

RELIGIO-POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF AMIN-UL-HASNAT PIR
OF MANKI SHARIF, 1922-1960



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2017



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Approval Sheet

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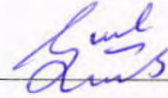
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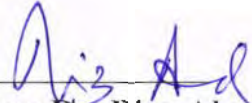
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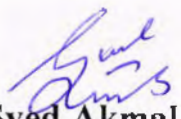
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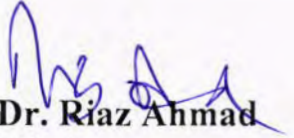
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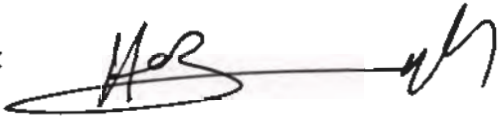
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بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ وَالصَّلٰوةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلٰى رَسُوْلِ اللّٰهِ

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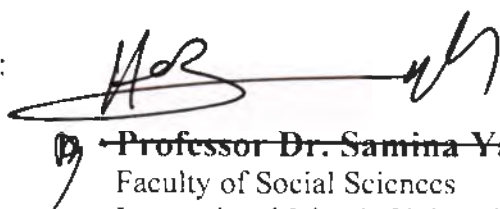
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Junaid Khan

Glossary

<i>'alim</i>	man of learning
<i>balakhana</i>	guest-room
<i>bayat</i>	oath
<i>dars-i- Quran</i>	commentary on Quran
<i>hijrat</i>	migration
<i>jihad</i>	a struggle or fight against the enemies of Islam
<i>Jirga</i>	a tribal council
<i>khilafat</i>	succession as Pious Caliphate
<i>khudai khidmatgars</i>	servants of God
<i>masher</i>	elder
<i>pir</i>	a Muslim saint
<i>sajjadahnishin</i>	successor
<i>sardar</i>	leader
<i>shaikh</i>	a leader
<i>shar'iat</i>	Islamic tradition, Islamic Law
<i>sufi</i>	a Muslim ascetic and mystic
<i>sunmah</i>	deeds and sayings of the Prophet (SAW)
<i>tassawuf</i>	inner or esoteric dimension of Islam
<i>ulama</i>	body of Muslim Scholars
<i>zalmi</i>	young
<i>zindabadi</i>	long-live

Introduction

Allah has blessed Pakistan a land additions with beautiful valleys, plains, desert, plateaus and high mountain ranges of the world. The North-West Frontier in this regards important location and considered as international border for major states of Central Asia (former Soviet USSR) and Afghanistan. Three important routes, Khyber, Tochi and Gomal passes has joined Pakistan with Afghanistan, and Wakhan as a gate way between some Central Asian States and Pakistan. The North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) have mountain region of Koh-e-Hindu Kush, natural resources, springs falling from mountains, rivers and plain areas which has great importance strategically.¹

NWFP and its inhabitants has played important role in the history. People of this province participated not only in mass Indian Sub-continent movements but also took their part against the British authority. Contemporary movements and British version democracy influenced political and religious political parties and leadership of the Indian Sub-continent generally, which also followed from the political stake holders of the Frontier Province particularly. British fought approximately sixty wars on the soil of the Frontier Province to legitimate their colonial rule. Lord G.N. Curzon (1899-1905), the Viceroy of British India alienated districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, D.I. Khan and Hazara² and trans-border tribal territory which was consisting of five of political agencies and five tribal areas³ in 1901 and

¹ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1990), 20-21.

² Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat aur unki siyasi jidd-o-juhud* (Islamabad: Qaumi Idarah bare Tehqiq Tarikh -o- Thiqafat, 1992), 4.

³ Fakhr-ul Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Political History (1901-1955)* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2014), 33.

announced as separate Province on November 9, 1901. The five political agencies and tribal areas were consisting of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Khyber, Kurrum, North and South Waziristan.⁴

These districts were given under the authority of Chief Commissioner. Prominent Khudai Khidmatgar leader Abdul Wali Khan (1917-2006) writes in his book *Facts are Facts* that the situation in the NWFP had importance for the British Colonial rule.⁵ So, this step was mandatory for the British authorities to set their feet firmly in the NWFP. However, the status of full-fledge province was thus officially given on April 12, 1902.⁶

The NWFP was administered by a Chief Commissioner and agents of Governor General from Peshawar. Lord Curzon (the Viceroy of India) introduced regulations for running the settled districts and implemented a law Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) in tribal areas. Thus, it was separated from Punjab on the excuse of situation in the areas. Nor the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 neither Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919) benefited this province of the North-West Frontier. British gave her own administrative system for the Frontier Province and influenced masses of the region. New educational system placed Hindus on various important posts and position. Contrary to this, Muslims of Indian sub-continent was oppressed socially, politically and economically.

The Frontier Muslims were habitual to watch political war of tag between great powers like Britain and Soviet Union. It was however, an unfortunate episode of history that laws like

⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 27.

⁶ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 4.

Frontier Crime Regulation and Ghazi Act were implemented in the Tribal Agencies and Frontier Province.⁷

For centuries, the geographical based political history of Indian Sub-continent attracted various nations all over the world. Muslims participated in the historic social, political and constitutional developments of the Indian Subcontinent.⁸ It was a time when joint versus separate electorates became issue between All India Muslim League (AIML) and Indian National Congress (Congress).⁹

In the due situation, the Frontier Muslims played worth seeing role in the history of Freedom Movement against the Congress and the British colonial rule. Frontier Muslim League was founded in 1913 in Qissa Khawani, Peshawar at Kazi Mir Ahmad's *balakhana* under the leadership of Barrister Abdul Aziz as President, Sayyid Ali Abbas as Private Secretary, and Qazi Mir Ahmad Khan as Secretary of League. It started to function in the province.¹⁰

As there was no only such law which might gave rights to the people of NWFP. World War I (1914-1918) started due to enmity between Turks, British and others ally powers. British Government experienced with the critical situation when peoples were made attempt to attack on several districts of the Frontier areas. During 1920's, 298 British were died, 392 were wounded, and 463 were kidnapped. The Frontier peoples also participated in *Khilafat* and *Hijrat*

⁷ Syed Zair Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif*, unpublished Thesis, (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1992), 35-36.

⁸ Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Research Society of Pakistan (Lahore: University of the Punjab, 1987), 12.

⁹ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 27.

¹⁰ Riaz Ahmed, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, Secret Police Abstracts, (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University), 1.

Movements. Muhammad Shafi Sabir has quoted Shaukat Usmani, who as eye witnessed, considered *Hijrat* as Islamic movement.¹¹ Thirty-six thousand Muslims participated who left their homes. Leaders like, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar (1878-1931), Maulana Shaukat Ali (1873-1938), Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad (1888-1958), Maulana Mehmood Hassan, Maulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahel (1878-1926), Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (1873-1956), and Dr. Saifullah started Tehrik-e-Khilafat from the platform of *Khilafat* movement. A great number of Muslim leadership from the NWFP was seen from this platform also. Among them were Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988), Syed Lal Badshah, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar (1899-1958), Pir Bakhsh Khan, Haji Sahib of Turangzai (1858-1937), Qazi Wali Khan, Syed Ali Abbas Bokhari (AIML),¹² Mian Jaffar Shah, Mian Ahmad Shah and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan who participated in the *Khilafat* movement.¹³

Just after the *Hijrat* movement, the Frontier Muslims also contributed in movements like *Anjuman-Islah-al-Afghana* which gave them opportunity to eradicate social issues in the society. Only the Khudai Khidmatgars of Abdul Ghaffar Khan could get political influence in the Frontier. The Frontier Muslim League was tough not able to overrule the influences of the Congress and Khudai Khidmatgars. On the other hand, in November 1927, British government appointed a commission for the future constitutional progress of India. All Parties Conference was held in February 1928, which appointed a Committee to draft the principles for India's Constitution. This Committee was presided over by Motilal Nehru (1861-1931). The Committee reported their findings which were known in history as the Nehru Report. The report demanded

¹¹ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 37.

¹² Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 1.

¹³ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 35-38.

“full responsible government on the model of the constitutions of the self-governing Dominions.”¹⁴

Nehru Report also recommended full provincial status for the NWFP, Baluchistan and the separation of Sindh from Bombay to form new province. In response to the report, M. A. Jinnah proposed three main amendments in a session of All Parties National Convention which was held in Calcutta in December 1928, which demanded the representation for the Muslims in the Centre, Muslim representation in the Punjab and Bengal based on population, and residuary powers for the provinces. All in all, these three proposed amendments were rejected by the Hindu majority.¹⁵

In January 1929, an All-parties Muslim Conference held in Delhi under the Chairmanship of the Agha Khan (1877-1957). M.A. Jinnah formulated and presented his famous fourteen points which was a fair idea and a smooth direction for the future politics of British India.¹⁶ It proposed to introduce reforms in the NWFP and “Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.” It’s further demanded that necessary redistribution should not affect the Muslim majority in the NWFP, Punjab, and Bengal.¹⁷

AIML was striving to get space against Hindu communal parties. Situation was changing gradually in the Frontier. Prominent personality like Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Khan (1863-1937) gave his services to the Frontier people. He was elected a member of Central Legislature in 1922. He participated in the Round Table Conference in 1930-31, representing the Frontier

¹⁴ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Research Society of Pakistan, 21.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

Province. He was successful to get privileges for the province in the first Legislative Council of NWFP as Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum was elected Minister. He passed first *Shariat* Bill in the Frontier Legislative Council and got successful to increase quota for the Muslims in government job. He laid foundation for Radio Station in Peshawar. His services for education could not be ignored even now Islamia College as a beacon of education for the people of the Frontier province.¹⁸

Khudai Khidmatgars of Bacha Khan gained approximate support in the province. From the foundation of *Pashtun Jirga* to Khudai Khidmatgars, Bacha Khan and his followers visited several parts of province. That's why Red Shirts were populous among people. Congress and Khudai Khidmatgar were not considering separate organizations. Congress claimed to start Civil Disobedience movement against British Government. About this on April 23, 1930, Aga Lal Badshah Bokhari led a gathering in Qissa Khwani Bazar. The police targeted Protestants with an open fire on the order of Deputy Commissioner. Hundreds of peoples died in the incident of Peshawar. In April 1932, just after the Round Table Conference, Lord Willington (1866-1941), the Viceroy of India (1931-36) visited Peshawar and announced Sir Ralph Griffith (1882-1963) as the Governor of the Frontier Province.¹⁹

Reforms, those received decades early in other provinces of British India was now benefited the Frontier Province too and thus the NWFP started her journey as a province under the Governor.²⁰ AIML further opened their organizational branches in several cities of NWFP. It was not an essay task to counter Congress and Khudai Khidmatgars politically in the province. It was now clear to M.A Jinnah, that Congress was discriminating the Muslim cause of Indian

¹⁸ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 41.

¹⁹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 7-10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Subcontinent. He returned from Britain to India in 1935, and took President-ship of the AIML in his hand.

The Government of India Act, 1935 was announced on the results of Round Table Conferences.²¹ The Viceroy implemented this new Act on April 1, 1937. Both AIML and Congress were critical to the Indian Act of 1935. However, elections were announced under the Indian Act of 1935. Seventy-two seats were reserved for Muslims with 92 percent of population in the Frontier Province.²² Jinnah visited first time the province on October 18, 1936 and reached Peshawar, he participated in several gatherings in the province but his visit was not fruitful which did not give any support to the Muslim League. Even the League could not issue its party ticket to candidates.

Maulana Muhammad Shoaib (Mardan) was the President of provincial AIML from December 1936-38, and Muhammad Ismail Ghaznavi as General Secretary. In later years, Sa'adullah Khan (1880-1948), Khan Bakht Jamal Khan, Taj Ali Khan (Bannu), and Samin Jan Khan served as president and Mian Ziauddin, Khan and Muhammad Ali Khan (Mardan) as General Secretary of the Frontier AIML.²³

In October 1937, an AIML Conference held at Lucknow. In the meeting, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan (1882-1942), Sir Muhammad Saadullah, Moulvi Fazlul Haq (1873-1962) supported Quaid-i-Azam as President of the AIML. Many branches of the AIML were established in various provinces.²⁴ On October 9, 1938, Sindh Muslim League Conference was held under the

²¹ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 27.

²² Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 83-84.

²³ *Ibid.*, 83.

²⁴ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 30-31.

president-ship of Quaid-i-Azam. The cheers emphasized to organize provincial AIML of the Frontier Province. Quaid-i-Azam recognized AIML loss in the Frontier and hoped that Muslims of the Frontier would come to join AIML and would support the message of the only Muslim representative party.²⁵

Congress got 19 seats out of 50. Frontier Congress was dominant there and succeeded to form government just after the dissolution of Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Ministry.²⁶ On November 7, 1937; Sir George Cunningham Governor of the NWFP, used Section 93 under the Indian Act and took charge of the all authorities of the province.²⁷

A coalition government came to run the ministry under Khan Sahib, the brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. AIML was now able to agitate against Congress on Muslim reserved seats in other provinces which rejected the Congress claim of equal representative of Hindus and Muslims at least in Muslim majority areas. Quaid-i-Azam acknowledged the issues coming in the Frontier at annual session of AIML in December 1938 in Patna. He criticized on the policies of British and Congress government in Frontier tribal areas and emphasized to amalgamate tribal areas in the NWFP.

With the outbreak of the World War II, the Viceroy discussed the situation with Quaid-i-Azam and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948). Congress decided to withdraw its cooperation with British government. Thus, the Congress Ministries from eight provinces

²⁵ Sabir, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan main Sarhad ka Hissah*, 88.

²⁶ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 29.

²⁷ Shah, Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat, 9.

resigned. Congress asked for the declaration for Indian Independence and gave threat of Civil disobedience movement.²⁸

Quaid-i-Azam declared December 22 of 1939 as a Day of Deliverance. AIML passed Lahore Resolution on March 23, 1940 at historic Minto Park in Lahore and passed Pakistan Resolution. This Resolution moved by A.K. Fazlul Haq (1873-1962). Now, Congress had no choice to set with AIML for their reservation. Several AIML leaders from the Frontier participated in the historical session of Muslim League in 1940. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan (1899-1965), Sa'adullah Khan, Abdul Wahid, Mian Ziauddin and Bakht Jamal Khan (1900-75) were worth seeing.²⁹

AIML under Sardar Aurangzeb Khan formed his government in the Frontier Province. Members of Frontier Muslim League, Samin Jan Khan elected Minister of Education and Sardar Abdurrab Nishtar became Ministry of Finance. Sardar Ajit Singh (1881-1947) and Raja Abdur Rehman elected for Interior Ministry.³⁰

The Congress candidates presented non-confidence vote on the Sardar Aurangzeb Ministry of NWFP during the scene. His ministry worked till May 12, 1945. Dr. Khan (1883-1958) once more formed government in Frontier Province.³¹ These all were the political situation which evolved personalities like Syed Jama'at Ali Shah (1834-1951), Pir of Zakori Sharif and hundreds of prominent *ulama* and *mashaikh* including Syed Muhammad Aminul Hasanat, Pir of

²⁸ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1987), 33-34.

²⁹ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 335.

³⁰ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Manki who came in front to play their role in the constitutional and political developments of the Frontier areas. Syed Muhammad Aminul Hasnat Pir of Manki confined as a prominent religious leader played important role in the political developments. His services benefited thousands of his followers. He was an eye-witnessed and active leader during the Freedom Movement.

At the same time, various social, political and religious personalities played their part to uplift the Muslim community of the Indian Sub-continent in their own sphere of influences. The Muslim community of the sub-continent revolved around the social, religious and political problems. Indian Muslims were themselves as oppressed nation particularly from the hands of Hindu dominance in every sphere of life. Indian Muslims like other nations of the world not been capable to resist against injustice from the hands of British and dominance of Hindus.

