

A POLITICAL STUDY OF KHAN ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN
(1937-1958)



Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements
For MS History at the Faculty of Social Sciences

International Islamic University, Islamabad.

October 2012



Accession No TH-9366

MS
a20.2
ASP

- 1 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, 1937-1958
- 2 Pakistan - History

DATA ENTERED

B 7/2/13

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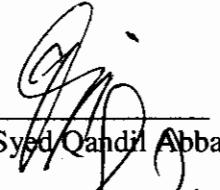
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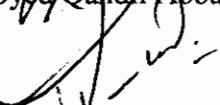
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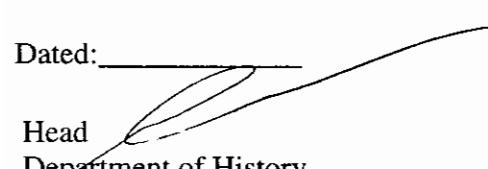
Accepted by the Department of History Faculty of Social Sciences, International
Islamic University, Islamabad, in partial fulfillment the award of the degree of

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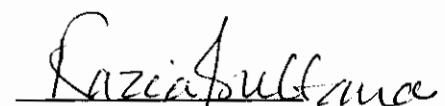
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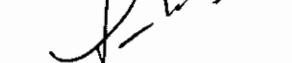
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GLOSSARY

Ahmedis	The believer of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed
Dogra Rule	Sikh Rule in Kashmir
Jamia Millia Islamia	National Muslim University
Khatibs	Preachers
Khudai Khidmatgar	Servants of God
Murids	Followers
Mashaikhs	Holy Persons
Mushaira	A Meeting of Poets and Reciting of their Poetry
Pakhtunistan	Land of Pashtun Native
Pashtuns	Pashto Speaking People
Sajjada Nashin	Successor of Saint
Shariah	Islamic Law
Ulema	Muslim clergy
Zindabad	Live Long

ABBREVIATIONS

AGK	Abdul Ghaffar Khan
AIML	All India Muslim Leagues
AINC	All India National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BPC	Basic Principal Committee
CM	Chief Minister
CP	Central Province
Cr.P.C	Criminal Provisional Committee
EBDO	Elected Bodies Disqualification Order
FCR	Frontier Crime Regulations
FPCC	Frontier Provisional Congress Committee
JUH	Jumiat-e-Ulema-e Hind
KK	Khudai Khidmatgar
KPK	Khyber – Pakhtunkhawa
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
NWFP	North West Frontier Provision
PCC	Provincial Congress Committee
UP	United Province
USA	United State America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research and that it has not been submitted concurrently for any other degree.



Asifa Undleeb

TO
MY PARENTS AND MY TEACHERS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, praise to Allah the most beneficent, the most merciful, who has granted me strength for writing on this topic and to complete it.

I like to acknowledge the head of Department Madam Rafia Riaz who is always very humble and cooperative with students and always encouraging and supportive. I am really thankful to Dr. Abdus Samad Pirzada who helped in topic selection on a scholarly level. I am grateful to my supervisor Dr.Syed Qandil Abbas for a constant inspiration which I received from him. He gave me a lot of time from his very busy schedule and endured my blunders with smile.

I am also grateful to Ass. Professor Altaf Qadir University of Peshawar who guided and helped me a lot during research work in Peshawar. I am especially thankful to librarian and staffs of NIHCR, History Dept Library QAU, International Islamic University Islamabad Library, National Institute Of Pakistan Studies QAU, Islamic Research Institute, NDC, National Archives, National Assembly Library,NWFP Archives, Pakistan Study Center Library Peshawar and Areal Study Center Peshawar for their co-operation, humble attitude provided me books, material and facilitations.

I have no words to express my love and gratitude to my friends Saadia Munir, Huma Kyani, Usma Batool, Shehla Riaz, Saleha Batool, Khalida Shafi, Ayesha Iqbal and Hajra Batool who helped me a lot. I am very grateful to Principal Shahida Shabbir and my colleagues Saima Rafique, Tabussam, Mrs. Aliya for reading the manuscript and made excellent editorial and other suggestions.

Finally, I owe my heart felt gratitude to my mother, grandmother, Bilal Bhai, Khola Api, Uzma, Shumaila and Hamza, without them and their encouragement I could not complete my thesis.

Asifa Undleeb

ABSTRACT

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan played a significant role in the freedom struggle of the sub-continent. In the first decade of the 20th century when he opened his eyes in a middle class Kashmiri family, settled in the North West Frontier Province. The socio-economic and political life of the Muslims of NWFP was very miserable. North West Frontier Province was a Muslim majority province of United India and British authorities did not introduce any reforms in this province as they did in other provinces of the sub-continent. Mostly people of this area were poor, illiterate and politically backward. In 1930 All India National Congress became popular party due to its clear agenda that was liberation from the British rule. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as a freedom lover joined it and due to his active rule he was nominated as deputy leader of Congress party in Central Legislative Assembly. On Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's call in 1945 he joined Muslim League and played very important role in the referendum of NWFP in 1947, which decided the accession of the NWFP to Pakistan. Once he joined Muslim League then he devoted his all energies for the cause of Muslim League till his death. After creation of Pakistan he served as chief minister of NWFP. Under his administration NWFP made unprecedented progress and became a model province of Pakistan. His management, devotion, hardworking and determination became an example for others till today. From April 1953 to October 1954 he played a role of Minister of food, agriculture and industry of Pakistan. His political career witnessed many ups and down due to political disturbance in first decade of independence. He was debarred from politics during martial law regime of Gen. Ayub Khan in October 1958.

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INTRODUCTION

Whatever progress the human race has made, suggests that it is always a microscopic but creative minority that sets the tone and tenor of every movement in history. By bringing into play initiative and drive, they ensure the participation of the rank and file in the movements they launch. On these people, therefore, depend largely the success and failure of movements. This general rule is equally true to the Indian Muslim Movement for political freedom. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was one of among those people who played a significant role especially in the history of Frontier Politics. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan (16 July 1901-22 October 1981) was one of the major political figures during pre and post 1947 era in Muslim politics and particularly in the North-West Frontier province.

Statement of the Problem

The culminating point of Nationalist struggle in South Asia involved the establishment of Pakistan and India and referendum in the NWFP (in 1947, which decided the accession of the NWFP to Pakistan) for which Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan played a dominant role. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan had been active in the politics of Frontier Province in British India since 1936. He was a Deputy Speaker of Congress in Central Legislative Assembly. In the conclusive phase of Pakistan Movement Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan left Congress and joined the All India Muslim League (AIML).

Under the aegis of the AIML he spearheaded the campaign to win over NWFP to Pakistan. He enjoyed the fuller confidence of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to defeat the efforts of Red-Shirt Leader Ghaffar Khan to turn NWFP into Pakhtunistan.

His massive campaign launched in the whole of NWFP and adjoining tribal area defeated the slogan of Ghaffar Khan to an extent that latter could not win votes again in favour of Pashtoonistan.

After Pakistan came into being he served as Chief Minister (1947-1953), Minister of Food, Agriculture and Industry (1953-1954) and Federal Interior Minister (1972-1977). Qaiyum Khan started his political career as a Nationalist in the hectic days of Congress ministries during 1937-1939. As a student he joined the Khilafat Movement and was expelled from Islamia College Peshawar after which he proceeded to England and was called to the bar. On return he joined the All India National Congress and opposed the All India Muslim League and its leader.

Some of the major contributions about the NWFP for which he is admired include the foundation of Peshawar University, promotion of primary education and hydro-electric project of the Warsak Dam. He is severely criticized for what the opponents refer to as "brutal suppression" of Ghaffar Khan's Khudai Khidmatgar Movement.

After the collapse of earliest democratic era (1947-1958), he was arrested by the military dictator General Ayub Khan and finally disqualified from elected bodies under

Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Order (EBDO)¹. He was also imprisoned for two years (1959-1961). Almost all writers who wrote on Pakistan's political history discussed Abdul Qaiyum Khan. Winning over the NWFP to the newly established state of Pakistan in the teeth of opposition of Congress and their allies, the Red-Shirts was an unprecedented achievement of Khan Qaiyum. In fact it was highly recognized by the Muslim League leadership especially Quaid i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who is known as Father of the Nation. These brief details show that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan had significant political role during pre and post 1947 era in sub-continent, however, no comprehensive study of Qaiyum Khan's political role in the politics of Pakistan is available.

The result of this gap gave birth to a number of questions .For instance, his joining of All India Muslim League ,and his role in the post 1947 politics of Pakistan Muslim League organization, his parliamentary career in the NWFP (1937-1939 and 1947-1954) his roots in politics of NWFP. Therefore present study is an attempt to examine the political role and services of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in politics of NWFP under British rule and later in the politics of Pakistan.

¹ Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Order (popularly known as EBDO) defined misconduct of politicians, those who were found guilty of improper exercise of authority in the course of their tenure as ministers were debarred from holding elective or political office for a period of six years.I.H.Qureshi, *A Short History of Pakistan* (Karachi:University of Karachi,2006), 267.

Hypothesis

Due to the presence of leading personalities in Congress, there were fewer opportunities for Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan to grow politically. However, Muslim League provided him a chance to show his abilities and he appeared as a leading political figure in the frontier politics from 1947-53. He fully supported ML once he joined it till last movement.

Literature Review

A comprehensive political study of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan has not been done by historians, however, the role of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in NWFP politics has been mentioned by some writers. For instance, Zahoor Ahmed Awan's *Khan-i-Azam*² is a descriptive work in Urdu language. This book basically covers the life of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan his early education, his entry to politics, his role as a Congress leader and then his joining of Muslim League. Though author tried to explore Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's life in detail but the author did not give any reference to prove his arguments, hence the work lacks authenticity.

James W. Spain's *The Pathan Borderland*³ is a very good source of information about the history, culture and politics of NWFP. He touched upon almost all aspect of the NWFP political history in a very systematic way and in one chapter discussed the

² Zahoor Ahmed Awan, *Khan -i-Azam* (Lahore: Alwiqar Publisher, 2006).

³ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1963).

political role, services and administration of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as Chief Minister of NWFP. In this book, one can find the details about the politics of NWFP but the writer did not give enough space to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's political activities after his premiership. Moreover, the writer focus was the politics of NWFP.

Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah's *Muslim League in NWFP*⁴ and his another work *Ethnicity, Islam And Nationalism: Muslim Politics In NWFP 1937-47*⁵ are very informative works on the politics of NWFP of undivided India. However, the writer did not mention in detail the role of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan.

S.A. Rittenberg's *The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province, 1901-1947*⁶ is an authentic research work on the pre-independence Frontier politics. It is about a comparative analysis between the Frontier Congress and Frontier Muslim League. This work also ignored to elaborate upon Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's political activities.

Syed Minhaj's PhD thesis entitled 'NWFP Administration under Abdul Qaiyum Khan, 1947-1953'⁷ comparatively well focused on the personality of Khan and addresses

⁴Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*.(Karachi: Royal Book Company,1992)

⁵ -----*Ethnicity ,Islam And Nationalism: Muslim Politics In The North -West Frontier Province , 1937-47*(Karachi : Oxford University Press,1999)

⁶ S.A. Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province,1901-1947*(London: University Microfilms International,1988).

⁷ Syed MInhaj ul Hassan, "NWFP Administration Under Abdul Qaiyum Khan, 1947-53(Ph.D.diss.,University of Peshawar, Peshawar, 2003).

the administrative aspect when he was Chief Minister: 1947-1953. However, the work covers only six years of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's life.

Parvez Khan Tour and Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat's *Celebrities of NWFP*⁸ presents the role of different freedom fighters, reformers and politicians of NWFP. In this book only one brief article is related to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, which is not sufficient to understand the political role of such an important personality.

Muhammad Shafi Sabir's *Tareekh Sobah-e-Sarhad*⁹ (*History Of Frontier Province*) presents a sketch of history of North West Frontier Province and historical movements of NWFP. In this book, one can infer the activities of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan but its main focus is on the politics of NWFP.

Parshotam Mehra's book *The North West Frontier Drama 1945-1947. A Re-Assessment*¹⁰ and Ian Talbot's *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement: The Growth of The Muslim League in North -East India, 1937-47*¹¹ which discuss politics of NWFP in pre-partition era but they just touched upon very briefly the role of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in politics of NWFP.

Professional historians and political writers have not discussed Khan Abdul Qaiyum's role in detail due to the limitation of their focus. These include K.K. Aziz.

⁸ Parvez Khan Tour and Fazal-ul-Rahim Marwat,ed. *Celebrities of NWFP*(Peshawar: University of Peshawar,2005).

⁹ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tareekh Sobah-e- Sarhad* (Peshawar:University Book Agency,1986).

¹⁰ Parshotam Mehra, *The North West Frontier Drama 1945-1947.A Re-Assessment* (Delhi:Manohar,1998).

¹¹ Ian Talbot's *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in North -East India, 1937-47*(Karachi:Oxford University Press,1988).

Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958,¹² M. Rafique Afzal's *Political Parties In Pakistan 1947-1958*,¹³ Hamid Yusuf's *Pakistan in Search of Democracy 1947-77*,¹⁴ and *Pakistan: A Study Of Political Development 1947-97*¹⁵etc. have discussed Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's political activities only in passing way, and there is no detailed study on his political struggle. Thus the present study has filled this gap of the history of Pakistan in general and that of NWFP in particular about a political study of Abdul Qaiyum Khan.

Scope and Significance

The time frame of the study comprises political role of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan from 1937 to 1958. For the background and better understanding of the subject, a brief introduction of North West Frontier Province Political situation has also been discussed wherever required.

The study will help understand the role of Qaiyum Khan in the politics of Pakistan in general and that of NWFP in particular. After the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan(16 Oct.1951) and death of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar(14 Feb.1958), he was probably one of the best choice to lead Pakistan Muslim League in 1958.

¹² K.K.aziz. *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958* (Islamabad:National Comission on Historical and Cultural Research,1976).

¹³ M.Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958* (Islamabad:National Commission of Historical and Cultural Research, 1976).

¹⁴ Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan In Search Of Democracy 1947-77* (Lahore: Afrasia Publication, 1980).

¹⁵ -----, *Pakistan :A Study Of Political Development 1947-97*(Lahore:The Academy, 1998).

Aims and Objectives

The study aimed at understanding the politics of NWFP from the perception of the ideology of Pakistan. The political strength of the leadership of Muslim League under Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and that of his opponents during the period under review would be examined in the light of historical accounts and relevant primary source material. The work would offer an opportunity to compare the contribution of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan with contemporary leadership of British India and that of earliest phase of elected democracy of the united Pakistan.

Methodology and Sources

A descriptive-analytical approach has been used for the present study. The study has been largely relied on declassified record of government and published sources for gathering historical information and data available in IIUI Library, Islamic Research Institute Library, Dr. Razi-ud-Din Sadique Memorial Library in QAU. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research (NIHCR), National Assembly Library, National Documentation Centre Islamabad (NDC), National Library, National Archives of Pakistan, PID Islamabad, and Seminar Library Deptt. of History QAU Islamabad, History Department Library Peshawar University, Pakistan Studies Center Library and Area Study Center Library of Peshawar University, Central Library of Peshawar University, NWFP Archive, collections of prominent Muslim Leaguers as well as that of Ghaffar

Khan now preserved in Peshawar for gathering information and data and a lot of other sources.

Organization

The study has been divided into five chapters apart from introduction and conclusion. Chapter one discusses the role of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in All India National Congress in pre-partition era. Chapter two includes role of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in Pakistan Movement and his contribution in referendum in NWFP. Chapter three presents Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's role as Chief Minister in NWFP in Post-Partition era. Chapter four focuses on his political activities as a Central Minister and the organizer of Pakistan Muslim League. Chapter five traces the detail related to his international, and national vision. Conclusion to sums up the discussion and finding.

CHAPTER 1

KHAN ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN AND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (1937-1945)

1.1 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's Political Role:

Historical Background

The North West Frontier Province (NWFP; renamed as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa on Thursday, 15th April 2010¹⁶), a Muslim majority area, was given provincial status in 1901 and placed under the rule of a chief commissioner, a key colonial administrative office. Till 1932 no constitutional reforms were introduced in this province as the British government considered it unfit due to its history of instability caused by its strategic location, and resentment by the minorities in the province against any such move. Majority of its population was uneducated that was resulting in very less political mobilization.¹⁷ Though the Muslim League's branch in NWFP was formed in 1912¹⁸ and Indian National Congress was organized in 1922, yet none of them was playing an active role. Such political background of NWFP provided foundation for Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan political activities.

¹⁶ *The Nation* (Islamabad) 16 April 2010, 1 and also www.khyberwatch.com.

¹⁷ Sayed Wizar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), 4.

¹⁸ -----, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 17.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan started his political activites during his student life but Khilafat Movement (1919-1924) can be considered as a first prominanat political issue of his political life.

From 1917 onward Fazli Wahid, The Haji of Turangzai,¹⁹ and his assistant Abdul Ghaffar Khan²⁰(who was famous with the name of Frontier Gandhi) concentrated on religious and social reforms in Pukhtun society. Later on, Abdul Ghaffar Khan formed Khudai Khidmatgars organization (KK) for social reformation. (Its followers known as 'red shirts' because of their red-color uniform).²¹

People of NWFP wanted introduction of reforms in the province and giving it a status of a governor's province like other provinces under British rule.²² In December 1929 at Lahore, the All India National Congress (hereafter AINC) declared the attainment of complete independence for India as its ultimate goal. On the 12th March 1930, AINC leader Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi,²³ started Civil Disobedience Movement against the British Indian Government and the Congress working committee directed all the provincial committees to start this movement in their respective areas.

Following other parts of India, the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee (hereafter FPCC) also decided to observe 26 January 1930 as 'Independence Day'. FPCC

¹⁹ Altaf Qadir, "Haji Sahib of Turangzai:His life and Times"(M.Phil Thesis, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.2004), 26 and also www.pakhtun.com

²⁰ Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed*(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000),48. And also www.baachakhantrust.org

²¹ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947.*,18.

²² Ibid., 39.

²³ Kamran Shahid, *Gandhi and The Partition of India A New Perspective* (Lahore: Ferozsons(PVT)LTD.2005), 46 .

also requested Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of K.K and Khilafat Committee, to support them for the Independence of India from the foreign yoke. The day was observed with enthusiasm. Later, it was decided that the British law should be disobeyed invited arrests and thus stimulated public sympathy in favor of Congress.²⁴ When people gathered in Qissa Khwani Bazaar on 23 April 1930 and were planning for picketing the liquor shop in Peshawar, Deputy Commissioner Peshawar H.A.F Metcalfe ordered to open fire that resulted in the killing of 200 volunteers.²⁵ This incident and many other cruelties of British rule increased the popularity of Indian National Congress(INC) in NWFP and a lot of local leaders inclined toward INC.

In NWFP Congress was considered to be the only party capable of fighting against the British rule. After the Roundtable Conference held during 1930 and 1932, a reform system like as in the other provinces was introduced in NWFP and it was given the status of a Governor's Province and a Legislative Council was to be formed. The Council consisted of 40 members of whom 28 (22 Muslims, five Hindus and one Sikh) members were to be elected and the rest of the members were to be nominated by the Governor.²⁶ When the elections were held in the second week of April 1932,²⁷ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, a young barrister and a keen observer of the political situation in the province, contested the elections for the first Legislative Council of the NWFP as an independent candidate from Peshawar city constituency. Pir Bakhsh Khan Advocate, the

²⁴ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947*, 32.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Stephen Alan Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province, 1901-1947* (England: University Microfilm International, 1988), 194.

²⁷ Ibid., 195.

former PCC General-Secretary,²⁸ was his rival candidate from the same constituency, who received 3,892 votes against 965 votes for Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, and got elected.

After his defeat in 1932 election, Abdul Qaiyum Khan formally enrolled in Congress. Though he used to attend political meetings of Congress from 1930, after enrolment he started taking active part in the party program. Khan Abdul Qaiyum was young, energetic, intelligent, well educated, hard working and a good speaker, so he easily attracted the attention of Congress leaders.

After the failure of Round Table conferences, Congress started the second phase of civil disobedience movement from 1931-34.²⁹ This movement was suppressed by government authorities and many workers were arrested. As a result during the period of 1933-35 all political activities in NWFP were banned, political gathering were not allowed and all prominent leaders were behind the bars.

Under the Government of India Act 1935 elections were scheduled for February 1937.³⁰ In 1936, the ban imposed on the political activities in NWFP was removed. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who had been only a member of the Congress, emerged as a strong activist of the Congress party in NWFP. He was a good speaker and well versed in Urdu,

²⁸ Ibid.,196.

²⁹ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 35.

³⁰ Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province, 1901-1947.*, 210.

Pashto and English with anti-British views and had leadership qualities so he won a high position in the Congress party hierarchy very soon.³¹

In the same year (1936) he was also nominated to the central council of the Congress party. On 25 June 1936, about one hundred and twenty ex-red shirts met in Peshawar city parliamentary board office and elected following office-bearers.

1. Dr. Khan Sahib – President
2. Dr. C.C. Ghosh – Senior Vice President
3. Syed Qaim Shah – Vice President
4. Abdul Qaiyum Khan – General Secretary
5. Hakim Abdul Rauf Khan – Joint Secretary
6. Lala Chela Ram – Treasurer
7. Ghulam Mohammad Khan – Incharge of Office.³²

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was among those Congressites, who met Mohammad Ali Jinnah, on his first visit to Peshawar in Oct 1936.³³ Muslim League was unknown at that time in NWFP. And it was a general concept about Muslim League in NWFP to be a pro-British party.³⁴ Mohammad Ali Jinnah tried to organize a branch of the Muslim League in Peshawar, but it did not work. He also invited Muslims to join Muslim League but personalities like Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar refused at

³¹ The daily, *Nawa-i-Waqi* (Rawalpindi) October 21, 1985.

³² *North-West Frontier Province Secret Abstract of Intelligence*, Microfilm, Acc. No. 245 (Islamabad: National Documentation Center)

³³ Aziz Javeed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhid* (Lahore: Taqeeq-o-Tasheef Pakistan, 1975), 722.

³⁴ Mian Zia-ud-Din, *Memoirs of a Pakistani Diplomat* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1976), 49.

that time.³⁵ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was at that time supporter of Indian Nationalism. He considered Hindu leadership sincere with Muslims. He was a companion of Nationalist Muslim, who wanted to liberate Sub Continent (United India) from British Rule with unanimous efforts of Indians irrespective of religion.³⁶

On 22 October 1936 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan gave a statement in a newspaper that 'in a meeting with Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Jinnah invited me to join Muslim League. But I rejected his offer, and gave the same answer what Dr. Khan Sahib gave him that Muslim League was a pro-British party so I could not join it'.³⁷

Polling took place for a 50-member provincial assembly from 1–10 February 1937. The main candidates were from the Congress party, Hindu Sikh Nationalist Party, Independents and Muslim Nationalist.³⁸ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan contested the election on the Congress ticket from Peshawar city constituency. For the provincial Legislative Council every person had to poll two votes but again Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was defeated and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar (supported by the Ittihad-i-Millat Party, which consisted of old Peshawar Khilafatists) and Pir Bakhsh, a member of Kakazai tribe, (General Secretary of NWFP Muslim League) were elected to the two provincial assembly seats.³⁹ But later on Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was nominated for Central Legislative

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Aziz Javeed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad* (Urdu), 396.

³⁷ Ibid., 69.

³⁸ Syrd Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 28- 29.

³⁹ Farigh Bukhari, *Bacha Khan* (Peshawar n.d) , 271.

Assembly from NWFP on Congress seat, and he remained as Deputy Leader of Congress in Central Legislative Assembly till 1945.

1.2 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as a Member of Indian National Congress (1937-1945)

In 1934 for the first time NWFP was given the right to elect one member for the Central Legislative Assembly. Congress Parliamentary board nominated Dr. Khan Sahib while Raja Haider Zaman of Hazara was supported by Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Khan. For this seat Dr. Khan Sahib got 3,000 votes against 1,500 of Raja Sahib, and was elected to the Central Assembly. After the election of 1937, Dr. Khan Sahib was called back to the province by the Congress to be appointed as its Chief Minister in May 1937. Consequently the seat of Dr. Khan Sahib in the Central Legislative Assembly fell vacant and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan (a graduate from the London School of Economics and got degree of barrister from Lincoln's Inn who had joined Congress in 1932) , a close friend of Dr. Khan Sahib was nominated by the Congress to contest for this seat.

In the election of 1937, Indian National Congress achieved the majority seats because no other party was well organized as Indian National Congress at that time. Therefore, no one dared to become a rival candidate against Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan

in the by-elections held in July 1937. Hence he was elected unopposed as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly from NWFP.⁴⁰

In July 1937, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was also elected as President of Press Worker Union Peshawar. From August to November 1937, he delivered many speeches from the Congress forum. Main points of his speeches were:

1. Appreciation of Congress Ministries of their efforts
2. Demand for recruitment of Indian soldiers instead of British in the Indian Army
3. Criticism on Muslim League and Khaksar, and
4. Criticism on government policy of Waziristan and also in International Section.⁴¹

In 1938 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan criticized military operations in Waziristan and raid on Bannu and other British Indian territories in Central Assembly debates.⁴² On 15 February 1938, he moved a resolution in the Central Legislative Assembly for the establishment of a university in Peshawar that was adopted unopposed.⁴³ He also moved the resolution for Indianisation of the Royal Indian Navy.⁴⁴

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a brave and daring speaker; he criticized government's policies openly. In April 1939, in a political conference in Haripur he said that World War II was not a war between Democracy and Dictatorship. British was

⁴⁰ Zahoor Ahmad Awan, *Khan-i- Azam* (Lahore: Alwaqar Publication, 2006) ,49.

⁴¹ Ibid. , 50.

⁴² Ibid. , 51.

⁴³ The Legislative Assembly Debates, vol:1 1938 ,66-67.

⁴⁴ The Legislative Assembly Debates,vol:3,1938 ,2186-87.

playing the role of Dictator in the world. When British could fight for Poland then why Indians could not have the right to fight for their rights.⁴⁵

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan considered Muslim League as pro-British party. On 23rd March 1940, when Muslim League passed Pakistan Resolution, with other Congressites Khan Abdul Qaiyum condemned the resolution.⁴⁶

A provincial Muslim League was formed in NWFP in September 1937 at Abbottabad. It passed a resolution having following points:

1. Opposing the position of Palestine
2. Supporting the communal award
3. Demanding the restoration of Shahid Ganj mosque in Lahore, etc.

Ulema of NWFP played an important role in the formation of a branch of Frontier Muslim League. After the death of Sir Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, his followers also joined Muslim League. Anti-Congress element were searching a platform to ventilate their grievances also joined Muslim League. Khans and landlords, who were suffering due to Congress policies, helped the Muslim League cause.⁴⁷ The Frontier Muslim League was weak, disorganized and did not have an outstanding agenda and the leadership of NWFP was not skilled and experienced⁴⁸ that's why it could not become a mass party till 1940 while Congress which was ruling with the name of Khudai

⁴⁵ Zahoor Ahmad Awan, *Khan-i- Azam*, 52.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*,34.

⁴⁸ Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province, 1901-1947*,266.

Khidmatgar was well-organized and it had deep roots in the masses. It had an attractive agenda e.g. struggle for the freedom of India, eradication of communal politics, and relief package for the poor peasantry and so on.

On 3 September 1939, Britain declared a war on Germany. Lord Lintithgrow, the Viceroy of India, without consulting Indians or their representatives declared that India, too, was at war with Germany.⁴⁹ The AINC demanded constitutional concessions in return for any assistance in the war. They demanded that after war, India should be given freedom and during war the Congress leaders should be given real power and control over the Indian government. British refused to accept these demands. So as a protest AINC passed a resolution to resign from Congress Ministry in provinces in October and November 1939, and began civil disobedience.⁵⁰

Jinnah had by that time realized that the All Indian National Congress and not the British was the main obstacle in the All Indian Muslim League's aspirations, and made his plan accordingly. AIML at its annual session in 1940 in Lahore raised the demand for a separate Muslim state.⁵¹ Till then Frontier Provincial Muslim League (FPML) was considered as an organization formed as a reaction against the Frontier Congress. But after adopting the Lahore Resolution as its creed, the future line of action became clear to its members and they started to struggle for the achievement of their goal.⁵²

⁴⁹ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 59.

⁵⁰ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan: the Nationalist Movement in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-47* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wilsell International Stockholm, 1981), 117.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 125.

British, Hindus and Nationalist Muslims criticized Lahore Resolution and Hindu press gave it the title of Pakistan Resolution. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan being a member of Congress and a nationalist condemned the Pakistan scheme and termed it impractical, accusing the Leaguers of creating communalism. He also denounced AIML to cooperate with British during war time, while patriots (in his point of view Congress and its followers) were trying to get freedom from British imperialism.⁵³ The Frontier Province helped the British in war both with money and men⁵⁴ but Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan disagreed to help British in war who were ruling unfairly on Indians.⁵⁵

Japan entered the World War II on 7 December 1941 from Germany's side against the Allied Forces. It captured Rangoon on 7th March 1942, and it seemed that an attack on India was imminent. The Allied Forces (especially America and China) put pressure on Britain to give independence to India so that they could get full support in return.⁵⁶ So British Government under the pressure of Allied sent a mission under Sir Stafford Cripps, a cabinet member with some proposal related Indian Independence.

Sir Stafford Cripps proposed an Independent Federal India with the condition that the provinces could opt for the federation if they so desired.⁵⁷ AINC and AIML both rejected the Cripps plan. AINC demanded that they would accept only Independent India and termination of the British rule from India at once. AIML rejected the Cripps mission

⁵³ Ibid.,126.

⁵⁴ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP* , 60.

⁵⁵ Zahoor, Ahmad Awan, *Khan-i - Azam*, 54.

⁵⁶ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*,61.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

because the proposal did not concede Pakistan unequivocally. After the failure of Cripps' mission, the Congress decided to challenge the government and they demanded immediate British withdrawal from India.⁵⁸ The Congress started a serious agitation throughout the country, as a reaction all the Congress leaders were arrested. The Quit India Movement could not become popular in NWFP, because Mullahs made anti-Congress speeches and cited examples of marriages of Dr. Khan Sahib's daughter to a Christian and Abdul Ghaffar Khan's son to a Parsee lady.⁵⁹ Due to these marriages Khan Brothers suffered personal reputations and their party temporarily lost considerable public support. Fatwas were issued against the Khan Brothers and they were criticized for their friendship with Gandhi.⁶⁰ That is why NWFP Congress leadership including Khan Brothers could not succeed in gaining general public support on a larger scale to sustain the Quit India Movement against British Rule.

Thus British managed to crush the Quit India Movement without much difficulty. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan did not take interest in Quit India Movement.⁶¹ He, as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly had to stay most of the time in Delhi. With the passage of time he became an important member of Indian National Congress party. In 1942, after the death of Sita Morti, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was elected as deputy leader of Congress party in Central Legislative Assembly. He worked as a leader of

⁵⁸ Erland Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan: the Nationalist Movement in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-47*, 124.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 125.

⁶⁰ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 138.

⁶¹ Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, A Political Biography* (Lahore: Qadiria Books, 1985), 109.

Congress Parliamentary Party whenever Bhola Bhai Desai, the leader of Congress party, was not present in the Assembly.⁶²

In 1943-1944, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan wrote a book with the title *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*. He dedicated this book to Dr. Khan Sahib and appreciated him for his unceasing fight against corruption in public life and services. He further said that Pride of Place must necessarily go to the Khan Brothers — Dr. Khan Sahib, the elder and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the younger.⁶³ He bitterly criticized the Muslim League and its leaders. He also expressed the ardent wish for a university in NWFP which, besides spreading the light of learning in the province and the tribal area would also help the development and growth of the Pashtu language and culture.⁶⁴

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan like other nationalists believed in the United India. He thought Hindu leadership was sincere with Muslims. Nationalists were trying to get freedom from British and efforts were done for the settlement of Hindu Muslim differences, even in 1940's e.g. Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Desai-Liaquat Ali Pact⁶⁵ in 1944. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was deputy leader of the Congress party in Central Assembly in Delhi at the same time when Liaquat Ali Khan was a deputy leader of the Muslim

⁶² Aziz Javed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad*, 396.

