divided the Khyber Agency into three sub-divisions (i) *Jamrud*, (ii) *Bara* and (iii) *Landi Kotal*, each administered by an Assistant Political Agent. It has two headquarters, *Landi Kotal* for summer and Peshawar for winter Since its creation in 1879, the administrative head of the Agency was to be a Political Officer, but it was in the year 1902, when it got its full-pledged Political Agent The agency headquarters are in Peshawar in winter when the tribes migrate to the comparatively warmer *Khajuri* plains just beyond the Bara market town

(ii) Kurram Agency

Kurram Agency is in the North-West Frontier Province (KPK), lying between 33° 19' and 34° 3' N and 69° 39' and 70° 28' E., and comprising that section of the valley of the Kurram River which lies between the Peiwar Kotal in the West and the borders of Miranzai in the East. The Agency has an area of about 1,278 square miles or 3380 sq km, its maximum length from Thal to the Peiwar Kotal being 72 miles. The Kurram Agency has a population of 280,234. Bounded on the North by the Koh-e-Sufaid (White Mountain or *Spin Ghar*), which separates it from *Ningahar*, it adjoins Para-Chamkani and the country of the Massozai section of the Orakzai and that of the Zaimusht tribes on the East, its South-Eastern corner abutting on the Miranzai country of Kohat District

Its headquarters is at Parachinar. It was occupied in 1892 by the British at the invitation of the Turi Shia tribe who feared aggression by the neighbouring Sunni tribes. Half the agency was called the Administered Area, mainly along the Kurram River valley, and the other half the Frontier Regions. The Administered Areas are mostly inhabited by Turi and Bangash Shias and contain fine cultivated lands. The waters from the Kurram feed lush green paddy plots. The Frontier Regions, in contrast, remained closed until 1974 and as a result the *Para Chamkani*, *Massozai*, *Ali Sherzai* and *Zaimusht*, totaling just over half of the Agency population, have lagged behind in development. The first Political Agent, W R H Merk, was appointed in 1892. For administrative purposes the Agency is divided into Upper and Lower Kurram, each being under a *naib-hakim*, stationed at Parachinar in Upper, and Satta in Lower Kurram. The *naib-hakims* are under the control of the Political Agent, who is also aided by a Revenue Assistant.

Kurram Agency is the second oldest Agency after Khyber, established in 1892. It takes its name after the River Kurram. The name of this Agency is traced back to an old maple tree (*chinar*) under the shade of which the elders of Para Chamkani used to hold *Jirgas*. The Agency has many picturesque valleys including Parachinar, Shlozan, Zeran and Kurman. In 1891 the Samana was occupied and forts built along its crest, protecting Miranzai from flank attacks from that direction. In the following year it was at last decided to move beyond Thal into Kurram. Kurram had been occupied by Roberts as an advanced base in the Second Afghan War (1878-80), he had stayed there for some time and even built a house at the beautiful village of Shalozan. He had assured the *Turis*, the leading tribe of the valley that the Kurram River should run backwards to the Koh-e-Sufaid before they could return to an Afghan allegiance, and their valley had been ceded by Yaqub Khan under the Gandamak treaty of 1879.

WAZIRISTAN

The whole of Waziristan region lies in longitude of 70-73 degrees and latitude of 36-40 degrees. The North Waziristan Agency is bounded on the North by Khost Province (Afghanistan), on the West by tribal territories of Shawal and Birmal (Afghanistan), in the South lies South Waziristan Agency and on the East is situated the special areas of Bannu district. The *Wazirs* are the most important tribe in the tangle of the mountains which run South-wards forms the Western boundaries of NWFP. This area commonly recognized as Waziristan, the home of the *Wazirs*, stretches over 11,327 sq kms strip of territory. The Gomal River, dividing Waziristan from Baluchistan, points the way to the Gomal Pass. In addition to Khyber and Kurram to the North, this Pass could have provided another more Southern route into Afghanistan if the British had been successful.

in their exploits against the tribesmen. But even though the pass was opened by the British in the 1890s, they never secured complete control, and eventually it was abandoned to be used by the tribesmen and their caravans alone.

Below or in South of the Kurram valley is the territory of Waziristan, divided into the political agencies of North and South Waziristan. The *Waziri's* country includes a mass of hilly areas, the Tochi valley and the plain of Wana. The Tochi valley is divided into upper and lower parts by a spur of hills which come down to the bed of the Tochi River- the river from which the valley took its name. Waziristan is divided into two tribal agencies namely of North Waziristan, headquarters at Miran Shah, and South Waziristan, which has its headquarters at Tank in D.I. Khan district in winter, and Wana in the summer. Both the Agencies, North and South were setup in 1895. However, Britannica indicates that the British took control of this area in 1892.