This due phenomenon was also occurred in the Frontier Province, the Frontier Muslims as oppressed stagnant nation under the uncertain rule from Sikhs rule of Hari Singh Nilwa (1791-1837) from 1836 to British. As result of uncertainty, Muslims of the Frontier Province were lapsed with social evils.³² Emperors, kings and even British crown had used their might, generally to conquer these wealthy land and territories for the sake of wealth. On the contrary, the spirit of Islam as a revolution has always struggled for the welfare of the entire humanity. Islam has a complete code of life to give protections for the suppressed and down trodden classes as *Musawaat* (human equality) which is one of the basic characteristics of Islamic society.

In this entire phenomenon, it was a great contribution of Muslim *Sufis*, who not only paid pivotal role for Islamic Cultural Revolution but utilized their energies to uplift the Muslim community politically. This Cultural Revolution revolved around the basic human values of

³² Abdur Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif aur Tehrik e Pakistan* (Lahore: Aulia Academy Pakistan), 197.

brotherhood and fraternity. *Sufis* injected the message of Islam in the veins of the caste ridden society. Therefore, they attained influence in the Muslim society. Names of such great *sufis* like Akhund Baba (1793-1878), Syed Jama'at Ali Shah, Hafiz Muhammad Junaid Peshawari, Hafiz Akhund Abdul Ghafoor alias Saidu Baba (1793-1878), and Haji Sahib of Turangzai, Pir of Manki served as good examples in this connection. Pir of Manki was a respected *Sufi* and a brilliant orator during the last decades of freedom movement. He was amongst the founders of Pakistan and a torch bearer of Islam in his region. His life is a symbol of peace and selfless services to the humanity.

CHAPTER 1

Political and Constitutional Developments in the Frontier Province

An introduction to Manki Sharif

Manki Sharif, one of the oldest village of Frontier province is located near the Grand Trunk Road from Islamabad to Peshawar in the Nelaab Valley near River Kabul in District Nowshera with an area of 5,703 acres, this village was called formally as Manki: until Shaikh Abdul Wahab settled here, from Peshawar valley, a family from *Dalazaak* Tribe shifted to Charsadda. Later, one of the families of pious Shaikh Muhammad Yousaf settled in Akora Khatak. Sheikh Abdul Wahab was born in 1807 at Akora Khattak from the family of Hazrat Ziauddin.³³

Shaikh Abdul Wahab was the disciple and follower of Hafiz Akhund Abdul Ghafoor famous name as Saidu Baba³⁴ who was disciple of Hazrat Muhammad Shoaib of Hafiz Muhammad Junaid Peshawari, a *Sufi* from *Qadriyya-Naqshabandia silsila*. Shaikh Abdul Wahab had thousands of followers in Dehri Kotikhel, from where due to scarcity of water he shifted to Manki Sharif on the instructions of his Pir Saidu Baba in 1899. Due to the presence of Shaikh Abdul Wahab, this small village of Manki was populous as Manki Sharif.³⁵

Later, this prominent *Sufi Maulana* Abdul Wahab called from the people of Manki Sharif as *Mashar* (elder) Pir of Manki Sharif. He also fought the War of Ambela (1863) with his Pir

³³ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 13.

³⁴ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, "The Making of Pakistan and the NWFP", *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (July-Dec. 1984), 41.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

Akhund Baba of Swat. People of this village are mostly from Khattak tribe with several Muhammad Zai, Yousafzai tribes etc. Native of Manki Sharif had played an active part in war against British in Malakand under the leadership of Pir of Manki. His followers were famous as Shaikh of Manki Sharif. On the guidelines of the Pir of Manki, *shaikhs* went to visit surrounding villages and town to give people message of *Amar bil Ma'ruf* and *nhi anil Munkir*. They preached message against social evils like drug and gambling. *Sheikh* Abdul Wahab, as first Pir of Manki Sharif and a renowned *Sufi* from *Qadriya Naqshbandia* died on 29 October 1904. He was succeeded by his son Abdul Haq, famous as *Sani Sahib*. After guiding his followers for 24 years he died in September 1928. He buried in Manki Sharif. After *Sani Sahib*, Abdul Rauf was succeeded as *sajjadanishin*; he lived for six years as a third Pir of Manki Sharif, famous as *Salis Sahib*. After his death in 1934, Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasnat, son of Abdul Rauf became Pir of Manki Sharif prior to his father funeral prayers.³⁶

Village of Manki Sharif has great importance due to Pir of Manki. Hundreds of great ulama, *mashaikh* and political leaders including Pir Jama'at Ali Shah (1834-1951), Maulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani (1887-1949), Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy (1892-1963), Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan (1901-81), Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1928-79), Muhammad Zia ul Haq (1924-88), and many other visionaries had paid visit to Manki Sharif due to the influential personality of Pir of Manki Sharif.³⁷

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 28,

Early education of Muhammad Aminul Hasnat and succession as Pir of Manki

Muhammad Amin ul Hasnat was born on February 1, 1922. His pious mother died after forty days of his birth. At the age of twelve years, his father and third Pir of Manki Sharif, Abdul Rauf died.³⁸ In the presence of relatives and prominent *ulama* and personalities, Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasnat started his journey as fourth Pir of Manki. Among the *ulama* Maulana Hazrat Gul of Duasar, Maulana Khaista Gul (Mati Maulana Sahib), Maulana Maslih-uddin (Sahib Haq Mardan), Maulana Syed Badshah Gul Sahib (*Mohtamim Dar-ul-Uloom Jamia Islamia, Akora Khatak*), Maulana Abdul Haq (*Mohtamim Dar-ul-Ulum Haqqania, Akora Khattak*), Maulana Syed Abdullah Shah and Nawabzada Muhammad Ali Khan Hoti (Mardan) were cheers in the ceremony when Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasnat succeeded as Pir of Manki unanimously.³⁹

This ceremony was too simple; elders of the family made him wear a cap on his head with a white turban. After this, the religious scholars placed their hands on his head one by one which signified the ceremony of *Bayat* (Oath). He had thick beard, dark grey eyes and fair complexion. He mostly used to wear loose robes of *Khader* and used brownish woolen caps.⁴⁰

Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasnat opened eyes in an environment that was not only literary but practical where deeds and positive actions were compulsory. His father was a great *Sufi* and religious scholar of his time.⁴¹ He received his elementary religious education from teachers and tutor like Maulana Hannan (famous as Yar Hussain Baba) and Qazi Gharozai. Dr Abdul Rafique

³⁸ Mir Ahmad Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, (Peshawar: Jaddun Printing Press, 1987), 52.

³⁹ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 194-95.

⁴⁰ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 30.

⁴¹ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif aur Tehreek e Pakistan*, 194.

of Pir Piyai thought him English and Urdu. He also received his early education from Maulana Abdul Mabood. Later, a part of Hifz Quran from Maulana Abdul Hannan and great part of Hifz Quran from Hafiz Salih of Duasar. Pir Sahib of Manki had great interest and love with Quran. Whenever he found time he used to read verses of the Quran.⁴²

Pir Sahib was an attractive speaker and had a peaceful and calm personality. He was well capable to perform his duties and obligations as a Pir of Manki at the age of twenty-one, he received training from Risaldar Maroof Khan about using weapons⁴³ and training of using arrows from Karim Khan Kaka of Tataal, and Baat Baba of Akhbarpura.⁴⁴

For this, Pir Sahib had horses to practice in Maraji Khwar to take practice and trained him.⁴⁵ Following the footsteps of his fore-fathers and other sufis, he started preaching immediately after *Bayat*. He took keen interest to participate in various gatherings arranged at different places. Thousands of his followers received guidance from Pir of Manki.⁴⁶

From the first day, *sajjadanishin* of Manki Sharif used their energies against social issues. They always tried to educate people of this region. That was the third decade of the twentieth century when Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasnat, Pir of Manki started social movement to eradicate evils from the society. Due to certain cases of theft, robbery and other un-Islamic trends in Manki Sharif, Pir of Manki called elders and addict people of the area. He took oath form all of them to

⁴² Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 54-55.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁴⁴ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 196.

⁴⁵ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 59.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

not take part in gambling, robbery and theft. He put responsibility on them to prevent peoples from un-Islamic trends and deeds. He gave duty to *ulama* to give and preached Islamic education in different areas of the village. Their duty was to propagare true message of Islam, and to persuade people to live simple. Soon, theft, gambling and other issues were eradicated from the village.⁴⁷

Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif was an attractive speaker, and used to give his followers *Dars Quran* (commentary on Quran). He considered *tassawaf* as fundamental requirement for a Muslim. He explained relation of *tassawaf* with life of man as one part of soul and body. Being human, if materialistic sources are requirement for physical growth then moral values has importance for the purification of Soul.⁴⁸

To reform society on true lines, Pir of Manki Sharif not only injected the spirit of Islam among the people but persuade them to play their part in the Freedom movement for a separate state slater.⁴⁹ He continued to guide his followers and society which is still worth seeing in the NWFP.⁵⁰ Pir of Manki travelled all around the frontier province in this connection. He visited places like Kohi Daman Pushto, Kohi Daman Hindko, Kohat, Nak Band, Bill Tang and Waziristan etc. About responsibilities of the *ulama* and *mashaikh*, a Conference was called on 14 October 1945. Pir Sahib of Manki in his speech emphasized to work for the progress of Islam in

⁴⁷ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 197-98.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 245.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 295.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 296.

the due time. Acknowledging individual services, *ulama* in their own sphere of influences emphasized on the collective efforts which he considered the need of the hour.⁵¹

Pir of Manki Sharif has prominent character among *ulama* and *mashaik* of his time. Welfare of people and work for community was the cause of his popularity among the masses.⁵²

Pir of Manki into Politics and the foundation of the *Jamiatul Asfia*

With the end of World War II between the two allies power on May 12, 1945, Lord Wavell (1883-1950), the Viceroy of India asked by the British Government to call a conference of political leaders in India. On the permission of Winston Churchill, Simla Conference was called in Simla.⁵³ The Conference at Simla was started on June 25, 1945. Presidents and prominent members of AIML and Congress participated in this Conference. The Conference was attended by 21 leaders from different political parties. Among the participants, provincial chief ministers, leaders of Unionist and European group and a Sikh member participated members of the Conference. The then President of the Congress, Abdul Kalam Azad demanded all caste and some Muslims seats. Viceroy had already forwarded a proposal for the formation of a Central Government of India which would have a government based on equal representation of the Caste Hindus with other minority communities and Muslims. From AIML, M.A Jinnah claimed against all Muslim seats. Congress refused to accept the AIML claim on all seats. At last this Conference lasted with a failure on July 14, 1945.⁵⁴

General Elections in Britain were held at the end of July. Labor party came into power and Lord Atlee elected Prime Minister of the Britain. With the change of government, Britain

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 253.

⁵² Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 17.

⁵³ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 18.

⁵⁴ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 47.

policy on India was also changed.⁵⁵ The issue was put to the test at the general election for provincial and central legislatures⁵⁶ while no alternative with British government except to held elections to know about the worth of political parties.

During months before the general elections, the Frontier province was now once more a challenge for AIML against Congress and Khudai Khidmatgars. Provincial AIML of the Frontier addressed several public meetings in Peshawar and other districts of the province. Meetings were held and passed several resolutions protesting Congress government and their policy of joint electorates.⁵⁷ "The Central Muslim League Parliamentary Board has announced the formation of three Muslim League Boards in the province to deal with the electioneering campaign."⁵⁸

During the entire scene, *ulama* and *mashaikh* had been playing important role to give their message in need of hours. *ulama* and *mashaikh* like Abdul Latif, Pir of Zakori, Syed Jama'at Ali Shah, Syed Mazhar Ali Shah, Faqir Abdul Wasay of Bannu, Maulana Shaista Gul and dozens of prominent *ulama* played their part to impart true message of Islam. They later played a great role also on the political plate form to give their message on the implementation of *Shariat* (Islam law).⁵⁹

Pir of Manki was one among those who had many followers around the Frontier province particularly in plain areas of the province. He also had a prominent status among *ulama* and

⁵⁵ Salahuddin Nasik, *Tehrik-e-Azadi*, (Lahore: Aziz Publications, 1975), 415-16.

⁵⁶ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 48.

⁵⁷ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 224.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 229.

⁵⁹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 19.

mashaikh of the province and British India generally. Pir of Manki started his work as a religio-political leader to held a meeting with few of his trusted *mashaikh* like Maulana Maslehuddin, Maulana Muhammad Shaista Gul (popular as Mati Maulana Sahib), Syed Abdullah Shah of Hazara and others to Manki Sharif.⁶⁰ He emphasized on the unity of ulama on a single plate form. For this purpose, he called a meeting at Manki Sharif on October 14, 1945. This meeting was held due to the interest of Pir of Manki that he had successful to called five hundred of ulama from all over Indian Sub-continent.⁶¹

This meeting was held under the president-ship of *sajjadanishin* of *Chaura Sharif*. Notable ulama among them were Syed Jama'at Ali Shah, Pir Sahib of Golra Sharif, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni (1898-1970), Maulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani (1887-1949), Naeemuddin Muradabadi (1887-1948), Mufti Muhammad Umar Naeemi (1893-1966), Pir Sahib of Taunsa Sharif, Maulana Badshah Gul from Akora Khattak, Maulana Shaista Gul, etc.⁶² and Pir Sahib of Zakori Sharif. Conference lasted for three days from October 13th to 15th, 1945. During three days of the Conference, a long session of deliberation and discussion was held to play role against the British and Congress to form Islamic State. Pir of Manki welcomed all the ulama and *mashaikh* for the participation in this conference. He thanked all of them for giving courage for the discussions. They considered to protect true message of Islam and to protect Muslim from un-Islamic trends. Pir of Manki wished to take practical steps to uplift Muslim society and development in the current situation. He condemned the British policy and the laws they implemented with the support of such so called Indian representatives. He also acknowledged

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶¹ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 218.

⁶² Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 19.

last elections and the attitude of members participated on the basis to work for the Muslim community. He emphasized on the role of *ulama* and considered religion and politics correlative. Pir of Manki acknowledged all important political developments brought from 1930's.⁶³ Members of the meetings on behest of the Pir of Manki agreed to support the AIML.⁶⁴

One second day of the Conference, Pir of Manki said, "The aim of this gathering is to comprehend that on the one hand we have to get liberate of the British and on the other to get rid of Hindu's Government by opposing the Congress. Currently Muslim League headed by Jinnah is the only political party which can effectively oppose the Congress. So, unity among the Muslim is the greatest need of the day. Every Muslim should struggle for the creation of Pakistan where they could live with honor and self-esteem. So, there is no other substitute, except to join the Muslim League, because is the only party struggling for the glory of Islam and dignity of the Muslim."⁶⁵

Jamiatul Asfia was thus founded on October 14, 1945 at Manki Sharif on the recommendation of *ulama* and *mashaikh* Pir of Manki had no personal interest to form it. He spent most of his life to strive against the injustices with Muslims and particularly played prominent and undeniable role during last years of freedom movement.⁶⁶

Pir Jama'at Ali Shah elected president of *Jamiatul Asfia* while Pir Sahib of Golra elected as vice President of the organization. On the request of *ulama*, Pir of Manki became Convener of

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 126-31.

⁶⁴ Shah, *The Making of Pakistan and the NWFP*, 43.

⁶⁵ Israj Khan and Toheeda, "Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Pir Amin-ul-Hasanat of Manki Sahrif", *Abasyn Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.4, No.2, 401.