⁶³ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier* (Bombay, Hind Kitabs Publisher, 1945), 41.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁶⁵ H.M. Seervai, *Partition of India Legend and Reality* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 31.

League.⁶⁶ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan also became involved in Desai-Liaquat Ali Pact.⁶⁷ But these talks or efforts could not become fruitful due to biased Hindu mentality.

1.3 Differences of Khan Abdul Qaiyum with Indian National Congress (1945)

Abdul Qaiyum used to spend his summers in Kashmir, his native place where he had his ancestral house near Srinagar. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah also used to spend his summer there where he had many meetings with Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. During his meetings Muhammad Ali Jinnah repeatedly stressed upon Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan to get away from the Indian National Congress as Hindus were not sincere and honest with Muslims.⁶⁸ Jinnah tried to make clear that Indian National Congress is cheating nationalist Muslims and their motive is only to show the world that it is a representative party of all nationalities and it also want to keep the Muslims busy with it so that they should not struggle for their own independence and at the end British would hand over the rule to Indian National Congress.⁶⁹

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, himself a member of Central Legislative Assembly, had seen Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's qualities of leadership and wanted him

⁶⁶ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1985), 221.

⁶⁷ Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, A Political Biography* (Lahore: Qadiria Books, 1985), 109.

⁶⁸ Interview with Munir Rauf (Grand Son of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan) dated 09 October 2011 Multan. Handwritten.

⁶⁹ Aziz Javeed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad*, 396.

to quit the Congress and join the Muslim League and work for the betterment of Muslim nation. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a great supporter of Congress and believed that Indian National Congress was working for getting freedom from British.⁷⁰

Once Muhammad Ali Jinnah himself was a firm believer in the Hindu Muslim unity and did efforts to unite both the communities to get rid of the British rule. But later he considered Hindus as having contrived and intrigued mind and reached the point that Hindus were not willing to cooperate with the Muslims. They rather wanted to dominate the Indian fate.⁷¹ Mohammad Ali Jinnah understood Congress motives so he invited nationalist Muslims to join Muslim League and struggle for a separate Muslim State from the Muslim League platform unanimously. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan like other nationalist Muslims was waiting for the proof that Indian National Congress was not sincere with Muslims.⁷²

The British government at the end of war in May 1945 convened a Roundtable Conference of the Indian political leaders on 25 June 1945 at Simla in order to seek a better solution of the Indian problems. During this conference, the differences between Congress and Muslim League became more visible as the Congress leaders were not ready to accept the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslim nation. Thus Simla Conference ended in a complete failure.⁷³ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, whose primary objective was freedom of India, had opinion that the Congress and Muslim

⁷⁰ Ibid.,397.

⁷¹ Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, A Political Biography*,71.

⁷² Aziz Javed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad*,397.

⁷³ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*,148-149.

League should join hands in struggle against the British rule and then find a solution to their mutual differences. He also wrote an article in *The Kashmir Times*⁷⁴ on 14 August 1945 in which he said that it is an urgent need of the time that Congress and Muslim League should come to an agreement and jointly form a national government in the Centre. And for this purpose if the nationalist Muslims have to sacrifice their share, they should not hesitate in doing so. He also said the nationalist Muslims should give sacrifice for the achievement of their goal that is freedom from the British rule and they should take back, demand of their representation.⁷⁵ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan thought that Simla Conference was the best opportunity for the freedom of Subcontinent but its failure and rigid attitude of Congress opened his eyes. He found that Congress was not sincere with nationalist Muslims and was cheating them so he resigned from the party and joined Muslim League.⁷⁶

Different critics gave different reasons for his resignation from Congress; Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah wrote that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan became involved in Desai-Liaquat Ali Pact. For this reason he lost confidence in the Frontier Congress. When he realized that he would not get party ticket in next election he joined Muslim League.⁷⁷ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah wrote that by the end of war he carefully watched the political developments and ultimately decided to part ways with Congress in order to join the

⁷⁴ Aziz Javed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad*, 399.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Interview with Dr. Naseem Qaiyum (Daughter of Abdul Qayum Khan) dated 23rd September 2011. Islamabad. Handwritten.

⁷⁷ Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, A Political Biography*, 109.

Muslim League.⁷⁸ According to Erland Janson, 'when he realized that he would not be nominated for the Central Legislative Assembly's seat from NWFP, he instead joined the Muslim League.⁷⁹

Mian Zia-ud-Din, an old Muslim Leaguer wrote that Abdul Ghaffar Khan did not trust Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and in next election, expected at the end of 1945, he wanted to drop Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. So Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as shrewd man started secret negotiations with Muslim League that he wanted to join the party. When the time for election came to the Central Assembly, the Congress did not give him ticket. It nominated Abdul Ghani Khan — son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan — instead of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan from NWFP so Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan had no other choice but to join Muslim League.⁸⁰

Critics also say that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was self-seeker and shrewd politician. He chose right time to join Frontier Muslim League (a feud-ridden party at that time). He was newcomer and had organizational abilities, so soon he became leading member of Frontier Muslim League.⁸¹ Lawrence Ziring wrote that Abdul Qaiyum Khan was an old Congressite and vehemently opposed Jinnah and the League. But after

⁷⁸ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 82.

⁷⁹ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 116.

⁸⁰ Mian Zia-ud-Din, *Memoirs of A Pakistani Diplomat* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1976), 72.

⁸¹ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 84.

observing Jinnah's successful campaign, he switched sides and in a brief period had established himself as an important Muslim League leader in NWFP.⁸²

Another reason might be that he was disturbed by the increasing note of communalism in Congress. And the most likely an explanation seems to be that he was affected by patriotism for Pakistan and the creation of a separate Muslim State that struck so many other Muslim Leaders of India at that time.⁸³ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan himself said that after Simla Conference Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah told him, 'Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan you would have to come in Muslim League'.⁸⁴ He was surprised why Quaid-i-Azam said that. He pondered a lot and came to the conclusion that being a Muslim he should join Muslim League. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan mentioned this incident in his first visit of Peshawar after joining the Muslim League.⁸⁵

No one knows the real motive behind his breaking of relations with Congress and joining of Muslim League. His critics gave different statements without any proof. It was true that Khan Brothers (Dr. Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan) were not ready to share leadership and there were more opportunities for success in Muslim League at that time. That's why he joined Muslim League. Whatever was the motive behind his conversion of the party it proved very beneficial for people of NWFP. Once he joined Muslim League he used all his energies and efforts for improvement of Muslim League

⁸² Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan The Enigma of Political Development* (London: Dawson West view, 1980) 151.

⁸³ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1985) ,214.

⁸⁴ Iqbal Riaz, *Tahreek-e-Pakistan Aur Sobah-e-Sarhad* (Peshawar: Azeem Publication House, N.d) ,110.
⁸⁵ Ibid.

and Muslim League got an experienced organizer in the form of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan.

On 16 August 1945, from Lucknow, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam that after long searching and hard thinking for many days he did the most momentous decision of his life that he should join Muslim League. The stand taken by Quaid-i-Azam was absolutely correct and that any Muslim who opposes Muslim League and Muhammad Ali Jinnah was betraying the cause of Islam in India.⁸⁶ On 20 August Quaid-i-Azam wrote a reply to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and appreciated his decision of joining Muslim League by saying that there is no room for any honest Muslim in Congress after the Simla Conference. Jinnah also wrote that he hoped others would follow the example of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and would join Muslim League and serve selflessly the national cause of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for.⁸⁷

On 27 August 1945, Quaid-i-Azam wrote again to Abdul Qaiyum that he wanted to meet him and advised him to concentrate on the Frontier Province of United India and make the people to understand that they are being deceived by their opponents and they

⁸⁶ *Abdul Qaiyum to Quaid-i-Azam*, Letter dated 16 August 1945, *Correspondence of Quaid-i-Azam Mr. M.A. Jinnah*, (NWFP-II). Shamsul Hasan Collection.see in appendix 1.

⁸⁷ *Quaid-i-Azam to Abdul Qaiyum*, Telegram dated 20 August 1945 (NWFP II) Shamsul Hasan Collection, NDC Islamabad,92.

should really gather around the banner of the All India Muslim League, and advised Qaiyum Khan to keep in touch with him.⁸⁸

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's arrival in Muslim League was appreciated by the Leaguers everywhere. It was no doubt an important event for NWFP Leaguers. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a good orator, an experienced politician and important member of Congress. He knew very well how to mould the public opinion. He was sole elected member of Central Legislative Assembly from NWFP on Congress ticket. He had made a good impression on Hindu members of the Indian National Congress in Central Assembly, and also served as a deputy leader of Congress.⁸⁹ So after his changing of party he was offered high post in next assembly and he was pressurized by Congress leadership to change or take back his decision. But Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan rejected their offer and said that he could sacrifice his life for Muslim cause and he would not work further with Congress because it was cheating Muslims and struggling to make Muslims slaves of Hindus.⁹⁰

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's joining of Muslim League left a good impact not only on NWFP Muslim League but on the whole of Subcontinent. He was given the title of 'Lion of Sarhad'⁹¹, by masses of NWFP.

⁸⁸ *Quaid-i-Azam to Abdul Qaiyum*, Letter dated 27 August 1945 (N.W.F., II) Shamsul Hasan Collection, Islamabad, NDC,95.

⁸⁹ Mian Zia-ud-Din, *Memoirs of A Pakistan Diplomat* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1976) ,71.

⁹⁰ Aziz Javed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad*,398.

⁹¹ Ibid.,397.

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CHAPTER 2

KHAN ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN AND PAKISTAN MOVEMENT (1945-1947)

2.1 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan joined Muslim League (August 1945)

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan joined Muslim League on 16 August 1945. His arrival in Muslim League was appreciated a lot by Muslim Leaguers. He was one of the most prominent Congressmen. When he joined the Muslim League, just days before his joining the viceroy ordered new elections.⁹² It was expected by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan that he would effectively and efficiently expose the wiles and cunnings of Congress and the Frontier Gandhi (Abdul Ghaffar Khan-leader of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement) particularly in NWFP.

Immediately Muhammad Ali Jinnah said to S.M. Shah to chalk out programs for the League propaganda in the villages of the NWFP and appointed Abdul Qaiyum Khan as organizer who certainly overturn the boat of Congress in the Frontier.⁹³ Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's above mentioned statement shows that Muhammad Ali Jinnah had confidence in Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's organizational abilities. Khan Abdul

⁹² Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988) ,137.

⁹³ Sayed Wiqar, *Muslim League in NWFP* ,83.

Qaiyum Khan also wrote to Quaid-i-Azam that he intended to go on a visit to the country side, where Khudai Khidmatgars had strong hold, to propagate the cause of Muslim League and he was prepared to serve the great cause in accordance with Muhammad Ali Jinnah's direction. He also added that prospects for the League in NWFP were becoming brighter day-by-day.⁹⁴

After joining Muslim League when Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan visited NWFP he was garlanded, crackers were exploded and he was taken in a procession by Muslim Leaguers towards Peshawar city, where he explained reasons for the change of his creed. He said he left Congress when he found that it was bent upon crushing the Muslims. He invited Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib to join Muslim League, which was working to establish Muslim rule in the Muslim majority provinces and discard Congress.⁹⁵

At another meeting in Bannu city on 6 November 1945, Abdul Qaiyum explained reasons for his resigning from Congress and joining of Muslim League. He said when he realized that Muslims could alone, without the help of Hindus, get rid of British rule and to achieve independence in form of a separate country (Pakistan), he left Congress.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ *Abdul Qaiyum's Letter to Jinnah, 29 August 1945 (NWFP-II)* Shamsul Hasan Collection 99(Islamabad: NDC),96.

⁹⁵ Riaz Ahmad, ed. *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947, Secret Police Abstracts* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2008),224-225.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*,234.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, being an old Congressite had many friends in the party, so he also invited them to join Muslim League. After joining Muslim League, he unveiled Congress' objectives that it was trying for Akhand (united) Bharat if British rulers leave Hindustan, where Muslims would be in minority. He also said that it was need of Congress to make friendship with nationalist Muslims to show the world that it was the only representative party of Indians so when British rulers leave the Subcontinent, they hand over power to the Congress.⁹⁷ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan emphasized that Indian National Congress was not sincere with the Muslims; they should join Muslim League that was working for a separate homeland for Muslims.

2.2 Election in NWFP and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan

After the end of World War II, in July 1945, Labour Party came into power in Britain. Clement Attlee became the prime minister, who on his assumption of office announced elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures in India, and after the election a constitution-making body was set up. The main objective of election was to set up a more democratic government in India, and pave the way for independence.⁹⁸ At the same time it was also a test case 'to determine the relative strength of the Congress and Muslim League'.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Aziz Javed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad*, 102.

⁹⁸ Broadcast of C. Attlee London, 19 September 1945, IAR, 1945 II., 150, as quoted in Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 183.

⁹⁹ S.A. Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement*, 314.

With election announcement by the viceroy, all the political parties began their earnest preparations. It was clear to all at the time that these elections would be crucial and would decide the future of India. Moreover, they would determine the position of the two main political parties (All Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League) and their results would materially affect the ultimate decision.¹⁰⁰

When Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan joined Muslim League, Frontier Muslim League was facing a crisis due to the internal differences among its local leaders. He was not associated with any faction in the Frontier League. He also had extensive experience in legislative politics. The combination of these factors gave him advantage over all his rivals for party leadership.¹⁰¹ Although he was newcomer in party, he gave up all other engagements and devoted himself exclusively to the cause of Muslim League. He had good repute as member of Congress and had an influence among the masses so he attracted a large number of people toward Muslim League by spreading message of a separate homeland for the Muslims.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan repeatedly said in his speeches on different places like on 7 October 1945 in Peshawar and 11 October 1945 in Mardan he stated that his long connection with Congress had convinced him that Congress wished to dominate Muslims and wanted to establish 'Hindu Raj' in place of 'British Raj'.¹⁰² So Muslim should realize

¹⁰⁰ Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1979), 236.

¹⁰¹ S.A. Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement*, 318.

¹⁰² Riaz Ahmad, ed. *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 30.

the basic objectives of Indian National Congress and join and support Muslim League only.

In NWFP the political combat was mainly between Frontier Congress and the Provincial Muslim League for the election of 1945-1946. Other smaller organizations like the Khaksars, Ahrars, Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind and the Akalis also participated in election but their influence was confined only to particular areas of the province.¹⁰³ Agenda of Congress for 1945-46 election was based upon Indian Nationalism and freedom from British.¹⁰⁴ The Frontier Congress was contesting election in the name of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Compared to Muslim League, Congress in NWFP was more organized, well woven to the grass-roots level and had sound party funds. Most of the members of Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party joined Congress as they were confronted with the prospect of Pakistan. It further strengthened Congress' position in minority constituencies.¹⁰⁵ Muslim League agenda was based on divided India, and establishment of separate Islamic State, Pakistan versus Akhand (undivided) Hindustan or Muslim independence versus Hindu domination. Muslim League raised slogan in favor of Islam.¹⁰⁶

On 12 October 1945 Central Parliament Board of Muslim League appointed these boards at provincial level in NWFP to make suitable arrangement for the new election.

1. Selection Board

¹⁰³ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 160.

¹⁰⁴ Mohammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 207.

¹⁰⁵ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 165.

¹⁰⁶ -----, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 100.

2. Election Board

3. Financial Board

1. Selection Board

Duties of Selection Board were to select candidate for Frontier Muslim League.

President: Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot (Punjab)

Convener Members: Abdul Qaiyum Khan (Peshawar)

Arbab Noor Muhammad (Peshawar)

M.R. Kiyani (Kohat)

Sohbal Khan (Mardan)

Jalaluddin (Hazara)

Habibullah Khan (Bannu)

Pir Sahib Zakorhi Sharif (D.I.K)

Arbab Abdul Ghaffar (Tahkhal)

2. Election Board

Election Board's duties were to make all necessary arrangements for contesting election.

3. Finance Board

Duties of Finance Board were collection of funds, maintenance of regular and proper accounts and to control expenditure of election.

The candidates of Frontier Muslim League were selected by Selection Board. The selection work was dominated by the convener of the board Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. He dropped or ignored many old Muslim Leaguers and not gave them party tickets. Critics said Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan followed one principle in issuing tickets i.e. who would support him and who would not.¹⁰⁷ Erland Janson wrote that the board only purged the party of those who had given a bad name to party when it was in power from 1943-1945 in NWFP.¹⁰⁸

Of all these three boards it was the Selection Board which managed to fulfill its function, while the other two were so faction ridden that they were unable to do any work.¹⁰⁹

2.2.1 Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's visit of NWFP and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan

In order to attract Muslims towards Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah visited different provinces of India. He expressed dire need for unity and sinking all the differences and standing as one united nation to face the enemy with confidence. He also appealed to the non-Muslims to join Muslim League.¹¹⁰ Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited NWFP on 20th November 1945 to give a fillip to the

¹⁰⁷ Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar A Political Biography*,111.

¹⁰⁸ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan* ,149.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.,140.

¹¹⁰ Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*,237.

Muslim League's campaign.¹¹¹ When Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah arrived in NWFP people raise slogan, 'Pakistan Zinda Bad' and 'Quaid-i-Azam Zinda Bad'. He was received by thousands of Muslim Leaguers. After meeting with Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah expressed his satisfaction on finding a great change in the political outlook of the Muslim masses in the North West Frontier Provence as compared to his last visit in 1936. He said previously Muslims in Frontier were under the spell of Indian National Congress but now they and Hindus of NWFP had realized that Muslim League was their only representative party.¹¹²

In his speech Muhammad Ali Jinnah said that Muslim League is trying to get freedom both from Hindus and the British. So Muslims should unite under the flag of Muslim League and support it. The coming elections would make it clear that Muslims want to live as independent nation and achieve Pakistan within the confine of India or they prefer to remain as slaves of Hindus.¹¹³

Many meetings were held in Khan Bahadur Muhammad Hassan Khan's house which were chaired by Quaid-i-Azam. These meetings were attended by Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, Samin Jan Khan, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Abdur Rab Nishtar, and many other Muslim Leaguers. In these meetings people complained about decision of Selection Board and expressed their anger over not getting party ticket. Quaid-i-Azam made it clear that for one seat many people had applied.

¹¹¹ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pakhtunistan*, 149.

¹¹² Riaz Ahmad, ed. *The Frontier Muslim League, 1913-1947*, 236.

¹¹³ Ibid.

Obviously only one candidate could get ticket. But others should act faithfully and support the cause of the League.¹¹⁴ In the ten-day visit Quaid-i-Azam toured different places of NWFP e.g. Manki Sharif, Nowshera, Mardan, Khyber Pass, Afghan border and so on. He also addressed the students in Edwardes College and Islamia College Peshawar. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's visit was successful and he convinced many people in favor of the League. George Cunningham, the Governor of NWFP, shared his opinion about Muhammad Ali Jinnah's visit saying that his visit had strengthened Muslim League's cause and provided it with fairly effective propaganda.¹¹⁵

The elections for Central Assembly were held between January 26 and February 14, 1946. Muslim League won 30 out of 30 seats of Central Assembly, and 427 out of 507 Provincial Assembly seats.¹¹⁶ In NWFP Congress had clearly emerged as the major party, capturing 30 out of total 50 seats. Muslim League got 17 seats, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind (JUH), allied of Congress, won two seats and the Akali got one.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Aziz Javed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sobah-e- Sarhad*, 109.

¹¹⁵ GR, 8 December 1945, MSS. EUR., D. 670/16, IOLR as quoted in Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 163.

¹¹⁶ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sobah-e-Sarhad* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), 142.

¹¹⁷ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 165.

Results of the elections to the NWFP Legislative Assembly.¹¹⁸

	Total	Muslim	Muslim	General	General	Sikh	Land
	Rural	Rural	Rural	Urban		Holders	
Congress	30	18	1	6	3	2	-
Muslim	17	13	2	-	-	-	2
League							
Jamiat-ul-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
Ulema-i-Hind							
Akali Dal	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Total	50	33	3	6	3	3	2

Source: Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pakhtunistan*, 151.

In NWFP (a Muslim majority province) Muslim League could not get much success. The reasons behind were that Muslim League was not so much organized as compared to Khudai Khidmatgar (a strong supporter of Congress), secondly Congress party was in government during election days. So they used government machinery against Muslim League. Thirdly there was food shortage in province; only members of Congress could get flour, sugar, and clothes from Government stores so common people preferred to become Congress member to fulfill their basic needs. Fourthly in forming list of voters Congress officers worked with bias, and did not enter the name of Muslim

¹¹⁸ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pakhtunistan*, 151.

League supports in electoral lists.¹¹⁹ But the Governor of NWFP disproved these allegations by saying that the main cause of Muslim League's failure was lack of organization, internal feuds and factionalism in the party.¹²⁰ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan won Peshawar seat and the second seat was won by Muhammad Yahya Jan Khan (a Congress candidate).¹²¹ Muslim League had nominated its two candidates for dual constituency of Peshawar. One was Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and second was Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. In the Peshawar city constituency, every voter was allowed to cast two votes. The Muslim League supporters were instructed to cast one vote for each of their candidates. It was allegation on Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan that he asked supporters to cast both their votes only for him so he won by using wrong tact.¹²²

By the end of February 1946, Dr. Khan Sahib formed the Congress Ministry. On 10 March Muslim League held a meeting under the presidentship of Nawab of Hoti, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was elected as a leader of opposition for the Provincial Assembly and Nawab of Tank as deputy leader.¹²³

In the first session of the Provincial Assembly in March 1946, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan narrated the story of cheating, bribery and corruption in 1946 election and highlighted how Hindus' money, support, gold, Hindu press and Frontier Government

¹¹⁹ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sobah-e- Sarhad* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), 142.

¹²⁰ Summary of Events in NWFP 1937-1946, 17 March 1946, MSS, EUR., D. 670/17 IOLR., 44. As quoted in Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 166.

¹²¹ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sobah-e-Sarhad*, 142.

¹²² Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar A Political Biography*, 113.

¹²³ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pakhtunistan*, 151.

changed the fate of political life in the Frontier Province. Hindu businessmen utilized their money to turn table against Muslim League in the Frontier. Non-Muslim population who were 5% in the province held 20% seats in the assembly and had full power over the administration in NWFP.¹²⁴ In nutshell, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a good orator and after joining Muslim League he used this ability for the League on every forum he tried to disclose Congress conspiracies.

2.3 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Referendum in NWFP

(July 1947)

After 1945-46 elections a visible change appeared in Indian political scenario and especially in NWFP where communal politics played an important role in the referendum of July 1947 in NWFP. Before discussing referendum;a look at Cabinet Mission Plan, rise of communal riots in the Frontier, 3 June Plan and their effect on Frontier politics,are interesting.

2.3.1 Cabinet Mission Plan

On 19 February 1946, British Government announced that a special mission of cabinet ministers¹²⁵ would be send to India to seek solution to its constitutional

¹²⁴ *Khyber Mail*(Peshawar) 29 March, 1946. As Quoted by Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*,208.

¹²⁵ Cabinet Mission including i) Lord Pethick – Lawrence – the Secretary of state for India, ii) Sir Stafford Cripps – the President of the Board of Trade, iii) A.R. Alexander – The First Lord of the Admiralty.Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan The Formative Phase 1857-1948*(Karachi:Oxford University Press,1969), 119.

problems.¹²⁶ The mission reached on 24 March 1946 in Delhi for discussion with the representatives of political parties. At the end of these discussions, the mission concluded that it was not easy to bridge the gap between Congress and Muslim League by direct bargaining. So they proposed a new constitution for an independent India based on following points.

1. A three-tiered decentralized government. A Central Government would deal with foreign affairs, defense and communication and all other powers would be given to the provinces which would be combined into groups.
2. The proposed groups were: group A - Madras, Bombay, CP, Orissa, UP, and Bihar, group B - Punjab, Sind, and NWFP, group C - Bengal and Assam.
3. To establish an interim government of all the major political parties.¹²⁷

Both Congress and Muslim League responded in their own ways to the Cabinet Mission Plan. Congress opposed decentralization and compulsory grouping of provinces. Muslim League rejected on the basis that it did not contain a definite plan of partition.¹²⁸ Frontier Congress strongly rejected Cabinet Mission proposal of compulsory grouping because according to their point of view they would be dominated by Punjabis in their respective group.

¹²⁶ Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, 244.

¹²⁷ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 170.

¹²⁸ -----, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 105.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan remarked about Frontier Congress in June 1946 that leaders of Frontier Congress felt threat to their own political existence otherwise there was no foundation of Punjabi domination.¹²⁹

After its withdrawal from acceptance of the Cabinet Mission, Muslim League adopted extra ‘constitutional means’ for the first time in its history. Quaid-i-Azam announced direct action day on 16 August 1946 as a protest and organized demonstrations all over India.¹³⁰ In NWFP, a ‘Committee of Action’, under leadership of Pir of Manki Sharif, was formed to lead the direct action day campaign in the province. The day was spent peacefully in Frontier and all over India except for Calcutta where serious communal riots started and lasted for many days causing immense loss of life and property. The riots were started by Hindus in Hindu majority provinces and the Muslims suffered terribly. The riots spread to Bihar, Bombay, and UP and by November 1946, the total number of victims of the riots reached almost twenty thousand.¹³¹ Frontier Muslim League sent its workers to the riot affected areas in order to help the suffering Muslims and to collect first-hand information about the situation. They brought back stories of annihilation of mosques, destruction of the Holy Quran at the hands of Hindus and photographs of Bihar victims. The Frontier Pashtuns condemned the slaughter of the Muslims at the hands of Hindus in different parts of India.¹³² On 2 September 1946, Congress formed an Interim Government without inviting Muslim League. Later on viceroy felt that the communal riots could not be stopped without the Muslim League’s cooperation. Thus, he invited Jinnah for talks and offered him to join the government.

¹²⁹ S.A. Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India*, 338.

¹³⁰ Sayed Wiqar, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 107.

¹³¹ -----, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 171.

¹³² -----, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 109.

Jinnah accepted the viceroy's invitation and League joined the Interim Government on 26 October 1946.¹³³

During direct action campaign the Pir of Manki Sharif, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and other League leaders toured all over the province and large number of meetings or 'Pakistan Conferences' were held. In a Pakistan Conference held in Peshawar in October, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said that when Hindus talk about the Muslims, their words are sweet and soft but in their hearts they are nursing hatred and dislike for the Muslims. Hindus want to dominate Muslims. He gave message to tribes for unity and to be ready to sacrifice for Islam.¹³⁴ The agitation for Pakistan continued to grow, the bitterness between Hindus and Muslims kept on increasing in all over India as time went on. Though Dr. Khan Sahib was in power in NWFP, agitation against him was getting stronger day-by-day in Frontier Province.¹³⁵

In October 1946, Nehru decided to visit NWFP and tribal areas, in his capacity as minister of external affairs of India, On Nehru's arrival in Peshawar on 16 November 1946, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan along with Muslim League volunteers organized protest rally and raised slogans against Nehru. When Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was asked why he was staging the demonstration while Muslim Leaguer had joined the Interim Government, he said, 'there will be no peace in the Frontier even if there is peace

¹³³ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 172.

¹³⁴ Dawn 13 October 1946 as quoted in Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 180.

¹³⁵ Main Zia-ud-Din, *Memoires of A Pakistani Diplomate*, 73.

elsewhere'.¹³⁶ The very night Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan gave a statement on BBC that they had already informed Nehru that masses of NWFP and particularly tribal people did not like opponents of Pakistan. They would not accept Nehru's visit to Frontier.¹³⁷ Congress leadership and especially Nehru were not aware of changed environment of Frontier. Nehru thought that his visit would strengthen Congress rule in NWFP, but he found totally contrary circumstances there. He was physically attacked by tribesmen. They expressed their anger at the killing of Muslims in Hindu majority areas and they raised slogans for Pakistan. It opened Nehru's eyes that people of NWFP were no more in favor of Congress.¹³⁸

Sayed Waqar Ali Shah wrote that Nehru's visit of NWFP had unwillingly turned him into an effective instrument of Muslim League propaganda and Nehru had done happily what the Muslim League could not do in its long campaign of four years of intense political activity.¹³⁹ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah that 'what we could not hope to achieve in several years, was in fact achieved within a week. Hence, Nehru visit had some far reaching effects'.¹⁴⁰

Another impact of Nehru's visit of NWFP in November 1946 was that the tribes, who hitherto were not active in Indian politics, plunged into political activities and demanded a separate Muslim State.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ D.G Tendulkar, *Abdual Ghaffar Khan faith is a battle* (Bombay: Gandhi peace foundation, 1987), 384.

¹³⁷ Iqbal Riaz, *Tahreeq-e-Pakistan aur Sobah-e- Sarhad* (Peshawar: Azeem publication House, n.d.), 110.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 182.

¹⁴⁰ Qaiyum to Jinnah, 25 October 1946, SHC, NWFP – II, 113, as quoted in Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 182.

¹⁴¹ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 182.

2.3.2 Growth of Communal Riots in Frontier

The communal situation was tense after the massacre of Bihar, Calcutta, Bombay, and Hindu dominated areas in India. Communal troubles upset the peace in the Frontier and all over India. The tension was aggravated by the extreme shortage of food and cloth in Hazara. On the night between 7 and 8 December 1946, trans-border tribesmen attacked the village of Battal and Oghi of district Hazara and burnt the bazaar.¹⁴² Government imposed Section 144 of the criminal procedure code (Cr.P.C) prohibiting public speeches, and processions. Black Mountain (situated in district Hazara) tribes, who were responsible for the raid, were ordered to pay fine. The provincial Muslim League exploited the situation and started challenging the government and persuaded tribes not to pay fine. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said that thousands of Muslims in Bihar were butchered in cold blood yet no one ever thought to levy punitive fine on the Hindus of Bihar or sending military expeditions against them.¹⁴³

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan advised the Muslims of NWFP not to pay fines and criticized the harsh measures of Congress government. He predicted a 'very serious danger ahead' if the ministry continued its repressive policies.¹⁴⁴ The government deployed police, Frontier Constabulary and a full army division to deal with the crisis in Hazara. Bad weather and the inaccessibility of the mountainous regions of Hazara district prevented them from restoring order until late January. A large number of non-Muslim

¹⁴² Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 191.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 196.

migrated from NWFP, a few were killed. Communal peace could never return to Hazara. Muslim League started civil disobedience against Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry, which kept the entire province in turmoil until independence.¹⁴⁵

2.3.3 Muslim League's Civil Disobedience against the Congress Ministry in Frontier Province and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan

By the end of 1946 and in start of 1947, public opinion had shifted in favor of Muslim League. Communal riots of Bihar and Bombay played important role in changing of opinion. Congress, a Hindu representative party, did not remain as popular as in the past in Muslim areas, and especially in NWFP but there was no institutional way for the change to be reflected in the Provincial Assembly. League leaders demanded Dr. Khan Sahib's resignation, but Congress had solid majority in the assembly, could not be expected to surrender willingly its control of the provincial government, so no other way was left except to start civil disobedience against Congress Ministry and ensure a further test of public opinion in NWFP.¹⁴⁶

On 12 January 1947, Muslim League defied a Section 144 order of the Cr.P.C in Mardan by arranging a *Mushaira* where through poetry a message was given to sacrifice life for the cause of Pakistan. In February 1947, a war committee was appointed under the Pir of Manki and order was given to 'all the League Committees of NWFP to keep

¹⁴⁵ S.A. Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India*, 352.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 360.

arm ready to take civil disobedience against the Hazara safety ordinance.¹⁴⁷ In February 1947, a Sikh woman of Hazara embraced Islam and married a Muslim man, Muhammad Zaman. Sikh and Hindus gave communal color to this incident and charged that Muhammad Zaman kidnapped the Sikh girl. Muhammad Zaman was arrested and girl was sent to Mehr Chand Khanna's house where she recorded a statement that she wanted to be sent back to her people. Muslim League leaders of NWFP including Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan tried to meet the girl but they could not get permission. So they protested in front of Dr. Khan Sahib's house and demanded that newly converted Muslim girl should be returned.¹⁴⁸

Civil disobedience movement started in NWFP and processions were taken out in Kohat, Mardan, Hazara and Abbottabad in defiance of Section 144 of Cr.P.C to protest the 'reconversion'. Government started arresting Muslim leaders for maintenance of peace. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan with two prominent League leaders was arrested from Mardan on 20 February 1947. Next day NWFP Leaguers protested against the arrest of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and demanded his and other Muslim League's leaders release. Three hundred and thirty Leaguers were arrested at that day. Circumstance became uncontrollable for Congress government with the passing of days number of people in protest procession was increasing, and they were demanding resignation from Congress government.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.,361.

