

From Pakhtūnistān to Khyber Pakhtūnkhwā: A Journey of Pakhtūn Nationalists from Separation to Integration

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ABSTRACT

In British India, after the 3rd June Plan, Pakhtūn nationalists of the North West Frontier Province demanded Pakhtūnistān (an independent nation state comprising of Pakhtūn dominant areas of British India). Their demand was accepted neither by the British nor the All India Muslim League or even their ally, the Indian National Congress. In protest, they boycotted the Referendum of July 1947 paving the way for the North West Frontier Province to become an integral part of Pakistan. Their demand for an independent Pakhtūnistān became a liability for them in Pakistan. By then, they had to prove their allegiance to Pakistan. In this connection, they modified their politics and passed through an evolutionary process. They struggled for renaming the North West Frontier Province, first, as Pakhtūnistān and, later on, as Pakhtūnkhwā with maximum provincial autonomy within the federation of Pakistan. Their political opponents were of the view that they were still struggling for their earlier stand for an independent Pakhtūnistān in the guise of their demand for renaming the province with maximum provincial

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autonomy. But, their political profile in Pakistan shows that they have been passed through a long journey from separation to integration. They got neither independent Pakhtūnistān nor renaming the North West Frontier Province as Pakhtūnistān or Pakhtūnkhwā within Pakistan. However, they remained content with the renaming of the North West Frontier Province as Khyber Pakhtūnkhwā with some autonomy under the 18th Amendment to the 1973-Constitution of Pakistan in April 2010. Hence, this paper focuses on Pakhtūn nationalists' journey from separation to integration.

Introduction

The North West Frontier Province (NWFP)¹ of British India, which is now the province of Khyber Pakhtūnkhwā (KP) of Pakistan, played an important role in the Freedom Movement. During the first half of the Twentieth Century, majority of the Pakhtūn nationalists of NWFP rose against the British rule from the platform of a socio-political organization known as the Khudā'ī Khidmatgārs. They made an alliance with the Indian National Congress (INC) and opposed the All India Muslim League's (AIML) demand of Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, Pakhtūn nationalists evolved their political 'theory and practice' and they emerged as 'provincial autonomists' demanding Pakistan to be a federation comprising a centre with less powers and federating units having maximum autonomy. Their demand was turned down by their political opponents who were in power in Pakistan and it proved to be a catalyst for their 'centrifugal ideas'. The newly born state of Pakistan was in the process of 'nation-formation' which adapted the

1 In 1901, Lord Curzon (the British Viceroy in India) separated the five settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan from the province of Punjab, joined them to the five agencies of Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan, and the South Waziristan, and named them all together as the North West Frontier Province. The British gave this name to the province because it was the last British province located within the extreme North-west of the British India. For more details; see Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Province, 1937-47* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.

approach of ‘carrot and stick’ to counter any ‘centrifugal ideas’. In this regard, the Pakhtūn nationalists were got involved in the state’s affairs. However, their involvement was controlled through a system of ‘check and balance’. At par, they were also incarcerated whenever the state deemed it necessary.²

NWFP and Its Inhabitants

NWFP is situated between the parallels 31°40' and 36°57' North latitude and 69°16' and 74°40' East longitude.³ It is one of the four provinces of Pakistan sharing its border with Afghanistan through Durand Line in the West. It is located on the highway of conquests from the North-West to India. It has been hunting ground for successive invaders including the Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Mauryans, the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians, the Kushanas, the White Huns, the Guptas, and the Hindu Shahiyas. Islam reached this area in the middle of 7th Century A.D. and Muslim rule established in this region by the end of 10th Century A.D. Thereafter till present, it is an area of Muslim majority and has mostly been under Muslim rule with brief interludes of Sikh rule (1818-1849) and British rule (1849-1947).⁴

Majority of the population of NWFP are ethnically *Pakhtūns*. They are also living in *Balōchistān*, Afghanistan, and across the globe.⁵ Their historical profile shows that their society has been homogeneous ethnically, linguistically,

2 For more details about the approach of ‘Carrot and Stick’ in regard to *Pakhtūn* nationalists, see Syed Minhajul Hassan, *The Dawn of New Era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Abdul Qaiyum Khan Chief Ministership 1947-1953* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2016), 20-22.

3 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 1.

4 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 3-5; D.C. Obhrai, *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province* (Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank, 1983), 1-9.