⁶⁶ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 225.

the party. All members of *Jamiatul Asfia* took oath and signed the declaration of manifesto. Pir of Manki also took oath as a member and convener to pass those candidates for legislatures who would work for the implementation of *Shariah*.⁶⁷

Members of *Jamiatul Asfia* would agree to support the AIML if they agreed on certain conditions,

1. AIML should be opposed legislation in the Legislative Assembly contrary to religion of Islam.
2. *Jamiatul Asfia* would be taking into confidence before a month to pass a law.
3. Two ulama from each province would be supported for the Legislative Assembly to protect religious right of the Muslim community.⁶⁸ *Jamiatul Asfia* and all its members agreed to support AIML for the Muslim cause of Pakistan. Hundreds of *ulama* and *mashaikh* from all over the Sub-continent had considered AIML the only hope for them to represent the Muslim community.

The aim of this party was to underpin the demand for the establishment of Pakistan to the principles of the Quran and Sunnah.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Amino Hashanah*, 133.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶⁹ Khan and Touheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 401.

CHAPTER 2

Pir of Manki role in the Political Developments in the Frontier

A week after the foundation of the *Jamiatul Asfia*, Pir of Manki demanded conditional support from the members of the AIML central and provincial Legislative Assembly on November 1, 1945. He wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam on November 12, 1945 to assure him about the conditions of support from *Jamiatul Asfia*.⁷⁰

Quaid-i-Azam met Pir Sayed Jama'at Ali Shah in 1945. He told him about the trends of pro-Congress *ulama* and acknowledged the policies of AIML regarding a separate homeland, Pakistan. He also took advice to counter the pro-Congress *ulama* propaganda particularly in NWFP. In response, Pir Jama'at Ali Shah advised the Quaid-i-Azam to meet Pir of Manki Sharif. On the request of Jama'at Ali Shah, the Quaid-i-Azam sent Abdul Hamid Badayuni to Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar. He asked him to apprise the Pir of Manki in support of the AIML and the actual situation.⁷¹

With the foundation of *Jamiatul Asfia*, correspondence started between the Pir of Manki and Quaid-i-Azam. On November 18, 1945, he sent one of his close associate Qazi Abdul Hakim Khattak to Quaid-i-Azam to inform him of his decision.⁷² Quaid-i-Azam felt happy to listen the gathering of *ulama* and *mashaikh* under the leadership of Pir of Manki. He wrote a letter to Pir of Manki on November 18, 1945 in these words.

⁷⁰ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 22.

⁷¹ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 40.

⁷² Khan and Touheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 401.

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12 November 1945 and I thank you very much for it, I need hardly say that I am most grateful to you for the powerful support which you have been placed to give to the AIML.⁷³

Quaid-i-Azam further said that Muslims should support AIML to reach our destiny Pakistan. He considered prominent status of the NWFP and about to achieve success in the Frontier Province. While international communities were watching situation in British India. He also encouraged *Jamiatul Asfia* and *ulama* to come and served Islam. The support from Pir of Manki was encouraging for AIML. Answering Pir of Manki about the future constitution of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam told:

When the preliminary question of Pakistan being established may settle, it will not be the AIML that will frame the constitution of Pakistan but the inhabitants of Pakistan in which 75% will be the Muslim. And therefore, you will imagine and understand that it will be a Muslim Government. It will be for the people of Pakistan to frame its constitution under which the Pakistan Government will come into being and function. Therefore, it is needless to emphasize that the constituent Assembly, which will be predominantly Muslim in its composition, would be able to enact laws for the Muslims not inconsistent with *Shariah* and Muslim will be no longer obliged to abide by any un-Islamic law.⁷⁴

Quaid-i-Azam also accepted the invitation of Pir of Manki to visit Manki Sharif in his letter of November 18, 1945. Pir of Manki after joining AIML in November 1945 worked day and night to achieve this objective. *Jamiatul Asfia* decided to support AIML candidates in the general elections of 1946. He received several letters from all over the sub-continent in which people requested to send members of *Jamiatul Asfia* along copies of the objectives. Maulana Shaista Gul led for this purpose to reach each possible place to propagate message of *Jamiatul Asfia*. Pir of Manki announced to support Pakistan movement and asked Muslims of the frontier

⁷³ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 190.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

province to vote in favors of AIML of achieving Islamic State of Pakistan which would be based on the principle of Islam.⁷⁵

As Quaid-i-Azam promised to visit Pir of Manki, he affirmed him that he personally would visit Manki Sharif in his letter on November 18, 1945. He thanked Pir of Manki on his support to the AIML candidates which would verdict of Muslim India for Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam also acknowledged the services of his forefather who served the cause of Islam. He assured him that "Muslim League which is the only authoritative and representative organization of the Muslim."⁷⁶ Quaid-i-Azam stated to visit Peshawar on the Frontier Conference and wished to meet Pir of Manki.⁷⁷

Mir Ahmad Sufi claimed that Pir of Manki had thousands of followers who offered their selves to sacrifice.⁷⁸ With the foundation of *Jamiatul Asfia*, ulama and *mashaikh* declared to support the cause of Pakistan. Yet AIML had to contest elections, which were already announced by the Viceroy of India.⁷⁹ Election were announced and moved to hold in two phases. AIML was critical to the Viceroy announcement, and criticized that principle of Pakistan did not recognize.

Quaid-i-Azam reached Peshawar Airport on Monday at 4:00 pm on November 19, 1945. This was his second visit to the Frontier Province. Preparations and Election campaign started over in all provinces of British India. Quaid-i-Azam knew the situation and importance of the

⁷⁵ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Amimul Hasanat*, 23-24.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁷⁷ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 184-85.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁷⁹ Nasik, *Tehrik-e-Azadi*, 418.

NWFP. Quaid-i-Azam was welcomed by prominent Muslim Leaguers like Samin Jan Khan, Saad-Ullah Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar, Allah Baksh Yousafi, Rahim Baksh Ghaznavi, Khan Bahadur Quli Khan, Fida Mohammad Khan and others including members of National Guards. Peoples were standing beside the roads to welcome Quaid-i-Azam. Members like, Muhammad Ali Khan, Arbab Noor Muhammad Khan, Mian Burhanuddin, Dost Muhammad Khan and other workers were leading Muslim League National Guide.⁸⁰

Quaid-i-Azam stayed in the house of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Hasan in Peshawar. Members of AIML were expecting the announcement of ticket to the Muslim candidate. Quaid-i-Azam called a meeting about distributes tickets for coming election among the hundreds of Muslim League candidates. This meeting was attended by Pir of Manki Sharif, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Samin Jan Khan, Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar, Bakht Jamal Khan and Muhammad Ali Khan Hoti etc.⁸¹

This Conference placed great impact on the politics of the Frontier Province. Leaders and prominent personalities joined AIML. A member of provincial cabinet from Hazara, Khan Muhammad Abbas Khan joined Muslim League.⁸² Pir of Manki invited Quaid-i-Azam in a letter on November 20th, 1945. Quaid-i-Azam in receipt of his letter sent a quick reply in these words, "I am sorry that you cannot come on the 22nd owing to your other engagement. I am going to Mardan on the 24th November, and on my way, I shall be glad to go to Manki Sharif. I propose to

⁸⁰ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 106.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 108-9.

⁸² Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 31.

start from here at 11:00 am and break my journey and spent at least half an hour with you and have the pleasure of meeting you”.⁸³

The Muslim League Election Board interviewed candidates and their supporters at Mardan, Haripur and Abbottabad.⁸⁴ In a statement on November 21, 1945, Quaid-i-Azam told that he felt pleasure that *Pashtuns* of the Frontier Province at last recognized Pakistan as their destiny and now they wished for freedom from British and Hindus. He further acknowledged his last visit to the Frontier Province in 1936 when Muslim peoples of the Congress and knew they were supporting the Muslim League, the only representative of the Muslim in India. Muslim League Conference was held in Shahi Bagh, Peshawar. Hundreds of thousands of people attended this conference which was presided over by Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan. Quaid-i-Azam in his speech told that Hindus and British were friend of each other. They did not let us to get success. He emphasized to face the situation which was created by the Congress and Khudai Khidmatgar. Quaid-i-Azam acknowledged AIML services in 1924 when his party raised voice for the reforms equal to other provinces and Congress was against in regard to the reforms in the Centre. He also visited Islamic College, Peshawar to address a meeting of Muslim Student Federation. In his visit to Khyber Agency, Quaid-i-Azam was welcomed by Tribal elders.⁸⁵ These visits transformed the whole political arena in favor of AIML. It was now a popular party beside Congress in the Frontier Province.

⁸³ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 191.

⁸⁴ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 237.

⁸⁵ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 107-9.

Quaid-i-Azam in Manki Sharif

Quaid-i-Azam along with Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Samin Jan Khan, and Fida Muhammad Khan, Mian Muhammad Shah of Pabbi and other prominent Provincial leaders on November 24, 1945 from Peshawar.⁸⁶ Mian Musharraf Shah and Mir Aslam Khan Khattak and their supporters were standing on both sides of the roads.⁸⁷

Quaid-i-Azam was passionately welcomed by Pir of Manki and many *ulama*, cohorts of Pir Sahib, and other peoples of the province⁸⁸ Followers of Pir of Manki Sharif were chanting the slogans, *Nara-i-Takbeer*, *Allah-o-Akbar*, *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad*, *Pir of Manki Zindabad* and *Pakistan Zindabad*.⁸⁹

On the way to Manki Sharif, Quaid-i-Azam told Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar who was setting with him in his car, "Nishtar, I do not know whether Pakistan will be achieved in my life time but the demand for Pakistan is carved on the hearts of the people and nobody can remove it. I am sure Muslim Nation will certainly achieve Pakistan after five or even ten years. Therefore, if I die now I would be satisfied".⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Khan, Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 402.

⁸⁷ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 31.

⁸⁸ Khan and Touheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 402-3.

⁸⁹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 31.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

The Quaid-i-Azam reached Manki Sharif at 11:45 am on November 24, 1945. He welcomed in Manki Sharif village by the ulama, prominent religious leaders, and *mashaikh*. One of the followers of Pir of Manki, Mian Abdul Karim presented the welcome speech and questioned Quaid-i-Azam about the future constitution of Pakistan. He placed the draft of an accord before Quaid-i-Azam for approval on which ulama and *mashaikh* were agreed;

Every law in Pakistan will be in consistency with Islamic *Shariah* and not repugnant to Quran and Sunnah. Each Bill concern with Islamic *Shariah* will be presented to the President of *Jamiatul Asfia* to check, only after the endorsement by its President will present the Bill to the Constituent Assembly for further proceedings. Member of the Muslim League will present each stipulate of the *Jamiatul Asfia* in the Assembly and will try for its acceptance.⁹¹

Replying the welcome speech, Quaid-i-Azam delivered a comprehensive speech in Urdu.⁹² The English Translation is as under:

Respected Ulama and *Mashaikh*

Thanks, you very much for your enthusiastic welcome and for your determination to fight for the cause of Pakistan. I respect your noble aim and determination very much. You asked me about the future constitution of Pakistan. I am very astonished and surprised to hear such a question. I want to clarify it to you that the Muslims have one God, one Prophet and one Quran. The Holy Quran is the essence of our constitution, which was revealed about thirteen hundred years ago, through Hazrat Muhammad (Peace be upon him) The Quran is our law and that is all.⁹³

⁹¹ Khan and Touheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 403-4.

⁹² Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 32.

⁹³ Javaid Aziz, *Quaid-i-Azam aur Sarhad* (Peshawar: Idara Tasneef-o-Taleef), 145-46.

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Quaid-i-Azam moreover said, “You are request to cast your vote in favor of Muslim League’s nominees in forth coming election. It will accelerate our efforts towards Pakistan. As far as law of Pakistan is concerned, I want to clarify it again that Muslims believe in one God, one Prophet and one Religion. Quran has a comprehensive code of life. In its light, your elected members shall reach Legislative Assembly. They will be Muslim therefore, how your Muslim representatives may pass any law against the Quran and *Sunnah*. Ultimately these representatives may return to their respective constituencies and you can ask them about their performance in the Assembly.”⁹⁴

He assured further that “if you ask then about the future law of Pakistan, its reply is simple and clear, that none of the act and law of Pakistan will be against Islam. Islam will be the very base of Pakistan’s constitution. We are fighting against Hindus just to protect our religion ‘Islam’. We are struggling for Pakistan, so that the Muslims of the sub-continent may be able to get a chance to live according the tenants of Islam, and the Muslim nation may promote and practice her own civilization, culture and traditions. If these goals were not before me then I might never struggle for a separate country for the Muslims and would never ask them to join me in this noble cause.”⁹⁵

At the last of his speech, Quaid-i-Azam “requested all of you for this great and noble cause to vote in favor of AIML’s candidates. We need the close cooperation of ulama and

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

mashaikh for the noble cause. Pakistan will be achieved (Insha-Allah). March towards the goal, it is within your reach. We will soon achieve it. Pakistan *Zindabad*.⁹⁶

Quaid-i-Azam on the demand of Pir of Manki gave him assurance in written that laws in Pakistan will be in conformity with Islam. Prominent Muslim Leaguers Sufi Mir Ahmad, Samin Jan Khan, Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Fida Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Shah of Pabbi all were present in the meeting this meeting of Quaid-i-Azam with Pir of Manki.⁹⁷

It was after that when Pir of Manki became a staunch and enthusiast supporter of the AIML and its manifesto. After concluding the agreement with *Jamiatul Asfia*, Quaid-i-Azam had won not only the support of Pir of Manki but of all prominent religious leaders, ulama, *mashaikh* and their followers.⁹⁸

Quaid-i-Azam left Manki Sharif and stayed a while at the house of Khan Bahadur Mian Musharraf Shah. In this meeting, the candidates for the provincial Muslim League were discussed. Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar appreciated a nominee that was the favorite person of Pir of Manki on the assurance that he would be successful in the coming Election. It was criticized by Mian Ahmad Shah the brother of Mian Musharraf Shah. He replayed that in the presence of Congress strong candidate Mian Jaffar Shah, it could impossible to win. Both leaders suggested that Quaid-i-Azam should reconsider the decision on the candidate. Quaid-i-Azam replied that I heard this type of suggestion in Karachi which in fact is based on the principle, not on personality

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 33.

⁹⁸ Khan and Touheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 404.

or individual, "if the provincial League Selection Board nominated on ape, you people must mark your ballot to him to be successful."⁹⁹

Visiting all possible areas, Quaid-i-Azam returned from Peshawar and thanked for the hospitality while he was staying in the Frontier Province. When news reporters asked Quaid-i-Azam about his visit to the NWFP, he answered that now the demand of AIML could not be rejected. It could take time but one day Muslims will get Pakistan.¹⁰⁰

Muslim League already decided that they contest election on the principle of Pakistan. Secondly, the AIML was claiming that it was the only Muslim representative party of Indian sub-continent.¹⁰¹ Although, AIML was now well-organized party as compare to 1936 when Quaid-i-Azam first time visit this province. Moreover, many Muslim leaders in Congress left Congress due to the attitude of Hindus leaders at the Simla Conference. Candidates who recently resigned members of Congress started working in support of the AIML. A prominent member of Muslim League from Balochistan, Qazi Muhammad Isa was working for the re-organization of AIML. Chaudhary Khaliq uz Zaman (1889-1973) and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (1895-1951) visited Frontier Province on the order of Quaid-e-Azam. Both leaders were arrived in Peshawar on December 3, 1945. Situation created by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan based on ticket initiated several problems. He sent request to the central committee of ticket but they did not agree to give him.

It was a great victory, that Muslim League won all 30 reserved Muslim seats in the Centre. Congress secured 57 seats and expressed that it was the only big Political Party.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 33.