¹⁴⁸ Aziz Javed, *Sarhad Aur Quaid-i-Azam*, 157.

¹⁴⁹ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sobah -e- Sarhad*, 157

On 10 March 1947, serious turmoil was created and agitation was led by ML, curfew was imposed from morning to evening and a large number of Muslim Leaguers were arrested.¹⁵⁰ Muhammad Ali Jinnah was not in favor of destruction and he requested the Leaguers to stop taking irritating steps. On his request Pir of Manki Sharif ordered his followers to restrict to peaceful resistance. Despite Jinnah's request communal riots and disturbance continued. Till 20 March 1947 a large number of Muslim Leaguers were arrested. On 28 March, Pir of Manki Sharif was arrested from Muslim League office in Peshawar. On the same day Abdul Qaiyum Khan and twenty other Muslim League leaders of NWFP were transferred to Dera Ismail Khan Jail, because there was threat that Muslim Leaguers may attack on the jail building to release their leaders.¹⁵¹ The communal violence climaxed all over the province. Mahsuds and Bittanis (Tribes) from the tribal territory added to the disturbance by launching raids, a mixture of religious zeal and a desire for loot.¹⁵² From April 1947, Muslim women also participated in civil disobedience movement. On 22 April a women procession went to district court Peshawar and hoisted a Muslim League flag on the court of city magistrate, speeches were made in which it was demanded to oust the Congress Ministry.¹⁵³

During the month of April 1947, the communal disturbances moved toward the southern district of Frontier Province e.g. Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and Kohat. Troops were called to assist the police in controlling situation.¹⁵⁴ By mid-May an estimated 60

¹⁵⁰ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 194.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 195.

¹⁵² S.A. Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India*, 374.

¹⁵³ Riaz Ahmad, ed., *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 340.

¹⁵⁴ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 212.

percent of the minorities in Peshawar and Mardan had left the province and the percentages for Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan were even higher.¹⁵⁵

2.3.4 Mountbatten's Visit to the Frontier and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan

On 24 March 1947, Lord Mountbatten replaced Lord Wavell as the last viceroy of India. The peaceful transfer of power to Indian leader was one of his most important tasks. When he reached India, communal disturbance was at peak in NWFP so his first priority was to restore peace in Frontier. Muslim League was demanding dismissal of Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry and hold fresh election in the province.¹⁵⁶ To get first hand information about the situation in NWFP, Mountbatten planned to visit NWFP in the last week of April 1947.

When news of Viceroy's visit to NWFP reached Peshawar, Muslim League leaders called a meeting in Peshawar Central Jail for which facilities were provided by the government. The members took stock of the whole situation and prepared a memorandum to the viceroy through their accredited representatives. Memorandum was signed by Pir of Manki Sharif, Samin Jan Khan and Abdul Qaiyum Khan¹⁵⁷ (for detail of the memorandum see appendix 2).

¹⁵⁵ S.A. Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India*, 374.

¹⁵⁶ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 212.

¹⁵⁷ -----, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 148. See in appendix 2.

The Viceroy visited NWFP on 28 and 29 April 1947. On 28 April when the viceroy reached Peshawar Muslim Leaguers arranged an organized demonstration of seventy thousands people and raised slogans of Pakistan Zindabad. The viceroy and the vicereine waved their hands at them and demonstrators added 'Mountbatten Zindabad', afterwards they dispersed peacefully.¹⁵⁸

In his visit of Peshawar, the viceroy met the leaders of Muslim League and Congress. On 28 April Mountbatten met a deputation of 12 Leaguers including Samin Jan Khan, Pir of Manki Sharif, and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, released on parole. The viceroy asked for the views of Muslim League representatives on the general situation of the Frontier province. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan presented their demands in the form of a memorandum.¹⁵⁹

The Viceroy made it clear that they would be informed within two months about the procedure of handing over of authority. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan stated that "in their view the best solution of the problem is to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan".¹⁶⁰ The viceroy asked that until a decision was announced about the transfer of power to all provinces, they should withdraw unconstitutional pressure against the NWFP Government. Finally the viceroy agreed to put them in one jail so that they could meet together and that their representatives should be allowed to go to Delhi on parole for

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. , 149.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. , 149.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 150.

consultation with Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah.¹⁶¹ On 29 April, the viceroy met Afridi and Waziris Jirgas. They told the viceroy that the tribesmen would never join a state dominated by Hindus. The viceroy's visit of NWFP was a turning point in the history of the province. He realized the Muslim League's popularity in the province and decided to hold a referendum in Frontier on the issue of Hindustan and Pakistan. By then, the division of India between Congress and Muslim League was inevitable.¹⁶²

Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Pir of Manki Sharif, Samin Jan Khan and Arbab Noor Mohammad Khan were released on parole on 2 May 1947. They along with Mian Abdullah Shah of Qazi Khel, Vice-President of the Frontier Muslim League, left for Delhi by air to discuss the situation of the Frontier with Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah.¹⁶³

On 14 May 1947, Abdul Qaiyum wrote a letter to Muhammad Ali Jinnah from Peshawar Central Jail, that Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of Khudai Khidmatgar, allies of Congress, was prepared to accept Pakistan. But it was from his lips and not from his heart. AGK's objective was 'to bribe us with the offer of two seats in the cabinet' and to win us over in this manner. His idea seems to be to keep his party intact and enter into some sort of coalition with us, while accepting Pakistan in name only.¹⁶⁴

On 26 May 1947, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Samin Jan Khan from the Peshawar Central Jail sent a telegram to Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah that Abdul Ghaffar Khan desired to meet him. Mr. Jinnah replied that he would meet Abdul Ghaffar Khan

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 216.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

along with them (Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Samin Jan Khan) on any day. On 30 May 1947, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Samin Jan Khan were again released on parole and left for Delhi in the same plane with Abdul Ghaffar Khan.¹⁶⁵ In return, Muhammad Ali Jinnah reaffirmed his support for their decision to continue civil disobedience movement but he ordered them to put a stop to the communal killings in the province. So the provincial League Council did not call off civil disobedience until 4 June 1947 after the announcement of Lord Mountbatten's partition plan which included a referendum in NWFP.¹⁶⁶

2.3.5 Referendum in NWFP (July 1947)

Under the 3 June 1947 plan, it was decided that power would be transferred to Indians by 15 August. It was also declared that a referendum (in July 1947) would be held in NWFP on the issue of joining Hindustan or Pakistan.¹⁶⁷ Indian National Congress high command accepted the partition plan, including a referendum in NWFP, without even consulting the Frontier leaders. Khudai Khidmatgars' supporters of Congress in NWFP were indignant and felt cheated by the Indian National Congress High Command, who had assured Khudai Khidmatgars' that it would not accept partition of India at any cost. Muslim League was happy and satisfied by the announcement of the holding of plebiscite on the choice of India or Pakistan.¹⁶⁸ The League called off its 105-day-old civil disobedience campaign and started preparation for referendum and launched full-

¹⁶⁵ Sayed Wiqar, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 151.

¹⁶⁶ Riaz Ahmad, ed., *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 352.

¹⁶⁷

scale campaign for Pakistan.¹⁶⁹ All political prisoners were released to participate in the referendum.¹⁷⁰

On 4 June 1947, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan gave an interview to the Orient Press of India and with confidence he said that Muslim League would come out with flying colors and he was sure that they would secure an overwhelming majority in favor of Pakistan in referendum. He concluded by saying that Muslim League was in a very strong position in the Frontier at the present time¹⁷¹

Muslim League leaders and its supporters became active in making preparation for the forthcoming referendum and to spread message of Pakistan in every corner of province. Frontier Congress was left with no other option but to adjust itself to the changing circumstance to recapture the support of the Frontier Pashtuns, it modified its political agenda and raised slogan of Pakhtunistan. Demand for the establishment of a separate Pashtun state. Abdul Ghaffar Khan demanded that referendum should be on Pakhtunistan or Pakistan issue¹⁷²

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in a statement to the Orient Press of India criticized idea of Pakhtunistan by saying Abdul Ghaffar Khan was trying to carve out a small state between Pakistan and Afghanistan, which would be financed by Hindustan. This state would act as a fifth column of Hindu imperialism. He added that masses of NWFP are

¹⁶⁹ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 198.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ *Dawn* (Delhi) 5 June 1947, as quoted in Saleem Ullah Khan, *The Referendum in NWFP 1947* (Islamabad: NDC, 1995), 61.

¹⁷² Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 222.

now awakened and they would not be influenced by the Congress tactics now. He further remarked that though viceroy ensured that referendum would be fair, at that time Congress was in power, so it was using broadcasts entirely for Congress propaganda and supplying arms to their supporters.¹⁷³

Muslim Leaguers asked their listeners not to be misled by Abdul Ghaffar Khan's idea of Pakhtunistan, but to support Pakistan against Hindustan. Meetings were held to spread message of Pakistan. The leaders were spread over the areas allotted to them for propaganda throughout the province. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in his speeches advised non-Muslims not to interfere in 'the purely Muslim problem' of deciding whether to join Pakistan or Hindustan constituent assembly, and warned them, to stand aloof and leave the Muslims to decide the question facing them, in the interest of good communal relations in the province in future.¹⁷⁴

The Khudai Khidmatgars started an organized campaign for an autonomous Pakhtunistan, the Congress President Kripalani¹⁷⁵ asked Mountbatten that referendum should also provide option of Pakhtunistan. But their demand was rejected.¹⁷⁶ On 24 June 1947 Abdul Ghaffar Khan issued a statement appealing to the Khudai Khidmatgars not to participate in the referendum because it did not include option for Pakhtunistan.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ *Dawn* (Delhi) 12 June 1947, as compiled by Saleem Ullah Khan, *The Referendum in NWFP 1947*, 75.

¹⁷⁴ *North-West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence*, 24 June 1947 (Islamabad: NDC, Acc.no.s.407), 92-94 as compiled by Saleem Ullah Khan, *The Referendum in NWFP 1947*, 112.

¹⁷⁵ Jivatram Bhagwandar Kirpalani (1888-1982) popularly known as Acharya Kirpalani. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 60.

¹⁷⁶ Sayed Wiqar, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 219.

¹⁷⁷ D.G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, 441.

Referring to Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Frontier Congress' decision to boycott the referendum (unless it was fought on the basis of Pakistan versus Pakhtunistan), Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said, it was notable in this connection that for years Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been working in close collaboration with Congress, he never thought of Pukhtunistan when his delegates were working in the Hindu Constituent Assembly nor did he ever made a demand for the unification of the Pashto speaking areas. 'He did not then smell any danger to Pathan culture and the Pashto language from the 30 crores Hindus', Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan remarked, 'and did not claim any right for the people of this province to frame their own constitution.'¹⁷⁸

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and other Muslim League leaders worked hard day and night to convince people to poll vote for Pakistan in referendum on the return of successful tour of six days of these southern districts of Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan gave interview to Orient Press of India. He said situation of southern districts was very hopeful from the League's standpoint. He also said that Congress Ministry was placing all kinds of impediments in their way by using their official position. They were trying to bribe voters through permits for plying vehicles for goods and passengers, liberal grant of arms licenses, one sided propaganda against Muslim League through Pashto broadcasts of All India Radio and by application of Section 144 Cr.P.C. to Dera Ismail Khan for which there was no necessity. He also

¹⁷⁸*Dawn* (Delhi) 26 June 1947, as compiled by Saleem Ullah Khan, *The Referendum in NWFP 1947*.122.

appealed to Muslim Leaguers in NWFP to maintain peace and not to provoke Congress.¹⁷⁹

The referendum was held in NWFP between 6 and 17 July 1947, under the supervision of Army. And the referendum results were announced on 20th July. The total votes cast in the referendum were 292,118. In which 289,244 for Pakistan and 2,874 votes were cast for the Frontier's inclusion in India rather than Pakistan. Result proved that 99 percent of the ballots cast were in favor of Pakistan.¹⁸⁰

Muslim Leaguers were very happy, as referendum result was clear proof of the support of the Pashtun for Pakistan. After referendum result declaration Muslim Leaguers demanded the replacement of the Congress cabinet by a Muslim League Ministry in the Frontier province.

2.4 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Pir of Manki Sharif: A comparison

People of NWFP were more inclined to religion as compared to people of other provinces. Mostly people were illiterate or less educated so they did not have any know-how of politics. Religious leaders, saints and *Sajjada Nashin* had and have high influences over masses. The influence of 'saints' often extended over wider areas than that of Khans in NWFP. Religious leaders could move much more freely in the tribal

¹⁷⁹ *Dawn* (Delhi) 25 June 1947, as compiled by Saleem Ullah Khan, *The Referendum in NWFP 1947*, 117.

¹⁸⁰ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and Pakistan Movement, the Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937-47*, 27.

areas than the politicians of the settled districts. Religious leaders had a much stronger hold on the rural population than the urban lawyers in the League leadership could ever hope to get.¹⁸¹

Religious leaders were not much active in politics before 1945. Amin Abu Hassanat — popularly known as Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif was the fourth *Sajjada Nashin* of Manki Sharif, having a network of *murids* throughout Frontier. He had his spiritual seat in the village of Manki in Nowshera (Peshawar).¹⁸² He was critical observer of freedom struggle when Hindus tried to snatch Muslim rights. He contacted *Mashaikhs* and *Sajjada Nashins* of the Subcontinent and discussed how to get freedom from British and Hindus.¹⁸³ So he formed Anjuman-al-Asfia on 14 October 1945 which included over sixty other Sajjada Nashin and religious men. In November 1945, he held a conference and invited spiritual leaders of the Subcontinent and then decided to join Muslim League under leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.¹⁸⁴ They resolved to assist the League if it promised to enforce Shariah as the law of proposed Pakistan. Muhammas Ali Jinnah agreed to their condition and Pir of Manki declared that the Muslims should undertake Jihad to achieve Pakistan.¹⁸⁵

It is said that real inertia of NWFP Muslim League broke when religious leader Pir of Manki Sharif (Amin Hassanat) and barrister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan joined

¹⁸¹ Eriand Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pukhtunistan*, 165.

¹⁸² S.A Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India*, 316.

¹⁸³ Aziz Javed, *Quaid-i-azam Aur Sarhad*, 355.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ S.A Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India*, 316.

Muslim League.¹⁸⁶ It was true that by joining of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan of Muslim League, Congressites became afraid. Some of the authors believe that it was Pir of Manki Sharif, Amin Hassanat, who attracted majority of NWFP people toward Muslim League.¹⁸⁷ He had inherited large number of *murids* from his ancestors. He had followers all over the province but his influence was particularly strong in the Pakhtun area around Peshawar. Thus, he was a very effective counter balance to Abdul Ghaffar Khan who also had his support in that area.¹⁸⁸

Khan Abdul Qaiyum and Pir of Manki Sharif joined Muslim League after failure of Simla Conference (1945). Muslim League was not much organized and popular at that time in NWFP. These leaders got very less time to spread message of Muslim League as a result Muslim League could not get success in January 1946 Provincial election in NWFP. Defeat of Muslim League in Frontier Provincial election disappointed new and old Muslim Leaguers. Meetings were held in Peshawar, Abbottabad and Mardan to reassess the situation. On 21 April 1946, Pir of Manki held a meeting in Peshawar. In which local political leaders Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Samin Jan and religious leaders including Pir Jamal Ali Shah from Punjab and Pir of Zakori were invited. It is concluded that people of NWFP were not political awaken and public ignorance to the Sharia Law constituted main hurdle in grouping the Muslim in one file. They also declared ruling Congress Ministry a 'satanic' administration.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Aziz Javed, *Quaid-i-azam Aur Sarhad*, 99.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 356.

¹⁸⁸ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pukhtunistan*, 165.

¹⁸⁹ Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 213.

Pir of Manki and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan after joining Muslim League visited the whole province and gave message of unity to Muslims of NWFP. They persuaded people to join Muslim League and participate in active struggle for achievement of Pakistan. On 30 and 31 May 1946, Pir of Manki held a Pakistan Conference for people of South NWFP and invited *Sajjada Nashin* of Bogha Sharif and Tunssa Sharif, Faqir Sahib Amakheel and Shoah, Mullah of Buthan and leader of Jamiat Nagia. Other than spiritual leaders Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Malik Rahman Kiyyani, Molana Sakhar Ullah, Molana Sayed Abdul Ghafoor addressed and gave message of unity for struggle of Pakistan. He spent thousand rupees and published and distributed among masses objectives of Muslim League in Pashto language, so that people come to know the meaning of Pakistan.¹⁹⁰

After failure of Cabinet Mission Plan (1946), Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah ordered direct action plan. Pir of Manki and other Muslim Leaguers toured all over the province and held Pakistan conferences usually with Pir Manki in the chair. In the middle of October 1946, a typical meeting of this kind was held in Peshawar in which Pir Manki in his address urged the Muslim to unite under the banner of the Muslim League and work earnestly in disciplined manner for the achievement of Pakistan.¹⁹¹ He also said that the British and Hindus had joined forces to crush the Muslims and through their conduct they had proved to the world that they were not well-wishers of the Muslims. He also showed the picture of brutal behavior of Hindus in the communal riots

¹⁹⁰ Aziz Javed, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad*, 357.

¹⁹¹ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pukhtunistan*, 169.

in the Hindu majority areas. There upon two prominent Ahrars and sixteen Congressites declared their resignation from their parties and joined Muslim League. Some Mohmand (a famous tribe) representatives assured their help in the struggle for Pakistan and declared that they are prepared to sacrifice everything for Pakistan.¹⁹² At the end of meeting, resolution was passed condemning the installation of the interim government in Delhi without the concurrence of Muslim League.¹⁹³

British were afraid of Pir of Manki's influence especially in tribal areas. They gave him the title of Mullah of Manki. Pir of Manki Sharif had some followers among the Mahsuds tribe (South Waziristan) and it was mainly due to his influence that Mahsuds began to support Muslim League. After forming interim government Nehru, in his capacity as Minister of External Affairs of India, planned to visit NWFP especially the tribal areas. Muslims all over India were disturbed and angry on brutal killing of innocent Muslims in Bihar and Bombay under Congress government. So Muslim League was not willing to welcome Nehru in NWFP. Pir of Manki took an active part in organizing the anti-Nehru demonstrations during Nehru's Frontier visit in October 1946.¹⁹⁴ Pir of Manki Sharif in a meeting held in Peshawar warned Nehru against coming, by saying that if Nehru would visit NWFP, Nehru himself and Government would be responsible for the consequences.¹⁹⁵ Before Nehru's arrival, the Pir of Manki went on a tour of the Khyber Agency, Mohmand and Malakand, and informed tribal people about the hidden motive of Nehru's visit to these areas. When Nehru visited Khyber Agency, Afridis and Shinwaris

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Sayed Wiqar, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 188.

¹⁹⁵ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pukhtunistan*, 182.

protested against Nehru and refused to meet him and he was stoned in Malakand and got minor injury.¹⁹⁶

During the direct action plan, Frontier was led by a 'committee of action'. The President of the committee was Pir of Manki Sharif.¹⁹⁷ Pir of Manki, who had large number of *murids* in tribal belt, organized tribes for direct action. He announced that majority of the residents of tribal territory were supporters of Muslim League and if tragedy happened in Bihar was repeated, Muslim could no longer tolerate remaining inactive. If they received order from Muhammad Ali Jinnah then they would not defer to take action.¹⁹⁸

At the end of 1946 and start of 1947, there was communal disturbance in NWFP. Government adopted policy of crushing the Muslim League movement so Muslim Leaguers on 20 February 1947 arranged a meeting in Peshawar, presided over by Pir of Manki. The meeting was attended by all other party leaders. It was decided to start civil disobedience movement against the provincial government and resolved the march to freedom.¹⁹⁹ Pir of Manki approached and held secret meeting with other religious leaders and asked their help in the civil disobedience movement, launched on behalf of Islam. Mullah of Bhutan, who had great influence in tribal territory, Pir of Zakorri and Pir of

¹⁹⁶ Sayed Wiqar, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 119.

¹⁹⁷ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pukhtunistan*, 177.

¹⁹⁸ Riaz Ahmad, ed., *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 297.

¹⁹⁹ Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 228.

Manki himself did yeoman services. The Wazir and Mahsud tribes were fully won over by their efforts.²⁰⁰

In civil disobedience movement when prominent Muslim Leaguers were arrested Pir of Manki Sharif played a leading role. He was arrested on 28 March 1947. Sir Olaf Careo, Governor of the NWFP, discussed Pir of Manki's arrest with Mountbatten in these words that 'Pir of Manki was an organizer and not an agitator'. Sir Olaf Careo pointed out that the arrest of Pir of Manki had a great effect among the tribes and they united against the government. He advised Chief Minister of province against his arrest and said the Pir of Manki was undoubtedly the most sincere and the best leader of the opposition.²⁰¹

Pir of Manki was not in favor of violence, before his arrest he said movement would fail if it indulged in violence.²⁰² Arrest of Pir of Manki had caused great resentment in Muslim League circles. After his arrest, his brother Ahmad Gul stepped into his shoes and toured villages and asked for support for the Muslim League. On 4th June 1947, Pir of Manki and his brother were released from Haripur Jail. They were welcomed by their supporters. Pir of Manki asked them to vote in favor of Pakistan in the coming referendum and not to be deceived by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his supports.²⁰³ Quaid-i-Azam appointed a Referendum Committee to manage the campaign for Referendum. The Pir of Manki Sharif was the only member from the Frontier who was

²⁰⁰ Ibid.,230.

²⁰¹ Saleem Ullah Khan (compiled), *The Referendum in NWFP*, 9.

²⁰² Ibid.,8.

²⁰³ Riaz Ahmad, ed., *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 331.

member of Referendum Committee. The other members were I.I. Chundrigar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Syed Wajid Ali who came from the Central Organization.²⁰⁴ Pir of Manki counter balanced Abdul Ghaffar Khan in rural areas. Khudai Khidmatgar (supporters of Congress) had deep roots in masses. Abdul Ghaffar Khan raised slogan of Pukhtunistan against Pakistan. At that time, Pir of Manki and other Muslim League leaders including Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan visited different part of NWFP to unite them and urged support for Pakistan. They told people importance of their vote and awared them about Congress conspiracy. Pir of Manki collected donations for Pakistan fund that was started by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammd Ali Jinnah.²⁰⁵ He appealed to all the Muslim newspapers in India to give due importance to the reports and messages in connection with the referendum in the NWFP and publish them without delay.²⁰⁶

On 26 June 1947 in a meeting held in Kohat Pir of Manki assured minorities that their rights would be protected in Pakistan.²⁰⁷ On 27 June while addressing the tribesman he explained what kind of Pakistan would be created. He said Pakistan would be a Muslim State based on Islamic conception. In Pakistan all Muslims would be treated equally irrespective of their social status. Pir of Manki added that he was sure that Frontier would give a verdict in favor of Pakistan and all artificial barriers between Indian Muslims and brethren in tribal areas would disappear. They both would join hands in making glorious and strong Muslim State of Pakistan.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pukhtunistan*, 217.

²⁰⁵ Saleem Ullah Khan (compiled), *The Referendum in NWFP 1947*, 158.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 86.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 134.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 124.

Pir of Manki and other leaders of Muslim League visited different polling booths to check arrangement during Referendum days. As Referendum result was in favor of Pakistan, Pir of Manki gave a message to nation in these words: 'The cherished goal of Pakistan has been achieved through untiring efforts of the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and now it is for the Muslim Nation to work hard to build an ideal state – Islamic State.' He also said let us not forget the lot of the common man, his expectations and his problems, let us do all in our power to alleviate the lot of the millions who are homeless and straying about hungry and naked.²⁰⁹

Pir of Manki, who had more than 200,000 followers,²¹⁰ was one of the League's leading personalities in Frontier Province. To him, more than any other single person goes the credit for the success of the Pakistan movement in Frontier.²¹¹ It's true that Molana Shakir Ullah, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Pir Abdul Latif Zakori, Begum Zari Sarfaz and many others did valuable services. But credit goes to Pir of Manki who worked selflessly and rendered valuable services in the awakening of the tribes and masses in settled areas of province. After independence he refused to accept any ministry or any worldly reward and continued his work of preaching Islam.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Pir Of Manki both did a tremendous job for the independence of Pakistan. But Quaid i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah selected Abdul Qaiyum Khan as Chief Minister of NWFP by visualizing Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's

²⁰⁹ Ibid.,251.

²¹⁰ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*,195.

²¹¹ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan, or Pukhtunistan*,165.

organizational abilities and his long experience in politics which proved very beneficial for NWFP's development later.

CHAPTER 3

KHAN ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN AS FIRST CHIEF MINISTER OF NWFP (1947-53)

3.1 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in Post 1947 Era

The 14 of August 1947 witnessed the creation of a separate and independent homeland for the Muslims of India, where they could live in accordance with the teachings of Islam. From the leader down to the organizers and common cadres everyone was happy at this marvelous achievement. Muslim League as a successor of the old All India Muslim League, which had led the Muslims of India to freedom took charge of the whole provinces and at the center, except NWFP.²¹² In NWFP Congress Ministry headed by Dr. Khan Sahib, had opposed the creation of a separate homeland for Muslims of India, was in power.

Keeping in view that Dr. Khan Sahib as the Chief Minister of the Frontier was not acceptable to the Muslim Leaguers; they wanted to dissolve the ministry as soon as possible. Even before the solemnization of the partition Quaid-i-Azam urged upon the Viceroy to dismiss the Frontier Congress Ministry, which could not be materialized due to a constitutional hitch. Muslim Leaguers were afraid that if Dr. Khan Sahib remained in office he would propose to declare an Independent Pukhtunistan. On 15 August 1947, the

²¹² K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 1.

Governor General, Central Ministers, Provincial Governors, and Ministers took the oath of allegiance to the new state, but Dr. Khan Sahib along with his Congress colleagues did not take the oath and did not attend the flag hoisting ceremony. The absence of Dr. Khan Sahib was considered to be a sign of non-acceptance of the reality of Pakistan and annoyed the whole nation who demanded the dismissal of his Ministry. Consequently on the direction of the Governor General Mohammad Ali Jinnah under sub section (v) of section 5 of the adapted act of Pakistan,²¹³ the Governor of NWFP Sir George Cunningham dismissed the Congress Ministry on 22 August 1947, and invited Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, to form new ministry.²¹⁴

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan took oath as the Chief Minister of Frontier Province on 23 August 1947, and he included only Mohammad Abbas Khan from Hazara as a minister in his cabinet.²¹⁵ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a mature politician and this fact was accepted by George Cunningham, the Governor of NWFP at that time. George Cunningham remarked about Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan that, 'Abdul Qaiyum Khan seems to have acquired more sense of responsibility than he was showing eighteen months earlier'. The Governor concluded, 'He spoke without any bluster' and he (Cunningham) was 'generally' quite favorably impressed by Abdul Qaiyum Khan.²¹⁶

²¹³ The Sub-Section: "in exercise of his functions under this section with respect to the choosing and summoning and the dismissal of ministers the Governor shall be under the general control of and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time, be given to him by the Governor. Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1948* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1969), 246.

²¹⁴ K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 1.

²¹⁵ James w. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 201.

²¹⁶ Pershotam Mehra, *The North – West Frontier Drama 1945-1947 A Re-Assessment* (Delhi: Manohar, 1998), 206.

In the provincial legislature the position of different parties was such that Congress was still in majority and Muslim League worked very hard to bring itself on par with the Congress. There were 31 Congress members, one Akali and 15 Muslim League members in the Constituent Assembly.²¹⁷ The speaker of the assembly Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan from Dera Ismail Khan had joined Muslim League Party. Also two bye-elections were due to be held on the seats, which were previously held by the Muslim League members. The Chief Minister, Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who enjoyed a very long association with Congress and had a great influence on the Frontier Congress members, convinced many close associates of Abdul Ghaffar Khan like Mian Jaffar Shah (Kakakhail), Arbab Abdul Rehman Khan (Ghuli), Khan Sahib Gul Khan (Bannu), Abdullah Khan (Pota), Mohammad Yaqub Khan (Banu), Salar Aslam Khan (Kohat), and Pir Shahin Shah (Kohat) to say good-bye to Congress and align themselves with Muslim League. Beside these, 10 Hindus and Sikh members of the Assembly had left for India. Thus the Muslim League gained numerical majority in the Assembly.²¹⁸ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan stabilized his government by crushing his adversaries during 1948. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested on the charge of planning civil disobedience movement in July 1948.²¹⁹ Khudai Khidmatgar Movement was also banned.

When Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan took charge of the office of Chief Minister of NWFP he faced a lot of problems. The old colonial system of British had collapsed and the new system was not strong enough to be in full command of affairs. Crisis could be

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Mohammad Shafi Sabir, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Sarhad*, 269.

²¹⁹ Zarina Salmat, *Pakistan 1947-1958, A Historical Review* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1992), 70.

seen in all walks of life. Banks, which were run by Hindus were closed down. The Hindus had virtual control of the economic life of NWFP and with their migration all business and finance stopped functioning.²²⁰ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as the Chief Minister infused a new and dynamic element into the NWFP administration, which in succeeding years was to turn “the Problem Province” of British India into the model province of Pakistan²²¹. He was a practical man and introduced different kinds of reforms in education, health, agriculture, and industrial sector, which demonstrated his administrative wisdom and sincerity with the nation.

The span of reforms by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was stretched over a period as long as he remained the Chief Minister of NWFP; he set the province on the way of rapid development. The achievements of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan are multifaceted and multidimensional which are discussed as under:

3.2 Steps Taken by Abdul Qaiyum Khan’s Government for Settlement of Immigrants

After independence the task which needed dire attention was to settle the immigrant Muslims who lived in Muslim minority provinces of India and paid heavy price of independence. Thousands were burnt alive. In some places whole communities of Muslims were killed. Muslim women were kidnapped and children were killed

²²⁰ Mian Zia Ud Din, *Memoirs of a Pakistani Diplomat*, 80.

²²¹ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 200.

ruthlessly.²²² In retaliation to Hindus atrocities Muslims of the province started loot and plunder of Hindu and Sikh's properties and large scale violent incidents were reported. The violence and communal riots erupted simultaneously in Peshawar, Bannu, and D.I. Khan. The Provincial administration took timely measures which did not let the situation get out of control. The Frontier Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan ensured the safe transfer of Hindu and Sikhs to India.²²³

Simultaneously Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan arranged for the rehabilitation of the refugees who came from India in miserable conditions. The refugees who came in Pakistan were without any luggage. They left their properties, houses, shops and other belongings in India. This created a gigantic problem for the administration to tackle with and settle refugees who needed accommodation and livelihood both. According to government Reports 65,000 refugees were settled in initial few years in NWFP.²²⁴

Another problem which faced by the administration at that time was that the influential people attempted to unlawfully occupy the properties of evacuees. To overcome this problem Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan formulated the government law for the Muslim refugees. The ordinance promulgated for acquisition of property of the evacuees by the government. It was decided that houses and bungalows would be given to the refugees while shops and other property would be given into the custody of government. Despite the Provincial Government's appropriate measures regarding the refugee's issue,

²²² Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tareekh-i-Sobah-e- Sarhad*, 1051.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid.

their influx to the NWFP created miserable economic situation. However, the Frontier Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan dealt with this problem. The provincial government created a separate department for taking care of the refugees. In a nutshell, the administrative qualities of the premier translated into policy initiates and timely implementation to the refugee rehabilitation problem was sought out successfully in the Frontier province.