5 Afghanistan is the original ancient home country of *Pakhtūns*. They are highly exposed to migration. Since ancient times, they migrated and settled in different parts of the world including present Pakistan in search of their livelihood. Now a day, Karachi is their main business hub in Pakistan. For more details about *Pakhtūns*’ migration, see Robert Nichols, *A History of Pashtun Migration, 1775-2006* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

culturally, and even religiously for centuries. Their unwritten code of life called Pakhtūnwalī is a set of centuries' old cultural traditions which regulate the Pakhtūn society and provide a foundation for their ethno-nationalism. Majority of them are very sensitive about their ethnic and religious identities. First, being Pakhtūns, their sense of identity is based on ethnocentrism and secondly, being Muslims, it is based on pan-Islamism considering themselves as part of Muslim Ummah (global Muslim community) having devotion to Islam and sympathies for their co-religious community (Muslims) across the globe. As a whole, they perceive a lot of similarity between Pakhtūnwalī and Islam.⁶ Due to their sensitivity towards their ethno-religious identities, their religious and political leadership has been in a position to exploit them easily for the sake of any 'greater cause'. Sometimes, they are mobilized in the name of 'religion in danger' and, other times, by propagating 'threat to Pakhtūnwalī. Of course, socio-economic and political factors are also involved behind the whole phenomenon.

British Annexation of NWFP and Aftermath

British annexed Punjab by defeating Sikhs in the Third Anglo-Sikh War of 1849. Being annexed by Sikhs from Afghanistan during the early 19th Century, NWFP also became part of British India along with Punjab. In NWFP, British introduced 'indirect rule' via pro-British Khans (tribal elders). It was an effective tool to rule in NWFP till 1920s. During the first quarter of the 20th Century, happening of some events within and outside NWFP stirred up anti-British public sentiments. For example, discontent within tenants due to unjust British policies and differences between the pro-British and anti-British Khanite (elite) classes threatened the British indirect rule in NWFP.⁷ The educated middle-class and poor tenants formed a joint front against the British

6 Khwaja Muhammad Sāyal, "Pakhtūnkhwā", *Pakhtūn* (monthly), July 2009, 21 & 25.

7 Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India, 1937-47* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 6.

indirect rule. Furthermore, Khilafat Movement (1918)⁸ and the Hijrat Movement (1920)⁹ left everlasting impacts on *Pakhtūns* who considered these movements as a protest against the British occupation of Muslim India. At the same time, unlike other provinces, British did not introduce constitutional reforms in NWFP under Minto-Morley (1909) and Montagu-Chelmsford (1919) Reforms on security grounds. They feared any possible public outrage in NWFP as a result of decentralization of powers under constitutional reforms or any link between the anti-British elements in NWFP with nearby Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) who was a conventional contemporary rival of British in the region. In 1929, a Tajik bandit named Habibullah Kalkāni alias Bacha'i Saqqawū (son of a water carrier) dethroned Amir Aman Ullah Khan of Afghanistan. At that time, many Pakhtūns of NWFP were much concerned about the issues of Afghanistan both on religious as well as ethnic grounds. They considered Amir Aman Ullah Khan on Kabul's throne as their own strength in the rear against British. They were of firm belief that Amir Aman Ullah Khan's fall was British sponsored because Amir was anti-British who

8 A movement launched by the Indian Muslims in 1919 for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Caliphate of the Ottoman Turkey and to safeguard the Holy Places of the Muslims at the end of the First World War (1914-1918) in which the Ottoman Turkey sided with Germany against the British. For more details see Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement 1918-1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

9 A movement launched by the Indian Muslims in 1920 to migrate from British India to the nearby Muslim country of Afghanistan. Some of the Indian Muslim *'ulamā* gave a *fatwā* declaring India as *Dārul Harb* under British rule and asked the Indian Muslims to migrate to Afghanistan which they considered as *Dārul Aman*. The Afghan ruler Amir Aman Ullah Khan sealed his border and did not allow the Indian Muslims to migrate to Afghanistan as he did not want to enrage the British in India by allowing the Indian Muslims' migration to Afghanistan. It ended with great miseries for the Indian Muslims. For more details see, Abdul Rauf, "Hijrat Movement in the North West Frontier Province – A Historical Perspective", *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, October 1999; Minault, *The Khilafat Movement*; Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics*.