¹⁰⁰ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 111.

¹⁰¹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 334.

¹⁰² Nasik, *Tehrik-e-Azadi*, 419-20.

Frontier Muslim League started the preparation to contest elections in the Frontier Province. Pir of Manki wrote a detailed letter to Quaid-i-Azam about the actual situation of the province.¹⁰³

In his letter, he told about the election campaign and clearly warned the Quaid-i-Azam about the strong position of Congress and Khudai Khidmatgars in the province which was well organize parties. Pir of Manki informed him about his own contribution. He added that *Jamiatul Asfia* and his followers were striving and working but whole of NWFP was not his followers. Pir of Manki affirmed that his followers will cast their votes in favor of AIML candidates of Congress and Khudai Khidmatgars were working around the Province. He suggested that Quaid-i-Azam may personally look in the matter of province. In the provincial Office of the Committee of Action, no one responsible person was setting. This letter was concluded that May Allah gives us success to get Pakistan.¹⁰⁴

Pir of Manki clearly said to provincial Muslim League that propaganda could be propagating on true lines. But the Committee of Action did not give any particularly shape to work. Fateh Muhammad Khan also suggested Quaid-i-Azam on behalf of Pir of Manki about to form a committee in each district.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 257.

¹⁰⁴ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 145-46.

¹⁰⁵ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 259-60.

In his reply, Quaid-i-Azam thanked Pir of Manki for his valuable information and suggestions. He informed that it was not possible to make new changes in the organization.¹⁰⁶

He further told that, "There are not only four or five weeks left and we must make the best use of what had already been set up and the only way to make it work successfully, is that, every individual-personally, in groups and collectively, should make his or her full contribution to secure the verdict for Pakistan, by sweeping the polls."¹⁰⁷

Quaid-i-Azam said further in these words, "This is the most paramount issue, and where there is a will there is a way, perfect machinery and constitution may not work if there is no real will, harmony and unity among us. Our present machinery is set up and is the result of only a few years of our efforts and it may not be as efficient and as satisfactory as some of us may desire. But the people, if they have the will and the spirit of unity and comradeship and feel confident then they can make wonderful success of the present machinery."¹⁰⁸

Quaid-i-Azam appealed to Pir of Manki and every Muslim to do work whole heartedly which he believed could succeed in the Frontier Province.¹⁰⁹

Provincial Elections, 1946

As the day of Election approaching, Pir of Manki and *Jamiatul Asfia* lent their support to AIML. He gave message to the Muslims of the province that Muslim should give their vote to the only Muslim representative candidates of AIML. He considered that if Muslim gives vote to

¹⁰⁶ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 192.

¹⁰⁷ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 147.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 188.

Congress it would be injustice to the great objectives of Islam. It will be considered joke with the ulama. In the general elections, Muslim League contested elections on the name of Pakistan.¹¹⁰

Second phase of the election were started in the first two months of 1946. Provincial Elections were held on February 14, 1946.¹¹¹ Congress secured 930 seats and won majority in eight provinces. Muslim League won over 428 of 492 seats in the provincial assemblies. AIML secured 17 seats for the frontier provincial Assembly.¹¹²

The Provincial League faced great loss due to *Khudai Khidmatgars* and Congress influence in the Frontier masses.¹¹³ Pir of Manki earlier forecast about the fate of Frontier Muslim League which proved same as he informed Quaid-i-Azam over the election campaign in his letter dated January 16, 1946.¹¹⁴ Beside Congress with 17 seats, there were other parties like *Jamiatul-Ulama* secured 2 seats, one seat was secured by a Sikh candidate and the remaining goes to independent candidates. However, AIML first time contested election in the Frontier province while Congress and *Khudai Khidmatgars* were in electoral politics since 1936. Congress government used official machinery against Muslim League in the Frontier. Muslim League provided lists of thousands of voters who were not included in the list of voters. *Khudai Khidmatgars* also played due role to counter Muslim League. However, Muslim League proved her worth on the success of 17 seats which were enough to prove that Muslim League now able

¹¹⁰ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 35.

¹¹¹ Khan and Touheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 407.

¹¹² Nasik, *Tehrik-e-Azadi*, 420.

¹¹³ Khan and Touheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 407.

¹¹⁴ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 145-46.

to counter all political forces in the province. Just after the elections, Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Khan of Hoti resigned from the seat, bye-election was held on this seat in Mardan. Muslim League chose Muhammad Ishaq Khan and gave him ticket while Congress gave ticket to Mian Shakirullah Bacha of Gujjar Garhi, Mardan. Both parties utilized their strength. Dr. Khan challenged that if Muslim League won this seat he would be resigned from ministry. However, this seat won by Muslim League with majority of votes against Congress.¹¹⁵

The election results of 1945-46 showed that position had changed in favor of Muslim League in all Muslim majority areas.

The Cabinet Mission Plan

On February 19, 1946, the British Government announced to send a special mission to India which aims was to settle the constitutional issue. The Cabinet Mission was consisting of Lord Pethick-Lawrence (1871-1961, Secretary of State for India), Sir Stafford Cripps (1889-1952) President of the Board of Trade) and A.V Alexander (1885-1965), the first Lord of the Admiralty.¹¹⁶

Quaid-i-Azam convened AIML Legislator's Convention which was held at Anglo Arabic College in Delhi. on April 8-9, 1946, All Central and Provincial successful candidates were presented in the meeting. They declared that Muslim League would never submit to any constitutional process for a united India. A unanimous resolution was passed which was presented by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy. This resolution demanded that the six provinces of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan, Bengal and Assam should be constituted into a sovereign

¹¹⁵ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 113-14.

¹¹⁶ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 52-53.

independent State of Pakistan. They committed that Muslim League would not participate in any activity where purpose was to form united machinery for government in India. At the end of Conference, all members of central and provincial legislatures took oath that they led their selves for all movements and activities to get Pakistan.¹¹⁷

Jamiatul Asfia convened a Pakistan Conference at Shahi Bagh in Peshawar on April 21, 1946. This Conference was convened in response of Quaid-i-Azam and AIML Legislators' Convention. The Conference was chaired by Pir of Manki; he spoke in favor of AIML. He reaffirmed his readiness to sacrifice his life for the sake of Islam and Pakistan. Pir of Manki gave his opinion in these words: "the demand for Pakistan is now the final destiny of Indian Muslims and they are to sacrifice each and everything for it sake, I am ready to sacrifice my life to cause of Pakistan. If Pakistan comes into existence at the cost of my blood, I am present, if her needs to be built on my bones, my bones are present and if Quaid-i-Azam demands such like sacrifices, I will offer myself to them."¹¹⁸

On the occasion, Pir of Manki presented the following suggestion which were also supported by Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar that are;

1. The Conference demanded that the Hindus and British should accept Lahore Resolution passed on March 23, 1940 which is the only solution for the constitution problem of India.
2. The Conference acknowledged that AIML is the only Muslim representative Party and

¹¹⁷ Nasik, *Tehrik-e-Azadi*, 422-23.

¹¹⁸ Khan and Touheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 407.

Quaid-i-Azam as attributed leader of Muslim community of India. They aimed, that Muslim of Frontier Province was ready to sacrifice everything for Pakistan.¹¹⁹

Quaid-i-Azam keeping in view of the resolution passed in the last convention of Muslim League Legislators' was ready to negotiate with the Cabinet Mission.¹²⁰ The Cabinet Mission started a series of discussions with provincial governors. Members of the Mission discussed with leaders of political leaders' provincial ministers and other leading personalities in next two weeks. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, president of the Congress demanded constitution based on federal type of government. Gandhi suggested to the members of Mission that C.R Formula would be considered to negotiate with AIML. Congress was represented by Motilal Nehru, Vallabhai, Patel and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Members who represented AIML were Quaid-i-Azam, Ismail Khan, Liaquat Ali Khan, and Abdurrah Nishtar. In others, leader of Liberal Party's Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was also participant of the meeting. In the discussion, United India versus Pakistan was the main issue between Congress and AIML. Sir Tej Bahadur stressed on the policy of conciliation between Congress and Muslim League to solve their differences. He also stressed to avoid the division of India and suggested to give more provincial autonomy to convince Muslim League. The discussion ended without gaining any results. However, the Cabinet Mission plan failed to bridge gap between Congress on the issue of constitutional future of India.¹²¹

In the NWFP, Pir of Manki became member of AIML Working Committee. Along with other prominent ulama and *mashaikh* visited the Frontier.¹²² Consequently in consequence of

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 408.

¹²⁰ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 54.

¹²¹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 37.

¹²² Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 408.

these visit, many people joined AIML. Dr. Khan gave order to arrest Pir of Manki. According to Mir Ahmad Khan Sufi, that police made several attempts but failed to arrest him. Brother of Pir of Manki, Hastam Khan, and other members like Maulana Shah Saeed, Hafiz Rahat Gul, and Muhammad Alam Khan were arrested.¹²³

All India Sunni Conference was held at Banaras on April 27, 1946. On the invitation of Maulana Naeemuddin Muradabadi and Maulana Muhammad Umar Naeemi, Pir of Manki was also invited to it from NWFP. During the Conference, Pir of Manki Sharif, Pir Syed Jama'at Ali Shah, Khawaja Nizamuddin of Tansa along Sardar Shaukat, Makhdom Raza Shah of Multan and many others were participated. The Conference passed a resolution in favor of Pakistan. Participants of the meeting announced to support the cause of Pakistan to form a government based on the Quran and Sunnah. This Conference also proposed to form a *Mashaikh* Committee based on the following *ulama* and *mashaikh*;

1. Maulana Syed Zain ul Hasnat of Manki Sharif.
2. Maulana Shah Abdul Hamid.
3. Maulana Muhammad Naeemuddin.
4. Maulana Shah Mustafa Raza Khan.
5. Maulana Muhammad Amjad Ali.
6. Maulana Abdul Aleem.
7. Maulana Abdul Hamid Qadri Badauni.
8. Maulana Syed Shah Diwan.
9. Rasool Ali Khan *sajjadahnashin* Ajmeer Sharif.

¹²³ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 143.

10. Maulana Shah Qamruddin, *sajjadahnashin* Siyal Sharif.

11. Syed Muhammad Ahmad.

12. Maulana Syed Muhammad Ahmad.

The Conference further suggested including more members if necessary. Pir of Manki in his speech said "Quaid-i-Azam has guaranteed me that *Shariah* will be the law of the land, if he deceived me and the Muslim, then we will counteract him, as we are working with him today."¹²⁴

Cabinet Mission and the Frontier Province

On May 16, 1946, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy recommended a proposal of their own to solve the constitutional problem. The salient features of the plan were as under:

1. The Sub-Continent should be a Union which should deal with subjects of defense, foreign affairs and communication. It should have the power to raise the necessary finance for the above subjects.
2. There should be three groups of provinces.

Group A: It consists of Hindu majority provinces of Bombay, Madras, U.P, C.P, Bihar and Orissa.

Groups B: It consists of Muslim majority province of the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan.

Group C: Assam and Bengal.

3. All subjects other than of Union subjects shall be vest with the provinces.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 408.

4. All members of the provincial assemblies shall have power to elect central legislature which will frame the constitution. When the central constitution will be framed, then all three provincial groups will prepare their own constitution.
5. The Cabinet Mission also included a proposal to form an interim central government.
6. If any province from three groups decide to separate from the Union, it could do so but after ten years
7. Each province should have seats in proportion to its population in the central legislative.
8. When the central constitution will be framed, any province could change its group if necessary.¹²⁵

Viceroy Lord Wavell had invited 14 prominent leaders of different political parties to form an interim government.

- a. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin (1894-1964) and Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar from AIML.
- b. Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru (1889-1964), Chakravarti Raj Gopal Achariya (1878-1972), Dr. Rajandira Parsad (1884-1963), Sardar Vallabhai Patel (1875-1950), Harey Krishna Mehtab (1899-1987), Sardar Balder Singh (1902-1961, Sikh), Dr. John Matthai (1886-1959, Indian Christian), Sir Noshewan (Parsi) and Jagjewan Ram (1908-86, Minority Member) from Congress.

The most important point which added to the proposal was that if a political party disagrees or rejects the proposal, have not right to join the interim government. However, the right to join the Interim Government will be given to that party which accepts the proposal.¹²⁶

One May 22, 1946, Quaid-i-Azam issued a statement on the Cabinet Mission Plan that

¹²⁵ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 56-57.

¹²⁶ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 38-39.

“Mission should have negated the Muslim demand for the establishment of a complete sovereign state of Pakistan”, and raised various points regarding the plan. He also told that the Muslim League Council which would meet shortly in Delhi took final decision on the proposal.¹²⁷

A meeting held at Mattani in Peshawar on May 28, 1946, Pir of Manki, Arbab Abdul Ghafoor, Mian Abdullah Shah and Maulvi Shakirullah delivered speeches on this occasion. During the speeches, peoples were also informed against the misleading propaganda of Abdul Ghaffar Khan against Pakistan.¹²⁸ Another Pakistan Conference was held at Naurang on May 30, 1946; Sahibzada Abdul Latif of Zakori criticized the ministry for collecting wheat from peasant forcefully. Another Pakistan Conference was held at Bannu on May 31, 1946. Pir of Manki was presided this meeting. He acknowledged the services and contribution of AIML and Quaid-i-Azam and demanded to reform the constitutional status of the province. He stressed in his speech to form an Islamic government which would implement laws of *Shariah*.¹²⁹

This meeting also appealed for the collection of funds. K.B. Gul Muhammad expressed reluctance to hand over surplus food grains to government till Quaid-i-Azam ordered him. Office-bearers were elected in the constituencies to re-organize the Muslim League. Pir of Manki on the other hand discussed the Cabinet Mission Plan with the leading Muslim Leaguers. It is said that “Arbab Abdul Ghafur and Abdullah Shah were sent to Delhi to acquaint Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan about the situation.”¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 58.

¹²⁸ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 259-60.

¹²⁹ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 214-15.

¹³⁰ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 257-58.

Mullah of Mani who presided over said that he received a letter from the Faqir of Ipi. In his letter, he declared to support Pakistan. A resolution passed declaring complete faith in Quaid-i-Azam.¹³¹

Three more meetings were held at Pabbi, Akora and Urmur Miana during the first week of June 1946. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was criticized in this meeting for his selfish motives.¹³²

It was on the assurance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, and of the Viceroy rule that the leaders of AIML changed their attitude. According to Ch. Rehmat Ali, "the Muslim League Council, after weighing the pros and cons, decided on June 6, to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan".¹³³ It was surprising for Congress because for them it would be unacceptable for the AIML. Quaid-i-Azam also assured the members of the mission to join interim government, instead if Congress not agreed to the proposal.

AIML was still re-organizing its committees and chose volunteers for the Muslim National Guard. A meeting with large audience was held at Pirpai, Peshawar on June 12, 1946. Pir of Manki welcomed by a hundred of volunteers of the National Guard. Misbahuddin said that "the ship of Islam would steer to its destination under the able steersman like the Pir Sahib of Manki".¹³⁴ Pir of Manki addressed the gathering and told them that it was un-Islamic to join infidels like Hindus.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 260.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 259.

¹³³ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 60.

¹³⁴ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 261.