3.3 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's Contribution to Education Sector

Knowing the plight of his people, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was very concerned about the backwardness of inhabitants of the Frontier. He rightly believed that the destitute of his subjects could be rectified through making education available to everyone. He laid stress upon the importance of education for Pukhtuns in particular and rest of the public in general. In this connection he took some very concrete steps such as the establishment of a university in NWFP. In order to materialize his dream he moved a resolution for the establishment of a university at Peshawar in Central Legislative Assembly on 15 February 1938, which was unanimously adopted. The resolution read as:

“Sir I beg to move, that this assembly recommends to the Governor General in council that a university subsidized by the Federal Government be at once set up at Peshawar for the settled districts and the Tribal Areas of the North-West Frontier Province”.²²⁵

²²⁵ *Central Legislative Assembly Debates* (Vol. 1, Official report 1938) ,664.

In 1944 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan wrote in his book titled as *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier* that 'It is the ardent wish of the Pathans to transform the Islamia College into a great Pathan University, which besides, spreading the light of learning in the province will also help in the development and growth of Pashto language and culture'.²²⁶

When Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan gained power with the establishment of Pakistan, he found an opportunity to give shape to his thoughts and wishes in form of policies in accordance with the wishes of the people. He approached the Central Government of Pakistan with the request to sanction the establishment of a university in the Frontier province which was the ardent desire of the people. He worked day and night for the establishment of Peshawar University which bore results. The university bill was introduced in the budget session of the Assembly in March 1950 which was unanimously passed. The Governor of NWFP gave his approval of the bill on 16 March 1950.²²⁷ On 30 October 1950, the university was inaugurated by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. An eminent educationalist and scholar, Sheikh Mohammad Taimur, was appointed as the first Vice-Chancellor and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan became the first chancellor of the university. While speaking on the inauguration ceremony Liaquat Ali Khan paid rich tributes to the Frontier Chief Minister and appreciated the educational development that he ushered in the province in these words, 'I am very happy to know Mr. Chancellor, the progress you have made in the educational development of your province and the

²²⁶ Abdul Qaiyum Khan, *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*,77.

²²⁷ Syed Mustafa Ali Brallivi, *Muslamanan-e-Sohbab Sarhad Ki Taaliam* (Karachi: All Pakistan Education Conference, 1980),194.

ambitious projects which you wish to complete. I have no doubt that with your hard work and help of God you will accomplish what you have set out to do'.²²⁸

Besides, Peshawar University, a large number of new schools and colleges were also opened in the province. The Frontier College for Women, Peshawar, was established to promote the female education in the province in 1949. In order to make education accessible it was made free for all.²²⁹ This step of government provided an opportunity for the poor people to send their children to school where they could at least receive primary and middle education free of cost. Another step taken by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was to introduce uniform in the schools in order to remove the class distinction from the education institutions. He decided that all school going children should wear 'Shalwar Kameez of Militia cloth'²³⁰ which was available at cheaper rates and poor could afford it. It also brought uniformity among the school-going children.

Moreover, in the initial years of establishment of Pakistan, a number of schools were run by private sector in order to make the administration of those institutions efficient and to provide monetary assistance, their administration was taken over by the government. For example in 1949 the administration of Islamia College Peshawar was taken over by provincial education department. In the development of education, his government paid special attention in revision of syllabi. It was formulated in conformity with the requirement and aspiration of the national objectives. He also paid special

²²⁸ *Fortnightly, the Frontier Information*, 1 November 1950.8. *Khyber Mail*(Peshawar) 31 October 1950.Vol.19 no.204.

²²⁹ *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar) 13 January 1952.Vol.2 no. 2.

²³⁰ *Mashriq* (Peshawar) 21 October 1985.

attention toward women education and teacher training was given proper importance. Engineering College and Law College were established during Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's era.²³¹

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government spent a huge fund on education. In 1952 it was estimated that government of NWFP had spent on education sector of this province more than 105 percent as compared to pre- partition. The total expenditure on education was Rs 8,848,000. The expenditure per head on education in this province was higher than that in any other province of Pakistan. Per-capita expenditure on education in various provinces of Pakistan was: East Bengal Rs 0.520, Sindh 1.817, Punjab 1.645, and NWFP 2.745.²³² These figures show that it was a very huge investment in education in NWFP as compared to size and population of other provinces.

Other than educational reforms, Aukaf Department was set up to look after the affairs of charity institutions. Several orphanages and Dar-ul-Amman (protection houses) were established and regular salaries were fixed for the *khatibs* (preachers) and Ulema (religious scholars) of the mosques.

²³¹ Syed Mustafa Ali Brallvi, *Muslamanan-e-Sobah-e-Sarhad Ki Taaliam* ,205.

²³² Parvez Khan Toru and Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, eds., *Celebrities of NWFP*,172.

3.4 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's Contribution to Agriculture Sector

About 75 percent inhabitants of NWFP depended directly or indirectly on agriculture sector for their living. Despite this, the province had an annual food deficit because of the extremely low production especially in the tribal area. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan introduced revolutionary agricultural reforms, which not only helped improve the status of tenants but also increased production.²³³

Intensive efforts were made to reduce food deficit by bringing marginal land into production and by increasing yields on existing lands through improved seeds, implements and fertilizers. Noteworthy advancement had been made in fruit production; the orchard areas had been expanded.²³⁴ The Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government expanded the area of forest in the province from 278.414 square miles in 1947 to 362.2 square miles to the end of 1952.²³⁵

Before 1948, no one besides the agriculturists could purchase land in NWFP. However, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan Ministry passed a bill under which the restrictions on the non-agriculturists were removed and every citizen of NWFP (Pakistan) was allowed to buy land for house building or cultivation purposes.²³⁶ He laid stress on the promotion of agriculture and made an appeal to the Muslim Leaguers of Mardan and

²³³ J.W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 215.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Pervez Khan Toru and Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwal, eds., *Celebrities of NWFP*, 179.

²³⁶ Dawn (Karachi) 2 February 1950.

Peshawar to cultivate food crops instead of cash crops. In Mardan and Peshawar, he addressed in which he reiterated his appeal to the cultivators to produce more food grains instead of concentration on cash crops such as sugar and tobacco.²³⁷

In May 1950, the Frontier government passed the new 'Tenancy Act' in which the tenants were given rights to be the owner of land on payment of reasonable compensation to landlords. As a result 2,00,000 acres of land was acquired by 1,31,034 tenants on payment of nominal charges. It was seen that 70 percent of the occupancy tenants had been converted into owners of land.²³⁸ In addition, the ministry passed the 'restitution of mortgage land act 1950', through which the poor people whose land were mortgaged to the landlords were given back to them without payment of mortgage money. As a result of this act, land measuring 3,71,396 acres was redeemed to the tenants without payment.²³⁹

Another system that hindered agricultural development was the *Jagirdari* system (fiefdom). Under this system a few influential people were in possession of large *Jagirs* (fiefs). Either these 'Jagirs' bestowed them by British or they managed themselves to occupy lands one way or the other. They cultivated only half or less than half land, which fulfilled their requirements, others portion of their land remained uncultivated under the mortgaged lands act. The government forfeited all such lands and distributed them among

²³⁷ *Qaiyum Khan Life History Sheet*, Directorate of NWFP Archives, Peshawar,23.

²³⁸ *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar) Vol.19,no.183,5 October 1950.

²³⁹ *Mashriq* (Peshawar) 21 October 1985.

landless people.²⁴⁰ On 4 March 1950 pre-emption bill was passed by the Frontier Assembly. This act limited the right of pre-emption, thereby relieving people of lengthy and wasteful litigation. Some classes of property such as shops, sarayes (inns), clubs, churches, mosques, and other charitable institutions²⁴¹ were excluded from the act of pre-emption. The Muslim personal law was also amended to give due rights of inheritance to the widows and daughters of the deceased as laid down by the Shariah. Before this act, their shares as heirs were in the form of limited interest which used to terminate on her death or marriage.²⁴²

There were insufficient rains in most parts of NWFP; Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government chalked out a plan for irrigation projects. Apart from that, suitable machinery was supplied to petty land owners to reclaim wasteland for cultivation. Most important projects launched were Warsak and Kurram Garhi schemes. Warsak Dam was built on River Kabul near Peshawar. In addition to an enormous power production, it brought more than 100,000 acres of new land under cultivation. The Kurram Garhi project near Banu was launched for the purpose of storage of huge reservoir of water, especially to store summer floodwater. The project was launched to provide water for almost 200,000 acres of agricultural land as well as to produce substantial amounts of power.²⁴³ Other irrigation schemes completed by the government were:

- a. Kheskhi Lift Irrigation Scheme
- b. Garhi Ismailzai Lift Irrigation Scheme

²⁴⁰ Pervez Khan Toru and Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwt,eds. , *Celebrities of NWFP*,177.

²⁴¹ Zahror Ahmed Awan, *Khan -i-Azam*,213.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ J.W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*,218.

- c. Irrigation Tube-wells in Qasba Bagram area
- d. Extension of Mama Khel Jadir Canal and Warsak High level canal.²⁴⁴

These were the measures which Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government took for the promotion of agriculture bore fruits. It eradicated some serious flaws in the agriculture sector and provided relief to the agriculturists. New doors of progress and development were opened for the people of province in agriculture sector due to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's contribution in agriculture sector.

3.5 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's Contribution to Industrial Sector

After partition, NWFP was one of those areas where industries were few and far between. The only industries then in existence were one medium size sugar factory, a small match factory, a fruit processing factory and a canning factory. The latter two factories were not in operation. The Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan assured the people of NWFP about his plans of industrializing the province which would introduce a new era of development. His ministry managed to get approved several factories from the Central Government during the Industrial conference held in December 1948.

NWFP has mountainous land with its tribal areas gifted by nature with climate and environment best suiting to rising of sheep. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's

²⁴⁴ Parvez Khan Toru and Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, ed., *Celebrities of NWFP*, 178.

Government planned to set up spinning and weaving mills to utilize the raw wool. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan used his personal contacts and persuaded some capitalists from Punjab to set up industry in the Frontier. From 1947 to 1953 many industries were established in NWFP, such as the establishment of Nishat Textile Mill at Peshawar, a Textile Unit in Nowshera, Industrial Zone in Ammangarh Nowshera, two Textile Mills in Peshawar and Charsadda and a woolen mill at Bannu. With the efforts of Khan Qaiyum Khan the largest sugar mill in Asia was installed in Mardan known as Premier Sugar Mill which was formally inaugurated by the Governor General Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din on 19th December 1950. On this occasion Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said in his speech "the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah during his tour of this province said that he has no doubt that this beautiful land of NWFP will become prosperous, flourishing and strong in every sense of the word. He had a reasonable estimate of the potentialities of the province to take a lead over the others in development schemes and now we are determined to fulfill his desire".²⁴⁵

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government paid special attention to cottage industry, for this purpose the Provincial Cottage and Small Scale Development Board was formed which did a useful work. The board performed many functions e.g. to extend subsidies; appointment of foreign experienced experts to train people and advise the government from time to time on survey and installation of small industries in various parts of the province.²⁴⁶ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan utilized his knowledge (as he was a

²⁴⁵ *Fortnightly the Frontier Information*, 2 January 1951, 3. *Dawn* (Karachi) 20 December 1950, 4.

²⁴⁶ Parvez Khan Toru and Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, eds., *Celebrities of NWFP*, 176.

graduate of the London School of Economics²⁴⁷⁾ for Industrial planning of the province. As a result within few years the province made visible progress in the industrial sector.

As no industry can run without electricity so the Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government solved the problem and provided electricity at low rates for domestic and commercial usage. To overcome shortage of electricity his government started new project for generation of electricity and also extended previous scheme e.g. The Malakand hydroelectric scheme was extended to over 100 important towns and villages. Similarly the Dargai Power Project was approved by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and laid foundation stone on 17 January 1952. It was the second biggest Hydro-Electric Project in the the province with a capacity of producing 20000 Kilowatt power.²⁴⁸ He managed to get enough funds from the Central Government to complete the project. His government also started construction of the Kurram Garhi Hydroelectric station to supply electricity to southern districts of the province. Before partition four towns of NWFP were electrified but under Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government the number exceeded to ten, before partition seventy four villages were electrified and under Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government the number reached to one hundred and fifty five villages, before partition number of consumers were 9,800 and during his government it increased up to 36,000 and the gross revenue from electricity increased almost 5 time i.e. from Rs1,396,000 to 6,230,000.²⁴⁹ A branch of State Bank of Pakistan was established in Peshawar. Many new banks were set up to strengthen the economy of the province.

²⁴⁷ James W. Spain, *Pathans of the Latter Day* (Karachi:Oxford University Press,1995) ,110.

²⁴⁸ *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar) 19 January 1952.

²⁴⁹ Parvez Khan Toru and Fazal ur Rahim Marwat, eds., *Celebrities of NWFP*,177.

3.6 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's Contribution to Health Sector

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was an activist and advocate of reforms. He continued the five-year program for public welfare which was started by the past government. Due to the division of Subcontinent most of the foreign medical teams migrated and a new crisis in health sector emerged. Because at that time the local medical establishment was not present, such a big vacuum emerged that only dispensers were regulating all the basic healthcare centers, dispensaries and hospitals. At that time epidemic of malaria spread in the area and was hardly controlled. The fear of the emergence of small pox, tuberculosis, pneumonia and other infectious diseases was wide spread. The government started to take action in those area and constructed new hospitals and dispensaries. In 1950 a new hospital of 20 beds was opened in Tara Chand Maternity Hospitals.²⁵⁰ Lady Reading Hospital was also extended. A large adjacent area of land with hospital merged in the hospital and two new units for the cure of tuberculosis were opened. Similarly, a new hospital of 75 beds built in Kohat with the old civil hospital and that civil hospital was later changed into women hospital. They also established two wards of 16 beds and two colleges in TB Sanatorium at Dadar. In the period of Khan Qaiyum Khan's government the progressive works continued including:

1. Construction of New Liaquat Memorial Hospital consisting of 100 beds at Kohat
2. Construction of TB clinic and civil hospital at Dera Ismail Khan.
3. Establishment of a new ward with 28 beds in Dera civil hospital
4. A new ward and TB clinic constructed in Mardan hospital

²⁵⁰ Zahor Ahmed Awan, *Khan -i-Azam*, 214.

5. Construction of new ward with 20 beds in Taank
6. Hospital of 8 beds constructed at Loura
7. Reconstruction of hospital at Darband
8. 8 bed hospital constructed at Balakot
9. 8 bed hospital constructed in Pabbi
10. 8 bed hospital constructed in Kaghan
11. 50 beds women hospital in Mardan
12. Construction of a new hospital in 1952 at Abbottabad.²⁵¹

With all these steps which were taken by the government at that time, they sent mobile teams and established five dispensaries in those areas where hospital facility was not present. Till 1951 almost 20,000 patients were cured by these. On 1 April 1952, all those hospitals which were governed by the local bodies were taken under the jurisdiction of provincial government. Similarly, different projects of water purification were completed by the government in different areas of villages and cities. New schemes for providing clean water were introduced in the whole province, new wells were dug and ponds were created by the government. At many places water storage system was introduced for providing clean water to the citizens.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Ibid.,215.

²⁵² Ibid.

3.7 Territorial Merger under Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan

After independence the tribal areas retained under direct control of Central Government of Pakistan as it was during the British rule. Jirgas of all important tribes had made an agreement with Sir George Cunningham (Governor of NWFP) to accept Pakistan as their new sovereign autonomous state on the same terms as had existed with the British before independence. However, now new opportunities of development become possible for them. Tribes had their own rule and laws in their respective areas. They did not pay normal taxes. British government was afraid of tribes; it had appointed a large number of military units to control these areas. Soon after independence the Government of Pakistan announced to call back military from the tribal belt as a gesture of confidence in their loyalty. Withdrawal of regular military units had been completed till 25 December 1947.²⁵³ Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan visited tribal areas in mid of January 1948 and Governor General Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah visited tribal area on 14 April 1948, as a precursor and proclaimed his love for the people of this area. During Muhammad Ali Jinnah's visit Afridis and Shinwaris gave him a warm welcome. A young man Malik Wali Khan presented a 303-rifle to Jinnah made by the local factory at Jamrud as a sign of friendship and honor. They also requested the Governor General to increase their allowances for cloth and food. On 6 July 1948, the Governor General created the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions and personally took over responsibility of the tribal areas. After the creation of Pakistan the raids on the

²⁵³ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 204.

settled districts from the tribal areas appeared to have ceased completely²⁵⁴ and tribal areas became more peaceful areas than it had been in many years.

Special attention was given for development and welfare of tribal people. Education and medical budget for the area was increased after 1947 and new educational institutions, hospitals and mobile dispensaries were set up in the area. Successful attempts were made to develop cottage industries and technical training centers were opened for the people of tribal area to provide technical education and skills so that they would be able to increase their scanty incomes. Basket-weaving centers and silk-production units had been established in Kurram; metal-working institution at Wana in South Waziristan; and a rug making school in Malakand were started.²⁵⁵ A large amount was spent for the maintenance of the administrative structure and provision of welfare services in tribal areas. On persuasion of Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan some sections of the tribal areas joined the settled districts of NWFP under a policy of merger such as the lower Black Mountain tribes (numbering about 43,000) merged with Hazra District in 1952. Major portion of Amb state (about 48,000 out of approximately 53,000 populations) was incorporated about the same time. The Gadun tribes, who lived between the Swat and Indus River, joined Mardan in 1953. A part of Indus Kohistan with a mixed population of about 150,000, was added to Hazara in July 1954.²⁵⁶ People of settled districts were enjoying a high standard of living and provided more opportunities for advancement so inhabitants of the hills felt attraction and they accepted this merger policy with open hearts.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.,221.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.,222.

Swat, Dir and Chitral were important states of NWFP, and these were ruled by local rulers. They had their own rules. Masses of these states wanted that they should be under direct rule of the Government of Pakistan because occasionally behavior of local ruler/nawab was unbearable for them. In 1950 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan tried to merge Swat into NWFP but due to strong resistance of ruler (Wali-e-Swat) he could not succeed at that time. In Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government a lot of efforts were made for development of these states. In 1953, reforms were introduced in Chitral.²⁵⁷

3.8 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's contribution to Transport Sector

At the end of 1947, the Government Transport Service (GTS) was established in NWFP, with the object to provide traveling facilities at cheaper rate to the public. The main source of transport in NWFP was road transport. Road transport was nationalized during Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government for the welfare of public. In June 1951, road transport bill was passed by virtue of which the government acquired all roads in the province and formed the Road Transport Board to control the government transport services. It also became a cause to increase government revenue. His government provided transport facilities from Peshawar to Rawalpindi and Abbottabad.²⁵⁸ Bus stands were constructed for the well being of the passengers and the schedule was also given to save passengers' time. Number of buses were also increased to facilitate them.

²⁵⁷ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tarikh Sobah-e- Sarhad*, 1076.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

3.9 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's Political Controversies

Under Khan Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government the province achieved huge social and economic progress. He worked day and night for the welfare of people of the province. Once he said, 'I want to work hard so that the foundations of Pakistan are well and truly laid'.²⁵⁹ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan himself was an honest politician. He advised civil servants not to interfere in political affairs. He said, 'We must all strive to eradicate corruption, nepotism and other malpractices. There is no place for slack, inefficient or corrupt officials in Pakistan'.²⁶⁰ He put the Province on the path of development and rapid progress even that the worst of his critics admit his valuable services and achievements for the province. He was dutiful and very caring for masses. There was one weak point in Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's personality that he could not bear criticism or opposition.

After creation of Pakistan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (AGK) and Red Shirt leaders (who were against the creation of Pakistan before partition) remained busy in making speeches and hoisting the Pukhtunistan flag in public meetings.²⁶¹ Abdul Ghaffar Khan also started putting pressure for an 'Islamic Government'. Otherwise he said Pukhtunistan option was still there and possible. In May 1948 he started an extensive tour of NWFP. In June 1948, he became elected president of a new Pakistan People's Party – which was intended to replace Khudai Khidmatgar and it had Congress

²⁵⁹ Parvez Khan Toru, Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, eds., *Celebrities of NWFP*, 180.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan the Formulative Phase 1857-1948*, 244.

connection. On 15th June 1948, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested from Kohat on the charge that his speeches and actions were threatening for the state. He was sentenced for three years.²⁶²

There was another charge on Abdul Ghaffar Khan that he made a plot to create disturbance in collaboration with the agents of the Fakir of Ipi (who was a strong supporter of Pakhtunistan), in NWFP and invited the Indian Army to enter Pakistan through Kashmir.²⁶³ Qazi Ataullah Khan and Amir Mohammad Khan who were at key posts of Congress were also arrested on 19th June on the charge of giving assistance to AGK.²⁶⁴ Khudai Khidmatgar Movement (or Congress Party in NWFP) was banned in July 1948. By this way Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan became successful in crushing his strong opposition in the province. The Jamat-i-Islami was not so significant in Frontier politics. Even then it was subjected to torture and harassment. Fazli Mahboob, a Jamat leader, was arrested on the charge of involvement in anti-government activities in 1948. Other leaders of the party such as Maulana Moeen-ud-Din, Taj Mohammad Maulana, Minhaj-ud-Din and Mohammad Sadiq were also arrested and put behind the bars for many years.²⁶⁵

Ian Talbot wrote that the rise of Muslim League's power in NWFP before partition was due to the sense of 'Asbiyyat' created by the attacks on the Muslim minorities in Bihar and Bombay. Once the crises had passed the old factional rivalries

²⁶² James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 202.

²⁶³ *Dawn* (Karachi) 16 June 1948.

²⁶⁴ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 202.

²⁶⁵ Parvez Khan Toru, Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, eds., *Celebrities of NWFP*, 184.

resurfaced. Within a year a split had occurred amidst recriminations between Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Pir of Manki²⁶⁶ who were very active and efficient leader of Muslim League in NWFP.

Pir of Manki rendered valuable services for the creation of Pakistan and was a strong leader of Muslim League in the province. He was interested to be the President of Frontier Muslim League, which led to personality clash between Pir Sahib and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan.²⁶⁷ There were two factors, which widened the gulf between Pir Sahib and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. One was the enrollment issue and the other was Pir Sahib's insistence on the implementation of Islamic Law in Pakistan.²⁶⁸

After independence when the enrollment process of Muslim League started on grass-roots level, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan tried to capture the Frontier Muslim League Organization. The Pir of Manki clashed with Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan on the issue of the enrollment of new members and charged him with mismanagement of membership forms and rigging of elections to the primary organization of the party.²⁶⁹ Pir of Manki was very popular among masses in the province. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was afraid of the popularity of Pir Sahib and considered him as his political opponent. In order to sideline Pir of Manki, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan appointed Badshah Gul, the son of Haji Sahib of Turangzai, as organizer of the provincial Muslim League. No one heard his

²⁶⁶ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, 28.

²⁶⁷ Safdar Mehmood, *Muslim League Ka Daur-e-Hakoomat 1954-1947*, 141.

²⁶⁸ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 212.

²⁶⁹ K.K. Aziz, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 95.

name during struggle for Pakistan and he migrated to Pakistan in 1947.²⁷⁰ Badshah Gul was not much educated and he did not have any experience to work or organize a political party. He also lacked leadership qualities. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan wanted 'yes man' in the form of Badshah Gul. Later on Badshah Gul on the recommendation of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was nominated as the president of Frontier Muslim League.²⁷¹

Pir of Manki challenged the validity of party election and demanded for the fresh election under central supervision. Choudhry Khalil-uz-Zaman,²⁷² President of Pakistan Muslim League, did not pay heed to Pir Sahib's complain. Pir of Manki complaint of misuse of power in NWFP by Khan Abdul Abdul Qaiyum Khan especially public safety act again caused opposition. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, endeavored for reconciliation between Pir of Manki and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. But he could not get much success so Pir of Manki with his supporters withdrew from party and launched a new party with the name of Awami League in 1949.²⁷³ It was the first opposition party in the country later renamed as Jinnah Awami Muslim League with the collaboration of H.S. Suhrawardy and Nawab of Mamdot.

Another factor which widened the gulf between Pir of Manki and Qaiyum Khan was Pir of Manki's insistence for the enforcement of Islamic Law in the country. Khan

²⁷⁰ Safdar Mehmood, *Pakistan: Rule of Muslim League and Inception of Democracy 1947-54 (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1997)*, 103.

²⁷¹ -----, *Muslim League Ka Daur-e-Hakoomat 1947-1954*, 141.

²⁷² Choudhry Khalil-uz-Zaman (1889-1973) was the first President of the Pakistan Muslim League. He also served as the governor of East Pakistan from 31 March 1953 to 29 May 1954. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 477.

²⁷³ Zarina Salamat, *Pakistan 1947-1958: An Historical Review*, 110.

Abdul Qaiyum Khan replied that Pir of Manki's objective was not genuine rather he involved in conspiracy to destroy the country. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan dealt with the members and leaders of Awami League with iron hand. In June 1949 Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan²⁷⁴, the Pir of Zakori²⁷⁵ and many other members of Awami Muslim League were arrested and imprisoned for three years under section 40 of the Frontier crimes regulations.²⁷⁶

Another Muslim Leaguer Ghulam Mohammad Khan of Lundkhwar²⁷⁷ became target of Khan Abdul Qaiyum enrage and fury. He was a devoted Muslim Leaguer and rendered valuable services during the Pakistan movement. The government illegally detained him, but later on he was released when Sind High Court announced the action of the Frontier Government illegal. Because of these persecution and undemocratic behavior of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, splits appear in Muslim League in NWFP. Many Muslim Leaguers left party and demanded for dismissal of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's Ministry.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan was very honest and active member of ML. He played a very active role in civil disobedience movement against Congress rule in NWFP. Iqbal Javed, *Tahreek Pakistan Aur Sobah-e-sarhad*, 117.

²⁷⁵ Mohammad Abdul Latif known as Pir Sahib of Zakori (1914-1978) was a trusted lieutenant of the Quaid-i- Azam. He played an active role in civil disobedience movement and the Referendum in NWFP. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 535.

²⁷⁶ Pervez Khan Toru and Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, *Celebrities of NWFP*, 184.

²⁷⁷ Ghulam Mohammad Khan of Lundkhwar was born in Khattak tribe in 1908. He was very active member of independence movement. He joined ML in 1944. Iqbal Javed, *Tahreek Pakistan Aur Sobah-e-sarhad*, 119.

²⁷⁸ Safdar Mehmood, *Muslim League Ka Daur-e-Hakoomat 1954-1947*, 142.

The other rivals of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan were Khan Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of Jhagra²⁷⁹ and Muhammad Yusuf Khattak.²⁸⁰ They were prominent Muslim Leaguers. The Khan of Jhagra was a member of the working committee and secretary of the parliamentary board of Pakistan Muslim League and Yusuf Khattak was General Secretary of the Party. Party fresh election was scheduled to be held on April 3rd, 1951. The Khan of Jhagra, supported by Yusuf Khattak and Fida Muhammad Khan was running for the seat of president of the party against Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan.²⁸¹ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was Chief Minister at that time and had full control of provincial administration. He used government machinery and party sources for his victory. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan won by majority of 18 votes. After few months Ibrahim Khan Jhagra and five other Muslim Leaguers were dismissed from Provincial Council.²⁸²

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a social reformer. He was very sympathetic for the poor and took timely actions for the welfare of citizens. But with all these good faiths and admirable qualities he never tolerated the opposition he could even break the laws to abolish the political opponents like dictators.

²⁷⁹ Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of Jhagra was a leading politician and former acting Governor in 1949-1950 of the NWFP. He was the General Secretary of the provincial ML. Iqbal Javed, *Tahreek Pakistan Aur Sobah-e-Sarhad*, 122.

²⁸⁰ Muhammad Yusuf Khattak (1917-1991) became Secretary General of the Muslim League after partition. Ibid., 115.

²⁸¹ Muhammad Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 70.

²⁸² Zahoor Ahmad Awan, *Khan-i-Azam*, 190.

3.10 Political Activities of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan (1947-53):

Critical Analysis

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan ruled NWFP as a Chief Minister for two consecutive terms i.e. 1947-51 and 1951-53. As a Chief Minister of the NWFP he proved himself to be a progressive ruler and very dynamic personality. But his disregard for democratic methods made him a very controversial figure. His critics described him that he was responsible for introducing dirty and undemocratic methods in the politics of Frontier. They blamed him that he adopted cruel attitude towards the Khudai Khidmatgars and he believed in revenge on personal grounds.²⁸³ To support their arguments they gave many examples i.e. in 1946 election Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan denied tickets to some prominent leaders one of them was Abdur Rab Nishtar. Although Abdur Rab Nishtar was able to get approval of his nomination for his old seat after great difficulty. In Peshawar city constituency every voter was allowed to cast two votes. Abdul Qaiyum Khan had black colour ballot box while Abdur Rab Nishtar was assign blue colour ballot box²⁸⁴ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan managed to convince the people to cast two votes in favour of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan so that it could be proved to the Congress that whoever joined the Muslim League, was welcomed by the masses.²⁸⁵

Abdur Raoof Seemab remarks that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan never wanted any one to supersede him in politics. He adds that once Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said

²⁸³Fakhr-Ul-Islam, *The Tale Of Six Men* (Peshawar: Pakistan Study Center, 2010).28.

²⁸⁴ NWFP Archives,Special Branch, boundle no.25, serial no.367, See in appendix 3.

²⁸⁵Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah , *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar A Political Biography*, 114.

“every thing is fair in politics. Whether it was the AINC or the AIML, the victory is always destined for me”.²⁸⁶ When Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan became Chief Minister he won loyalties of some Congressites (Khudai Khidmatgars) where as the remaining were brutally crushed. The tussle of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan with Pir of Manki badly affected the Muslim League Party organization in the province. Pir of Manki had played vital role in the Pakistan Movement and on the score of his sacrifices he wanted to be the top of Muslim League hierarchy in the province .But Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan did not allow him to fulfil his wishes. K. K. Aziz wrote during the reorganization period of Muslim League immediately after independence Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan tried to capture Muslim League. His clash appeared with Pir of Manki on the issue of enrolment of new members. Pir of Manki charged Khan Abdul Abdul Qaiyum Khan with unfair distribution of membership forms and organization of the party. He demanded fresh election under central supervision.²⁸⁷ When the demand of Pir of Manki was not accepted, he left the Muslim League and formed his own faction of the Awami Muslim League. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan dealt the leaders and workers of the Awami League with iron hand.²⁸⁸

In 1951 election of NWFP Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who was head of interim government, used state machinery against his political rivals and achieved the desired result in the election. It was believed that he had the blessing and support of the federal

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ K.K.Aziz *Party Politics In Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR,1976),95.

²⁸⁸ Fakhr-Ul-Islam, *The Tale Of Six Men*, 61.

government as well.²⁸⁹ The election of 1951 were heavily rigged, it was alleged that in some polling stations the ballot boxes of opposition candidates were either put upside down or a very thin cloth was pasted at the entry hole from inside to deny them the polling of votes.²⁹⁰ Syed Minhaj ul Hassan wrote that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan believed in Machiavellian politics as for him ends justified the means. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan used all tactics to win absolute majority in the Assembly and set an example of fraud, rigging and coercion to achieve desired result.²⁹¹ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan spurned and disdained all those allegations by saying that government did not interfere in election campaign or polling.²⁹²

²⁸⁹ Zulfiqar Khalid Maluka, *The Myth Of Constitutionalism in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995),152.

²⁹⁰ Syed Minhaj ul Hassan, 1951 General Elections In The NWFP, *Pakistan Journal Of History And Culture*(Vol.XXIX No. 2 July- December 2008), 21.

²⁹¹ Ibid.,28.