(iii) South Waziristan Agency

South Waziristan Agency is the largest tribal Agency in terms of area. The whole area is mountainous with many high peaks. A Political Agency in the *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa* (NWFP), lying between 31° 55' and 32° 45' N and 69° 20' and 70° 15' E. It has an area of 2,556 square miles.

It is bordered on the North by the range which terminates in the Ghalimighar and divides it from Northern Waziristan, while on the East its boundary runs due south along a continuation of the Babaghar range to Jandola, whence it rises to the Girne Sar and then descends to the valley of the Gomal River above Murtaza. Three-quarters of the population are *Mahsud*, the remaining quarter *Wazir*. This division based on the

traditional *nikkat* (ancestral hereditaments) was confirmed by the British as the basis for all tribal dealings whether in terms of profit or loss, reward or punishment

(iv) North Waziristan Agency

The North Waziristan Agency is spread over an area of 4707 sq km or 1,817 square miles. It lies between 32 44 and 33 15 N and 69 30 and 70 40 E this Agency has four large and fertile valleys; the lower Kurram valley in the North, *Daur* in the valley of the Tochi, the Daitu valley, and the Khaisora valley in the South between the Kartu and Tochi. Both *Mahsuds*, entirely in South Waziristan, and *Wazirs* are *Darwesh Khels* The North Waziristan, *Wazirs* are *Utmanzai* of which the major sections are *Wali Khel*, *Momit Khel* and *Ibrahim Khel* The headquarters are at Miran Shah North and South Waziristan has been the scene of fierce battles with the British and the legendary *Faqir* of Ipi, Mirza Ali Khan, a *Turi Khel Wazir*, conducted his major encounters with the British in this region His headquarters in the caves of Gurwekht gained international fame

The tribes of this Agency went to war with the British on numerous occasions in 1851, 1854, 1871, 1874, 1880 and 1902. However, after being invited by the *Dawars* in 1895, declaring North Waziristan an Agency, with Miranshah as the Agency Head quarter However, it was not always a smooth sailing for the British as the local *Wazirs* frequently resorted to causing trouble.

(v) Malakand Agency

The name 'Malakand' is traced back to Malakhand or *Mullah Kandao*. The name is stated to have been derived from the words *Mullah Kandao*. *Mullah* means a prayer leader and *Kandao* means a ravine Malakand Agency is provincially administered, and

hence forms a part of PATA (Provincially Administered Tribal Agency or provincially administered Tribal Area) and not FATA

It was established in 1895 and was placed under the control of the Government of India as compared with other Agencies which were then administered by the Punjab Government. It has an area of 952 sq km and is situated in the lower Swat region amidst high mountains thick with evergreen olive and pine trees. Its famous landmark is a Pass known as the Malakand Pass.

Appendix-II

The Clauses of Anglo-Afghan Treaties

- (i) In accordance with the Treaty of 1905 between *Amir* Habibullah Khan and the British Government also known as “The Treaty of the Mole”, the *Amir* agreed to honour the treaties concluded between his father *Amir* Abdul Rehman Khan and the British Government
- (ii) The “Treaty of Rawalpindi of 1919” was concluded between *Amir* Amanullah of Afghanistan and the British Government at the conclusion of the Third Anglo-Afghan War Paragraph 5 of the Treaty states; The Afghan Government accepts the Indo-Afghan Frontiers accepted by the late *Amir* In his inaugural address at the first sitting of the new Afghan Parliament on 6 July, 1931 King Nadir Shah said” in accordance with the principles of international law, I recognized all the treaties which the preceding governments had entered into with the friendly states”
- (iii) The British Foreign Office confirmed today that it was considering a request from Afghanistan for revision of the 1921 Anglo-Afghan treaty The request was made through the British Embassy in Kabul three weeks ago Significance of the news laid in the 1921 Treaty, signed at the end of the Anglo-Afghan war, concerned among other things was the Durand Line demarcating the border in the North Western Frontier Province (*Khyber PakhtunKhawa*)
- (iv) Another treaty was signed between British India and Afghanistan on 22nd November, 1921 (ratified on February 6, 1922) Durand line was

not mentioned in this treaty and so was the reason that the successive Afghan governments did not recognize it. Interfered with the complete liberty of Afghanistan in internal or external matters

- (v) Whereas a Treaty of Friendship and Neighbourly Relations, concluded between Ourselves and His Majesty George King of the Great Britain and Ireland and of the Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, on the 30th Aqrab 1300 Shamsi, corresponding to 22nd November 1921, has been Confirmed and Signed by Our Representative as well as the Representative of His said Majesty, who were authorized to Confirm and Sign it.
- (vi) As third Anglo-Afghan War (1919), led to the annulment of all the treaties, including The Durand line agreement (1893) and Treaty of Rawalpindi (August 8, 1919)

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