CHAPTER 3

Pir of Manki role in the Referendum of the Frontier Province

Abul Kalam Azad was the chief negotiator with the Cabinet Mission. He also believed in the implementation of the Cabinet Mission Plan. However, there was a clear distribution of power within the Congress. The members of the Cabinet Mission Plan ignored Abul Kalam Azad and made a deal with Gandhi and Patel. The Congress also utilized *Jamiatul Ulama-i-Hind* for its own purpose to identify that they were representatives of all the communities living in the Indian Sub-continent. Gandhi persuaded the Working Committee of the Congress for this purpose to reject the interim government which had already knocked down half of it. The remaining hopes from the Congress were demolished by Nehru.¹³⁵ The Cabinet Mission was departed from Indian on June 29, 1946, and left behind them a legacy of discord and bitterness."¹³⁸

In the month of July, Nehru replaced Maulana Abdul Kalam Azam as President of the Congress. Just after holding the office of President, he started provocative statements against the Cabinet Mission Plan. During the time, the Congress leader Mohan Gandhi strived to notify particularly Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the North-West Frontier Province. His only purpose was to separate NWFP from the influence of AIML and Pakistan.¹³⁶

Although the Viceroy, Lord Wavell was not agreed to form interim government without Congress. The meeting of the AIML Working Committee was held from July 27-29, 1946. In

¹³⁵ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 8.

¹³⁸ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 66.

¹³⁶ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 114-115.

this meeting, Quaid-i-Azam said clearly that all sincere work for peace and justice was ruined. Congress not gave any positive answer to the Muslim League. Quaid-i-Azam also declared the attitude of Viceroy on the Cabinet Mission, and called it a breach of trust.¹³⁷

Beside the entire situation in the Centre, Frontier Muslim League and their volunteers in the Frontier Province were activity working to propagate the message of AIML to counter the influence of the Congress and their allies particularly, the Khudai Khidmatgars. In this connection, a mass public meeting was held at the Mahabat Khan Mosque in Peshawar on August 16, 1946. Pir of Manki presided this meeting. He addressed the gathering and said that the first step was to renounce all titles and considered next step would go to jails or to be shot. He also remarked that he would be the first person in this regard. All the audience raised their hands to show that they were prepared to follow Pir of Manki. A large procession was also taken out from the mosque through Peshawar city.¹³⁸

Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India on August 19, 1946 invited Nehru to form interim government. Quaid-i-Azam was also invited by the Viceroy in this regard but the negotiation was ended without any positive result. On the quota of AIML, three Nationalist Muslims were chosen to form the interim government with Congress. Asif Ali, and Dr. Zaheer were nominated and the remaining two members would be choose later. Both, the Viceroy and Nehru asked Quaid-i-Azam for compromise but he was not agreed to betray the principle. At last, the interim government was formed under Nehru. Quaid-i-Azam considered this act of the Viceroy a clear

¹³⁷ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 41.

¹³⁸ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 269-70.

breach of trust with the AIML. A resolution was already passed in the last Muslim League Council in these words;

The time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan and to get rid of the present slavery under the British and contemplated future Caste Hindu domination.¹³⁹ The Council also gave instructions for the preparation of direct action day and to organize the Muslim for the coming struggle.¹⁴⁰ First time in the history of AIML, it was decided every possible mean along constitutional way. On August 20, 1946, agitation and processions were started on the call of direct action day.¹⁴¹

For the campaign of Direct Action, a Committee was setup in the Frontier Province. Pir of Manki was elected President of the Committee. Under the leadership of the Pir of Manki, many meeting and gathering arranged all over the Frontier province during the Direct-Action Campaign.¹⁴²

On September 4-5, 1946, a meeting was held in Camera at Chirat district, Nowshera, under the Chairmanship of the Pir of Manki.¹⁴³ During this Conference, three resolutions passed.

- i. A list of all Muslim preachers was prepared with a view to send them in groups to propagate the message in favor of Pakistan.
- ii. To make the Muslim community self-sufficient, all Muslims were urged to buy from

¹³⁹ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 70.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 41-42.

¹⁴² Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 409.

¹⁴³ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 62.

Muslim shopkeepers.

- iii. All Muslim lawyers were called upon to devote their services to propagate the message of Pakistan and to defend Muslim Leagues in the courts of law.¹⁴⁷

On September 13¹⁴⁴-14, 1946, several meetings were held in different parts of Peshawar. Pir of Manki condemned the formation of Interim Government and Abdul Ghaffar Khan for making efforts to place Muslims under the domination of Hindus. A resolution was also passed by the Afridi tribesmen that they could not submit to Hindu Government formed under Nehru at the Centre. It was demanded that the British Government should stop the bloodshed of the innocent Muslims and should submit to the Muslim League demand of Pakistan otherwise they would be compelled to achieve Pakistan through Direct Action. In other meeting on September 18, Pir of Manki requested the Muslims to prepare their selves for *Jihad*.¹⁴⁵

The Congress was not in favor to lose their influence in the Frontier province. On September 26, 1946, Nehru announced his policy. He told that the issue of tribal areas would be solved as soon as they are defenders of the North-West Frontier. He also clarified that the government would not interfere in the autonomous status of the tribe's and neither any plan would be forced on them. Nehru decided to visit the Frontier Province. He informed the Governor of the Frontier Province, Sir Olaf Caroe (1892-1981) on September 28, 1946 through a telegram No. 84220.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 42.

¹⁴⁵ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 274-77.

¹⁴⁶ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 46.

Muhammad Shafi Sabir quoted Syed Bahadur Shah Zafar who writes in his book, that the only purpose of the Congress leader Nehru was to weak the demand of Pakistan and to encourage the provincial Congress.¹⁴⁷ The Governor of the Frontier Province Sir Olaf Caroe was not happy on the proposed visit of Nehru to the Frontier Province. He wrote a letter to him that in the due situation his visit to tribal areas was not suitable. Sir Olaf Caroe also visited Delhi to inform the Central authorities about the consequences of the visit.¹⁴⁸

Abul Kalam Azad writes in his autobiography that "when I heard this, I told Jawahar Lal that he should not take any hasty action. It was difficult to know what the exact situation in the Frontier was. There were factions in every province and there was bound to be group opposed to the *Khan* Brothers. Nehru had just assumed and not yet consolidated his position. His tour in the Frontier at this stage would give the dissident elements an opportunity of organizing their opposition to Congress".¹⁴⁹

In this entire situation, discussions were going between the Viceroy and Quaid-i-Azam. On the other hand, the Muslim League Working Committee passed a resolution on October 13, 1946 which would fatal to leave the entire administrative structure at Centre in the hands of Congress.

At last, AIML was agreed to join interim government to stop riots which had affected the

¹⁴⁷ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 120.

¹⁴⁸ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 47.

¹⁴⁹ Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (Madras: Orient Longman, 1988), 181.

Muslim interest due to the Congress monopoly in government. Quaid-i-Azam wrote to the Viceroy in this regard.¹⁵⁰ The real purpose behind this was to strive against the Congress dominance and to get Pakistan. As authorized by the Working Committee, on October 14, 1946, Quaid-i-Azam gave names of Liaquat Ali Khan, I.I. Chundrigar (1897-1960), Abdurrah Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan (1895-1963), and Jogendra Nath Mandal (1904-68) for the Cabinet.¹⁵¹

However, charges of the Ministries were given on October 25, 1946 to following members;

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Ministry of Finance

I.I. Chunrigarh, Ministry of Trade

Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Ministry of Health

Sardar Abdurrah Nishtar, Ministry of Information, and

Jogendra Nath Mandal, Ministry of Law.¹⁵²

Pir of Manki with all other Muslim Leaguer leadership visited all parts of province.¹⁵⁶ They recorded various protest in all possible villages and cities of the North-West Frontier Province. In the due situation, sectarian riots were planted by the Hindus. The situation was

¹⁵⁰ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 43.

¹⁵¹ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 80.

¹⁵² Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 117.

¹⁵⁶ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 43.

going to worst day by day and many people died due to it.¹⁵³ Fifteen thousand peoples were wounded and round about four thousand and above died.¹⁵⁸

It was said that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad asked Abdul Ghaffar Khan to make compromise with the AIML but no attempt was made in these worst situation, Lord Wavell visited affected areas and saw all the destructions. He once more started to negotiate with AIML and Congress which might stop all these sectarian riots between Muslims and Hindus.¹⁵⁴

Nehru's visit to NWFP

During 1946, a big change had taken place in the public opinion of the NWFP. Many people were gathered under the umbrella of AIML due to the efforts of Pir of Manki and other prominent Muslim Leaguers. The Red-Shirt leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan had still a considerable following but was losing continuously his hold on the people. General Election of the 1946 were witnessed such a great change in the public opinion. AIML was beneficial securing 17 seats.

Abul Kalam Azad wrote in his auto biography that "during the General Elections, Congress placed large amounts at the disposal but the *Khan* Brothers spent as little as possible out of these funds. Many candidates lost in the elections for lack of funds. Later, when they came to know the funds were lying idle with the *Khan* Brother, these men became their bitter enemies."¹⁵⁵ The people of the province were against Congress and the *Khan* Brothers. Local officers told Nehru that the Congress had largely lost support. Nehru had the view that reports were not correct and fabricated by the British officers. However, Lord Wavell was not agreed

¹⁵³ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 115.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 116-17.

¹⁵⁵ Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, 182.

with Nehru and was of the view that the Frontier now divided equally between the *Khan* Brothers and the Muslim League. In fact, Congress had become accustomed to depend on Khudai Khidmatgars in the Frontier Province.¹⁵⁶

According to Chaudhri Rehmat Ali (1897-1951) that if the British was lasting, “the constitutional struggle in the rest of India had little significance for the people in this area, but with the impending departure of the British a radically new situation arose”. There was tough a campaign of succession, if the Congress design succeeded, they would be the successors of the British and would exercise all powers in the Sub-Continent.¹⁵⁷

Lord Wavell informed Quaid-i-Azam on October 15, 1946 about the proposed visit of Nehru to the Frontier. He also wrote that Nehru affirmed him that he welcomed Muslim League in his speeches about to join the interim government. Quaid-i-Azam called a meeting of the AIML Committee about Nehru visit. Quaid-i-Azam asked the Viceroy that in the current situation people would not like to see his visit he could postponed his visit for now. He also acknowledged that the central authority not given any message to arrange protest in the Frontier.¹⁵⁸

Pir of Manki just before the visit of Nehru toured the tribal areas and stressed that all tribal leaders should come under the banner of the Frontier League.¹⁵⁹ However Nehru reached Peshawar Air Port on October 16, 1946. Many greens dressed Muslim Leaguers were gathered

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁵⁷ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 88-89.

¹⁵⁸ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 49.

¹⁵⁹ Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 410.

before his arrival on the airport.¹⁶⁰ On the day of Nehru visit, the members of Muslim League and followers of the Pir of Manki created stiff resistance chanting, Go Back Nehru, Go Back Nehru. In a meeting at Chowk Yadgar Peshawar, a resolution was passed against the visit of Nehru and declared that "the visit of Nehru to the Frontier was undertaken to vivisect the Muslims."¹⁶¹

Many prominent Muslim Leaguers like Pir of Manki, Yousaf Khan Khattak, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Arbab Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Arbab Noor Muhammad Khan, Bakht Jamal Khan, Samin Jan Khan, Muhammad Ali Khan Hoti, Fida Muhammad Khan, Ghulam Muhammad Khan Lundkhwar and Muhammad Ibrahim Khan Ghagrah were presented in the protest at the Air Port. Nehru on next day visited Waziristan Agency. Nehru on October 17, 1946, went to Meeran-Shah where only two tribal leaders Malik Meer Jan and Dr. Muhammad Ayub as a private fractioned met Nehru. Dr. Khan asked the *Jirga* people in Meeran Shah that Nehru visited you to know your issues and problems. Abdul Ghaffar Khan in his speech had provoked the passion of the tribal *sardars* when he asked them that leaders of AIML were the agent of British Government, so the *Jirga* members boycotted the Nehru Speech.¹⁶²

Then he went to Tank where a hostile public was waiting for him. They told Nehru, if they would have any problem they would contact Quaid-i-Azam. From Tank, they reached Jandola, where the political agent was a Hindu. He welcomed Nehru enthusiastically and he came back to Peshawar.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 121.

¹⁶¹ Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 410.

¹⁶² Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 50-51.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 51.

Nehru per the proposed plan visited Malakand Agency along with Dr. Khan and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. They also faced protest and agitation from the local peoples. Roads were blocked with large stones which made difficulty for them.¹⁶⁴

On October 30, 1946, Nehru's visited Darra-e-Khyber, Tehkal and Islamia College. People in protest standing on both side of the road welcomed him with black flags and chanted slogan against Nehru. Along him was Dr. Khan, the Chief Minister of Frontier, Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Kanna on this visit. When they reached Jamrud, people raised the slogan of *Go back, go back*. Near the Khyber Pass, green flags of Pakistan were hoisted on every house and people standing on both sides of the road busy in Chanting, slogan of Pakistan *Zindabad*.¹⁶⁵

However, Nehru visit of NWFP proved fruitless, he blamed the political Department. Particularly about his Malakand visit, Nehru put all responsibility on Sheikh Mehbob Ali, Political Agent of the Malakand.¹⁶⁶

Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif also intensified the AIML propaganda, especially among the tribesman and adjacent areas of Peshawar. Newspaper like *Nawa-i-Waqt*, The Khyber mail, and *Tarjuman-e-Sarhad* gave coverage to the visit of Nehru and painted to show that Frontier's Muslims had rejected the Congress.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 122.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 121-22

¹⁶⁶ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 36.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 69.

Pir of Manki played pivotal role to counter the strategy and policies of Nehru and Dr Khan Sahib. Peoples of the Frontier province proved that they associated their future with Pakistan.¹⁶⁸

It is reported that the Pir of Manki had been appointed to propagate AIML propaganda in the tribal areas. About this, two *Jirga* of Afridi tribes met him at Peshawar on October 13. The *Jirga* assured Pir of Manki to give full support to the Muslim League. Quaid-i-Azam lauded the efforts of the Pir of Manki in his letter on October 30, 1946. He said, "I was very pleased to read in the newspapers that you have now been whole-heartedly working for the Muslim League". He also asked Pir of Manki that we want our most prominent selfless men came forward to work. He further said that "there is a very great struggle in front of us to achieve our goal of Pakistan. It is now up to every Muslim, to whatever class he may belong, to work and organize our people and stand united under the banner of the AIML."¹⁶⁹

Pir of Manki wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam on his policy, strategy and efforts to counter the Nehru visit of Frontier Province on November 1, 1946.¹⁷⁰ On November 8, 1946, a Pakistan Conference was held at D.I Khan under the Chairmanship of Pir of Manki. This Conference attracted many audience including Wazirs, Mahsuds and others from tribal territory. Prominent among the speakers were the Pir of Manki, Pir Muhammad Yusuf Gilani, alias Pir of Wana,

¹⁶⁸ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 53.

¹⁶⁹ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 193.

¹⁷⁰ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 261.

Nawab Qutab-ud-din of Tank, Ghulam Muhammad etc. The Conference emphasized on the unity of Muslims and stressed to prepare themselves for future eventualities.¹⁷¹

Pir of Manki emphasized Pakistan demand and expressed their faith over the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam.¹⁷² Quaid-i-Azam lauded the Pakistan Conference at Delhi in the following telegram:

CONGRATULATION FOR THE MOST SUCCESSFUL PAKISTAN CONFERENCE D.I. KHAN UNDER PRESIDENTSHIP OF PIR MANKI SHARIF ATTENDED BY LEADING PIRS OF WAZIRISTAN AND DERAJAT AND 1000 MAHSOOD WAZIRS AND BHITTANI TRIBESMEN HAVING COMPLETE FAITH IN YOU. TRY FOR DISMISSAL OF BIHAR MINISTRY HAVING COMPLETELY FAILED TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER AND MOHAMMAD NASRULLAH KHAN CHIEF OF ALIZAI PRESENT RECEPTION COMMITTEE.¹⁷³

He also visited Waziristan where he stayed with Shahzada Fazal Din Mahsud.¹⁷⁴ During this tour, Pir of Manki met with Haji Mirza Ali Khan, alias Faqir of Ipi (1897-1960) who was a well-known freedom fighter against the British authorities in the tribal belt of Waziristan. Faqir of Ipi affirmed his support for the creation of Pakistan.¹⁷⁵ In this tour, Pir Zada Ahmad Gul, Faqir Abdul Wasay of Bannu and Muhammad Yaqub Khan were participant with Pir of Manki.¹⁷⁶

Quaid-i-Azam wrote a letter on November 7, 1946 to Pir of Manki in receipt of his letter

¹⁷¹ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 294.