²⁹² Ibid.,23.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF KHAN ABDUL QAIYUM

KHAN: 1953-1958

After independence the NWFP despite its mountainous land and lack of resources, progressed more rapidly than any other province of Pakistan in the initial years. After independence people of the province gave much of the credit to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan who despite his disregard for democratic method in the political field showed every sign of being deeply imbued with a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the people of the area. He had an iron will to serve the people of Frontier. In Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's rule many industries were established in Peshawar, Mardan, Nowshera, Bannu and other parts of the province. Special attention was paid to the maintenance of peace and settlement of refugees in the province. To facilitate people transport was nationalized, education was made free till middle standard and he gave the Frontier people their own university. Army was called back from tribal areas. Roads, schools, hospitals and industries were established in the tribal areas. People of Wazir, Masood tribes were allotted lands in Dera Ismail Khan. He also initiated merger of the tribal areas with the settled districts. His regime was responsible for the wider spread of electrification of the rural areas in the NWFP.²⁹³ Agricultural reforms were introduced in

²⁹³ Syed Shabbir Hussain, *Lengthening Shadows from Advent of Pakistan to Fall of Ayub* (Rawalpindi: Mujahid Publication, n.d),137.

the province. Jagirs were abolished and distinction between agriculturist and non-agriculturist Muslim tribes was abolished under the new order. All Muslims became equal and entitled to buy land and communications were greatly improved during his rule. In a nutshell a lot of development and progress was made in the province during Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's tenure.

At the Central level different political changes appeared after Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination (16 October 1951). Pakistan faced the worst constitutional crisis in 1953. Governor General Ghulam Mohammad Khan²⁹⁴ was not happy with Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din²⁹⁵, who was the second prime minister of Pakistan. So Governor General Ghulam Mohammad Khan dismissed Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din from premiership and dissolved his cabinet which suspended the constitution making process in the country. He appointed Muhammad Ali Bogra as new Prime Minister of Pakistan.²⁹⁶

4.1 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as Federal Minister (1953-1954)

In these crucial circumstances the Center Government decided to include Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in the central cabinet because he was a lawyer and had long

²⁹⁴ Malik Ghulam Muhammad (1895-1955) had spent about twenty years in Audit and Accounts service of India. He was finance minister in Hyderabad state before he joined the first cabinet as Finance Minister after Independence. Later, he was elevated to the post of Governor General in October 1951 and he worked as Governor General till August 1955. M. Rafique Afzal, *Politics Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 46.

²⁹⁵ Khawaja Nazimuddin (1894-1964) was a Bengali leader. He served Pakistan as second Governor General from 1948-1951 and later as second Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1951-1953. Humera Naz "Khawaja Nazimuddin His Life and Times (1894-1964)" (M.Phil Thesis, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 2007), 125.

²⁹⁶ Muhammad Ali Bogra (1909-1963) was Pakistani ambassador in the United States at that time. He was young, energetic, brisk and breezy. He was a new or stranger to national politics and therefore expected to be above intrigues and political bargaining. Another opinion was perhaps Governor General wanted a puppet in form of Bogra and desired to concentrate power in his own hand. K. K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958* (Islamabad; NCHCR, 1976), 13.

experience in politics. He was the best choice to solve the constitutional dilemma. Abdul Qaiyum Khan was forced by Governor General Ghulam Mohammad to move from provincial politics to central cabinet to facilitate the constitution making progress.²⁹⁷

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was more interested to continue as the Chief Minister of Frontier and was not happy with the order of the Governor General but was unable to defy him. In this regard he made efforts to convince the provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Party to reverse the decision of the Central Government. As a result Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Party held a meeting on 22 April 1953 attended by all the 81 members, requested Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra to spare Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan for the province or authorize him to nominate some one as an acting party leader.²⁹⁸ They also requested to allow Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan to work as president of Provincial Muslim League. Speaker of Provincial Assembly Nawab Zada Allah Nawaz Khan passed a resolution that keeping in view the importance of provincial law and order situation, present problems and marvelous services made by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan for the well-being of NWFP he should be posted as a central resident minister here because anti-Pakistan powers would rise again and the integrity of Pakistan would be immersed/in great danger if he (Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan) left the province.²⁹⁹ The Central Government accepted the second alternative; Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra sent instructions to the governor of NWFP to form a ministry in accordance with the wishes and desire of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan.

²⁹⁷ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 73.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Zahoor Ahmed Awan, *Khan -i-Azam*, 232.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan suggested two names; Ghulam Ishaq Khan,³⁰⁰ a member of Provincial Civil Services and Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan,³⁰¹ a member of Provincial Police Service. Eventually, the later was chosen and the Central Government obtained resignation from Abdur Rashid Khan on telephone from the police service and nominated him as successor of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan on 23 April 1953.³⁰² Then he left the province with satisfaction. Erland Janson wrote that the net result of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's resign was a ruin in a political system with the Khudai Khidmatgars crushed and the Muslim League in disarray. At the end of his tenure no real party was there in the province which could operate the system of parliamentary democracy envisaged by the Constitution in 1953. He was forced by the Central Government to resign and was appointed a member of the Federal Cabinet.³⁰³

Different critics gave different views about Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's transfer from provincial government to Central Government such as when Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan completely grasped the authority of NWFP his dictator mentality exposed and after sometime misunderstandings between him and Central Government about his policies occurred.³⁰⁴ One of the reasons of the political decline of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was that he refused to provide inexpensive electricity to Punjab. At that time NWFP was

³⁰⁰ Ghulam Ishaq Khan(1915-2006) born in Bannu district, started his career from Indian Civil Service. He worked as the Governor of State Bank of Pakistan in 1971-75. He also served as seventh President of Pakistan from 1988-1993. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*(Lahore:Al-Faisal,2001),695.

³⁰¹ Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan (1906 -1995) was a senior police officer from NWFP. He resigned from police service on 23 April 1953 and was appointed as the Chief Minister of NWFP. In November 1953 he was elected as the provincial president of the Muslim league. He remained Chief minister till 18 July 1955, then he was forced to resign because of his opposition to the One Unit Scheme. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*,653.

³⁰² K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan*, 233.

³⁰³ Erland Jason , *India, Pakistan or Pukhtunistan* ,235.

³⁰⁴ Zahoor Ahmed Awan, *Khan -i-Azam*,228.

producing electricity more than its need due to the natural water resources whereas Punjab faced the shortfall and was taking electricity from NWFP. Initially the wrangling was on the rates of electricity but later on this news got attention that Central Government was going to nationalize it. At that time Punjab was acquiring about 14,000 kilowatt electricity from Jogindar Nagar (India) through a contract and this contract ended on 31 March 1951. During all this period the possibility of getting 7,500 kilowatt (extra) electricity from within Punjab was bright but to reimburse the deficiency of 14,000 kilowatt at once was not an easy task. NWFP government was not taking this issue seriously that is why Central Government was thinking to make a policy and its implementation about the crisis. It was apprehended that electricity act 1948 would be passed and in this case a legal document would be send by the Central Government to all provinces. The final report was presented for discussion on 5 January 1952. Leader of the opposition Syed Qaaim Shah presented a bill in which he not only condemned the nationalization of electricity strongly but he also claimed that it was an intrigue to grasp the Warsak Dam. The members of both ruling and opposition parties actively participated in discussion.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said in his speech that electricity was in their hands. If they remained united the uproar of Punjabis did not matter. Nobody was allowed to interfer in their internal matters. If the bill would be presented and accepted in the central parliament for the nationalization of the electricity then the members of NWFP would fully defend their interests. At last in April 1952 both parties agreed on a contract that 11,000 kilowatt electricity was to be provided by NWFP to Punjab province. But NWFP would be constantly under the observation of other provinces. Even some people believed

that One Unit was introduced only because the political existence of Khan Abdul Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a major hurdle for Punjab and central authorities. The other reason was the clash between Central Minister of Electricity Chaudry Nazir Ahmad and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan on the issue of the appointments of employees from outside NWFP. When this plan came into the notice of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan he became very angry and both exchanged very bitter words with each other and after this incident Central Government finally realized that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a constant headache for them and they decided to repel him from Ministry of NWFP.³⁰⁵ Another reason for the decline of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was that as long as he was the Chief Minister of NWFP he did not tolerate the interference of Central Government in the partial sovereign states Dir, Chitral, Swat and the tribal areas. His popularity increased in the tribal areas during the war in Kashmir and he gained such a strong position that he could merge the tribal areas in the province (NWFP). Some members in the Central Government were against the progressive thinking of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. Especially Armed forces considered that this provincial control on sensitive and border areas was not suitable for the stability of the country.³⁰⁶

Kashmir issue was also raised and armies of Pakistan and India both were in the state of war so that the problem was not limited to provincial government. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a strong supporter of provincial sovereignty and he often warned the authorities who wanted to demolish the concept of provincial sovereignty that if they did

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 23.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

not change their behavior towards this issue then East Pakistan would separate from West Pakistan.

At that time the discussions about the form of the government were on top priority. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a supporter of the concept in which the provinces were independent in their own internal affairs. On the other hand the principle of parity between East and West Pakistan came up for legal suggestions; Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan did not support that concept because in his view this idea was not in the interest of NWFP and his thinking was offensive for Punjab and central authorities. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan also said in his address to the students of Islamia College Peshawar on 6 February 1953 that the Pukhtuns of NWFP would not compromise on the provincial independence because the federal form of government for Pakistan was not only the part of Lahore Declaration 1940, but also its affirmation was done in the objective resolution. That was why his terms with Bengali leaders were growing which were intolerable for the leaders of the Punjab.³⁰⁷ A conspiracy theory was also involved about East Pakistani leaders who not only tried to provoke Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan against the government of Punjab, but also planned a scheme in which they programmed to give Khan the position of prime minister and make Khawja Nazim-ud-Din the Governor General of Pakistan³⁰⁸ and in this political perspective the collusion between these two was frightening for the government. In January 1953 a group of Bengal Muslim Leaguers in the leadership of Shah Aziz-ur-Rahman visited NWFP which was really appreciated by

³⁰⁷ Zahoor Ahmed Awan, *Khan -i-Azam*, 230.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 228.

NWFP. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan went at the Railway station to see them off and at that place the unity of Frontier province and Bengal was exclaimed.

Due to all above circumstances, the Governor General took an initial step and repelled Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan from the ministry of NWFP (Sarhad) and appointed him as the minister of Central Government under the puppet government of Muhammad Ali Bogra. Governor General Ghulam Muhammad and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan were opponents to each other and relationship between Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and central President of Muslim League rumpled him badly. It can be said that to surrender his ministry was Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's biggest political mistake. May be it's just a hypothesis but if he did not surrender and took stand on his ministry then probably he was never blamed as a coward.³⁰⁹

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan joined the Central Government in April 1953; he was elected from East Pakistan though he belonged to the North-West Frontier Province.³¹⁰ He was appointed as the Industrial, Food and Agricultural Minister in the central cabinet. The unity of the NWFP Muslim League party began to be disrupted after Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's departure from Peshawar. He as president of the provincial Muslim League paid a visit to the province and appealed to the Leaguers for unity among their ranks. The backlash to his policies started after Sardar abdur Rashid Khan's election to the assembly.³¹¹ The working committee of the provincial Muslim League passed a

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 230.

³¹⁰ K.K. Aziz. *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*,88.

³¹¹ M.Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*,73.

resolution in August 1953 that every party office-bearer should have a permanent residence in the province. Consequently, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan resigned from the party provincial presidentship on 29 October 1953, and a week later the party council elected the Chief Minister, Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan, as the party's new president.³¹² Abdur Rashid Khan was selected as Chief Minister by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan with the idea that he would serve him in the same manner as he did while Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a Chief Minister of the province. But this proved wrong and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan had to suffer greatly for ignoring all political figures and favoring a police officer. Abdur Rashid Khan availed every opportunity to harm his well-wisher. He created such circumstances for Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan that it became very difficult to pay a single visit to his dear province where he spent his glorious period of five and a half years as a strong ruler.³¹³

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was selected as life time Chancellor of Peshawar University. His opponents tried to obliterate his image and made amendment in the Peshawar University Act through which new Chief Minister became chancellor of the university. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan made Mirza Shamul Haq, his right hand, sixth minister of Abdur Rashid' Khan s cabinet. This action of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was disliked by Abdur Rashid Khan and his supporters. Later on when Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan visited NWFP as Industrial Minister, people of the province protested against him.³¹⁴

³¹² Ibid.,67.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Iqbal Riaz, *Tehreek Pakistan aur sobah-e- sarhad* ,112 .

During his short stay in the central cabinet, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan worked very hard for the progress of industry in the country. Being the industrial minister, he gave every possible assistance to the people desirous of setting an industry in Pakistan. It encouraged people and many new industries were set up during his tenure. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan also worked excitedly in the field of agriculture and economic affairs.³¹⁵ As the Minister of Industries, Food and Agriculture Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan represented Pakistan at coronation of Elizabeth II in London in June 1953. In November 1953 he also visited Rome to lead the Pakistan delegation at the Food and Agriculture Organization.³¹⁶ some of the measures taken by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as the Minister of Industries, Food and Agriculture to raise the standard of living of the cultivators and to remove poverty among them are mentioned below: -

- 1) Expansion of irrigation facilities;
- 2) Reclamation of lands affected by salinity and waterlogging;
- 3) Plant protection measures, including locust control;
- 4) Distribution of improved seeds and implements;
- 5) Distribution of chemical fertilizers at subsidized rates;
- 6) Consolidation of holdings;
- 7) Tenancy reforms;
- 8) Agricultural credit facilities; and
- 9) Strengthening of Agricultural Extension Services.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ J.W.S Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, 224

³¹⁶ Abdul Qaiyum Khan's Life History Sheet, 3.

³¹⁷ The Constituent Assembly Debate, dated 03 September 1953. Vol. II, no.15.

By adoption of above mention measures agricultural practices of cultivators were improved and these actions helped to increase the cultivators' income and lift up their standard of living.

In those days, the Constituent Assembly was working on a new constitution for the nation. It was proposed and desired by some politicians to merge the provinces of the West-Pakistan into One Unit and secondly the formations of a zonal sub-federation.³¹⁸ When these proposals were presented to the Parliament they were strongly opposed by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Abdul Sattar Pirzada along with representatives of East-Pakistan.³¹⁹ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan also persuaded the members of the Assembly for the amendments in the Government of India Act under which the Governor General Ghulam Mohammad Khan had earlier dissolved the Nazim-ud-Din Ministry. The amendment was desired to deprive the Governor General of power to dismiss the cabinet and made him to accept the advice of his ministers. It was a great setback for the Governor General, who wanted the whole show to work according to his wishes. The Constituent Assembly adopted the constitutional report on 21 September 1954 and decided to meet on 27 October 1954 to take up the Constitutional Bill. Abdul Qaiyum Khan praised and supported all those who favored the report. Dr. Khan Sahib brother of

³¹⁸ In this scheme, ten subjects were placed under the jurisdiction of a zonal government. It further proposed that provincial representation in the zonal government should be divided in a ratio of 40 percent for the Punjab and 60 percent for the rest of West Pakistan. At the center, Punjab and East Pakistan combined were to have 80 percent of the seats in the legislature, leaving only 20 percent for the rest of Pakistan. M. Rafique Afzal, *Political parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 158.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 159.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who had been champion of Pakhtun nationalism, strongly supported the One Unit scheme.³²⁰

On 24 October 1954 the Governor General Ghulam Mohammad Khan felt his authority in danger and dissolved the cabinet and the Constituent Assembly on the charges that people had lost confidence in it, therefore, it could not work. Afterwards, Mohammad Ali Bogra, the prime minister was asked to continue with a reshuffle in the cabinet. Mohammad Ali Bogra reshuffled the cabinet and seven ministers were dropped, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was one of them who suffered from his opposition to the merger plan.³²¹ On 24 October 1954, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was relieved of his official duties on the dissolution of the central cabinet. He gave a statement about dissolution of Constituent Assembly that the assassination of the Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, resulted in passing of the power into such hands that new devices were adopted to change governments overnight. It also led to the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly which lowered the prestige of Pakistan in the world.³²² He decided to settle in Lahore for the time being because the atmosphere of the home province was not favorable and his entry was banned. He enrolled himself in Lahore High Court on 10th November 1954 and started his legal practice.

Along with legal practice, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan also continued taking active part in politics. In April 1955, he filled his nomination paper to the constituent

³²⁰ Ibid.,162.

³²¹ Ibid.,165.

³²² Dawn (Karachi) 24 July 1959.

convention with the returning officer at Peshawar.³²³ But he was refused Muslim League ticket for June 1955 elections as Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan was authorized to nominate the party candidates from NWFP.³²⁴ He criticized the government for postponement of the elections for the third time and the system of indirect election in the press.

On 13 June 1955, he came to Peshawar along with Shamsul Haq and announced his resignation from Muslim League and its affiliated bodies.³²⁵ He decided to take part in the election as an independent candidate from NWFP. He filled his nomination papers and paid visit throughout the province. He said that the provincial government had sold the province to Punjabis and in case of the implementation of One Unit plan the Pukhtuns would completely sink. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan failed to be elected as a representative to the Constituent Assembly from NFWP and he left for Lahore. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar was elected the president of Pakistan Muslim League, after the resignation of Mohammad Ali Bogra³²⁶, in the meeting of the Muslim League Council held on 28-29 January 1956.³²⁷ After this change in the Muslim League leadership, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan again joined the party on 18 May 1956.³²⁸ On 28 May 1956, in a public meeting at Chowk Yadgar, Peshawar, he stressed for the re-organization of Muslim League in the whole country.³²⁹

³²³ *Khyber Mail*(Peshawar) 28 April 1955.

³²⁴ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*,178.

³²⁵ Ibid.,179.

³²⁶ *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar)9 August 1955.

³²⁷ Syed Mujawar Hussain,*Sardar Abdur Rab Nishta* ,204.

³²⁸ *Dawn* (Karachi) 19 May 1956.

³²⁹ *Nawa-e-Waqt*(Karachi) 30 May 1956.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan could not elect for second Constituent Assembly because election was held indirectly. One of the reasons was that Central Government especially Governor General Ghulam Muhammad was not in favor to elect Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in second Constituent Assembly. The other reason was that in NWFP Muslim League was patronized by Abdur Rashid Khan (Chief Minister of NWFP.) who had clash with Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and he did not allow the members of Muslim League to vote for Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. Due to these reasons he resigned from Muslim League for some time; when again Muslim League got fair, sincere and devoted leadership in form of Abdur Rab Nishter, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan joined Muslim League. People of Pakistan were very happy on his rejoining of ML and raised slogans including' *Khan-i-Azam Zindabad' Mard-i-Ahan Zindabad' Muslim League Zindabad'* *Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan Zindabad.*³³⁰

4.2 Role of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in the Constituent Assembly

On 24 September 1953 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as Minister for Food, Agriculture and Industry told to the house (Constituent Assembly) that Government of Pakistan had invited the Japanese agriculture mission in April–May 1953 with a view to get recommendation for improvement of agriculture yield. In their interim report the mission had recommended the exchange of agriculture technicians between Japan and Pakistan and the greater use of Japanese agriculture machinery. They had laid special stress on the need for the use of fertilizer for rice crop; and the government started

³³⁰ *Dawn* (Karachi) 31 May 1956.

consulting with states and the provinces of Pakistan for the implementation of the recommendation.³³¹

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan also added that Federal Government had come to know the anti-social nature of non-standardized scales and weights were used in the country so an organization had been set up by the government for checking scales and weights used by a majority of dealers in the Federal Capital in accordance with the required specifications however, only 112 cases appeared in which legal action had been taken against the defaulters.³³²

In the same session of 24 September 1953 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan replied the question of Mr. Ahmad E.H. Jaffer about steps taken by government to improve the quality of Pakistani products that government had established sale and display centres at Karachi, Dacca, Chittagong, London and New York for publishing and advertising the products of Pakistani cottage industries and effecting their sale. Besides the establishment of sale and display centres the government had also undertaken nationwide publicity of its cottage products through documentary, films, cinema slides, newspapers advertisements, handbills, posters, postal stamps, stickers and so on. Radio talks had also been frequently broadcast from all stations of radio Pakistan to patronize Pakistani products.³³³

³³¹ The Constituent Assembly Debate, dated 24 September 1953.,109

³³²Ibid.,113.

³³³ Ibid.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan also explained that the government had offered all possible facilities to the cottage workers to obtain raw materials. Applications for import licenses were recommended to the Chief Controller of Exports and Imports after due scrutiny and inspection of factories. In order to eliminate the middleman the government had sanctioned a scheme for import on government account of essential raw material required by cottage workers. It was also proposed under the new import policy to grant import licences for raw materials to register associations and cooperative societies of cottage workers. He amplified by saying that the government examined from time to time the problems relating to reduction in customs duties for essential raw materials other concessions such as exemption from sales tax, were also granted wherever possible.³³⁴

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan Khan also reported measures taken by government to develop the machine tools industry in Pakistan. The customs duty on pigiron, which forms a major raw material in the manufacturing of machine tools, had been abolished. The railway freight on pigiron and scrap had also been reduced considerably.³³⁵ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan also told to the house that A Central 'Grow More Food' emergency committee had been set up in the Agriculture Division to intensify the campaign for the increase of food production by implementing short term schemes capable of yielding quick results.³³⁶

In 1952–1953 some areas of Pakistan faced the famine situation explaining the causes of scarcity of wheat Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as minister for food and agriculture said

³³⁴Ibid.

³³⁵ The Constituent Assembly Debate, dated 24 September 1953.,126.

³³⁶Ibid.,140.

General scarcity of wheat arose as a result of the failure of wheat and other Rabi grains in two successive years. The causes of failure were:

- a) Paucity of rains,
- b) Low water level in the rivers; and
- c) Insufficient supply of canal water.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan told to the House in his speech to Constituent Assembly on 24 September 1953 that government had made arrangements for procuring sufficient quantities of wheat from certain friendly countries to meet the existing shortage of wheat. Moreover, a sum of Rs.2 crore had been allotted to the provinces and states for starting relief work in scarcity areas.³³⁷ Answering the question of Mr. Nur Ahmad, about the measures adopted to obtain increased yield of crops in Pakistan Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan told the House that some of measures adopted to increase the yield of crops from lands in Pakistan are follows:

- i) Popularizing use of chemical fertilizers. 90,000 tons of chemical fertilizers were supplied to the provincial and state government for distribution to cultivators for the summer crop on a subsidized rates. Arrangements were being made to obtain further quality of 50,000 tons of fertilizers from the technical cooperation administration of the US government under their programme of economic and technical aid for 1953-54.
- ii) Supply of pure and good quality seeds to cultivators at concessional rates.
- iii) Improved agricultural implements and pest control appliances were made available to cultivators by the provincial Governments on nominal rates.

³³⁷Ibid.,159.

- iv) Demonstration farms had been set up at various places where improved methods of forming were demonstrated to farmers in the new developing areas like the Thal in Punjab the openings of the new lands and also the cultivation in big estates and farms was being carried out by tractors which resulted in better yield of crops.
- v) To provide incentive to progressive farmers competitions were being held at various places where substantial prizes were to be given to the farmers who obtain the highest yield of food grains.
- vi) To reduce losses through plant pests and diseases, provinces and states had been advised to organize and strengthen their plant protection services. Grants from the Central Revenues had been given to some of the provinces and states for their plant protection schemes.
- vii) The Pakistan Food and Agriculture council's sponsored schemes of research and development was in operation in some of the province would result in increase of crop yields.
- viii) To improve existing cultivation practices and to overcome problems of water-logging and alkaline lands. Government had acquired the services of several FAO and TCA experts to advise the provinces and states.³³⁸

At the end he said hopefully with the application of above mentioned measures and fertilizers there would be a visible increase in yield to the extent of 20 per cent.³³⁹

³³⁸ Ibid.,160.

³³⁹ Ibid.,161.

On 25 September 1953, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan elaborated Industrial Policy of Pakistan in these words; "the Government of Pakistan has a plan to industrialize the country, to create and set up factories in the country and to produce goods for the manufacture of which we favourably circumstanced. In the period of transition, from a purely agricultural economy to an agricultural plus semi-industrial economy; there is bound to be troubles, there are bound to be maladjustments; there is bound to be disequilibrium. If this nation has to achieve its economic freedom, I am one of those who believe that we must put up with those troubles which are natural in the transition period through which we are passing. Our policy is firstly, we concentrate on importing capital goods, machines for setting up industries which we vitally need in the country. Second priority goes to the raw materials, which we need to feed our growing industry and thirdly, whatever is left over, we have to allocate it for import of consumers' goods which are vitally essential in the life of the people and life of an individual. I have great faith in the future of this country. I am convinced that this country will through up people who will be able to run its industry, its commerce, its government in a manner which will win the applauses of the civilized world and other nations".³⁴⁰

Answering the question of Mr. Abdul Monem Khan about measures taken by government to bring down the price of goods Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said that the prices of various varieties of cotton yarn and artificial yarn had been fixed and now commodities were being supplied to handloom weavers and power loom factories at controlled prices. It would obviously lead to reduction in the price of cloth manufactured.

³⁴⁰ The Constituent Assembly Debate, dated 25 September 1953, 339.

On the advice of the government, various mill owners had opened fair price shops where cloth was being sold at reasonable prices. This was expected to curb the rise in prices of textile goods as well as the mills had been asked to work three shifts. This measure had resulted in a considerable increase in the production of yarn and cloth. At the same time he reasured that the goverment was trying its best to set up new textile mills so that enough cloth could be produced to meet the requirements.³⁴¹

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan informed the house about the steps were taken to bring down the prices of food grains to make them within the reach of ordinary people in scarcity areas:

- i) Inter-provincial movement of wheat products and paddy/rice, except on government account, was banned. The provinces and states were authorized to impose inter-district movement restrictions on food grains and to localize surpluses so as to facilitate movement to their natural markets.
- ii) Food grain control orders were rigidly enforced to prevent holdings of stocks in excess of the normal quantity.
- iii) Wheat and rice in surplus areas were produced for supplying to deficit areas.
- iv) Wheat and wheat products and rice were rationed in big towns and certain rural areas, and sold to consumers at fixed prices.
- v) Imports of wheat were arranged.

³⁴¹ The Constituent Assembly Debate, dated 28 September, 1953, 463.

vi) About 210,000 tons of US wheat was distributed either free or given in lieu of wages to labourers employed on relief works.³⁴²

As minister of industry Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan told the Legislature Assembly that government had sent many officer and non-officers to foreign countries (e.g. Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, UK and USA) for the study of cottage industry and marketing system with a view to promote the sale of Pakistani cottage industries products. He also imparted that the government had formulated a scheme for setting up research and production centres for the development of small industries. It was designed to create a network of small industries all over the country for the production of consumer goods one centre would be located East and one in West Pakistan.³⁴³

Answering the question of Mr. Noor Ahmad about steps taken to develop industries which were necessary to build up a strong defence of Pakistan. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan divulged that government was taking all possible steps to industrialize the country and had rendered when necessary all possible help to industries by way of tariff production, technical advice, acquisition of land, procurement of raw materials, water, electricity and other essential requirements. For all such industries which are essential for building up the economy of the country and there by providing a strong defence, government had adopted a liberal policy towards the issue of import licences for machinery, spare parts, raw materials, and so on. In some cases the government had

³⁴² The Constituent Assembly Debates, dated 25 March 1954 Vol. 1. no 8.,523.

³⁴³ The Constituent Assembly Debates, dated 18 March 1954 Vol. 1. no 2., 149

exempted the products of such industries from sales tax and customs duty. Government had also set up the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation which was responsible for the rapid industrialization of the country in more important sectors not attended to by private enterprise.³⁴⁴

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan let out that considerable progress had already been made by the country in setting up new industries and the expansion of existing ones. The production capacity had generally increased and in the case of some industries even self-sufficiency had been attained.³⁴⁵

On another occasion Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan declared Industry Policy in these words, "Our policy is not to allow concentration of industries in one place (Karachi) one of the main reasons for this being the shortage of water. We want to spread industries all over the country". He stated that industrialists were being asked to set up industries in the Punjab, Frontier, Sindh, Balochistan, East Pakistan and Khairpur, in all the units. He told the House that they had succeeded in including the industrialists to do so. If they did not do that they would have been guilty.³⁴⁶ For basic industries government had rendered all possible assistance regarding grant to import licence for machinery and raw material and government helped them to obtain land, electricity and telephone connection. They were also assisted in obtaining the services of foreign experts under the Colombo plan.³⁴⁷

Due to famine situation of 1952 and 1953 government had set up in April 1953 grow more food schemes at the instance of central government which had provided financial as well as technical assistance to different units of Pakistan. Its results were very

³⁴⁴ The Constituent Assembly Debates, dated 25 March 1954 Vol. 1. no 8.,516.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ The Constituent Assembly Debates, dated 17 May 1954 Vol. 1. no 2.,1306.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 1305.

encouraging. The 'Grow more Food' campaign had brought about an increase of 2 million acres in the area under rice and other Kharif food crops, reflecting an increase of about 500,000 tons of these grains in the year 1953-54.³⁴⁸ It was a great success for Pakistan. If such kind of schemes were promoted in Pakistan. It could become self sufficient in agricultural production even could export them.

According to the above mentioned speeches and policies of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan it is enough to prove that he was a very active and efficient member of the Constituent Assembly. He was always well prepared during the sessions and he attended almost every session of the Constituent Assembly. Whatever he said in the Assembly (whether answering the members of the assembly or presenting the policies on the flour of the House) one could observe that all those facts and figures, information and statistics were based on truth and showed his efficiency, hard work and devotion with his duties.

4.3 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as President of Pakistan Muslim League

(1958)

After the death of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was elected unanimously as sixth president of Pakistan Muslim League on 30 March 1958.³⁴⁹ However, Yusuf Khattak and his supporters resigned from Muslim League in protest against Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's selection as president because they considered him

³⁴⁸ The Constituent Assembly Debates, dated 18 March 1954 Vol. 1. no 2,155.

³⁴⁹ Dawn (Karachi) 1 April 1958. and also <http://qau.tripod.com/Page98.htm>

the root cause of the political ills of Pakistan.³⁵⁰ A new spirit was infused into Muslim League by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's presidentship. No doubt he was outspoken, energetic and radical in his approaches. In his first speech as a president of Pakistan ML he warned those in power that if they did not follow the rules of democracy there would be revolution in the country to restore democracy. He also said that Muslim League would not hesitate to take extreme measures and would launch a campaign, which would sweep off those in power like a blade of grass. He emphasized the need for organizing the Muslim League National Guards (a semi-military, uniformed wing of the party) on a big scale, so that they could battle against those who did not believe in the ideology of Pakistan.³⁵¹ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as a president of Pakistan Muslim League visited different parts of the country and gave the message of unity. He was against provincialism, in his speech he said we should consider the Pathans, Punjabis, Sindhis, Baluchis and Bengalis as Pakistanis. He added there was need for a broad minded approach for the progress of various communities of Pakistan.³⁵²

In April 1958, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan bitterly criticized Iskandar Mirza,³⁵³ president of Pakistan, that he intentionally undermined Muslim League's repute and popularity by exploiting his position/post by political intrigues. He denounced Iskandar Mirza's activites reasoning that being the constitutional head of the state he was not

³⁵⁰ Muhammad Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 236.

³⁵¹ K.K.aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan*,75.

³⁵² *Dawn* (Karachi) 13 April 1958.

³⁵³ Iskandar Mirza (1898-1967) served on different posts in government service e.g. joined British Army in 1920, then posted as Assistant Commissioner of the NWFP in 1926, also worked as political agent of the Trible Belt in 1938-1945. He worked as Governor of the East Pakistan in 1952-54 and succeeded Ghulam Muhammad as the Governor General in 1955. He was the first President of Pakistan, served from 1956-1958. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 202.

obliged to indulge in political affairs.³⁵⁴ In aggressive tone he said we would see that Iskandar Mirza would be thrown out.³⁵⁵

Time and again he criticized Iskandar Mirza's policy on Kashmir. He criticized him and charged him that he did every possible effort to destroy the Muslim League and was responsible for the formation of Republican Party. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan disparaged Iskandar Mirza on his help to foist the system of joint electorates on the plea that it was against the ideology of Pakistan. He said that to serve his own ends Iskandar Mirza had maneuvered weaklings into ministerial posts at the center and in West-Pakistan.³⁵⁶

Leader of Republicans (Malik Feroz Khan Noon³⁵⁷) in the National Assembly was prime minister at that time. He had formed a coalition with five different political parties: The National Congress, Awami League, Scheduled Caste Federation, National Awami Party and Krishak Sramik Party. The coalition government thus consisted of six different parties with obviously different programs and would thus be a very weak government. The Republican Party was full of landlords in West-Pakistan, who were totally opposed to any land reforms which would reduce their land holdings. On the other hand, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani³⁵⁸ was leading a movement in support of

³⁵⁴ Syed Javed Haider, "Pakistan Republican Party". *South Asian Studies*. Vol. 22, no. 1 (January 2007), 106.