had fought the Third Anglo-Afghan War of 1919 against the British and won independence for Afghanistan by bringing an end to the British control over Afghanistan's foreign policy.¹⁰ All these developments further inflamed anti-British sentiments among Pakhtūns of NWFP.¹¹

Emergence of the Khan Brothers as Pakhtūn Nationalists, Formation of the *Khudā'ī Khidmatgārs*, and their Alliance with the Indian National Congress in NWFP

During the 1920s, Dr. Khan Sahib (1883-1958)¹² and his younger brother Abdul Gaffar Khan (1890-1988) became prominent Pakhtūn nationalist leaders in NWFP. They were from a village of Utmānz'ai in the present-day district Chārsaddah of NWFP. They became popular as 'Khan Brothers'. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as Bāchā Khan¹³, was striving for the social reformation of Pakhtūns

10 Stephen Alan Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province, 1901-1947* (New York: Columbia University Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1977), 82-83.

11 Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, 7.

12 It is assumed that his real name was Abdul Jabbar Khan. But, according to Begum Nasim Wali Khan (referring to *Bāchā Khān* in her personal interview to the author dated November 9, 2014); his real name was Khan Sahib. Being a medical practitioner by profession, he was popularly known as Dr. Khan Sahib. Initially, he was a Captain Doctor in the British Royal Army. Later on, he resigned from the British service and joined his younger brother, *Bāchā Khan*, in his struggle for the reformation of the *Pakhtūns*. Soon, he proved to be a seasoned politician and, during 1930s, he was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly and the NWFP's Legislative Assembly simultaneously. He also became Chief Minister of the NWFP thrice during 1937-1947. After the creation of Pakistan, he joined the Republican Party and served the nation in different ministerial positions. After imposition of One Unit Scheme in the West Pakistan (WP) in 1955, he became the first Chief Minister of WP in 1956. He was stabbed and assassinated on May 9, 1958 by an ex-*paṭwārī* from district *Miāṅwālī* of the Punjab who had, once, been dismissed from his job on the charges of corruption and was not reinstated despite his appeal. For more details about Dr. Khan Sahib, see Noor-ul-Islam, *Dr. Khan Sahib: A Political Study* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, Unpublished M. Phil Thesis, 2001).

13 In Pashto language, *Bāchā* means king. Hence, Bāchā Khān means the King Khan. Bāchā Khan was a socio-political reformer. For a detailed biography of Bāchā Khan, visit <http://www.baachakhantrust.org/AbdulGhaffarKhan.pdf>. Also see, Khan

through education as he was of the view that an educated, socially reformed, and a non-violent nation would be in a better position to meet the challenges of the time. For this purpose, he opened a chain of schools bearing the name of Āzād Islāmiyyah Madrissahs. The curriculum of these schools included English, mathematics, history, geography, sciences, and vocational subjects. British government in India was much suspicious about these schools and was not ready to recognize them. So, these schools were affiliated with Jāmi'ah Milliyyah¹⁴ in Delhi. Bāchā Khan established the first Madrissah of this chain in his native village Utmānz'ai in 1921. Being a social reformer, he also established the Anjuman-i-Islāhul Afāghinah¹⁵ in 1921 and the Zalmō Jirgah¹⁶ in 1929. He struggled for the socio-economic uplift of the Pakhtūns at the expense of the pro-British Khans. He also started to publish a journal under the title of *Pakhtūn* in

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zamā Zawand Awō' Jiddōjihad* [Pashto: My Life and Struggle] (Peshawar: Bāchā Khan Trust, 2012).

- 14 Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement*, p. 66. Literally, *Jāmi'ah Milliyyah* means National University. Basically, it was a college established in Delhi in 1920 by the Indian Muslim nationalists including Maūlānā Muhammad Ali Johar, Hakīm Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, and Dr. Zakir Hussain etc.
- 15 *Anjuman-i-Islāhul Afāghinah* was an organization for the reformation of Afghans (*Pakhtūns*). Its aim was propagation of Islam and imparting of national and religious education in Pashto language to the Muslim community. It was also to stop the evil customs of the Afghans' society which were against the laws of *Sharia't*. For more details, see Abdul Rauf, "Socio-Educational Reform Movements in N.W.F.P – A Case Study of Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, NIHCR, Islamabad, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, 2006 at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/Socio_educational_reforms_Abdul_Raur.pdf
- 16 *Zalmō Jirgah* was an organization established on September 1, 1929 on Mian Akbar Shah's (1899-1990) proposal, who was a companion of Bāchā Khan and member of the *Anjuman-i-Islāhul Afāghinah*. Its membership was open to every literate youth without any discrimination of caste, creed, or religion. Its official language was Pashto. Its main objectives were to bring harmony between Hindus and Muslims, and political awakening of the youth of NWFP. It also demanded complete independence of India from the British rule. For more details, see Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, "Bāchā Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India", *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 8, No. 2 at <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/studies/PDF-FILES/Shah-4new.pdf>