¹⁷² Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 410.

¹⁷³ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 66-67.

¹⁷⁴ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 294.

¹⁷⁵ Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 410-11.

¹⁷⁶ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 152-53.

November 1, 1946. He thanked Pir of Manki about his suggestion he acknowledged in his letter. Quaid-i-Azam also appreciated Pir of Manki on his work for Muslim League.¹⁷⁷

Pir Sahib Role in the Civil Disobedience Movement

The political atmosphere of the Frontier Province was disturbed due to the news of Hindu-Muslim riots. Many peoples were working in different cities of the Indian Sub-Continent. Peoples of the province who were affected due to these riots reached their home. They brought with them the whole story of the situation with the Muslims. They also brought with them the burned pieces of the Quran and organs of their relatives who were killed there due to the riots. The minds of the people of the Frontier were thus changing about the non-Muslims. In the month of October, 1946, situation in the province was deteriorated when equipped people from Nandhar tribe attacked Betal Bazar of Mansehra and Ugee Bazar on the night of October 8, 1946.¹⁷⁸ Addressing the Aligarh students on December 2, 1946, Pir of Manki said, "We will establish Pakistan, be true Muslim and what else was more natural for a true Muslim, then to belong to Pakistan."¹⁷⁹ In another big gathering at Shāhi Bagh at Peshawar on December 24, 1946, Pir of Manki challenged the Congress by saying, "Let the Frontier Gandhi persuade the provincial Ministers to recommend to the Governor the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly and let us fresh election on the issue of Pakistan and grouping."¹⁸⁰

In January 1947, another incident was occurred when a Sikh widow named Basanti married to a Muslim Mohammad Zaman after embracing Islam. This incident in Hazara brought

¹⁷⁷ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 263.

¹⁷⁸ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 64-65.

¹⁷⁹ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 67.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

situation infuriated and non-muslim community of Sikhs and Hindus in the Frontier and Punjab came to protest Muslims. They accused that Muhammad Zaman was involved in the murder of the Basanti husband and alleged him that she was forcefully converted to Islam. However, the case was concluded when Basanti handed over to Dr. Khan, the Chief Minister of Frontier. She was asked about the actual position in front of some high-ranking official. Basanti confirmed the allegations of Hindus and Sikhs so she was handed over to Sikhs.¹⁸¹

Muslim League sent a deputation of three members to meet Dr. Khan in this regard but was failed to gain anything. Muslim League harvested the situation in his favor and called a conference of Frontier Muslim League on February 1947. It was decided that a protest would be arranged on February 21 at Chowk Yadgar Peshawar.¹⁸² Muslim League decided to challenge the Congress ministry of the province. A War Committee was organized and Pir of Manki was elected head of this Committee. All Muslim League circles were instructed to organize a group of *Mujahedeen* in their own constituencies which would be utilized against Congress. On February 18, Frontier Muslim League started civil disobedience movement from Mardan. On the same day Abdul Qaiyum Khan was arrested on the violation of Article 144.¹⁸³

Provincial Muslim League held a procession on February 21, 1947 at Chowk Yadgar Peshawar. Fida Muhammad Khan presided over this protest. Arbab Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Khan Bakht Jamal Khan and other leaders gave speeches on this occasion. After it the procession started their journey through Khyber Bazar and Qissa Khwani to the House of Dr. Khan. The

¹⁸¹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 65.

¹⁸² Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 126.

¹⁸³ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 66.

police had blocked ways to maintain security of the Chief-Minister House. However, they were failed to control over the situation. Muslim League leaders, Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Bakht Jamal Khan, Fida Muhammad Khan, Syed Mazhar Gillani and others were arrested by the police and sent to Peshawar Jail.¹⁸⁴

At the same time, Atlee, the Premier of Britain announced on February 20, 1947, that his Majesty government has "definite intention to take the necessary steps to affect the necessary transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948."¹⁸⁵ This statement created the state of urgency and deteriorated the political situation of the Frontier Province. Pir of Manki was most active in addressing Frontier Muslim League meeting.¹⁸⁶

However, the Frontier Muslim League Civil Disobedience Campaign was spread to all districts of the province.¹⁸⁷ He was also being most active in holding meetings in the Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, Kohat districts, Bhattani tribal territories and Khyber Agency. The only demand of the Frontier Muslim League was to release Muslim League leaders, to remove restrictions placed on the Muslim leaders.¹⁸⁸ On March 9, 1947, Pir of Manki clearly said that the struggle was "between Hindus and Muslims". He asked the native of tribal territory to declare that "they had no faith in the tribal areas committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly."¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 126-29.

¹⁸⁵ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 72.

¹⁸⁶ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 317.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 318.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 320.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 322.

The Frontier Muslim League decided to observe 'Martyr's Day' throughout the province on March 20, 1947.¹⁹⁰ However, Dr. Khan, Chief Minister of NWFP said in a statement that we provided free hand to Pir of Manki.¹⁹¹

On March 27, 1947, Pir of Manki said at Akhbarpura that "The Muslim League would not fall into the trap laid by Congress to create friction between Muslims".¹⁹² A meeting was held at Muhabbat Khan Mosque at Peshawar. After Friday, congregational prayers, Pir of Manki would preside over gathering but he was arrested at 9:30 am on March 28, 1947 in the Frontier Muslim League Office. He was taken into custody by the District Magistrate, and the Senior Superintendent of Police, Peshawar. Later he was shifted to Haripur Jail and kept in 'A' class.¹⁹³

Three more meetings were held from March 29-31, 1947, the audience condemned the arrest of Pir of Manki, Mir Alam Shah and others. The arrest of the Pir of Manki caused a great resentment in the Frontier Muslim League circles.¹⁹⁴ The news of the arrest of Pir of Manki spread in the country and thousands of his companions and followers offered themselves for arrest.¹⁹⁵

The Frontier women also participated in the demonstration. Famous among them were Begum Shaikh Abdul Wahid, Begum Sardar Haider, Begum Qazi Mir Ahmed, Begum Abdul Rauf, Mumtaz Majeed, Almas Akhtar, Begum Zari Sarfaraz (1923-2008), Begum Sardar

¹⁹⁰ Hussain *Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 72.

¹⁹¹ *Shah*, Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat, 70-71.

¹⁹² *Ahmad*, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 329

¹⁹³ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 72.

¹⁹⁴ *Ahmad*, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 330-31.

¹⁹⁵ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 73.

Aurangzeb and many others who participated and led the Civil Disobedience Movements in the NWFP.¹⁹⁶

Pir of Manki also played important role during his days in jail. He along with other Frontier Muslim Leaguers formed "Jail Committee, Pir of Manki selected president of this committee. He delivered many speeches to thousands of prisoners and they were advised to live in harmony and peace. The following were the manifesto of Jail Committee."¹⁹⁷

1. The Prisoners and jail staff will obey and respect the orders of the president of Jail Committee.
2. Jail staff should treat the prisoners equally.
3. Arrangement will be made for visitors to meet the prisoners by the duty of Jail Staff.
4. Tellers of the prisoners should be delivered to them by the jail staff.
5. Pir of Manki will deal with any complaint against prisoners if needed.
6. Jail authorities are responsible for the arrangement of cleanness particularly the sanitation.¹⁹⁸

However, all prominent leaders of Frontier Muslim League were in Jail. Sardar Abdur Nishtar, Minister of Communication, and Feroz Khan Noon come to lead the civil disobedience movement in the Frontier province.¹⁹⁹ Khudai Khidmatgars also utilized the situation as about ten

¹⁹⁶ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 71.

¹⁹⁷ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 74.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 145.

thousand of them marched on the roads of Peshawar to show their strength on the orders of Dr. Khan's Ministry. It encourages the non-Muslim of the province and they began to open their shops and other activities.²⁰⁰ Mian Abdullah Shah sent a letter to Pir of Manki in which he requested to advice the ulama and other religious leaders to organize processions and meeting in each village and town to condemn the policies of Congress and Abdul Ghaffar Khan.²⁰¹

The June 3rd Plan, 1947

The British Government took a momentous decision to effect on early transfer of power. Lord Mountbatten was replaced with Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India. He arrived on March 22, 1947. He was in-charge of the Mission to make a peace full transfer of power from British to Indian people by June 1948.²⁰²

On April 16, 1947, Lord Mountbatten (1900-79) called a conference of the members of the interim government. Sir Olaf Caroe the Governor of Frontier Province attended the Conference. He proposed a new election in the NWFP to settle down the issue between the Congress and AIML, Lord Mountbatten responded that the Conference was not called for the purpose to announce new elections but to discuss the situation in the Frontier Province. He recommended to release political prisoners and to left bane on the political activities.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 73.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

²⁰² Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 115.

²⁰³ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 73.

Lord Mountbatten personally announced to visit the Frontier Province. He reached on April 28, 1947, to judge the situation in the Frontier.²⁰⁴ He was deeply impressed and surprised to see a record crowd of two hundred thousand in the Cunningham Park, Peshawar. People were waving, Muslim League's flags, demanding Pakistan, and chanting the slogan of *Pakistan Zindabad*.²⁰⁵

Lord Mountbatten was further convinced to judge the situation for two days. He had already requested Quaid-i-Azam to announce to quit Civil-Disobedience Movement. Quaid-i-Azam gave this statesman on April 24, 1947, in which he requested the Frontier Muslim to stop activities of Civil Disobedience Movement.²⁰⁶

Lord Mountbatten called a conference on May 17, 1947, with Quaid-i-Azam, Nehru, Patel, Liaquat Ali Khan and Baldev Singh (1902-61). He discussed about the plan further to be implemented. He tried to persuade Quaid-i-Azam but he refused to give his consent in writing about the acceptance of the plan. Quaid-i-Azam rejected the plan on the basis that Lord Mountbatten showed flexibility towards Congress when he showed the plan only to Nehru prior to the Conference. The Conference was postponed to June 2, 1947. Thus, plan was once more sent to London for approval.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 144.

²⁰⁵ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 85.

²⁰⁶ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 76.

²⁰⁷ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 81.

On May 19, 1947, a tragedy took place in the Peshawar Central Jail while prisoners were protesting decision to punish some political prisoners to be sentence to death. About seventy and above people wounded and two died in the tragedy.²⁰⁸

Lord Mountbatten returned to Delhi on the approval of revised partition plan by the British Government. A conference was convened on June 2, 1947. The final plan was put to seven leaders Nehru, Patel (1875-1950), Kripalani (1888-1982) (then the President of Congress Party), Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdur Rab Nishtar and Baldev Singh. The plan accepted from the all seven members of the conference which issued a statement on June 3, 1947.²⁰⁹

The June 3, plan 1947 laid the principle of referendum in the NWFP instead of a Muslim majority area with 92 percent of Muslims. Thus, referendum was announced in the Frontier province to determine which constituent assembly it would join on the principle of India and Pakistan. The issue of tribal areas was put to the shoulders of future constituent assembly. Quaid-i-Azam gave a statement in view of the forthcoming referendum in the NWFP. He called upon the Frontier Muslim League to withdraw the movement of civil-disobedience. He earnestly appealed to the Muslims of Frontier to maintain peace and order.²¹⁰

With the announcement of June 3rd plan, all prisoners were released from jails. Pir of Manki and his brother were also released with them.²¹¹ They welcomed by their followers at

²⁰⁸ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanai*, 74-75.

²⁰⁹ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 149.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 154.

²¹¹ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 227.

Nawshera on June 4, 1947. Pir of Manki asked the people to vote in favor of Pakistan in the coming referendum.²¹²

A council meeting of AIML was held from 9-10 June 1947. Pir of Manki also called to attend this meeting. About 425 members of AIML were present at the occasion to reconsider the Pakistan plan. After two days of discussions and deliberations, the plan was accepted in principles. During the meeting, Quaid-i-Azam appealed to the delegates from Frontier province to see referendum campaign. Pir of Manki assured Quaid-i-Azam that "it might be taken as certainty that the Pathan land would come into Pakistan."²¹³

The Viceroy "announced that the transfer of power would take on about August 15, 1947."²¹⁴ Congress also discussed the June 3rd plan and accepted it unanimously. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan both participated in the conference but did not able to reject the idea of referendum in the Frontier Province.²¹⁵

"Quaid-i-Azam had formed a special committee which was responsible to prepare the people of Frontier Province for referendum. The members of the committee were Mr. I.I Chundrigar (Chairman), Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Syed Wajid Ali, Abdul Qaiyum Khan etc. but the main and prime responsibilities was granted to the representative of NWFP, the Pir of Manki."²¹⁶

²¹² Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 354.

²¹³ Hussain, *Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 91.

²¹⁴ Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 156.

²¹⁵ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 153.

²¹⁶ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 91.

On June 18, Quaid-i-Azam announced a Referendum Committee for the Frontier Province. He chose Pir of Manki to supervise the referendum activities. Besides Pir of Manki, I.I. Chundrigar, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Syed Wajid Ali Shah were appointed to assist him.²¹⁷ Pir of Manki as a member of Referendum Committee in the Frontier Province prepared a plan for the forthcoming referendum. He visited every village and town to aware the people about to vote in favor of Pakistan either would be live under the dominance of Hindus.²¹⁸ He published pamphlets, and editorial in *Pushto* language to propagate the meaning and purpose of Muslim League and Pakistan.²¹⁹

In the meantime, Abdul Ghaffar Khan raised the slogan of *Pukhtonistan* as independent state for Pakistan.²²⁰ On June 18, 1947, Abdul Ghaffar Khan met Quaid-i-Azam at Delhi. He put some condition in front of Quaid-i-Azam which was not acceptable to him. Though, he returned to Peshawar on the failure of dialogues with Quaid-i-Azam. A Khudai Khidmatgars gathering was held on June 21, 1947. The members of Congress Committee, parliamentary party, and leaders of *Zalmi Pukhtun* were participated in the meeting. A resolution was passed at the occasion to form a separate state for *Pashtuns*.²²⁶

²¹⁷ Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 412.

²¹⁸ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 89.

²¹⁹ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 276.

²²⁰ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 92.

About the propaganda of the Abdul Ghaffar Khan, many meetings were held in Kohat on June 26, 1947. Pir of Manki and Ghazanfar Ali Khan both were the chief speaker. It was said that about 62 Frontier Muslim League meeting were held in the province in a week.²²¹

Referendum in the NWFP

Referendum Campaign was announced when the AIML and Congress agreed to the partition plan. AIML was already engaged in anti-Government campaign. Prominent leaders of AIML, ulama and *mashaikh* were activity participated to propagate the message of Pakistan in the Frontier province. Students from Islamic College, Peshawar, and Aligarh Muslim University started to hold meetings, supervising from prominent leaders. Awareness posters were posted on walls and advertisements were given in the newspapers.²²²

The British Government for the referendum purpose appointed Brigadier J.R Booth as Referendum Commissioners. Schedule of voting announced to held referendum in the Frontier Province from July 6-17, 1947. It was also announced that peoples of the Frontier were to be ascertained on two points:

- a. Vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or
- b. Vote in favor of Indian Constituent Assembly.²²³

²²¹ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 362-63.

²²² Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 255-56.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 258.