³⁵⁵ Zarina Salamat, *Pakistan 1947-1958: An Historical Review*, 108.

³⁵⁶ Muhammad Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 237.

³⁵⁷ Malik Feroz Khan Noon (1893-1970) was Chief minister of Punjab province from 1953-1956, after which he became Foreign Minister of Pakistan till 1957. He was elected as the seventh Prime Minister of Pakistan on 16 December 1957 and remained in office till 7 October 1958. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 720.

³⁵⁸ Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (1885-1976) was a Bengali leader. He spent his whole life as a strong proponent of the interests of the peasantry and the rural poor. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties In Pakistan 1947-1958*, 81, 219. And also www.answers.com

evicted tenants and thousands of landless agricultural laborers. Thus, Republican Party had little hope at the fore coming polls in West Pakistan. Therefore, they sought change of Chief Minister in West-Pakistan. They were searching for a man who could be strong to help them in the general elections by using the administration during the elections. They demanded replacement of Abdur Rashid Khan by Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash³⁵⁹ as Chief Minister. This annoyed the Muslin Leaguers who led a campaign against Iskandar Mirza under the leadership of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. President Iskandar Mirza was facing strong opposition in building up of the election campaign.³⁶⁰ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's advocacy for a peaceful revolution assumed the tone of a warning of a bloody revolution in July 1958 after the coup d'état in Iraq. Holding of election was the main issue in those days. An All Parties Election Conference was organized in Karachi on 20th July 1958 to bring about a consensus on the election rules and fixing a date for election. The Muslim League President Khan Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan boycotted the conference, suspecting that its purpose was again postponement of election, he also protested against the non-inclusion of the issue of electorate in the agenda. The conference finally postponed the election once again to 15 February 1959, thus justifying popular fear.³⁶¹ Muslim League was the only party to boycott the national election conference convened to finalize the date of election, it insisted to shift it from November

³⁵⁹ Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash was a politician from Punjab. He became Chief Minister of West Pakistan on 16 December 1957 and remained in office till 18 March 1958. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*. 887.

³⁶⁰ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001) , 123.

³⁶¹ Mohammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2007) , 140.

1958 to 15 February 1959.³⁶² All the other significant parties were represented at the conference.

In July 1958, the situation was further aggravated in Indian occupied Kashmir, the Kashmir liberation movement led by Choudhury Ghulam Abbas³⁶³ and assisted by various political parties of Pakistan decided to send trained volunteers into Indian occupied Kashmir because Pakistan's allies were playing ineffective role to solve this issue. But under the pressure of Army, the government of Pakistan ordered to arrest the leaders of movement before they could implement their scheme of crossing the ceasefire line. This aroused considerable resentment against the government. The Muslim League Council condemned the policy of repression against the Kashmir Liberation Movement. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan supported strongly that the war was the only way to settle disputes with India over Kashmir and the canal water.³⁶⁴

Muslim League and other parties advocated war with India to liberate Kashmir and criticized government policies and demanded to reassess foreign policy with particular reference to review of ineffectiveness of its foreign allies. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's progressive outlook had brought changes in party's attitude and with his dynamism infused a new spirit was in the party's programs. He tried to make the party workers punctual/obedient to party discipline. The historical long march of 32 miles from Jhelum to Gujrat and the militant spirit of the Muslim League National Guards shook the

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Choudhury Ghulam Abbas was a lawyer and leading politician of Jammu and Kashmir. He became the pioneer supreme head of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir government. He died on 18 December 1967 in Rawalpindi. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 698.

³⁶⁴ Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 233.

government benches and on 20 September 1958 government issued an ordinance by keeping in view militant spirit of Muslim League and banned the party's uniformed national guards. The Muslim Leaguers were very enraged on this measure and working committee of Muslim League announced to observe 10 October 1958 as a 'protest day' and situation was further deteriorated when a large crowd gathered to receive Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan outside Karachi Cantonment Railway Station was tear gassed and lathi charged.³⁶⁵

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as the president of the Muslim League was organizing his party very well. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan³⁶⁶ anticipated that ML party would sweep the polls and there was nothing to prevent Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan from becoming the first proper elected prime minister of Pakistan.³⁶⁷ The situation was getting worse day-by-day and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan claimed that no power could stop the Muslim League from capturing power in the coming election was frightening the ruling junta. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan after the unpleasant incident which occurred at Karachi Railway Station returned to Lahore the next day where he was scheduled to address a large public meeting. He threatened again and again to launch direct action against the government if the government tries to postpone election then.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 238.

³⁶⁶ Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (1895-1963) had served as Minister of Health Portfolio in the Interim Government of India in 1946. After partition of India he became a Pakistan's Minister of Food, Agriculture and Health. Later on he served as a diplomat to Iran, Turkey, India and Italy. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 695.

³⁶⁷ Main Zia-ud-Din, *Memories of a Pakistani diplomat*, 283.

At that time it seemed that Iskandar Mirza was losing control of the democratic forces in the country and could not further influence the electoral process. General Ayub Khan saw this as an opportunity to fulfill his political ambition and tactically encouraged his generals to demand imposition of Martial Law and for taking over the affairs of the country in the summer of 1958.

In September 1958, Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon was losing grip of situation and his ministry was likely to fall. In order to avoid the expected fall at the end of September Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon made a massive expansion of the central cabinet (raised the number of his minister to 26) in order to satisfy Suhrawardy's Awami League but after few days, Awami League ministers resigned and Noon government fell into disarray.³⁶⁸

At 1.00 p.m. on 7 October 1958, portfolios were re-distributed. Suhrawardy's Awami League refused to accept the new distribution and withdrew from the government that forced Malik Feroz Khan Noon to announce a re-allotment of portfolios the same day at 7.00 p.m. On 8 October, President Iskandar Mirza announced proclamation of martial law throughout the country. Mirza in his proclamation abrogated the constitution, dismissed the central and provincial governments, dissolved the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies of East and West Pakistan, banned all political parties and postponed the general elections indefinitely. After three weeks on 27 October 1958, General Ayub Khan became President of Pakistan.

³⁶⁸ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 124.

After the proclamation of martial law in Pakistan, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan suspended all his political activities. On 5 November 1958 in an informal talk he remarked that it was good that martial law had come, or else there would have been bloodshed if his party (Muslim League) had taken some drastic action against Iskandar Mirza the ex-president. On 17 December, the editor of Mazloom Newspaper Abdul Rahman Rya in a meeting with Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan requested him to file a writ against the arrests of the people under the Martial law but he refused to do so.³⁶⁹ According to some critics it was Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as Muslim League president that shook the firmly established controlled democracy of Iskandar Mirza who later tried to seek refuge by imposing martial law in October 1958.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹ Zahoor Ahmed Awan, *Khan-i-Azam*, 267.

³⁷⁰ Syed Shabbir Hussain, *Lengthening shadows from Advent of Pakistan to fall of Ayub*, 138.

CHAPTER 5

KHAN ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN'S PERCEPTION AND VISION ABOUT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

5.1 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Khilafat Movement

The First World War (1914-1918) was broke out between England and Germany. The Turkish government favoured Germans in the war. At that time the British were ruling India. The Muslims of India sided with the British because they were subject of the British Empire but before their participation they took promise from the British Prime Minister Lord George for the protection of the holy places and restoration of the Ottoman Caliphate to the Turks at the end of war. But the British did not keep up the promise and treated Turkey with disgrace.

To safeguard the Khilafat, a Central Khilafat Committee was formed and non-cooperation agitation against British Rule was started in India in November 1919 in almost all provinces of India.³⁷¹ The Khilafat Movement had its origin in the belief that all Muslims belonged to one brotherhood irrespective of the territory of their residence,

³⁷¹ P.C.Bamford, *Histories of the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movement* (Delhi:K.K.Book Distributors, 1985), 145.

and if some calamity befalls them in any part of the globe, the entire community should attempt to save the sufferers. Besides, Turkey was the only independent state in the world which had the specialty of being the protectorate of holy places of Islam and her sultan enjoyed the proud office of the Khilafa — a spiritual and temporal bond of union between all Islamic countries of the world.³⁷²

The great Khilafat Movement from across the Indus embraced the whole province of NWFP.³⁷³ The Khilafat committee decided not to participate in peace celebrations and victory celebrations in November 1919. Dr. M.A. Ansari, the head of the Anti-peace celebration committee, appealed to the Muslims not to show any ecstasy and elation on the occasion instead they observed a strike.³⁷⁴ At that time, strikes or any action of that type were unknown at the educational institutions. But students of Islamia College of Peshawar city held a meeting in the Roos-Keppel Hall, in which Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, a student of Islamia College Peshawar made a fiery speech to evoke the sympathies of the students for Khilafat Movement against the British Government.³⁷⁵

In early 1920, the Khilafat Movement gained momentum in different area's of India; strikes were also observed in different cities of NWFP as well. In March 1920, a huge Khilafat meeting was held, which was attended by Muslim, Sikh and Hindu leaders. Maulavi Abdul Ghafur was the principal speaker. Message of meeting was to boycott the

³⁷² Lal Bahadur, *Struggle for Pakistan* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1988), 115.

³⁷³ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, *Gold and guns on the Pathan Frontier* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Publishers, 1945), 25.

³⁷⁴ Abdul Rauf, "Khilafat Movement in the North West Frontier Province. A Historical Perspectives" *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*. Vol. XXXVI, no.3 (July 1999) ,30.

³⁷⁵ Mian-Zia-Ud-Din, *Memoirs of a Pakistani Diplomat.*, 14.

British goods and demanded from the British that the present Sultan of Turkey should not be removed who was the spiritual and temporal head of Muslims. Muslims should be given the control on the holy places as it had before World War I. A resolution was moved and two telegrams were dispatched to the secretary of state for India in London. First was sent by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who was a fourth-year student of Islamia College Peshawar, on behalf of the student of the college. He wrote that students of the college strongly protest against the proposed dismemberment of Turkish Empire. They condemn expulsion of Sultan from Constantinople and had urged that holy places should continue under direct control of Khilafa.³⁷⁶ And second telegram was sent by Sayyid Maqbul Shah, who was the president of the meeting.³⁷⁷

On 10 August 1920, the Treaty of Sevres was signed. It excited the Muslims' sentiment more, so All India Khilafat Committee adopted a non-cooperation programme in order to pressurise British government to accept their demands.³⁷⁸

Leaders of the Khilafat movement decided to boycott the institutions run or aided by the British government. Many students of Islamia College Peshawar who were demanding independent Muslim institutions in the NWFP protested against British government. The students of Islamia College were led by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan who was the fourth-year student and a senior monitor and secretary of the debating society. A meeting was held on the night of 29 September 1920 in the Butler Hostel of Islamia

³⁷⁶ Sultan-i-Rome, "The Role of the North-West Frontier Province in the Khilafat and Hijrat Movements" *Journal of Islamic Studies*. Vol.43 no.1 (spring 2004),55.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Muhammad Hussain and others, eds. *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol. III (Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1984), 224.

College for start of non-cooperation with the government in which the following resolutions were adopted.

1. Approval of non-cooperation in the college, disaffiliation of the college and non-acceptance of the government aid.
2. Expression of sympathy with Maulana Zafar Ali Khan
3. Adoption of Swadeshi.³⁷⁹

30 September was observed as a mourning day in the college. On 14 November 1920, Colonel Wedge Wood, a Labour Party member of the British Parliament arrived in Peshawar. The students' movement got a momentum after meeting him. Mr. Wedge Wood told them, "if I were in your place I would leave and join the National College at Aligarh" (Jamia Millia Islamia at Aligarh) that was established under the supervision of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar in 1920.

Next day on 15 November 1920, one of the senior students Asim Khan left the Islamia College for Jamia Millia Islamia Aligarh by train. A large number of students of college accompanied him to the railway station to say him good-bye. They held a meeting at the railway station which was presided over by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. Speeches were made on the problems of the college and in support of non-cooperation movement.³⁸⁰ Principal of Islamia College was English man so it was difficult for him to bear a student who was spreading emotion of anger against the British Rule. So, as

³⁷⁹ Abdul Rauf, "Khilafat Movement in the North West Frontier Province. A Historical Perspectives", 34 .

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

consequence, he expelled Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and many other students who were active in protest against the government. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan with his other college fellows left Peshawar in order to get admission in Jamia Millia Islamia Aligarh. They got admission in Jamia Millia. Besides, his studies Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan continued to participate in non-cooperation movement to support Khilafat.³⁸¹

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar³⁸² visited Delhi, Bombay, Agra, UP and far-flung areas of the sub-continent to gather and motivate people to participate in non-cooperation movement in support of Khilafat.³⁸³

Different meetings were held in support of the Khilafat in NWFP in November 1921. Leaders of Peshawar Khilafat Committee were arrested and All India Khilafat Committee felt the lack of active members in Peshawar in order to strengthen non-cooperation in the NWFP. They sent Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and many others to Peshawar. They nominated Abdul Ghaffar Khan as president, Samin Jan as vice president, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as secretary, Agha Mir Yahya as assistant secretary in December 1921. The government was against holding the meeting. It again arrested

³⁸¹ Zahoor Ahmed Awan, *Khan -i-Azam*, 47.

³⁸² Muhammad Ali Jouhar (1878-1931) was an Indian Muslim leader, scholar, journalist, poet and was among the leading figure of the Khilafat Movement. He was one the founder of the All India Muslim League. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 434.

³⁸³ Ibid.

the president and secretary Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan.³⁸⁴ A new Khilafat committee was formed and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was released.

In 1922, following the suggestion of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, he went to England for higher studies.³⁸⁵ He got degree of Bs (honours) in Economics and Political Science from the London School of Economics and degree of Bar at Law from Lincoln's Inn and return in 1926.

5.2 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, World War II and Civil Disobedience Movement in India

British imperialism established its political hegemony over the Indian people after the defeat of 1857. Political parties started efforts for India's freedom from British imperialism in 20th century. When World War II broke out in September 1939, Lord Linlithgow who was then the viceroy of India, declared India a party to the world war without asking Indians' will. On 17 October 1939 the viceroy invited all the political parties to nominate persons for selection of his advisers, to negotiate with Indian leader Mr. Montauk especially came to India.

The Congress working committee after discussing the war situation expressed its dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the British Government declaring India a belligerent country, promulgating war ordinances and amending the Government of India

³⁸⁴ Abdul Rauf, "Khilafat Movement in the North West Frontier Province. A Historical Perspectives",31.

³⁸⁵ Aziz Javeed, *Quaid-i-Azam aur Sarhad*.,396.

Act in a manner circumscribing the power of the provincial governments.³⁸⁶ Congress was offended and as a protest Congress ministries resign in October 1939. On 8 August, 1940 the viceroy of India made a proposal to resolve the political crisis which was known as The August Offer.³⁸⁷ The August Offer could not satisfy the aspiration of the Indians, so All India National Congress started Civil Disobedience against war and demanded civil liberty.³⁸⁸ They raised slogan: "it is wrong to help the British efforts with men and money. The only worthy effort is to resist war with non-violence resistance".³⁸⁹

The main areas affected by Civil Disobedience were UP, Bombay, Madrass, Central provinces, Bihar and Punjab. The government of the NWFP decided to make no arrests, as the event proved that the repetition of slogans would produce no effect on that province.³⁹⁰ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was arrested from Charsadda on raising anti-war slogans on 14 December 1940 and was later released after bringing him to the house of Deputy Commissioner in Peshawar. Again on the 15 December Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan raised slogans in front of a crowd of 3,000. He spoke on the failure of government to grant India freedom and said that India had been dragged into the war without asking the will of Indians. It was due to the organisation and courage of Congress on the Frontier

³⁸⁶ Y.B. Mathur, *Quit India Movement* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1979), 5.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 6.

1. To grant Dominion status to India.
2. To establish a War Advisory council containing representatives of Indian states and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.
3. To safeguard the position of the minorities.

To setup after the conclusion of war with the least possible delay of body representatives of the principle elements in India's national life to devise the framework of the new constitution.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Y.B. Mathur, *Quit India Movement* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1979), 7.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

Province that no action had been taken against them and if they pursued their policy the government would also grant them freedom.³⁹¹

Meetings were held to protest against the arrest of Abul Kalam Azad, president of All India Congress Committee, in Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu during the whole month of January 1941. In Peshawar Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan proposed a resolution congratulating Maulana Azad on his arrest.³⁹² He and other speakers said that Great Britain claimed fighting for democracy although India was denied the same. India had been dragged into the war without Indians' will. They claimed that Congress had achieved success in the North West Frontier Province by committing civil disobedience as no arrests had been made by government and they had been conceded the right of free speech.³⁹³

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan criticized Indians for their disunity and for their bad conduct and said that salvation of India was laying in the destruction of Europe. He cited the British as an example of unity, patriotism and self-sacrifice.³⁹⁴ Congress members expressed regret that the British were enslaving Muslim countries like Iran, Syria and so on. In Charsadda meeting Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said that British had invaded Iran merely to further their own interests. He requested that no assistance should be given

³⁹¹ North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligent, Vol.XXXVII, 17-Dec 1940, s-400 .

³⁹² North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence Criminal Investigation Department, Vol.XXXIII, s-401. 7 January 1941., 2.

³⁹³ Ibid. dated 14 January 1941., 6.

³⁹⁴ North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence Criminal Investigation Department., dated 22 April 1941,55.

either of men or money to Britain in its war efforts.³⁹⁵ Japanese success brought the war closer to India's border in the early months of 1942. Keeping in view the fast deteriorating war situation especially in the East, the British Government deputed Sir Stafford Cripps to visit India in March 1942 in order to negotiate with important leaders of India and enlist their cooperation in the war efforts.³⁹⁶

In April 1942, Congress working committee rejected Cripps' proposals and demanded the British withdrawal from India immediately. On 18th April in the meeting held at Peshawar Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan expressed the hope that the people would follow the lead of the Congress. He went on to describe Sir Stafford Cripps' visit to India and said that British diplomacy then stood exposed. Sir Stafford Cripps had to agree to transfer of defence to an Indian, and all he had come for was to ask Indians to shed their blood for nothing. But they had rejected his proposals and had decided to remain neutral like Irish Free State. Indian would defend their country against all invaders whether British, German, Italian and Japanese. He said that they had had experience of promises that made in the past and they were under no illusions about Germans or Japanese granting them freedom. He added in the same way that as they were fighting Churchill today, they would, if need be, fight Hitler and Tojo tomorrow.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence Criminal Investigation Department, dated 9 September 1941,25.

³⁹⁶ Y.B Mathur, *Quit India Movement*, 13.

³⁹⁷ North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence Criminal Investigation Department, Vol.XXXIII, s-401,dated 21 April 1942, 41.

On 23 June 1942 the Peshawar meeting of All India National Congress attracted the largest audience estimated at 5,000. The object of meeting was to explain the significance of the “English go home” movement. While addressing to audience Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said that an invasion was imminent. Most of the Indian army was abroad and although it was claimed that the American army had been sent to defend them, in reality, it was only to safeguard the British people and their interests.³⁹⁸

Congress members were announcing again and again that British imperialism was tottering. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said that the British would soon cease to exist as a nation. He also said that the British had charged Burmese without assisting the enemy but the real fact was that they had been refused their independence. The war had now reached Assam and no doubt that the people of Assam would follow the Burmans’ example.³⁹⁹ All India Congress Committee met in Bombay on 7 and 8 August 1942 and gave the most careful consideration about the development of war situation. The committee approved the resolution that the immediate ending of British rule in India was an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. Within the few hours the bureaucratic machinery was set in motion. Members of the Congress working committee, the Congress president Maulana Abul Kalam Azad along with Mahatma Gandhi were arrested. This served as a signal to raise up the pent-up feelings of the people and there were mass outbursts all over the country. To stop or to control the

³⁹⁸ North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence Criminal Investigation Department, Vol.XXXIII, s-401. dated 30 June 1942,74.

³⁹⁹ North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence Criminal Investigation Department, Vol.XXXIII, s-401. dated 02 June 1942,61.

situation government used lathi-charge, called out the military, police fired on demonstrators and ordered curfew.⁴⁰⁰

Congress had continued its efforts to whip up enthusiasm for the civil disobedience movement on 19 August 1942 in Peshawar meeting Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan criticized that recent ordinance was giving extra powers to military officers in case of disturbance. He said it was regrettable that the police, who were their kith and kin, opened fire and killed thousands of innocent unarmed people. He added that although the British were asking Indians to help them win the war of "freedom" yet they had qualms about crushing the movement for Indian Independence. Other speakers emphasized the fact that the provincial government had taken no action against them, not because they were friendly towards them but because they wished to avoid a repetition of the disturbance which had taken place in 1930.⁴⁰¹

Congress meetings held time to time in different areas of NWFP. The chief object of speakers' was the vilification of government, to try and recruits for the civil disobedience movement. The speeches of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and others were particularly about current events, and at one meeting Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan prophesied the death of the "present" traitors when the national government came into power. He also disclaimed congress responsibility for the act of violence.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ Y.B. Mathur, *Quit India Movement*, 27.

⁴⁰¹ North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence Criminal Investigation Department, Vol. XXXIII, s-401, dated 25 August 1942., 93.

⁴⁰² North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence Criminal Investigation Department, dated 10 November 1942., 28.

Once Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan claimed that twenty-five lac of Indian soldiers were fighting merely to strengthen the shackles of British imperialism. He and other members of conference held in Peshawar on 24 April 1945 warned the allied powers in general and the British Government in particularly that no world organization for peace would ever be successful until the millions of Indian people were contented and India was a completely free nation.⁴⁰³ The members of Congress considered the 'Quit India Movement' was no less than the French and Russian Revolutions.⁴⁰⁴

5.3 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Kashmir Dispute

The Kashmir dispute has been a major bone of contention between India and Pakistan. At the time of Partition, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was one of 584 princely states, which is situated in the northern part of Indo-Pak Sub-continent.⁴⁰⁵ It had its boundaries with Tibet, China, Russia and Afghanistan which have placed it in a great strategic position. The total population of the state, according to 1941 census, was about 4,000,000, which comprised majority of Muslims in every province of the valley.⁴⁰⁶

The state of Jammu and Kashmir was ruled by Dogra Ruler Ghulab Singh. The Dogra dynasty had purchased this state from the British Government in 1846 for 7.5

⁴⁰³ North West Frontier Province Police Abstract of Intelligence Criminal Investigation Department, Vol.XXXI, s-401, dated 24 April 1945., 33.

⁴⁰⁴ Y.B.Mathur, *Quit India Movement*, 184.

⁴⁰⁵ Josef Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 46.

⁴⁰⁶ Akbar Khan, *Raiders in Kashmir* (Karachi: Pak Publishers limited,1970), 4.

million of rupees. The state was sold to Ghulab Singh by the treaty of Amritsar.⁴⁰⁷

Ghulab Singh and his successor had established a despotic regime and ruled the state in an autocratic manner. Muslims in particular, were ruthlessly subjected to the most inhuman treatment. They were heavily taxed e.g. hearth tax, the zaildari tax, etc. and were living very poor life.

The first Civil Disobedience Movement for the freedom of state was fought in 1931. It was in consequence to the repressive, injustices and arbitrary rule of Dogra Dynasty.⁴⁰⁸ This movement was organized and led by Sheikh Abdullah⁴⁰⁹ and Chaudry Ghulam Abbas from the platform of Kashmir Muslim Conference. When the Sub-continent was divided the state was ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh, who did not want to accede to Pakistan. The people of Kashmir, at the time of Partition, felt and had strong desire that in view of Muslim majority population the state would accede to Pakistan so that they would be relieved from the oppressive Dogra rule.⁴¹⁰

Three days before the transfer of power and the Accession time limit the Kashmir government announced its intention of signing standstill agreements with India and Pakistan.⁴¹¹ To irritate Muslims, some Sikhs and Hindus of Kashmir started giving the name of "Pakistan" to their bulls, dogs and donkeys. The state troops were against

⁴⁰⁷ Zahur-ul-Haq, *Kashmir From B.C.to 1991* (Lahore:Progressive Publishers, 1991), 36.and also <http://www.pakun.org/kashmir/history.php>

⁴⁰⁸ Muhammad Yousaf saraf, *Kashmir Fight-For Freedom 1947-1978*, Vol.II (Lahore:Ferozons Ltd.1979), 752.

⁴⁰⁹ Sheikh Muhammeh Abdullah commonly known as Sheikh Abdullah (1905-1982) was the leader of the National Conference, Kashmir's largest Political Party. He agitated against the rule of the Maharaja Hari Singh, and urged self-rule for Kashmir. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*,846.

⁴¹⁰ Akbar Khan, *Raiders in Kashmir*, 4.

⁴¹¹ Alan Campbell-Johson, *Mission with Mountbatten* (New York: Atheneum, 1985), 223.

Pakistan as they were Hindus and Sikhs though they were in minority, but they had support of Dogra force.⁴¹²

During months of August and September 1947 Dogra forces started following the plan of Muslims' genocide in the Jammu countryside area where Muslims were in a minority.⁴¹³ The Dogra troops reinforced by Rashtarya Sewak Sang (Hindu militant organization) murderous bands were sent to Poonch as well, to liquidate the Muslims from Poonch and Uri. Muslim property was being looted, woman raped, houses burnt and men killed. Their objective was that the Muslims must be wiped out either by killing or by being pushed into Pakistan.⁴¹⁴

The Muslims were convinced that, if they did not rise in revolt they would be massacred or pushed into Pakistan so trouble rose on the soil of Kashmir. The inhabitant of Kashmir rose in revolt against the torture and oppression of the Hindu ruler in the end of August 1947. A sense of frustration and the fear of uncertainty and gloomy future under the despotic Hindu Raj pushed them into action.⁴¹⁵

Sikhs and Hindus of Jammu, a large non-Muslim population area, attacked on Muslim villages in Jammu. Due to these incidents irritable opinion aroused in Pakistan and other part of Kashmir. Muslims who escaped to Pakistan related dreadful stories of the numerous outrages of Hindus helped stir up passions in both the Punjab and the North

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Akbar Khan, *Raiders in Kashmir*, 8. and also <http://www.kashmir-issue.com>

⁴¹⁴ A.H. Suharwardy, *Tragedy in Kashmir*, (Lahore: Waiid Alis, 1983) 103

West Frontier. Ayesha Jalal wrote that tribesmen, attracted by opportunities of loot and plunder afford by the British withdrawal, swung into action under the noble pretext of saving their Muslim brethren.⁴¹⁶

At the beginning of September 1947 Poonch men (who participated in world war) were joined by volunteers from Kashmiri security force. The Government of Pakistan was officially opposed to any interference in the internal affairs of Kashmir. But there was no doubt that the invasion of tribesmen was actively encouraged by a few government officials and Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was Kashmiri from Poonch.⁴¹⁷ The Pakistani Government was taken by surprise when the tribesmen march suddenly started toward Kashmir on 19 October. About 900 Mahsuds, and many others from Wazir, Daurs, Bhittans, Turis, Mohmands, Afridis and Swatis started to march for Kashmir in trucks. Some of the tribesmen who could not find motor transport, joined their co-religionists in the Holy war (Jehad) on foot. Major Khurshid Anwar from Mardan formerly of the Indian Army and Commander of Muslim League National Guards in the NWFP was arranging food and transport with the help of Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was not only aware of that invasion but had also assisted it in an unofficial manner, keeping the matter a secret from the official agencies, particularly the British officers.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 1999), 58.

⁴¹⁷ 7-11, 52.

Under Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's direction, provincial officials made sure the supply of petrol — a scarce commodity in those days — weapons and transportation for the tribal volunteers. A civil servant Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak wrote that he was shocked to find operational headquarters for the Kashmir Liberation Movement in the Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's small office attached with his house. There was a large map of Kashmir on the wall. He saw a civil servant sitting in the Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's office passing messages to his opposite number in Rawalpindi that he was sending a thousand tribesmen who should be armed with rifles and provided with ammunition.⁴¹⁹

The Muzaffarabad area was liberated on 22 October 1947. The freedom fighters proceeded towards Srinagar in their trucks, lorries and others vehicles. Their weapons were frontier rifles, pistols and shotguns. Some of them were absolutely unarmed or only carrying daggers but they had motivation and devotion. On 25th October, the tribal's reached Baramula. They were only 35 miles from Srinagar. The retreating Dogras had burnt destroyed and plundered as many Muslims houses and property as they could, while on the run back to Srinagar.

On 25th October, V.P. Menon, India's astute secretary of the States, reached Srinagar by air. He advised Mahraja to run away to Jammu, after getting a letter written and signed by the Maharaja, declaring accession of Kashmir to India and asking for military intervention. On the very day, Lord Mountbatten, the Governor General of India,

⁴¹⁹ Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak, *A Pathan Odyssey* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 60.

accepted the Maharaja's instrument of accession in Delhi and immediate orders were issued to send troops to Kashmir.

Unfortunately, the tribesmen, despite being their leader Major Khurshid Anwar⁴²⁰, wasted two days (25 October to 27 October 1947) at Baramula. Why they did so? No one knows the reason. A.H. Suharwardy wrote that tribes had their own traditional system of having elaborate councils of war in which all the pros and cons were weighed and different groups assigned specific tasks before starting any major action. Moreover, most of the tribal had started feeling the pinch of shortage of food and ammunition from Uri onwards. It is said that some undisciplined elements had also started looting the local population. The stories related to tribal destruction were highly exaggerated.⁴²¹ While tribesmen were still in Baramula, the Indian aircrafts were busy in bringing troops, arms and ammunition from Delhi to Srinagar. Next day when tribesmen moved toward Srinagar where they were encountered Indian well-trained and well-organized troops having support of armour, artillery and air force. The tribesmen could not stand and fell back because they did not have regular training or latest weapons.

On the evening of 27 October 1947, a informal meeting was held in Lahore which was attended by Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan, Iskander Mirza, Chaudary Muhammad Ali, Frontier Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Chief Minister of

⁴²⁰ Major Khurshid Anwar a retired Major of the Indian Army , was a Kashmiri Pathan. Khurshid Anwar was Salar of the Muslim League National Guards before partition. Kashmir Liberation with consultation with Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, he decided to send a force of about two thousand tribesmen, to capture Srinagar. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 480.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 119.

Punjab Nawab Mamdot, Brigadier Sheer Khan and Colonel Akbar Khan to discuss accession of Kashmir and Indian military intervention. Col. Akbar said that he suggested to give permission and allow tribals to attack Jammu. But all except the Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Nawab Mamdot opposed my suggestion. All were afraid that India would attack Pakistan if attack on Jammu was to be allowed so no one was ready to take the risk.⁴²²

Alan Cambell Johnson wrote the day when Prime Minister rejected attack of Jammu in Lahore Conference, Quaid-i-Azam who was also in Lahore, ordered to attack Kashmir to the acting Pakistani Commander-in-Chief General Gracey. But he replied that he was not prepared to issue any such instruction without the approval of the Supreme Commander General Messervy, who was absent. Auchin Leck who was settled in Delhi temporarily flew to Lahore that morning at Gracey's urgent request and explained to Jinnah that an act of invasion would involve automatically and immediately the withdrawal of every British officer serving with the newly formed Pakistan Army.⁴²³

There are many questions arise in reader's mind like who organized tribal's venture? What were the reasons? Why did tribesmen come back? One opined that it was Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Chief Minister of the Frontier Province, a Kashmiri by descent like Nehru who wanted to take credit for conquering Kashmir. When tribesmen were near to achieve target, intended to capture Srinagar, a clash emerged between Major

⁴²² Akbar Khan, *Kashmir kay Hamala Awar ur Pindi Sazaish Case* (Rawalpindi: Maktaba Dastan Limited, 1973), 48.

⁴²³ Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten* (New York: Atheneum, 1985), 226.