1928 which, soon, became the mouthpiece of his movement. Bāchā Khan's movement quickly converted into an organization and, in November 1929, it was named as Khudā'ī Khidmatgāri (KK). Basically, KK was a social organization and its members were called as Khudā'ī Khidmatgārs (Ks) who had to give up social evils like violence, retaliation, and revenge etc. which were predominant characteristics of Pakhtūn society. They had to serve humanity selflessly without any kind of discrimination. Bāchā Khan told Pakhtūns that they should join his organization not only for eradication of social evils from their society but also to forge unity among their ranks and files for the liberation of their homeland from the British.¹⁷

During the 1930s, a large number of Pakhtūns joined KK which emerged as an anti-British political party within no time. Soon, it collided with British in Qissah Khwāni Bāzār incident on 23 April 1930 in Peshawar resulting in massacre of many Ks.¹⁸ Since then, the Ks were under British repression in NWFP and were forced to seek support from any main stream political party at all India level like the All India Muslim League (AIML)¹⁹ or the Indian National Congress (INC).²⁰ The AIML was not in a position to support

17 *Pakhtūn* (Utmānz'ai), November 1929, 38 as quoted in Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 27.

18 *Pakhtūn* (Utmānz'ai), November 1929, 32.

19 The AIML was a main stream political party of British India established in December 1906. It was supporting the idea of Muslim Nationalism based on Two Nation Theory vis-à-vis the INC's idea of Composite Indian Nationalism based on geographical identity of the Indians in British India. Under its Two Nation Theory, the AIML propagated the idea that Muslims are not mere a community in India but a nation by all sorts of definition. Their nationhood is based on Islam which is not only a set of certain religious beliefs and rituals but a complete code of life. In some cases, it is not only different from the rest of Indian religions and communities but even opposite to them. Therefore, their case must be considered separately in India.

20 The INC was a mainstream anti-British Hindu dominant secular political party established in 1885 which was supporting the idea of Composite Indian Nationalism based on geographical identity of the Indians vis-à-vis the AIML's idea of Muslim nationalism based on the Two-Nation Theory. It claimed to be the sole representative party of all Indian communities without any religious and communal discrimination.

the KKs in their anti-British activities due to its internal dissension and its dominant pro-British elements.²¹ However, the INC came forward to join hands with the KKs as both shared a common political goal and history of cooperation. As a result, in August 1931, both signed a political alliance.²² After its alliance with the KKs, the INC emerged as a major political party of NWFP. It won overwhelming majority in NWFP in elections of 1937 and 1946 respectively.²³ Hence, the INC was in a position to claim its majority in NWFP which was predominantly a Muslim majority province.²⁴

Emergence of Pakhtūns' Separatism and their Demand of Pakhtūnistān

Earlier, Pakhtūns joined the INC which was struggling for liberation of a 'United India' from the British yoke. Their leader, Bāchā Khan was 'looking forward for their freedom within the framework of Indian freedom'. However, later developments during late 1940s changed their political outlook and they demanded Pakhtūnistān (a separate independent state comprising of Pakhtūn majority areas of British India).²⁵

Earlier, on March 23, 1940, the AIML demanded Pakistan (a separate independent state comprising of the Muslim majority areas of British India) on communal grounds.²⁶ The AIML advocated this idea on the basis of its fear of Hindu domination. Its president Quā'id-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) warned Pakhtūns that

21 M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958 Vol. I* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986), 28-29. By then, the AIML was struggling for the constitutional rights of Indian Muslims within British India and demand of 'complete independence' from British was not a part of its manifesto.

22 Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement*, 111-112.

23 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, Vol. I, 29.