The Khudai Khidmatgars arranged meetings against referendum, and the Frontier Muslim League in favor of referendum.²²⁴ Pir of Manki met with Abdul Ghaffar Khan and asked him to join the movement for Pakistan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan answered that he had given his word to Congress. Therefore, Pir of Manki could not able to convince him for the cause of a Muslim State, Pakistan. On June 21, the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Congress Working Committee in the NWFP passed resolution for a free Pathan State for all the *Pushtoons*. Abdul Ghaffar Khan issued a statement in which he appealed to the people to oppose the referendum in the Frontier province. He warned the peoples that "if British Government succeeded in her vested designs when the people of Frontier Province must face the challenge of another front."²²⁵

Pir of Manki not only played key role in the civil disobedience but also took active part to get support in favor of Pakistan.²²⁶ Many meetings held in Kohat District about the referendum. Pir of Manki and Raja Ghazanfar were chief speakers at the meeting. Frontier Muslim League Conference was held at Bannu on July 2, 1947. So Frontier Muslim League found a free field to utilize their energies to propagate the message of Pakistan. To create a new situation, the Afghan Government also interfered at this critical movement when they proposed a new scheme to the British Government that the future of *Pashtuns* area should lie with India, Afghanistan or independent. Lord Pathick Lawrence (1871-1961), as a Secretary of State for India, rejected the demand and said categorically that "Afghanistan had no right to interfere, as they are trying to interfere, in the rights of North West Frontier Province."²²⁷

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 95.

²²⁶ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 217.

²²⁷ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 96-97.

Brigadier J.R Booth as a Referendum Commissioner put forty British officers in charge of the referendum. He also concentrated 50,000 troops to hold the police to keep order. "There were 460 polling stations erected all over the province. As it was impossible to provide army officers for each polling station therefore, provincial officers were also deputed, but under the supervision of Army."²²⁸

Brigadier J.R Booth also announced that "two boxes, one red and other green, will be placed in the polling stations of these boxes the green was for the pro-Pakistan votes and the red Box was for the Pro-Hindustan votes."²²⁹

In the meantime, Pir of Manki delivered speeches in every city and village. The main theme of the message was that "to join Indian Union means to remain under the domination of Hindus, after the departure of British forces."²³⁰ He visited every village of the Frontier, and spread the message to vote for Pakistan. He educated the masses to cast their votes and the importance of their votes.²³¹

The polling of referendum held in the Frontier Province on July 6 which completed in ten days. There were total 572799 electorates, out casted their votes.²³² Khudai Khidmatgars already announced to boycott the referendum which reflected that only 50.99 percent of voters polled

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

²²⁹ Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 72.

²³⁰ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 97.

²³¹ Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 412.

²³² Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 72.

their vote. The result of the referendum announced on July 20, 1947 at Delhi.²³³ Out of 292118 casted votes, 289244 voted vote in favor of Pakistan and only 2874 polled in favor of Hindustan.²³⁴

The people of NWFP made it possible that the areas decided to join Pakistan. It is also important to mention about the tribal areas as Quaid-i-Azam had already assured the Muslims of these areas in his statement of June 17, 1947, "That we shall adjust and settle our affairs in the brotherly way. There is no desire on our part to interfere with their freedom". He also added that "we shall be happy to meet them enter into such arrangements, as would be in the mutual interest of both, and the Muslims generally."²³⁵

It was the services of Pir of Manki who rendered fundamental task in securing votes for Pakistan in the Referendum which determined the accession of the NWFP to Pakistan. Due to his incredible role, he has been rightly called *Fatih-e-Referendum*.²³⁶

²³³ Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 413.

²³⁴ Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 72.

²³⁵ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 98.

²³⁶ Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 413.

CHAPTER 4

Pir of Manki role as religio-political leader after Independence of Pakistan

Pir of Manki role in the Political developments

The AIML high command determined to dismiss Dr. Khan ministry in the Frontier Province even before the partition while Dr. Khan refused to resign.²³⁷ However, his ministry dismissed on August 22, 1947 under the section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935.²³⁸

Abdul Qaiyum Khan was appointed as the Chief Minister of the NWFP on August 23, 1947.²³⁹

Pir of Manki actively participated in the *Jihad* of Kashmir. He was popular among his followers. He consistently criticized Abdul Qaiyum Khan for his non-cooperation attitude during the *Jihad* of Kashmir. Gulf between Pir of Manki and Abdul Qaiyum was developed. Pir of Manki categorically criticized those sections and groups in Muslim League who had socialist and communist ideas in their minds and the intentions to influence the constitution of Pakistan." Pir of Manki stressed the need of promulgation of Islamic Laws which were the only solution.²⁴⁰ He refused to accept any public position and played pivotal role for the implementation of *Shariah*.²⁴¹

Pir of Manki participated in the Pakistan Muslim League Conference in Karachi and moved a resolution against the dual president ship of the League and Government. This

²³⁷ Hassan, *The Dawn of New era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 8-9.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁴⁰ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 110.

²⁴¹ Khan and Toheeda, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, 413.

resolution was passed and Quaid-i-Azam resigned for the purpose. Chaudary Khaliq-uz-Zaman was elected President of the All Pakistan Muslim League.²⁴²

On February 09, 1948, Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan wrote a letter to Pir of Manki. He condemned the propaganda against Pir of Manki and his selfless services. He acknowledged that during his visit to the Frontier Province he requested Pir of Manki to accept Ministry. However, he ignored to own any official position and status.²⁴³ Liaquat Ali Khan appreciated Pir of Manki on his services to nation and Islam without any personal interest.

He as a member of Constitution Sub-Committee proposed the name of Chaudhary Khaliq-uz Zaman (1889-1973) for the office of Chief Organizer in a meeting held on February 26, 1948. The basic function of the Council included the establishment of primary units, election of the party and the enrolments of new members. Abdul Qaiyum Khan enrolled many members of his own group to secure his dominant position. He wanted to keep the Organization under his control. Pir of Manki "was a potential rival to the authority of Abdul Qaiyum Khan."²⁴⁴ Pir of Manki as opposition leader to Abdul Qaiyum, demanded an Enquiry Committee to check his malpractice during government. But Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman rejected the proposal as Abdul Qaiyum Khan succeeded to influence him. He appointed Badshah Gul as Chief Organizer of the Provincial Muslim League.²⁴⁵

Pir of Manki strongly protested the appointment and criticized Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman for giving unlimited powers to Frontier Muslim League Committee. He complained to Liaquat Ali

²⁴² Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 278.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 265.

²⁴⁴ Safdar Mahmood, "Decline of the Pakistan Muslim League and Its Implication 1947-54", *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. XV No. 2, July-Dec., 1994, 66.

²⁴⁵ *Hussain*, Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat, 111.

Khan about Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman even he did not get forms for membership. Liaquat Ali Khan advised Pir of Manki to meet Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman. Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman asked Pir of Manki to provide 'No Objection Certificate' from the provincial authorities. This was the condition to consider him for membership.²⁴⁶

Abdul Qaiyum Khan did not spare even Pir of Manki who played a major role in the referendum. Abdul Qaiyum Khan began to fear of the growing popularity of Pir of Manki. At the same time, Pir of Manki visited different parts of the Frontier province to aware people from the actual situation. The Frontier government implemented Article 144, due to all procession and political activities in the province were banned.²⁴⁷

Pir of Manki challenged the validity of the Primary League Elections in the Province, but his protest was failed due to the Chief Organizer who gave free hand to the Committee.²⁴⁸ Pir of Manki demanded an investigation committee but Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman, President of the All Pakistan Muslim League did not agree to anything because he wanted to gain confidence from the provincial Chief Ministers. Pir of Manki in condemnation left the conference of Election Committee. These differences forced him to quit the Muslim League.²⁴⁹

Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy was trying to form an opposition Party. On June 23-24, 1949, he succeeded in doing so when he formed Awami Muslim League at Decca. He also wrote a letter to Pir of Manki in which he criticized the ruling party's maladministration. He stressed

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 112

²⁴⁷ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 107.

²⁴⁸ Safdar Mahmood, "Decline of the Pakistan Muslim League and Its Implication 1947-54", *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. XV No. 2, July-Dec. 1994, 66.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 108.

the need of a strong opposition. For this purpose, he contacted Nawab Ifikhar Ali Khan of Mamdot (1906-69) who had formed Jinnah Muslim League in Punjab.²⁵⁰

H.S Suhrawardy announced to visit the Frontier province. The government imposed restriction on his visit. However, H.S. Suhrawardy visited Peshawar in 1949; Pir of Manki along his companions met both him and decided to form a parallel Muslim League in NWFP. He also contacted their important leaders to form Awami Muslim League in the Frontier Province which was formed on May 15, 1949. Pir of Manki was nominated as its Provincial President and Ghulam Muhammad of Lund Khwar as its General Secretary.²⁵¹ Pir of Manki along Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Maulana Sakir-ullah, and Abdul Malik Khan etc. were engaged soon to gain support against Abdul Qaiyum Khan. The party strengthened her position in Kohat and surrounding areas. Many people joined party from the areas of Mardan, Sawabi, and Swat etc.²⁵²

Abdul Qaiyum Khan declared Awami Muslim League in the Frontier province as a group of 'rejected people'. He alleged them as traitors and warned them for consequences. He also asked Pir of Manki to show and present his program for the welfare of the Frontier people. Abdul Qaiyum Khan even tried to stop people from the membership of Awami Muslim League. He also alleged that the Awami Muslim League did not have any office except provincial office.²⁵³

Pir of Manki left the Frontier Province due to the atrocities of Abdul Qaiyum Khan Ministry. On June 20, 1949, a Conference of Tribal Federation, Balochistan was held in Quetta. The Conference moved resolution and condemned unfair means of Abdul Qaiyum Khan Ministry

²⁵⁰ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 122.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 112.

²⁵² Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 108.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 109.

against the Pir of Manki and others stalwart loyal leaders. They requested the central authorities to intervene in the affairs which did not respond.²⁵⁴

A meeting of Provincial Awami Muslim League held on February 21, 1950. It was decided to merge Awami Muslim League with Jinnah Muslim League and renamed it as Jinnah Awami Muslim League.²⁵⁵

Elections in the NWFP

The government started to arrest anybody who was perceived to be involved in anti-Muslim League activity. Jinnah Awami Muslim League, Khudai Khidmatgars and Frontier Muslim League, these three parties played important role.²⁵⁶

H.S. Suhrawardy elected the President of the Awami Muslim League, Nawab Iftikhar Mamdoot as President of the Punjab, and G.M Syed in Sind. Pir of Manki as a President actively participated for this purpose in the Frontier province and strived for the implementation of *Shariah*.²⁵⁷ H. S Suhrawardy wrote a letter to Pir of Manki on August 27, 1951. He invited him to visit Karachi and acknowledged his work for the organization of the party. He emphasized on the requirement of the opposition against Abdul Qaiyum Khan.²⁵⁸

Abdul Qaiyum Khan's tussle with Pir of Manki demanded fresh elections under the supervision of the central council but when demand was not approved, he withdrew from the

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 111.

²⁵⁵ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 113.

²⁵⁶ Hassan, *The Dawn of New era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 31.

²⁵⁷ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 212.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 270.

Muslim League which led political differences between Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Pir of Manki.²⁵⁹ A meeting was held on January 21-24, 1951, in which ulama and *mashaikh* of all schools of thought. Pir of Manki also participated in this meeting held at Karachi. A draft passed unanimously which demanded 22 fundamental principles of an Islamic State.²⁶⁰

Another Conference was held on February 27, 1951, under the President ship of Pir of Manki. He informed the participants that he wanted to inform the Governor General about the dictatorial policies of Abdul Qaiyum Khan but he was failed to see him to convey this message.²⁶¹

In March 1951, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed General Election Bill which paid the way for the first General Elections in the Frontier Province. The Governor of the Frontier I.I. Chundigarh dissolved the Province Assembly of Frontier.²⁶²

Abdul Qaiyum Khan was appointed as Caretaker Chief Minister of the Frontier Province. Pir of Manki demanded the removal of Abdul Qaiyum Khan and release of the political prisoners to ensure fair and free elections.²⁶³ Abdul Qaiyum Khan decided to use force and money to turn the public mandate in their favor and defeat his rivals.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 253.

²⁶⁰ Tahir Kamran, *Early Phase of Electoral Politics in Pakistan: 1950s* (Lahore: A Research Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol.24, No.2, July-December 2009), 263-64.

²⁶¹ Hassan, Syed, *The Dawn of New era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 90.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 73.

²⁶³ Hussain, *Hazrat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 113.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 113.

Pir of Manki in a Press Conference held at Karachi on September 27, 1951, leveled series charges against Abdul Qaiyum Khan that he harassed the opposition and jailed them to create hurdle in the smooth functioning of the party. He also put forward his following demands to conduct free and fair elections.

1. The Governor of NWFP should take over administration of province and section 93-A during the forth-coming elections, as Abdul Qaiyum Khan would not refrain from using his official position and influence when and where he suits him.
2. Integrity of the ballot boxes in the elections be preserved by means of proper sealing of the boxes.
3. Nomination papers should not be rejected on flimsy grounds.
4. No "illegal cases" be instituted against any person during the elections.
5. Polling booths be situated at distance of every three miles and *Zanana* (female) polling booth be put in every *Bastee* and *Qasba*.²⁶⁵

Pir of Manki also demanded that if the government could not meet his demands due to any reason, then the elections should be postponed for the time being.²⁶⁶ However, Qaiyum Khan grew very strong in the Muslim League. As President of the Party, he expelled four members of the provincial Muslim League Council on October 5, 1951. Among them were Fida Muhammad Khan, Iqrar Shah, Abdur Rahim Ghaznavi, and Muhammad Iqbal. Liaquat Ali Khan restrained the Frontier Muslim League to take any further action against them and announced to visit the NWFP on October 16, 1951. Unfortunately, he was assassinated on the same day at a meeting in Rawalpindi.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Hassan, Syed, *The Dawn of New era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 78.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khawaja Nazimuddin alleged Abdul Qaiyum Khan for irregularities and anti-democratic tactics against the loyal leadership of Pakistan. He also commented that Abdul Qaiyum Khan should be made accountable for his actions "as he had alienated the sincere leaders of Muslim League like Pir of Manki Sharif, Pir of Zakori and Rahim Bakhsh Gaznavi etc."²⁶⁸ He acknowledged their selfless great sacrifices not only in the freedom movement of Pakistan but also in the consolidation of Muslim League in the province. However, due to the attitude of Abdul Qaiyum Khan, 112 opposition candidates including Pir of Manki withdrew their nomination papers to contest elections.²⁶⁹ "Khudai Khidmatgars was banned along with other nineteen organizations by the Provincial Government."²⁷⁰ The nomination papers of 31 candidates of Jinnah Awami Muslim League candidates rejected on fake grounds.²⁷¹ The General Elections were held in December 1951, and the result was obviously come in favor of Abdul Qaiyum Khan Frontier Muslim League. They won 67 seats out of 85 in total. Independent candidates won 13 seats and Jinnah Awami League of Pir of Manki secured only four seats.²⁷²

A meeting convened on December 23, 1951, in which All Parties Constitutional Rights Defence Committee was formed. The main objective was to probe into the malpractices of Abdul Qaiyum Khan.²⁷³ Fida Muhammad Khan chose as the Convener of the Committee. The Committee was given the task to find means and ways to arrange fresh elections.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

²⁷⁰ Kamran, *Early Phase of Electoral Politics*, 268.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 269.