Khurshid Anwar, commander of Kashmir jihad, and khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. Due to that clash Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan did not allow Mujahideen to enter Srinagar. During that time Indian's Forces captured Srinagar, and when Mujahideen tried to enter Srinagar they could not be successful and as a consequence they lost Srinagar and Kashmir war. The other opinion is that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan wanted to divert the tribesmen to Kashmir so that the annual hush money called Mujib locally (which the British used to pay them) was not demanded by them. This amount from 17 to 70 million rupees annually in British days which meant about 22 crores then or it was intended to divert attention from internal repression.⁴²⁴

No one know the intention of anyone. It can be done due to fraternal and religious sympathies, if it is written that officers like Colonel Akbar Khan and Brigadier Sheer Khan took personal risks and helped in every possible way to Kashmir Jihad because of ties of Islamic brotherhood, blood or marriage.⁴²⁵ Then why to blame Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan that his interest and help was only to divert attention of tribesmen or for personal reputation. Some opponents say that it was due to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan that Pakistan could not win Kashmir. There was a clash between Major Khurshid Anwar and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan did not allow Khurshid Anwar to enter Srinagar at proper time.⁴²⁶ So as a result Indian forces got time to take position in Kashmir.

⁴²⁴ A.H. Suharwardy, *Tragedy in Kashmir*, 205-206.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 207.

⁴²⁶ Zahoor Ahmed Awan, *Khan-i-Azam*, 206.

Colonel Akbar Khan wrote that everybody should know that the tribesmen accustomed to only guerrilla fighting with their usual weapons and as Kashmir was unknown alien or unfamiliar land so they could not find place for hiding. They did not have motors ,machineguns nor any satisfactory logistical and inter-communication arrangements so they were not able to proceed even beyond Muzaffarabad. The tribesmen had shortage of food items (rations) and ammunition. Their invasion was not much planned and organized. They entered to fight with Dogra State forces so when they had to compete with Indian trained forces they could not resist longer.⁴²⁷ So one finds no clue that due to Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan tribesmen lost Kashmir jihad. No doubt one finds many proof of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan Government's help to Mujahideens who went and participated in Kashmir's jihad.

On 1 January 1948, India took Kashmir issue in United Nation Security Council and lodged a complaint against Pakistan and demanded that Pakistan be declared an aggressor and to be ordered to stop aid to the liberation forces.⁴²⁸ Pakistan defended its position by saying that Indian accession of Kashmir had been brought about by force. And it was requested that the Security Council had to arrange a cease-fire and to conduct an impartial plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the people of Kashmir. While Kashmir issue was still on the table Indian forces increased their aggression, as a result Pakistani government allowed their troops to enter into Kashmir. On 13 August 1948, the Security Council called for ceasefire and withdrawal of all Pakistani and Indian troops from

⁴²⁷ Akbar Khan, *Kashmir ka Hamla Awar and Pindi Sazish Case*, 73.

⁴²⁸ Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight –For Freedom 1947-1978*, Vol.ii (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd.1979) ,1045.

Kashmir. It also promised to hold plebiscite under United Nation's supervision. Both the Indian and Pakistani government accepted the resolution. The ceasefire resolution was implemented in 1949, but Indian government never allowed to give opportunity for plebiscite. Pakistan requested again and again in the Security Council and superpowers to put pressure on India to fulfill its promise, but achieved no result. One finds many evidances and statements of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan about his involvement and interest for Kashmir's liberation. He blamed India many times for its back out to conduct plebiscite. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said the biggest hindrance in the development of friendship between India and Pakistan was the problem of Kashmir; both the countries should help creating conditions in which a free and impartial plebiscite could be possible.⁴²⁹ He suggested Pakistani government to quit from British Commonwealth as it failed to solve the Kashmir issue. He also criticized the United States and United Kingdom for their role in solution of Kashmir issue.⁴³⁰ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan had strong wish that Kashmiris would get the right of self-determination and decide their fate through a fair and impartial plebiscite.⁴³¹ When he felt ways of a peaceful solution were blocked he declared war with India inevitable to liberate Kashmir.⁴³² He was very hopeful to liberate Kashmir, he said, "our cause is just and our stand on Kashmir is righteous. There is no reason why we should not win the war against India".⁴³³

⁴²⁹ *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar) 2 May 1950 Vol.19, no.55.

⁴³⁰ *Dawn* (Karachi) 6 May 1958.

⁴³¹ *Dawn* (Karachi) 11 February 1957..

⁴³² *Dawn* (Karachi) 25 May 1958. *Dawn* (Karachi) 27 May 1958. *Dawn* (Karachi) 8 June 1958. *Dawn* (Karachi) 28 July 1958.

⁴³³ *Dawn* (Karachi) 27 May 1958.

5.4 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Babara Incident

After Independence Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was silent observer of Khudai Khidmatgars. He saw that their activities were increasing day by day. So on 16 September 1947 the provincial Government declared the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement illegal.⁴³⁴

Abdul-Ghaffar Khan leader of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, a secular organization to put pressure on government, demanded an Islamic government at once. Khudai Khidmatgars who were ally of Congress before the Partition were used to criticize Muslim League and other religious parties that they were using Islam or religion in politics. Congress had secular philosophy. He (AGK) started an extensive speaking tour in May of 1948. He also hinted that “Pakhtunistan” was still a possibility.⁴³⁵ On 15 June 1948, Ghaffar Khan was arrested at Bahadur Khel, a small village in Kohat District on charge that he instructed Khudai Khidmatgars not to participate in celebration of Pakistan first Independence Anniversary.⁴³⁶ Next day, he was given a summary trial under section 40 of the Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) by the Deputy Commissioner of Kohat in a mud floored rest house at Banda Daud Shah on the Kohat-Bannu Road. He was sentenced to three-year rigorous imprisonment. The charges were “sedition against the State”. He was trying “to create disturbance to coincide with the expected advance of the Indian Army towards Pakistan’s Frontier and for having ‘invited people to rise

⁴³⁴ Keesing's Research Report on Pakistan: from 1947 to the creation of Bangladesh (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1973), 3.

⁴³⁵ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 201.

⁴³⁶ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tareekh Sobah-e-Sarhad*, 1055.

against the lawfully established government of the country' in collaboration with the agents of Faqir of Ipi.⁴³⁷

Special Branch of police department reported on 28 June 1948 that the red-shirts would launch agitation on 6 July 1948 from Charsadda by picketing courts with Holy Quran on their heads and would demand to settle their cases according to the Shariah.⁴³⁸ Provincial government arrested many red-shirts such as Qazi Attaullah (former revenue minister in the Congress government in NWFP)), Amir Mohammad Khan of Hoti (President of the NWFP Congress Committee), Khan Abdul Ghani Khan (son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan), Khan Obaidullah Khan (son-in-law of AGK), Master Abdul Karim and so on under the same law.⁴³⁹

To control the situation and for maintenance of peace in the province, the governor of NWFP issued an ordinance known as the North-West Frontier Province Public Safety Ordinance on 8 July 1948 in which extra ordinary powers were given to the provincial government.⁴⁴⁰ Under this ordinance provisional government could arrest any person who committed any crime or intended to do any crime against the Government of Pakistan. Demonstration and procession were banned in NWFP.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁷ *Dawn* (Karachi) 16 June 1948. NWFP Archives, CID Daily dairy no. 125 dated 16.june,1948.Bundle no.17, S.No.257.

⁴³⁸ NWFP Archives, Special Branch, IPS. Daily Diary, Dated 28 June 1948 Bundle no.17, S.No.256.

⁴³⁹ Syed Minhaj-ul-Hassan, "Political of Suppression: Babara incident in a Historical Perspective", *The Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol.15, no.1 (2007), 203.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore) 14 July 1948., 1.

Khudai Khidmatgars after address of Dr. Khan Sahib started displaying red flag on their house, shops, tongas and lorries and they raised Pakhtunistan Zindabad slogan in common greetings. It was reported to the government agencies that Khudai Khidmatgars were planning for agitation and demonstration in the month of August at Babara⁴⁴² in order to press the government for the acceptance of their demand. The government imposed Section 144 Cr.P.C ⁴⁴³ in the Charsadda area from 7 August 1948 to stop the meeting. Police was appointed at many places such as Peshawar, Mardan, Swabi, Shabqadar, Nowshera and hurdles were set on roads to stop people from going to Charsadda to participate in the demonstration. But even then Khudai Khidmatgars gathered there on 12 August 1948 against the Section 144 Cr.P.C. They raised the slogans of "*Inqilab Zindabad*", *Fakhr-e-Afghan Zindabad*", *Pathanistan Zindabad* and *Shariat-i-Quran Zindabad*.⁴⁴⁴ The crowd was going to Babara graveyard via Ghazi Gul Baba Mosque. Police reported that people, who were in plain clothes and carrying arms, were increasing in number with the passage of time. When the Assistant Commissioner was going to request the mob to disperse peacefully, he was stoned and some one from the mob fired at him. To disperse the mob and for their own defense police were ordered to open fire.⁴⁴⁵ As the crowd began to disperse the firing was stopped. Approximately causalities were 20 and 25 were wounded. When the police and military left the place the

⁴⁴² Babara is a small village near the Charsadda Town, situated the North of Peshawar.

⁴⁴³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Babra_Shariif_massacre

⁴⁴⁴ NWFP Archives, IPS Daily dairy dated 17.8.1948 Bundle No.22, S.No.297.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

villagers came and buried the dead in their own clothes, as they believed that they were martyred.⁴⁴⁶

The force that was used on this occasion was:

1. D.A.R. Platoon Peshawar	1 Platoon	33 persons
2. F.C Shabqadar	1 Platoon	50 persons
3. St. Force Platoon	3 Platoon	92 persons
4. Platoon S.A.P	1 Platoon	30 persons
Total	6 Platoon	205 persons ⁴⁴⁷

According to police, they saw Ameen Jan, MLA, in demonstration and also MLAs Zareen Khan, and Mian Isa Khan at the time of firing but then they went back to Mardan. Khudai Khidmatgars said more than 600 people were killed in firing including women and children and some of the dead bodies were thrown in the river.⁴⁴⁸ It is surprising that none of famous personalities were injured or died in the firing.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the Chief Minister of NWFP while speaking on the Independence Day 1948, at Peshawar city criticized Faqir of Ipi and Abdul Ghaffar

⁴⁴⁶ Civil and Military Gazette (Lahore), 14 August 1948. Special Diary regarding Babara Incident, Asst. to IGP, CID: NWFP Province, no.10147-48 dated. 20 August 48 Bundle no.22, S.No.297.

⁴⁴⁷ Zahoor Ahmed Awan, *Khan-i-Azam*, 166.

⁴⁴⁸ NWFP Archives, special Branch, Daily diary dated 14 August 1948 Bundle no.17 S.No.258.

Khan for their anti-state activities. He admired those who took part in the suppression of the red-shirts at Babara. He appreciated and complimented their valor and courage.⁴⁴⁹

On August 1948, the government of NWFP declared the Khudai Khidmatgars unlawful under the NWFP Public Safely Ordinance. Some Khudai Khidmatgars shifted to the tribal areas. The aim was to get safer places and to get support of the tribesman against the government. Some of the Khudai Khidmatgars went to Tirah along with bulleted copies of the Holy Quran from Peshawar in order to incite people against the government. Some workers of Khudai Khidmatgars also decided that they would collect the details of damage to the Khudai Khidmatgars at the hands of police and would send it to All India Radio Delhi for broadcast.⁴⁵⁰

The government also took certain measures to counter the Khudai Khidmatgars' anti-government propaganda. The government rejected the bulleted Quran's propagated by Khudai Khidmatgars. There was no verification of the facts that copies of the Holy Quran were bulleted in the Babara firing, said Assisstant Commissioner.Syed Minhaj-ul-Hassan wrote that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan wanted to eliminate the Khudai Khidmatgars by hook or by crook. Therefore, he instructed to search and to force all the red-shirts to join the Muslim League. For this purpose, state machinery was widely used to get the required result. So after the promulgation of the NWFP Public Safety Ordinance, 1948, and Babara incident large scale joining of Muslim League by Khudai

⁴⁴⁹ NWFP Archives, Special Branch, Personality Sheet of Abdul Qaiyum Khan Bundle no.3. S No.30.

⁴⁵⁰ Syed Minhaj ul Hassan, "Political of Suppression: Babara incident in a Historical Perspective", *The Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.15, no 1(2007), 210.

Khidmatgars was noted.⁴⁵¹ It was just because of fear among the red-shirts that their properties would be confiscated. They change their political affiliations. The daily *Inqilab* reported on 1 July 1948 that till then around 60,000 red-shirts had joined the Muslim League.⁴⁵²

Some critics criticized Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan by saying that he was a self-centered person who wanted complete control of administration of the province and was afraid of the opposition of Khudai Khidmatgars so he wanted to crush them to secure his place⁴⁵³. That's why in his government no direct case was filed against Khan Abdul Qaiyum khan related to Babara firing and even after that when Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was not in power. In 1956-57, High Court of Government of West Pakistan itself scrutinized Babara incident during the case of Abdul Ghaffar sedition against the State-Court. According to court decision loss of human lives was entirely unavoidable otherwise consequences could have been disastrous. The government took action against the red-shirts, an unlawful organization, before the Babara incident and the police firing and stern action were entirely lawful against them that followed. It was not the capricious and atrocious acts of a Chief Minister who attempted by those means to remain in power but was necessitated by the course of events. The action taken by the government on 12th August 1948 at Babara deserves commendation rather than condemnation.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² *Inqilab* (Lahore) 1 September 1948.

⁴⁵³ Syed Minhaj-ul-Hassan "Political of Suppression: Babara incident in a Historical Perspective", 216.

⁴⁵⁴ PLD 1957-Lahore ,189-90 , Zahoor Ahmad Awan, *Khan-i-Azam*, 181-182.

Once in an interview when question was asked from Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan about Khudai Khidmatgar allegations, he replied, people who faced my enrage were not my opponents but were enemies of Pakistan.⁴⁵⁵ He also said the crowd at Babara was against the law. People gathered on persuasion of those who wanted and planning to break newly achieved Pakistan. They were trying to create anarchy to pressurize centre and desired to fulfill their conspiracies. Government forbade them to hold procession in Charsadda and Section 144 Cr.PC was imposed but they broke the law and attacked police. Therefore, magistrate gave order of firing. If the government would not curb their efforts at that time later on in future Pakistan had to face terrible situation.⁴⁵⁶ He expressed that whatever he did, he did for welfare of Pakistan and not for his personal motives.

5.5 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Pakhtunistan/Pathanistan Issue

Pashtunistan, Pakhtunistan or Pathanistan are the different names of the same idea.⁴⁵⁷ Issue of Pakhtunistan or Pathanistan appeared in history at the end of British rule. In May 1947, the Frontier Congress/Khudai Khidmatgars raised slogan of autonomous Pakhtunistan.⁴⁵⁸ Dr Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Khan Brothers) had strong affiliation with Congress. When Partition Plan was to announce, Khan Brothers went Delhi to meet Gandhi and appealed him not to accept Partition Plan until to make plan for

⁴⁵⁵ Riaz Bhatalvi, *Leader-e-Karam* (urdu) (Lahore: Al Tahreer, 1970), 196.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.,197.

⁴⁵⁷ <http://www.conservapedia.com/Pashtunistan>

⁴⁵⁸ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 26.

saving Pakhtuns' future. They raised slogan of Pakhtunistan in Delhi and pressurized Gandhi to demand from British to enter the option of Pakhtunistan in Partition Plan and assured him that people of NWFP were with them. After returning from Delhi, Khan Brothers passed a resolution in which they demanded from British:

1. There should be separate state for all Pakhtuns.
2. Constitution for Independent Pakhtun State would be based on Democracy, equality and on concept of social justice given in Islam.
3. Requested all Pukhtuns to unite for achievement of this demand and not accept un-Pakhtun rule.⁴⁵⁹

Pakhtun nationalism was the platform on which the Khudai Khidmatgars decided to fight back. The reasons for the Frontier Congress's opposition to Pakistan were historical rather than ideological. Pakistan had been advocated by their enemies on the Frontier while their allies in the All India National Congress (AINC) had opposed it. Thus the Khudai Khidmatgars also opposed it. Finally, when in June the AINC's acceptance of Partition became definite, the Khudai Khidmatgars decided to demand Independence for the Pakhtuns in a separate state of their own with a name of Pakhtunistan. However, the demand for Pakhtunistan was raised mainly for bargaining purposes and no real independence was visualized.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁹ Aziz Javed, *Sarhad Aur Quaid-i-Azam*, 183.

⁴⁶⁰ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pukhtunistan*, 207.

The Frontier Congress leadership was not in favor of new election or referendum in NWFP. But when it became unavoidable they boycotted the referendum because there were only two options, India or Pakistan in referendum. While Frontier Congress demanded the option of the referendum should be for Pakistan or Pakhtunistan. Frontier Congress boycott went in favor of Muslim League in NWFP.⁴⁶¹ The polling for referendum began on 6 July 1947 and ended about ten days later outwardly the Frontier Congress maintained its defiant attitude to the last and the Pakhtunistan campaign continued. On 5 July in Peshawar addressing in a meeting Dr. Khan Sahib said that "this is an hour of life and death in the history of Pakhtun race. If the public remains united disciplined and organized, their future will be bright and no power can prevent them from obtaining their cherished goal of Pakhtunistan".⁴⁶²

"Pakhtunistan Day" was celebrated by Khudai Khidmatgars on 7 July 1947. Large crowd marched through Kissa Khwani Bazaar, Peshawar, shouting slogans about Pakhtunistan. Muslim League activities were concentrated on the referendum. Numerous meetings held in all districts of NWFP. The "Pathanistan" scheme was criticized as a political trick which had been started by Abdul Ghaffar Khan at the urge of Hindus. In the month of July, in Peshawar, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan asked the audience what should be the punishment for traitors to Muslim cause, and the audience replied "death".⁴⁶³

⁴⁶¹ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, 26.

⁴⁶² Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pukhtunistan*, 212.

⁴⁶³ North West Frontier Province police Abstractor Intelligence 15 July 1947 NDC, Acc No.S.407.

After announcement of the result of referendum it became clear that NWFP would be part of Pakistan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan continued the propaganda of Pakhtunistan even before and after independence. Meetings were held between Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah but they could not reach a consensus. Abdul Ghaffar took the formal oath of allegiance to Pakistan in the constituent assembly at Karachi in January 1948.⁴⁶⁴ He met Jinnah in Karachi and invited him to the Khudai Khidmatgar camp at Sardaryab during his intended visit to the NWFP, which Jinnah accepted. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah wrote that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was angry over any rapprochement between Jinnah and the Frontier Congress so when Jinnah visited the NWFP in April 1948, on Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's advice -- supported by the frontier bureaucracy -- Jinnah refused to go to Sardaryab, and invited Abdul Ghaffar Khan to meet him in Peshawar. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was formally invited to join the Muslim League, which he refused because the provincial Muslim League, according to him, was notorious and provincial leadership was corrupt.⁴⁶⁵

The Governor of NWFP reported Governor General of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah that Abdul Ghaffar Khan (AGK) and red-shirts were busy in making speeches and hoisting the Pakhtunistan flag in public meetings. He wrote the AGK was making propaganda that Pakistan government was not based on real Islam and not free of foreign interference and control.⁴⁶⁶ In the third week of May 1948, Abdul Ghaffar returned to the frontier province after attending the constituent assembly's session. He addressed a large

⁴⁶⁴ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 244.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Khalid bin Sayed, *Pakistan the formative phase 1857-1948*, 244.

gathering at Mardan. He said, "unite and act with determination and thus demolish the sandy walls which the leaders of Pakistan have built around them. He said "We cannot tolerate the present state of affairs any longer, gird up your loins and march towards your goal of freedom for the Pakhtuns, who have already made great sacrifices and suffered untold privations. We will not rest until we succeed in establishing Pakhtunistan-rule of the Pakhtuns, by the Pakhtuns, and for the Pakhtuns".⁴⁶⁷

Abdul Ghaffar Khan started extensive speaking tour from end of May 1948 and again and again hinted Pakhtunistan possibility. So on 15 June Abdul Ghafar Khan was arrested. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan at a press conference accused Abdul Ghaffar Khan of actively planning and formating open sedition against the State and he had been in touch with the Faqir of Ipi. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said his government wanted to take action against persons who were acting as fifth columnists.⁴⁶⁸

Pakhtunistan movement was not popular only in settled districts but also in tribes such as in Waziristan. It was initiated by the Faqir of Ipi (sponsored by Afghan government)⁴⁶⁹ among the Afridis the Sarishta Party adopted the cause of Pakhtunistan. In January 1950, the Faqir of Ipi was elected President of Pakhtunistan. In this capacity, he demanded Pakistani withdrawal from Pakhtun territory and also appealed to the United Nations for recognition.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁷ Erland Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, 233.

⁴⁶⁸ D.G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan Faith is a Battle*, 264.

⁴⁶⁹ Mirza Ali of Ipi (1997-1960) settled in the Tochi valley. Sana Haroon, *Frontier of Faith* (London: Hurst and company, 2007), 168.

⁴⁷⁰ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pukhtunistan*, 237.

Government of Afghanistan issued statements in favor of Pakhtunistan. Sardar Abdul Hameed Khan from Afghanistan going to New York (United Nations) stayed in Karachi on 21 August 1947 and said that “they are not satisfied with referendum and they are supporter of Pakhtunistan”.⁴⁷¹ In September 1947 Afghanistan was the only country which opposed Pakistan membership of the United Nation Organization on the basis that Pakhtun political aspirations in favor of independence (as represented by Abdul Ghaffar Khan) had not been addressed.⁴⁷²

James W. Spain wrote “the main source for “Pakhtunistan” is the Afghan government financially supported by Indian Government”.⁴⁷³ They persuaded tribesmen and in 1952, as many as 5,000 tribesmen mainly Afridis and Shinwaris tried to plan to hoist the Pakhtun flag near Jamrud Fort. A Lashkar of about the same size tried to cut the Peshawar-Kohat Road in December of the same year. They announced their purpose was to plant the flag on the banks of the Indus, under the leadership of Malik Wali Khan.⁴⁷⁴ The Afridis of Dara Adam Khel cooperated with the government of Pakistan and prevented the Lashkar from passing through their territory. Khwaja Shahabuddin, the Governor of the NWFP, took permission of the Central Government to use the airforce against the Lashkar, which was granted. Pakistan Air Force aircrafts hit the targets so perfectly that Lashkar dispersed immediately and they could not complete their plan. The

⁴⁷¹ Mohammad Shafi Sabir, *Quaid-i-Azam aur Sarhad*, 269 .

⁴⁷² Sana Haroon, *Frontier of Faith* (London: Hurst and Company, 2007), 188.

⁴⁷³ James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 240.

house of Wali Khan was razed to ground by the Air Force⁴⁷⁵, the timely action proved that rebellion could not compete the Pakistan forces.

It was a successful strategy of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's government against Pakhtunistan, otherwise there was a threat to the unity, solidarity and security of infant Pakistan.

Erland Janson wrote that Pakhtunistan movement in the tribal areas had little or nothing common with that of the settled districts except the name. Pakhtunistan movement did not constitut any threat to the integrity of Pakistan. It received its significance only because it was exploited by others. Outside Pakistan it was exploited by Afghanistan, India and Soviet Union which also financed it. Inside Pakistan it was exploited by those who wanted to create a sense of a national emergency notably Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan.⁴⁷⁶

Demand of Pakhtunistan was only a political propaganda of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his followers. Basically it was a conspiracy supported by the opponents of Pakistan (such as India and Afghanistan) to weaken Pakistan. It was need of time to crush those forces who were trying to break Pakistan, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan being a sincere leader successfully crushed Pakistan's against forces on the issue of Pakhtunistan.

⁴⁷⁵ Zahoor Ahmad Awan, *Khan-i-Azam*, 203.

⁴⁷⁶ Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pukhtunistan*, 238.

5.6 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Anti-Ahmadiya Movement (1953)

The Ahmadis (who are also known as Qadianis or Mirzais) are those who believe that Mirza Ghulam Ahmed (1835-1908) was a Prophet (Nabi) subservient to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). This belief was regarded as blasphemous by the Muslims who believe universally in finality of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The opposition of this belief had been old as it was founded in 1901.⁴⁷⁷

All religious parties and specially Ahrars Party was against the Ahmadis. When Chaudary Zafar Ullah Khan (a member of Qadiani sect) was nominated as Foreign Minister, religious parties opposed and declared him a non-Muslim. In Punjab in 1951, provisional election was won by Muslim League with support of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam and the Ahrars. Mian Mumtaz Daultana⁴⁷⁸ was elected as an unopposed Chief Minister.

The agitation against Qadianis was launched by Ahrars⁴⁷⁹ by their electoral deal with the Daultana Ministry provided a cover for activities and later on joined by various sections of the Ulema under the banner of All Parties Muslim Convention. They demanded of government that:

1. To declare the Qadiani a non-Muslim Minority.
2. Remove all Qadianis from top-ranking positions.

⁴⁷⁷ Hamid Yusuf, Pakistan: *A Study of political Development 1947-97* (Lahore: The Academy, 1998), 51.

⁴⁷⁸ Mian Mumtaz Daultana was the second Chief Minister of Punjab from 1951-1983. He was dismissed by Ghulam Muhammad after the Lahore riots. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 491.

⁴⁷⁹ Ahrar's had opposed the creation of Pakistan. Now they are seeking to restore a public image marred by their outspoken opposition to the Pakistan demand once a time they described Quaid-e-Azam as Kafir-e-Azam. Ayesha Jaleel, *The State of Martial Rule*, 152.

3. To remove Chaudary Zafar Ullah from the post of Foreign Ministry.

The trouble was started from Punjab but at the same time erupted in Karachi on May 18th, 1952 when foreign minister Zafar Ullah Khan⁴⁸⁰ (a member of Qadiani Sect) addressed a meeting of the Karachi Ahmadiya Association on the topic of "Islam is a live Religion". The meeting was disturbed by a mob of 4,000 persons who were lathi-charged and tear-gassed and order was restored after using a good deal of force.⁴⁸¹ The issue was not important but Ulema and even modernists view this with equanimity and used the anti-Qadiani agitation as a handy and convenient tool against present government.

The Qadiani issue was cropped up in the wake of an aggressive missionary programme of the Ahmadiya community. Riaz Ahmed wrote that speeches of head of the Ahmadiya community delivered since the establishment of Pakistan during the early fifties it indicated to convert the whole of Pakistan to Ahmadiya doctrine.⁴⁸²

This was the time when Constituent Assembly was trying to make constitution and Basic Principle Committee (BPC which was assign the task of present report for constitution) presented its report to the Assembly on 22 December 1952.⁴⁸³ Ulema were not satisfied because their point of view was that government was not interested in

⁴⁸⁰ Zafar Ullah Khan (1893-1985) was a Pakistani politician, diplomat, international jurist, and scholar of the Ahmadiya Community. He was first Foreign Minister of Pakistan and he represented Pakistan at the United Nations. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 634.

⁴⁸¹ Inamur Rehman, *Public Opinion and Political Development in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 21.

⁴⁸² Riaz Ahmad, *Constitutional and Political Development in Pakistan 1951-54*, 25.

⁴⁸³ Inamur Rehman, *Public Opinion and Political Development in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 30.

establishment of an Islamic State.⁴⁸⁴ The modernist view was that Khawaja Nazimuddin, Prime Minister of Pakistan at that time who had inclination toward religion, was trying to make constitution too much Islamic.⁴⁸⁵ The members of the BPC from Punjab were dissatisfied on principle of parity introduced in federal provision. Those all dissatisfied groups got together and used Qadianis' issue to weaken the government. These were different causes due to which Ulema formed action committee by setting up All Pakistan Religious Parties and presented their demands to Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin on 21 January 1953. They gave an ultimatum of one month, otherwise direct action was planned to begin on the 27 of February 1953. Many others also supported them. Government did not accept their demands. As a result, in the Punjab more than 55,000 volunteers were enrolled to protest against government.⁴⁸⁶

A group of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's⁴⁸⁷ followers based in Lahore and Ahmadis in other area of Punjab were targets of Anti-Ahmadiya sentiments. Their properties were burnt and looted, they were murdered. Mass demonstrations against the Ahmadis began, the government and the police interrupted normal life in Lahore and other towns in Punjab by the action committee of ulema and many others who were not satisfied with the government. The law and order was disturbed. The province of Punjab went up in flames. The disturbances were growing day by day and condition become alarming. Chief Minister of Punjab Mumtaz Daultana who came in with the support of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-

⁴⁸⁴ Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Development 1947-97*, 51.

⁴⁸⁵ Inamur Rehman, *Public Opinion and Political Development in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 20.

⁴⁸⁶ Keith Callard, *Pakistan: A Political study* (London: George Allen and Unwin LTD, 1957), 205.

⁴⁸⁷ Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908) was the founder of the Ahmadiya Community in India. He claimed to be a Prophet after Muhammad (PBUH). Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 695.

Islam and Ahrars was not playing active role to the control situation. He switched the agitation toward Central Government to the discomfiture of Khawaja Nazimuddin. A political clash between the Punjab leadership and the Central Government of Nazimuddin cast its shadow over the whole country. The Central Cabinet met at 2.00 a.m. of the 27 February 1953. The governor of Sindh, the governor and the Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan of the frontier province, the deputy chief of staff and police officials attended and decided to arrest the leaders of the agitation and to ban certain inflammatory newspapers in NWFP.⁴⁸⁸ Anti-Ahmadiya movement was limited only to Hazara district in NWFP. A meeting was held on 21 and 22 August 1952 in Shankiari, Presided by Maulana Ghos Hazarvi and other religious leaders, which was addressed by Maulana Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari and Maulana Abdul Hannan. They passed resolution that there should be ban on Ahmadiya literature, and Ahmadis/Qadyanis should be not allowed to membership of Muslim League.

To maintain peace and order Frontier Provincial Government made special arrangement. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan requested people not to follow those who wanted to use religion to kill innocent people. On 23 March 1953 in Public meeting in Oghai he requested to leave this issue for solution on Central Government. Abdul Qaiyum Khan used a technique to control this issue whenever he knew about any anti-Ahmadiya procession or meeting he used to come and attend that and raise slogan against Ahmadis and then request masses to disperse peacefully.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁸ Munir Report (Lahore: Government Printing, 1954), 77. And Also http://www.thepersecution.org/dl/report_1953.pdf

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan handled the situation tactfully and did not allow to provoke the emotions of masses who could easily be manipulated on the issue of religion. Pakistan was newly established state at that time was passing through very crucial stage and it could not bear agitation at infant stage. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's timely action to ban inflammatory newspapers and requested people of NWFP to behave peacefully and to leave this issue for solution to Central Government of Pakistan brought effective result in NWFP. NWFP remained stable during this time when Martial law was imposed in Punjab to control law and order situation provoked by Qadyanis issue.

5.7 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and One Unit (1954)

The One Unit issue was almost as old as Pakistan itself — unification of the western provinces of Pakistan into One Unit to enable the unified province to speak with one voice vis-a vis the other unit, East Pakistan. From 8th March 1954 to 11 March provincial elections were held in East Bengal resulting in an overwhelming victory for United Front (Jugto Front Party), and defeat of Muslim League.⁴⁹⁰ In view of these election results East Bengal had appeared as one complete entity in itself but West Pakistan remained divided as before. Till now the constitutional draft based on the report of Basic Principles Committee was not adopted. So viewing this situation, politicians of Punjab presented idea of "One Unit" to merge all provinces of West Pakistan and declare them as One Unit.