24 Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, 6.

25 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, Vol. I, 29-30.

26 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, Vol. I, 14-16.

their opposition to the AIML might lead them to Hindu Raj.²⁷ However, Pakhtūns paid little attention to the idea of Pakistan (separation) as 'fear of Hindu domination was laughable' in NWFP.²⁸ Hence, the INC enjoyed KKs' support in NWFP and majority of Pakhtūns voted for it against the AIML in 1946-elections.²⁹

The KKs and the INC remained together in a political alliance in NWFP from August 1931 until September 1947. The first blow came to this alliance when central command of the INC agreed upon the 3rd June Plan of 1947 with British and the AIML without consulting even its Pakhtūn comrades in NWFP.³⁰ The Plan included division of the Indian sub-continent into a Muslim Majority State (Pakistan) and a Hindu Majority State (India). Earlier, the INC stood for the liberation of India from the British rule and opposed the division of India. It also rejected the AIML's idea of Pakistan on communal grounds. It assured the KKs time and again that it would not accept division of India at any cost.³¹ But, under the 3rd June Plan, the Indian subcontinent was to be divided into two separate states of India and Pakistan, and a referendum was to be held in NWFP to join either India or Pakistan. Hence, the KKs felt badly cheated by the INC's high command. Being a close friend of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi³², Bāchā Khan wrote a lengthy letter to him and complained as under:

27 *Dawn*, November 29, 1945.

28 Cunningham to Wavell, February 27, 1946, TP, VI, 1085-86 as quoted in Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 166.

29 Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, 18.

30 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 219.

31 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 219.

32 He was a western educated lawyer and a socio-political reformer who belonged to India. After completion of his education, like many other Indians, he went to South Africa in search of employment. He was badly affected by the apartheid laws prevailing there. He started struggle against the colonialism in South Africa in the beginning of 20th century. However, in 1915, he came back from South Africa to India and joined the INC. Soon he became the spirit behind the INC's movement against the British imperialism in India. He was shot dead in 1948 by a fanatic Hindu. For more details, see Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of*

We (Pakhtūns) stood by you and had undergone great sacrifices for attaining freedom but you have now deserted us and thrown us to the wolves.³³

All these developments compelled the KKs to end their alliance with the INC and reframe their politics on ethnical lines. On June 21, 1947, they gathered in Bannu and passed a resolution unanimously demanding inclusion of Pakhtūnistān (a separate independent nation state comprising the Pakhtūn dominant areas of the British India) as a third option along with Pakistan or India in the proposed options of the referendum in NWFP.³⁴ Their demand was accepted neither by the British and the AIML nor by the INC. As a protest, they boycotted the referendum, paving the way for inclusion of the NWFP in Pakistan on communal grounds.³⁵

After the 3rd June Plan, the AIML succeeded in getting support of clergy who inculcated a sense of 'Islam in danger' among the Pakhtūns during 1940s' communal riots happening within and outside NWFP.³⁶ A considerable chunk of the Pakhtūns reconsidered their earlier thinking on religious and communal grounds which eventually resulted in their support for Pakistan against India in the referendum of July 1947 in NWFP.³⁷ Instead of India, the referendum's real

Mahatma Gandhi (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); M. K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experience with the Truth*, trans. Mahadev Haribhai Desai, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1927).

33 Pyarelal, *Thrown to the Wolves* (Calcutta: Eastlight Book House, 1966), 96-97. Bāchā Khan used the term 'wolves' for the AIML which was to be the forthcoming ruling party within Pakistan.

34 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 222. For a detailed study of the issue of *Pakhtūnistān* and Referendum in NWFP, see Erland Janssen, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtūnistān: The Nationalist Movements in the North-West Frontier Province, 1937-1947* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1981).

35 For more details about the Referendum of 1947 in NWFP, see Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Bāchā Khān Awō Khudāī Khidmatgārī*, Vol.I, (Chārsaddah: Wali Bāgh, 1993), 488-94; *The Referendum in N.W.F.P. 1947: A Documentary Record* (Islamabad: National Documentation Center, 1996).

36 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 192-93 & 247.