²⁷² Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 114.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

International Peace Conference

Pir of Manki as advocate of peace had attended various international peace conferences. However, first regular peace committee was founded in July 1950 under the President ship of Lady Shafi. H.S Suhrawardy took charge as Vice-President, and Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-84) as the General Secretary of the Committee. Pir of Manki unanimously elected its President in May 1952 when All Pakistan Peace Conference founded.²⁷⁵

The popularity of Pir of Manki did not decrease and recognized by national and international forums. For internal peace purposes, a Committee was formed at Karachi. Pir of Manki elected President of Pakistan Peace Committee. Prominent among others were Professor Somsam as General Secretary, Mahmood Ali Qasoori and Muhammad Ali Khan of Lundkhwar as vice- President of the Committee. Head office of the committee was situated a Karachi.²⁷⁶

Pir of Manki was invited for a Peace Conference in China. He assured in his speech that Pakistan would play her role to maintain peace in the world. He also assured the people of China that Pakistan never allowed the land of Pakistan against any peaceful neighbor.²⁷⁷

Pir of Manki as a prominent member of Asia and Pacific Permanent Peace Conference played important role to propagate the peace message of Pakistan.²⁷⁸ He congratulated the Peace Committee of China on the organization of Asia and Pacific Permanent Peace Conference. He

²⁷⁴ Hassan, Syed, *The Dawn of New era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 89.

²⁷⁵ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 118.

²⁷⁶ *Rasheed, Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 232.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 233.

²⁷⁸ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 118.

emphasized in his speech on the unity of nation to combat challenges for peace, war and to maintain peace in the world.²⁷⁹

On February 10, 1953, Pir Zada Ahmad Gul brother of Pir of Manki submitted his resignation from the Frontier Legislative Assembly. Ahmad Gul requested for the distribution of their ancestral land. However, Pir of Manki alleged Frontier Muslim League and termed it a conspiracy of the provincial Government to pressurize Pir of Manki. The dispute had already decided on May 10, 1952, which was signed between the two and recorded in the Registrar Office on May 12, 1952. Sahibzada Noor Muhammad another brother of Pir of Manki also supported the Pir of Manki allegations against the Frontier Government.²⁸⁰

Pir of Manki defeated a strong candidate of Muslim League named Col. Mir Haider on August 31, 1953 in a bi-election from constituency No-7 of Peshawar.²⁸¹ He was selected as opposition Leader in the Assembly. As opposition leader in the Assembly he criticized the policies of the Government. He demanded the removal of Abdul Qaiyum Khan from the post of Chancellor of Peshawar University.³¹⁹

²⁷⁹ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 335.

²⁸⁰ Hassan, *The Dawn of New era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 71.

²⁸¹ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 114.

The Government of Pakistan under the Prime Minister-ship of Muhammad Ali Bogra announced the One-Unit scheme on November 22, 1954.²⁸² As for the Frontier Legislative Assembly was concerned, Sardar Abdur Rashid (1906-95), the Chief Minister moved a resolution to approve the One-Unit scheme on November 25, 1954.²⁸³

Pir of Manki strongly believed in the Provincial autonomy. He criticized the Government policy plan of 1955 to amalgamate all the four provinces and princely states into One-Unit of West Pakistan. Pir of Manki in this regard met with H.S Suhrawardy in May 1955. He convinced him to obtain his support for this Anti-One unit campaign but he refused to co-operate on this issue.²⁸⁴

Thus, Pir of Manki contacted Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in July 1955 to form an Anti-One Unit Front.²⁸⁵ A joint convention of Khudai Khidmatgars and Awami League held on July 29, 1955 which was convened at Manki Sharif under the President ship of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Both parties were agreed to launch a joint struggle against One-Unit Plan. The Convention also demanded to ascertain the views and opinion of the people on this issue.²⁸⁶ All anti-one unit elements joined hands in September 1956 and consolidated themselves on one platform.²⁸⁷

The Anti-One Unit already had formed a consultative Committee. This Committee met on October 5, 1955 in Karachi. Prominent Leaders like Pir of Manki, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G. M.

²⁸² Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 340.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 235.

²⁸⁴ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 114.

²⁸⁵ M. Rafique Afzal, "Problem of Federalism in Pakistan: Consensus on Trial 1956-58," *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. V, No. 1, Jan.-June., 1984, 3.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ Afzal, *Problem of Federalism in Pakistan*, 3.

Syed, Abdus Samad Khan (1907-73), Riaz Hashmi and Haider Bakhsh Jatoi. The participant passed a resolution "wherein it was resolved that the One-Unit Plan would be opposed by all democratic and constitutional means."²⁸⁸ Pir of Manki and leader of the opposition group in the Provincial Assembly appealed to the opposition parties to "retire from parliamentary politics in protest."²⁸⁹

Pir of Manki in post partition politics played significant role to work for the implementation of Islamic *Shariah*. He fully supported H.S. Suhrawardy as he assured and emphasized on the promulgation of Islamic *Shariah* but when H.S Suhrawardy become Prime Minister of Pakistan did not fulfill his demand. Pir of Manki lost his hope in politicians and gradually sided himself from the politics.²⁹⁰

Pir of Manki role in the *Jihad* of Jammu and Kashmir

Pakistan faced a lot of problems just after its independence on August 14, 1947. The prime principle on territorial distribution ignored when some Muslim majority areas were given to India. The amalgamation of Pathankot gave India opportunity to invade Kashmir. Pir of Manki played pivotal role in the issue of Kashmir. He strived to resolve the issue of the State of Jammu & Kashmir in the interest of Pakistan.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 235.

²⁸⁹ M. Rafique Afzal, "Problem of Federalism in Pakistan, Consensus by Command", *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. IV No. 2, July-Dec, 1983, 20.

²⁹⁰ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 212.

²⁹¹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 99.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has an area of 84,471 square miles. Most of its area is mountainous. It has plain area of Jammu and the valley of Kashmir. According to the census of 1941 the Jammu and Kashmir had four hundred thousand of people. There were 93 percent of Muslims in the Kashmir and 61 percent in the Jammu. Most businesses were in the hands of minority Hindus and the Muslims faced economic deprivation. A few of families in the city of Jammu had a good economic condition.²⁹²

The state of Jammu & Kashmir is bounded on the north of Sinkiang, China and the narrow Wakhan strip of Afghanistan. The South-West and Western boundaries lie with Pakistan and South East to India and to the East is Tibet. It has great strategic importance and has 902 miles long border with Pakistan and 317 miles only with India. The Prime Source of River Indus, Jhelum and Chenab are flowing from the state into the plains areas of Pakistan.²⁹³ The Jammu and Kashmir is also a linked area with Hazara division, Gilgit and Chitral which has great impacts on the Muslims of Frontier province.²⁹⁴

At the time of partition, the situation was very uncertain and volatile in Srinagar. In August 1947, Pandit Ram Chaad Kak, the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir visited Delhi and met the Viceroy, the Congress leaders and the Quaid-i-Azam. On his return to Srinagar he advised the Maharaja to remain. Thus, the Indian military and political involvement of India increased in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. However, the Indian forces landed in Srinagar on October 27, 1947 which based on the agreement signed between the Maharaja and Indian Government. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan convened a meeting to discuss

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 102.

²⁹⁴ Sabir, *Tehrik-Pakistan main Subah Sarhad ka Hissah*, 163.

the Jammu and Kashmir situation. Maj. General Akbar Khan and Qaiyum Khan the Chief Minister of the NWFP was presented in the meeting.²⁹⁵

The civilian population was targeted by the Sikh community and RSS. Gangs started operations in the areas of Jammu and Kashmir supported by Indian Army. The *London Times* of October 10, 1947 quoted "237,000 Muslims were systematically exterminated, unless they escaped to Pakistan."²⁹⁶ The newspapers published "the stories of Muslim holocaust at the hands of Dogra forces. So, the Muslims of NWFP and tribal areas started and adopted various methods and means to help their brothers in Jammu and Kashmir."²⁹⁷ From August 1947 onwards, the newspapers of Western Punjab and NWFP also published editorials on the depressive stories of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir on the hands of Dogra army.²⁹⁸ The Muslims were terrified and forced to migrate. About fifty thousand migrated to Pakistan up to September 24, 1947.²⁹⁹ "At that moment, Pir sahib decided to take active part in the *Jihad* of Kashmir and announced" 'Kashmir *Mujahid* fund'. At the same time, he ordered his followers that it was *Jihad* and they all should take part in it."³⁰⁰

Pir of Manki along with a few *ulama* and prominent leader decided to visit areas of Pirpai, Badabeer, Toordir, Shahbazgarhi, Peepal, Rashki, Kohat and Pabbi. It was first general

²⁹⁵ Syed Minhaj-ul Hassan, *The Dawn of New era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Abdul Qaiyum Khan Chief Ministership 1947-53* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2016), 130-133.

²⁹⁶ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 106.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ Syed Minhajul Hassan, *Qaiyum Khan and the War of Kashmir, 1947-48 AD*, (Hong Kong: *FWU Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.9, No.1, Summer 2015, 4.

²⁹⁹ Qureshi, *Jihad-i-Kashmir* (Lahore, Rahat Publication, 1948), 63.

³⁰⁰ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 106.

visit of Pir of Manki after Pakistan came into being. The purpose of these visits was to give message of the sacrifice and the *Jihad* of Kashmir.³⁰¹ Thus for fifteen days about fifteen meetings were arranged in the entire Province.³⁰²

Pir of Manki personally approached the Frontier Khans, the Wali of Swat, Nawab of Dir, and the Tribal leaders for extending help for *Jihad*. It was said that the Nawab of Dir, Shah Jehan Khan was not ready to allow the people of Dir to take part in the *Jihad* of Kashmir due to differences with Government of Pakistan. Pir of Manki convinced him to send people for *Jihad*.³⁰³ "The whole NWFP became ready for *Jihad*. A tribal *Lashkar* was marching towards Kashmir, Commander General tried to stop it near Khushal Ghar and Attock bridges but the *Lashkar* safely crossed the Indus rives before their arrival."³⁰⁴ On October 19, 1947, the Government of Pakistan informed that a tribal *Lashkar* comprising Mahsood from Waziristan, Dawar, Bhatani, Mahmood, Swati, Khattak, Sulaman Khel and Afridi tribes crossed the border to participate in the *Jihad* of Kashmir.³⁰⁵ The Governor of NWFP, Sir George Cunningham received the news and informed Sir Robert Lockhart, the then Chief of Indian Army "about the intended invasion of Kashmir by tribe's men and expressed his inability to stop them."³⁰⁶ The efforts of Pir of Manki along with Major Khurshid, Muhammad Ali Khan Hoti and others

³⁰¹ Rasheed, *Tasawwuf Aulia-e-Manki Sharif*, 297

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 90.

³⁰⁴ Aziz Beg, *The Wailing Vale* (Lahore: Baber and Amer Publication, 1969), 96.

³⁰⁵ A.H. Suhrawardy, *Tragedy in Kashmir* (Lahore, Wajidalis Ltd., 1983), 114.

³⁰⁶ Hassan, *The Dawn of New era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 131-132.

prepared people for *Jihad*.³⁰⁷ *Jamiat-ul-Ulama-e-Khuddam-ul-Mujahideen* organized in Lahore for this purpose. Pir of Manki requested to lead and guide the *Lashkar. Mujahideen* reached Manki Sharif in a large number. The city of Abbottabad selected as the Head Quarters from where the ration and arms were to be supplied.³⁰⁸

Pir of Manki stayed in Garhi-Habibullah near the bank of River Kunhar. He preceded to Muzaffarabad along others *Mujahideen* on October 22, 1947, where a battle was started between the *Mujahideen* and the Dogra Army.³⁰⁹ *Mujahideen* inflicted heavy defeats on Dogra Army and besieged prominent cities of Mirpur, Poonch, Kotli, Jehangar, Nawan-shehr, and Beember. Pir of Manki speech to the *Mujahideen* in Baramoula to encourage them to not led anything in the way of *Jihad*. He advised them to protect the people and their properties without discrimination of religion.³¹⁰

Dogra Army failed to counter the situation. On October 24-25, *Mujahideen* were divided into two groups. One marched towards Kohala bridged and captured it. The other one group defeated the Dogra Army entering Srinagar.³¹¹ On October 25, the Maharaja fled from Srinagar to Jammu and requested for Indian Army intervention. However, Lord Mountbatten, the first Governor General of India applauded to obtain accession of Kashmir to India.³¹² "V.P Menon was sent to obtain the instrument of accession from Maharaja."³¹³ Lord Mountbatten accepted the

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 135.

³⁰⁸ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 107.

³⁰⁹ Sufi, *Ghazi Pir*, 83.

³¹⁰ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 103.

³¹¹ Qureshi, *Jihad-i-Kashmir*, 112.

³¹² Hassan, *Qaiyum Khan and the War of Kashmir*, 3.

³¹³ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 108.

accession of Kashmir on October 27, 1947, and as a Chairman of Provisional Defense Committee directed the Indian Army for operation in Srinagar.³¹⁴

Mujahideen were just able to take control over the airport. About two hundred of *Mujahideen* under Major Khurshid Anwar tried to take-one the airport but was failed.³¹⁵

It is believed, "when the Indian forces reached Srinagar and they started attacking the tribesmen, the latter were unable to fight the regular Army, especially in the open field. The result was that the tribesmen started retreating."³¹⁶ There was no direct support to the *Mujahideen* from Government of Pakistan. However, Qaiyum Khan asked Maj. Gen. Akbar Khan to take the command of the fighting forces unofficially.³¹⁷

However, *Mujahideen* faced heavy losses in the field when Maharaja took advantage of Indian Army.³¹⁸ They were retreated to Muzaffarabad due to uncertainty among when rumors spread that the bridges of Kohala and Domail destructed.³¹⁹ About sixty followers of Pir of Manki died in the field war of Srinagar. Among them were Muhammad Akbar Khan, Captain Zahir Gul and Awal Khan. Pir of Manki returned from Kashmir along with his followers and reached Peshawar on November 19, 1947. He was named as *Ghazi Pir* due to his bravery and exemplary courage during the campaign of Kashmir. Pir of Manki placed all responsibility on

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 104.

³¹⁶ Hassan, *The Dawn of New era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, 136.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

³¹⁸ Hassan, *Qaiyum Khan and the War of Kashmir*, 5.

³¹⁹ Shah, *Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 105.

Abdul Qaiyum Khan because "he did not extend any help to the *Mujahideen* during the *Jihad* of Kashmir".³²⁰ Pir of Manki actively, participated in the *Jihad* of Kashmir. He always raised his voice for right of self-determination of the peoples of Kashmir.³²¹

Pir of Manki renunciation from politics was also a setback to the Frontier political circles working selflessly. This was Pir of Manki who laid the opposition to the Government along his other fellows. The Frontier Government took every possible step to create obstacle in the way of Pir of Manki. Hopes from Liaquat Ali Khan and H.S. Suhrawardy had now part of history. He permanently left political circle in 1955 and spent most of his time guiding his followers and always played vital role to decrease tension between government and opposition Party.³²²

It was an unfortunate day of January 5, 1960, while Pir of Manki was travelling to Mianwali when his car smashed with a tree near Fateh Jang near Attock. He was hospitalized in C.M.H Rawalpindi due to serious injuries where the great Sufi, religious-political leader and scholar Pir of Manki died on January 28, 1960 at the age of 37 years.³²³

He was buried in Manki Sharif on January 29 1960. Hundreds of thousand people attended his funeral prayers. Haji Gul Sahib of Landi Kotal performed his Funeral prayers and laid into grave by Abdul Ghaffar Khan.³²⁴

³²⁰ Hussain, *Hazarat Muhammad Amin-ul-Hasanat*, 109.

³²¹ *Shah, Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 105.

³²² *Shah, Pir Manki Sharif Aminul Hasanat*, 113.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 114.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

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