In the meeting of 23 July 1954 of Constitutional Assembly of Pakistan, the feasibility of making the Western wing of Pakistan into One Unit came under discussion. This proposal was based on the argument that since West Pakistan was one and economic unit it was highly desirable that it should also become one administrative unit. It was likely to solve the constitutional problem and would eliminate provincialism and make Pakistan strong. It was opposed by Abdul Sattar Pirzada, the Chief Minister of Sindh, the Bengali members of the sub-committee led by Khawaja Nazimuddin, Nurul Amin and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan.⁴⁹¹ They were opposing One Unit scheme by giving arguments that disadvantage of this scheme would be strengthening provincial feelings. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan declared strongly that people of the Frontier were not in favor of such a scheme.⁴⁹²

Next day on 24 July 1954 for the allocation of powers, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, the Punjab Chief Minister at that time, presented the "zonal federation scheme" as an alternative to the one unit idea. This scheme provided that each province should have ten members from each zone in the zonal legislatures. Each of these zones was to have a governor who was to be sub-ordinate to the Federal Government.⁴⁹³ The Zonal set up would mean a weak centre. Malik Firoz Khan Noon was demanding for his zonal federation scheme and demanded more powers for the provinces and less for the center. But it was strongly opposed by the section of important non-Punjabi Muslim Leaguers

⁴⁹¹ Rafiq Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 159.

⁴⁹² Bina Ahmed, *Constitutional and Political development in Pakistan 1947-1971*, 11.

such as Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Abdul Sattar Pirzada and Khawaja Nazimuddin.⁴⁹⁴

They said that the proposal for a zonal federation at that stage would only delay constitution-making and therefore, it was totally unacceptable. All of them including Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan pleaded for a strong center. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in his speech in Constituent Assembly said that Pakistan was built on the basis of autonomous provinces and those autonomous provinces have surrendered certain powers to the Center and if any changes were to be introduced in the structure of provincial autonomy the people of the Units in Pakistan must be consulted. There must be a referendum and it was only with the approval of the people that necessary changes could be brought about.⁴⁹⁵ He asserted again that people of all the units must be consulted and unless they gave a verdict in favor of One Unit or any change in the present setup, they were not going to accept any such changes.⁴⁹⁶

In an interview Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said that "I became member of a federal cabinet at that time when there was not any issue of establishment of One Unit. Later on, a proposal was discussed to unite all western provinces of Pakistan and give name of West Pakistan. Then I suggested that if by using pressure and force to establish One Unit, its result would be disastrous and if province wanted to join by their own will then this plan would be appreciated. I delivered speech in central assembly that One Unit should not be established by using might and coercion". Then I went to NWFP and there

⁴⁹⁴ Inumur Rehman, *Public Opinion and Political Development in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 76.

⁴⁹⁵ The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Vol.XVI 15 September 1954 .364.

I suggested members of Assembly that they do not cast vote under any retrain and pressure for One Unit. So, no one can say that I supported One Unit.⁴⁹⁷

The One Unit scheme was finally rejected and the alternative of a zonal federation plan was also vehemently opposed. Both proposals were presented by Punjabi politicians intended to prevent Bengali domination at the Center.

On 21 September 1954, the Constituent Assembly finally adopted the BPC report. The new constitution draft was sent for printing on 15 October 1954 and the Prime Minister announced that on 25 December the new constitution would be enforced or promulgated.⁴⁹⁸ The Governor General (Ghulam Muhammad) dissolved the Constituent Assembly on 24 October 1954 and announced an end to what he described as "parliamentary bickering". He said that the Constituent Assembly had lost the confidence of the people and could no longer function.⁴⁹⁹ New cabinet was formed. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and seven other ministers were not included from the old cabinet. They were given punishment for opposing One Unit. After a month, the Central Government decided to push merger the plan again. Prime Minister (Mohammad Ali Bogra) announced a scheme for the formation of One Unit on 22 November 1954. The new province with the name of West Pakistan came into existence on 14 October 1955. It comprised Governors and chief commissioner's provinces and princely states of the

western wing. Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani⁵⁰⁰ took oath of office as Governor of West Pakistan and Dr. Khan as Chief Minister.⁵⁰¹

The roots of the 'One Unit' scheme laid in ill-founded fear of Bengali domination who did have a wide margin of numerical majority, were economically weak and without control over any important levels of state power. This scheme was seriously taken up by the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad, Interior Minister Iskander Mirza and then Commandant in Chief (C-in-C) of Armed Forces General Mohammad Ayub Khan with the cooperation of some politician particularly from Punjab. When once Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was asked a question about One Unit he replied that "One Unit will stay if people sincerely wish it to stay. Nonetheless, he considered that the West Pakistan Government had not done a single act to improve the administration as was promised in One Unit Scheme.⁵⁰²

One Unit scheme, instead of achieving national integration, sowed the seeds of alienation particularly between Punjab and the smaller provinces. Representatives of small units started demand to undo the One Unit. At the end of 1957, when general election was expected in the country in March 1958, National Awami Party of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani demand replacement of the One Unit Scheme by a zonal federation.⁵⁰³ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan commented that it was not in the interest of the country to undo the One Unit at this stage because such a step would delay the

⁵⁰⁰ Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani (1905-1981) was a politician. He served as Governor of Punjab from 1954-1955. In 1955 he became the first Governor of West Pakistan. Sayed Qasim Mahmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanica*, 491

forthcoming elections. He emphasized the need for holding general elections so that it could be safely left to the new representatives of the people to decide the shape of the things to come.⁵⁰⁴ In 1958, when general election was expected Republican Party made alliance with other parties to undo the One Unit at this stage Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan criticized them by saying those were tactics to postpone general election and they wanted to disintegrate Pakistan.⁵⁰⁵

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was not in favor of formation of One Unit Scheme because he considered it was not beneficial for small provinces. Small provinces like NWFP would not get their due share and Punjab would dominate in form of One Unit in West Pakistan and history proved it happened later. He was not included in the second Constituent Assembly because he was punished for his opposition of One Unit bill but when One Unit was formed he emphasized to conduct the election to choose public representative, then they would decide whether One Unit was desired or not.

5.8. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Electorate System of Pakistan

Separate Electorate system was introduced in 1909 by the Minto- Morley Reforms for Muslims on the request of Muslim leadership in Simla Deputation. It was recognized by Hindus in 1916 in Lucknow Pact⁵⁰⁶ and by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919 and further extended by the Government of India Act of 1935. All the

elections to local bodies and legislative council from 1909 to 1946 were held on the basis of separate electorate system in sub-continent.⁵⁰⁷

After Independence of Pakistan during formation of constitution a question was appeared to the Constituent Assembly what kind of electorate system should be adopted for Pakistan (in a Muslim majority state). All the non-Muslim members of the East Pakistan Legislative Assembly demanded joint electorate preferably without any reservation of seats.⁵⁰⁸ East Pakistan with its 25 percent Hindu population was from the very beginning, inclined to the system of a joint electorate due to its fear that under separate electorates and with parity as the basis of inter-wing representation at the Centre, the Bengali would be reduced to a permanent minority in the Central Parliament.⁵⁰⁹ So the form of electorate was debated many times but could not reach consensus.

The second Constituent Assembly had failed to achieve a consensus on the separate versus joint electorate issue during constitution formation process in 1956. It was becoming cause of delay of constitution making, so preferred to leave this issue for further legislation. Most of political parties of East Pakistan Awami League, Congress and Hindu community (who were 25 percent of the total population of East Pakistan) were in favor of joint electorate.⁵¹⁰ While Muslim League and Jamat-i-Islami demanded for a system of separate electorate on the basis of giving following argument that the ideology of Pakistan based on 'Two Nation' theory which established the cardinal principle of separate electorate. Such a system would ensure the protection and adequate representation of minorities in national affairs accordi

The Muslims had had a bitter taste of a joint electorate in pre-partition India and now they must not subject the minorities in Pakistan to the disadvantages of the same system. If non- Muslims participated in joint elections (as at that time was lucidly visualized) the fear factor was that, not only Islam being the only link between two parties but also those non-Muslims might pass through the higher rank Muslim parties and over through the ideology of Pakistan.

In East Pakistan Hindus were very sound (economically, socially and educationally) at that time, though they were in very small numbers however Muslims were living in very miserable condition. So, the joint electorate system was in their interest because they could easily present their mundane interest by exploiting these Muslims their own interest. The supporters of joint electorate argued that the joint electorate system will help national integration, would solemnire pledges given by Jinnah to the minorities on various occasions. In the system of separate electorate, with the exclusion of 25 percent non-Muslims (mainly the Hindu in East Pakistan), and with parity representation between the two wings of the country, the Bengali Muslims would be reduced to a permanent minority vis-à-vis West Pakistan.⁵¹¹

The situation in West Pakistan Assembly was totally different, they were demanding separate electorates on 9 October 1956, Iskander Mirza President of Pakistan, approved recommendation of joint electorates for East Pakistan and separate electorate for West Pakistan. On 10 October, the electorate amendment act recommended separate

National Assembly by forty eight to nineteen votes.⁵¹² Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, as all other leaders of Muslim League, declared it to be against the basic ideology of Pakistan and said the Muslim League would not take part until this black Law, was abrogated.⁵¹³

In April 1957, Hussain Shahid Suharwardy⁵¹⁴ who was head of coalition Government (Awami League and The Republican Party) persuaded the Republicans to change their decision on separate electorates for West Pakistan, and joint electorates to be enacted for both wings of country. Muslim League and Jamat-i-Islami, protested against this, but their protest was not taken seriously by ruling Government.⁵¹⁵ The bill was passed ultimately paved the way for the election commission to make preparation for the general elections to be held on the basis of universal franchise in 1958.

The electorate issue was brought up again by the next coalition led by the Muslim League and Republican under the premiership of I.I Chundigar⁵¹⁶, with the objective of reintroducing separate electorates. But all efforts were failed because supporter of joint electorate felt that separate electorates would put them at disadvantages in fighting elections. In East Pakistan it was generally felt that with separate electorate system in parity system the whole of East Pakistan's population would suffer in comparisons with West Pakistan. So Muslim League could not bring amendment in electoral bill and resigned on 16 December 1957, a next coallation Government was formed headed by

Feroz Khan Noon. And the basis of coallation was to retain the system of joint electorates for the coming general elections of 1958.⁵¹⁷

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan as a president of Pakistan Muslim League said that the protagonists of one nation theory were trying to mislead the people by saying that the Hindus and the Muslims belonged to the same nation. It was a wrong conception because Pakistan was achieved on the basis of the Two Nation Theory; otherwise there would have been no necessity for a separate homeland for Muslims alone.⁵¹⁸ He enlightened the people on the dangerous consequences of the joint electorate system.⁵¹⁹ He said that the Awami League and the Republican Party were directly responsible for harming the basic ideology of Pakistan by introducing the system of joint electorate in the country. He added that Pandit Nehru would be right in making a claim on Kashmir if Suharwardy's one nation theory was taken as genuine in Pakistan. He declared joint electorate was a direct threat to the existence of Pakistan.⁵²⁰

After the promulgation of 1956 constitution, everyone was expecting to conduct elections but for one reason or another, the elections continued to be postponed, first time general election was scheduled for March 1958, but it was postponed to November 1959, and then again to February 1958⁵²¹ and one cause of delay was the controversy on separate versus joint electorate.

On 27 May 1958, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said people wanted to bring a peaceful revolution in the country through the election. The ruling parties had done a

great injustice to the Muslims of Pakistan by adopting the system of joint electorate. He stated' "we call upon the government to undo this sinister system of joint electorate. The government will have to bow before the public opinion this issue if it does not, then we will force it to accept this basic demand of the Muslims".⁵²²

President Iskander Mirza disliked democracy; he was in favor of controlled democracy. Another fear he had that after election new representative would not select him as president. So, for delaying elections different tactics were used. One of them was to give option to conduct referendum on issue of separate versus joint electorate. The Muslim League President Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan emphasized that the Muslim League stood for early elections in November, that to change that date may endanger its holding for the next five or seven years and that the demand then for a referendum on the electorate issue was nothing but a trick to postpone the election.⁵²³

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was not in favor of further delay of general election. He said we want the election at the earliest opportunity on the basis of separate electorate. He said that considering the decision to replace separate electorate by joint poll was a major one. It was fit and proper that a referendum on the issue should have been held then.⁵²⁴ He was not willing for referendum at that juncture, when election were very near. Pakistan was an ideological state and through separate electorate system wanted to safeguard the separate nationhood of the Muslim. Idea of one-nation was against the ideology of Pakistan.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan considered joint electorate was subtle device to restore Hindu dominance. In East Pakistan Muslims were already weak and in poor condition there. He reiterated again and again that once the Two-Nation Theory was abandoned and joint electorate conceded the rationale of Pakistan and India would disappear. Minorities could only get adequate representation in national affair through separate electorate system.

5.9 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and the Foreign policy of Pakistan

Foreign policy is pronounced by president or prime minister of a country in which foreign ministry and the foreign office play a decisive role. The military establishment, scientists, public opinion and ideology also play an important role in formulation of foreign policy. Pakistan's first Minister of Foreign Affairs Mohammad Zafar Ullah Khan once said that national interests dictate foreign policy. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor General of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, had strong desire to co-operate and consult with Muslim nations. One of the main objectives of the Muslim League was to strengthen fraternal ties between Muslims of the Sub-continent and those of other part of the world.⁵²⁵

Soon after gaining its freedom, Pakistan faced numerous problems. The million of refugees pouring into the country from India were causing a strain on Pakistan's

Pakistan its due share of military stores. India entered its force to occupy Kashmir. It had also denied Pakistan its share in undivided India's assets. Pakistan needed time to organize its resources. During the early years it lacked funds to meet the operational expenses of the government. Those circumstances forced Pakistan to look for external support in term of economic and military assistance.⁵²⁶

There were two internal factors which played main role in formulation of Pakistan Foreign Policy; one was security threat from India because Pakistan and India had border clash from the day one and the second was economic development. Pakistan was looking for foreign assistance and loans in her struggle for survival. So confronting with threats of its existence, Pakistan sought the support and sympathy of other states near and far. Among those Muslims world was not so much in strong position to provide technical assistance. Britain lacked the power and the Soviet Union had no inclination to play an effective role for peace and both Britain and the Soviet Union were too weak because of war to provide economic assistance. The United States alone had the resources to provide assistance. So Pakistan started seeking the attention of the United States from the start⁵²⁷. Pakistan's first ambassador to the United States M. A. H. Isphahani⁵²⁸ requested the United States' government to give a loan of \$2 billion in October 1947, but the United

⁵²⁶ Rais Ahmad Khan, ed. *In search of peace and security Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relations* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), 16.

⁵²⁷ Rafi Raza, *Pakistan in Perspective 1947-1997*, 67.

⁵²⁸ Mirza Abol Husan Isphahani (1902-1981) was commonly known as M.A.H.Ispahani. Mr.Ispahani toured the United States as personal representative of Quaid-i-Azam.

States turned down Pakistan's request because the American policy makers at that time were not interested in playing any role in South Asia.

After the communist victory in China in 1949, and China's friendship with the Soviet Union, the United States took a fresh look at its Asian Policy, and realized strategic importance of Pakistan. So in February 1951, the United States provided \$600,000 for economic assistance to Pakistan.⁵²⁹ Since October 1952, the country had been facing an acute economic crisis and by March 1953 the situation had become so grave that condition of a near starvation was in existence. The pressure in the government to solve the economic problems was immense. The potentialities of the United States to help Pakistan in her development were great. Pakistan had already got economic assistance in 1951.⁵³⁰ So Pakistan appealed for supplies of wheat to avert a food crisis in 1953 to United States. The United States acted with unusual speed and supplied one million tons of wheat. America was then keen to find supporters to complete the Northern tier (Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq and Iran) of defense arrangement against the socialist bloc. In 1953, John Foster Dulles, the secretary of state of United States of America visited Pakistan and this was reciprocated by Ghulam Mohammed, Governor General of Pakistan, visited the United States for negotiation of arms aid. On 19 May 1954, a Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement was signed between Pakistan and the United States of America under which the USA undertook to provide the defence equipment to

⁵²⁹ Rais Ahmed Khan, *Forty Year of Pakistan-United States Relation*, 26.

Pakistan.⁵³¹ It was not only a defensive pact but also a programme for economic assistance to Pakistan.

On 8 September 1954, Pakistan joined the United States sponsored South East Asian Collective Defence Treaty. The other parties to this Treaty were Britain, France, Thailand, Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. The treaty interpreted as Pakistan's unqualified alignment with the West. India exploited Pakistan entry into the pacts and made propaganda to damage Pakistan's image in the socialist countries and the Third World. Russia and the People's Republic of China criticized Pak-US agreement⁵³². In 1955, Pakistan signed Baghdad Pact with Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Britain. Baghdad Pact stated that the members would cooperate for their security and defense.⁵³³

Pakistan was denounced by many Arab countries such as Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Jordan and Soviet Union and India for its alignment with the West.⁵³⁴ Baghdad Pact did cause embarrassment to Pakistan during the Suez Crisis of 1956 when Britain and France entered the war on the side of Israel against Egypt. Pakistan condemned the Israel attack on Egypt. But condemnation was not strong as Pakistan was member of the Pact. At public level there was a criticism on pro-western policy and it was demanded to adopt an independent and neutral foreign policy and condemnation of the military alliances that had cost Pakistan the sympathy of the majority Muslim

⁵³¹ Rafi Raza, *Pakistan in Perspective 1947-1997*, 73.

⁵³² Riaz Ahmed, *Constitutional and Political Development in Pakistan 1951-54*, 71.

⁵³³ Leo E. Rose and Noor A. Hussain, ed. *United States- Pakistan Forum: Relation with the Major Powers* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1987), 201.

⁵³⁴ Zarina Salamat, *Pakistan 1947-58: An Historical Review*, 215.

countries. Muslim League demanded Pakistan's withdrawal from the Commonwealth and appealed to the Government of Pakistan to secure the exclusion of Britain from the Baghdad Pact. In July 1956, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. The Pakistan government response to the West in its quarrel with a Muslim World was clearly conflicting with public opinion. A 'Suez Day' was observed at masses level in Pakistan to show protest against Western interference.⁵³⁵

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan described Pakistan's relationship with the Anglo-American bloc as "weak need"⁵³⁶. He added that Muslim countries have been disappointed by Pakistan stand on the Suez issue. Besides the Arab countries, other powers such as Spain, Greece, Russia and India supported Egypt and Pakistan which claim to be an Islamic Republic had supported the Dulles Plan for international control of the Suez Canal.⁵³⁷ Prime Minister Hussain Shahid Suharwardy was on an official visit to China when the Israel, French and British invaded Egypt. There were vehement protest meetings and demonstrations in Pakistan. An "Egypt Day" was observed and demanded Pakistan's withdrawal from the Commonwealth.⁵³⁸ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan had called upon the Government to quit the Commonwealth and expel Britain from the Baghdad Pact. Condemning the Anglo-French and Israeli aggression against Egypt, he criticized the Government's foreign policy and said, instead of aligning ourselves with these international gangsters, we should form a powerful bloc of Muslim countries.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁵ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, 209.

⁵³⁶ *Dawn* (Karachi), 15 July 1956., 1.

⁵³⁷ *Dawn* (Karachi) 3 September 1956.

⁵³⁸ Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan. 1947-1958*, 220.

⁵³⁹ *Dawn* (Karachi) 15 November 1956., 8.

Pakistan had joined the US-sponsored regional Pact to counter balance its powerful neighbor India and to get international support on Kashmir issue. But far from gaining an advantage it lost its influence. After signing pro-west Pacts USSR started supporting India and declared that they looked upon Kashmir as a part of India. Soviet leaders also supported Afghan demand for Pakhtunistan — an independent state in Pakistan's North West Province and Tribal area. At that time Muslim world was also not giving so much importance to Pakistan. From 1957, President Eisenhower of USA started paying more attention to cultivating relations with India than to courting Pakistan. He called the alliance with Pakistan a 'terrible error'. Neutral India was getting more aid from both the USA and USSR. Pakistan being an ally of United States was not getting as much support from United States. So opinion in Pakistan was deeply agitated. The Pakistani politicians were not in favor of Pakistan's participation in regional alliances,⁵⁴⁰ but the leadership of military and bureaucracy were in favor of it.

Abdul Qaiyum Khan said as President Pakistan Muslim League that Pakistan had unnecessarily earned the enmity of some countries because of her relationship with America and her membership of the Defense Pacts. The aid that America was giving to India was larger than the aid being given to Pakistan and it was with this aid that India was building up her Armed Force.⁵⁴¹

Once Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said that its duty of every Pakistani to support Arab nationalism for the formation of mighty confederation in North Africa and West

⁵⁴⁰ Rias Ahmed Khan, *In search of peace and security Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relation*, 35.

⁵⁴¹ Dawn (Karachi) 31 March 1958.

Asia. If this did not suit the British and the America, "we can say that we are very sorry".⁵⁴² He appreciated and eulogized President Nasser as "the shining star of Islam",⁵⁴³ and "one of the greatest sons of Islam".⁵⁴⁴ He said, 'Naseer had liberated Egypt, Sudan and the Suez Canal Zone and had United Egypt and Syria'. He gave much importance to Arabs Unity and the Islamic World as a whole.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was in favor of formation of confederation of Pakistan, Afghanistan Iran and Turkey⁵⁴⁵ to make a strong Muslim bloc to compete the Danger of Russia.⁵⁴⁶ Being Muslim League President, he stressed on the need for framing the Foreign Policy of Pakistan in a way that it could prove itself beneficial not only to Pakistan but also the entire Islamic World. He said that the wrong policies followed by the Pakistani Government had lowered the prestige of the country in the eyes of the world.⁵⁴⁷ He said that the Muslim League still regarded England and America as their friend but believed in friendship between equals, and would not allow any interference by foreigners in the internal affairs of Pakistan.⁵⁴⁸

Pakistan's pro-west foreign policy fulfilled the immediate defense and economic needs of the country and also got a short-lived support of the United States for the Kashmir issue. But Pakistan's relations with the socialist countries suffered an irreparable

⁵⁴² *Dawn* (Karachi) 22 July 1958.

⁵⁴³ *Dawn* (Karachi) 13 April 1958.

⁵⁴⁴ *Dawn* (Karachi) 7 June 1958.

⁵⁴⁵ *Dawn* (Karachi) 13 April 1958.

⁵⁴⁶ *Dawn* (Karachi) 7 June 1958.

⁵⁴⁷ *Dawn* (Karachi) 1 September 1958.

⁵⁴⁸ *Dawn* (Karachi) 2 September 1958.

loss and its image in the third world was damaged by the Indian propaganda. Pakistan's entry in the Baghdad Pact adversely affected Pakistan's relations with the Arab countries, and Pakistan could not fulfill its dream to bring Muslim states closer. On the whole, Pakistan's foreign policy could not solve Kashmir issue and made it more complicated and foreign aid did not bring any change in country's economy and resulted in permanent economic dependence on the West. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was in favor of relying on its own resources and making close relations with Islamic world and considers them as our own nation⁵⁴⁹. And if it necessary to establish relations with British and United States it should be on equal level not as subservient.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan had strong desire to unite and strengthen Muslim world. Time to time he gave statements for formation of confederation of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran as they were united in Islamic bond. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan did not consider England and USA Pakistan's friends. Pakistan's independence and sovereignty mattered a lot for him and he condemned foreign interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. In his opinion there was no harm to make friendship with England and USA if they treated Pakistan at equal level not as ignominiousness and if they did not interfere in Pakistan's and Muslim World's internal affairs.

⁵⁴⁹Dawn (Karachi) 13 April 1958.

CONCLUSION

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan occupied a place of eminence in the political history of NWFP and in Pakistan. He was one of the top ranking Muslim League leaders of last stage of freedom movement. He plunged into politics as a student of Islamia College Peshawar since the Khilafat days. Later on he joined AINC and remained at the important post of deputy leader of Congress party in the Central Legislative Assembly. On invitation of Quaid-i- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his realization that Hindus would not give due share to Muslim in undivided India, he resigned from AINC and joined AIML in August 1945.

Once Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan joined Muslim League then he sacrificed his time and energies for the cause of ML. He was active, energetic, a good orator and competent person. After joining ML, he became one of the important member of ML. After independence he was appointed as Chief Minister of NWFP where he served five and half years. Under his dynamic administration NWFP which was known as the Problem Province of the British India turn into Model Province of Pakistan. He introduced educational, medical, agricultural and industrial reforms in the Province. It is said that NWFP made rapid progress under his administration. After him it had not made such kind of development. His major contribution in province was establishment of Peshawar University and free primary and middle education for all, passing of Tenancy

Act, restitution of mortgage land Act and pre-emption bill Act. All those steps were taken for the well beings of common citizen of NWFP.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was not a landlord himself so his approach was different from many politician of that time. He was socialist in his thoughts as believed in circulation of money. He made clear that he had no intention to deprive Khans (landed gentry) to their holding but at the same time he wanted to raise living standard of poor and wanted to remove difference of haves and have nots. Many irrigation projects were introduced in the province to overcome the problem of storage of water in summer and rainy season, most famous are Warsak Dam, Kurram Garhi project, and Dargai power project. These projects proved beneficial for generation of electricity, not only for NWFP but also for other provinces of Pakistan. Even His opponents accepted and admitted his services for the province and said that he put the province on the path of development and rapid progress.

Though Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was a strong executive and an efficient administrator, he exploited his executive powers to suppress his political opponents. There are many precedents where he broke the laws to eliminate the opposition. He was bitterly criticized by opposition on his behaviour with Pir of Manki, Khudai Khidmatgar in Barbra incident and with many old Muslim Leaguers. But he justified himself whatever he did, for the welfare of the people, not for his personal sake, for the welfare of the country.

From April 1953 to October 1954 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan worked as minister of Industry, Food and Agriculture in the Central Cabinet. He was also member of First Constituent Assembly where he played a significant role in opposing One Unit and making amendment to the Governor General power to dismiss the cabinet and made him to accept the advice of his minister. He desired to implement true form of democracy in the country but he was punished and suffered when after the dissolution of Constituent Assembly and cabinet, he was not included in second Constituent Assembly.

From 1955-1958 he was not very active in mainstream of politics apparently but he was keen observer and was worried by many ills confronting to the country such as unsolved Kashmir problem, and almost desperate economic situation, the country's low prestige in foreign countries, increasing Indian aggressiveness as demonstrated by the border incidents, unsuccessful foreign policy and again and again delay of general election in country. In March 1958 he took oath of President of Pakistan Muslim League so a new life infused in the party. He considered that ML was only party which could safeguard the ideology of Pakistan and best interest of the people of Pakistan and could improve the country's economy. He utilized his all energies to make party popular and to increase its member enrolment. He visited almost all over Pakistan to make propaganda for ML. It is said that the government of that time had become afraid from his popularity and they enforced martial law and later he was arrested under EBDO for two years (1958-1961).

This research brings forth that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan's strong administrative control on government machinery and the active participation and role in Constituent Assembly brought fruits not only in socio-economic development in NWFP but also in Pakistan.

APPENDIX.1



Royal Hotel
Lucknow. U.P.
16.8.45

Respected Zaid-e-azam:-

I am here on a professional visit. I expect to be here till 25/8, when I must leave for Peshawar, & hope to be here on 27/8.

I beg to communicate to you what I consider to be the most momentous decision of my life. This is the result of anxious heart-searching & hard thinking for days on end.

I have decided to join the Muslim League. I believe that the stand taken by you is absolutely correct, & that any Muslim who opposes you is betraying the Cause of Islam in India.

I am now awaiting your orders & will do as I am told.

Yours sincerely
Abdul Latif

Banarsi Lal
& H. L. A. (Contd.)

APPENDIX.2

Memorandum:

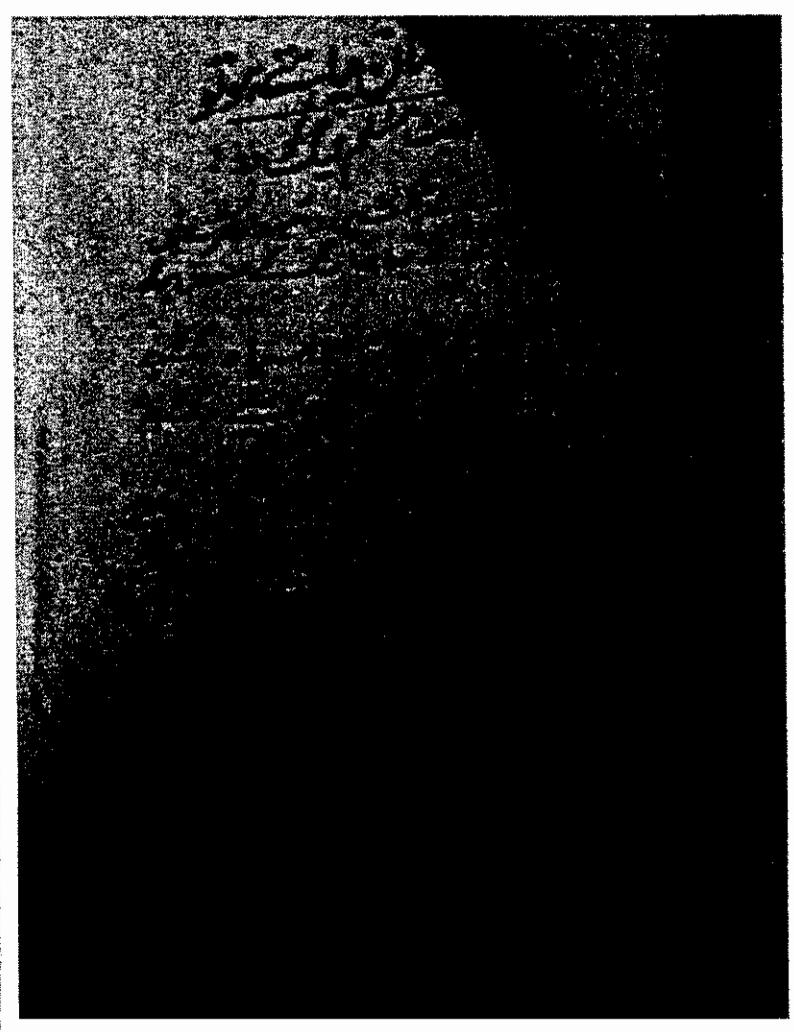
1. From 1945 after the assumption of power, by the Congress Party prepared itself actively to crush the Muslim league;
2. To win the elections malpractices were used by Congress such as:
 - a- Mr. Dhawan son in law of Mehr Chand Khanna was appointed as Election Officer despite the fact of the Muslim majority province;
 - b- Muslim League voters were left out deliberately while Congress bogus voters were enrolled;
 - c- Pro-Congress Presiding, Returning, Revising, and Polling Officers appointed;
 - d- Colored boxes were used for the first time made it easy to temper with the Ballot Boxes, which were found broken in several cases after the polling;
 - e- The distribution of essential commodities, the issue of Licenses, permits, depots, etc. was manipulated strictly in party interest;
 - f- In order to get the support of Pathans, arm licenses were freely issued to many people;
 - g- They had interfered in administration of justice, repeated and frequent abuse of the Frontier Crimes Regulations for party purposes;
 - h- Recruitment, promotions and transfer were made on party lines.
3. By these unfair means won the elections and formed their Ministry with the support of Hindu and Sikh members, who have been unjustly given a weightage of 25% in this Province, where they are only 5%.
4. Having firmly established themselves, the Congress Ministry launched an offensive against the Musalmans in general and Muslim League in particular, in compliance with the policy of all India policy of the Hindu Congress with a view to prevent the establishment of Pakistan.
5. Under these circumstances, the Provincial Muslim League met at Peshawar on 20th February 1947 and adopted the resolution demanding: an amicable and just

settlement about the converted girl; withdrawal of Hazara Public Safety Ordinance; withdrawal of all orders imposed under Section 22 F.C.R. in the Province and the cancellation of all steps taken under F.C.R.

6. They also referred to the Civil Dis-Obedience Movement which was enhanced by the most provocative speeches of Congress Ministers adding fuel to the fire. The statement of the British Prime Minister dated 20th February 1947 gave further impetus to the movement because "the people desired to join hands with the rest of Muslim India".
7. In view of the above facts, we therefore, make the following demands:
 - a- All our previous demands enumerated in the Resolution of 20th February 1947, stand and should be met in full;
 - b- The immediate application of Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935;
 - c- The Dissolution of the Legislature, in order to hold fresh elections, based on correctly and impartially prepared electoral rolls.

Syed Waqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), 146-148

APPENEX3



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