37 Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement*, 398-99.

losers were the Pakhtūn nationalists (KKs) who had casted their lots with the INC. By then, they had to live and function in a state (Pakistan) which they opposed earlier and in which their political opponents were to be in power and they had to labour under the suspicion of disloyalty.³⁸ Basically, their leader (Bāchā Khān) was a straightforward social reformer and a non-violent freedom fighter. His basic aim was to liberate his people from social evils and British yoke in the broader context of India's freedom without division. He was unaware of intricacies of modern politics, especially Indian communal politics. He knew nothing of the tactics and manoeuvres of politics. In his alliance with the INC, he was so assured and focused on his aim that he paid no attention to change his views and impressions about the AIML and its leadership even at a stage when creation of Pakistan was unavoidable.³⁹

Emergence of Pakistan and the KKs

In February 1947, the AIML started Civil Disobedience Movement against the INC ministry in NWFP.⁴⁰ After the declaration of the results of the Referendum on July 20, 1947, the AIML in NWFP demanded the resignation or the dismissal of the Congress ministry. The Congress had two third majority (having support of 33 members out of total 50 members) in the Assembly under Dr. Khan Sahib as its Chief Minister who had no intention to resign. The only way was the dismissal of Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry undemocratically.⁴¹ But, the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten was opposed to the undemocratic dismissal of Dr. Khan Sahib's

38 Rittenberg, *The Independence Movement*, 395.

39 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, Vol. I, 30.

40 For more details about the AIML's civil disobedience movement against the Congress ministry in the NWFP, see Riaz Ahmad, "An Aspect of the Pakistan Movement: Muslim League's Civil Disobedience Movement against the NWFP Ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib (February 20 – June 4, 1947)", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXVIII, No.2 (2007), 7-30.

41 Lockhart to Mountbatten, July 20, 1947, TP, XII, 278 as quoted in *Shah, Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 228.

Ministry.⁴² On August 13, 1947, Dr. Khan Sahib met Cunningham (new Governor of NWFP), and assured him that he would neither declare Pakhtūnistān nor jeopardize the Pakistani government.⁴³

On August 14, 1947, Pakistan came into being having NWFP as one of its five provinces. With the emergence of Pakistan, the AIML assumed power in the new state, in which Quā'id-i-'Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah (AIML's President) became the first Governor General and Liaquat 'Ali Khan (1895-1951), who was AIML's General Secretary and Deputy Leader of the AIML's parliamentary party, formed the first ministry.⁴⁴ In December 1947, the AIML bifurcated into two organizations — one for Pakistan and the other for India. In Pakistan, the party was renamed as the Pakistan Muslim League (PML).⁴⁵

On August 15, 1947, the flag-hoisting ceremony of Pakistan was held at Peshawar. Dr. Khan Sahib and his colleagues did not attend the ceremony. The AIML charged them of insulting the Government of Pakistan by their intended absence from the official ceremony.⁴⁶ As a result, on August 21, 1947, Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry was dissolved⁴⁷ and, on the same day, Abdul Qayyum Khan (1901-1981) was invited to form a League's Ministry in the NWFP.⁴⁸ It was the beginning of Qayyumism⁴⁹ in NWFP at par with Khurōism⁵⁰ in Sindh.

42 Lockhart to Mountbatten, July 20, 1947, 228.

43 Lockhart to Mountbatten, July 20, 1947, 230.

44 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, Vol. I, 36.

45 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, Vol. I, 36-37.

46 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 230.

47 For more details, see M. Rafique Afzal, "Dismissal of the NWFP Congress Ministry, August 22, 1947", *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, July-December 2003, 1-22.

48 CID Diaries, August 23, 1947, F. No. 231, Special Branch Police, Directorate of Archives, Government of NWFP, Peshawar, 89.

49 Abdul Qayyum Khan was, once, comrade of the Kks and a die-hard Congress man. In 1945, he wrote a book titled as *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*. Being a staunch admirer of the Khan Brothers (Dr. Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan), he dedicated his book to them. In his book,

The KKs had to adapt to the current political scenario which had changed to their disadvantage. On September 3-4, 1947, the KKs held a meeting at their headquarters in Sardariyāb⁵¹ (Chārsaddah) and passed a resolution. The resolution narrated as under:

- a. The KKs regard Pakistan as their own country and pledge that they shall do their utmost to strengthen and safeguard its interest and make every sacrifice for the cause.
- b. The dismissal of the Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry and the setting up of Abdul Qayyum Ministry is undemocratic, but as our country is passing through a critical stage, the KKs shall take no step which might create difficulties in the way of Provincial or Central Government.

he severely criticized the British for their atrocities in India in general and NWFP in particular. He also maligned the AIML and Quā'id-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah for being tools in the hands of British. In 1946, he got differences with the INC over the party's denial of a ticket to him in the forthcoming elections. In protest, he left the party and joined the AIML. He maneuvered to widen the gulf between Quā'id-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah and Khan Brothers and, in return, got Jinnah's confidence against the KKs in NWFP. In 1947, after becoming the PML's Chief Minister in NWFP, he banned his own book and emerged as a symbol of terror for the Khan Brothers and the KKs. He always maligned them as anti-Pakistan by referring to their earlier stand for an independent Pakhtūnistān. During his rule in NWFP, firing on the KKs' gatherings and their arrests became a routine matter. The KKs always referred to his cruelty in the tragic incident of *Bābṛah* in 1948. He used all tactics of repression not only against the KKs but also his other political opponents like Aminul Hasanat (*Pīr Sāhib of Mānkī Sharīf*). Hence, in this paper, the term *Qayyumism* is referred to Abdul Qayyum Khan's atrocities against his opponents. For more details, see Abdul Qayyum Khan, *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1945); Hassan, *The Dawn of New Era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*.

50 It was the term used by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy in the second CAP referring to the repressive methods used against the opposition in Sind by Muhammad Ayub Khūrō (Muslim League's Chief Minister in Sind), especially his methods to obtain the legislative sanction for the One Unit Plan in Sind. For more details, see Khalid B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), 78; Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. I, 154.

51 *Sardariyāb* is a place on the bank of River Kabul in NWFP located on the way from Peshawar to *Chārsaddah*. The KKs established a camp there and made it as their headquarters.

- c. After the division of the country, the KKs severed their connections with the INC and, therefore, instead of the Tricolour, adopted the Red Flag as the symbol of their party.⁵²

On February 23, 1948, Bāchā Khan attended the first session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (CAP) in Karachi. He took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan and addressed the Assembly as under:

I confess that I was against the division of India. It was my selfless opinion that India should not be divided. But now, when it has occurred, our differences and disputes have also vanished. Now all the energies of my friends and mine will only be devoted to the service of our country. I want to make it clear to everyone that we want Pakistan to be a truly perfect Islamic state.⁵³

Apart from their declaration of allegiance to Pakistan, the KKs had to pay for their opposition to the AIML's idea of Pakistan during freedom movement in British India. After the creation of Pakistan, they had to prove their loyalty to Pakistan in a way which could be acceptable to Abdul Qayyum Khan (PML's new Chief Minister in NWFP).⁵⁴

Contrary to Abdul Qayyum Khan's whim, the KKs were emerging as an 'opposition' to the government within the political set up of the newly born Pakistan. Their leader (Bāchā Khan) delivered a public speech on March 23, 1948 and said:

My idea of Pakistan is that it should be an *Āzād* [free] Pakistan. It should not be under influence of a particular community or individual. Pakistan should be for its entire people; all should enjoy equally and there should be no exploitation by a handful of people. We want the Government of Pakistan to be in hands of its people.⁵⁵

Getting a negative response to his non-communal and democratic ideas from the ruling PML⁵⁶, Bāchā Khan met

52 D.G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Gaffar Khan: Faith is a Battle* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan for Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1967), 450-451; Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. I, 81.

53 Muhammad Faruq Qureshi, *Wali Khan Aowr Qarārdād-i-Pakistan* (Lahore: Maktabah'l Fikrō Dānish, 1987), 52.

54 Hassan, *The Dawn of New Era in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*.

55 Tendulkar, *Abdul Gaffar Khan*, 460-463.

56 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. I, 82.

Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, G. M. Syed, Abdul Majid Sindhi, and other like-minded nationalists to bring them on one platform to oppose the excesses of PML's government. They agreed upon the formation of a political party. On May 8, 1948, a meeting was convened at Karachi and formation of a political party named as 'Pakistan People's Party' was formally announced. Bāchā Khan and G. M. Syed were elected as its President and Secretary respectively. It was the first non-communal and constitutional opposition party in Pakistan. Its membership was open to all communities. Following were its objectives:

- i. Full autonomy for all "linguistic groups";
- ii. Stabilization and security of Pakistan as a union of Socialist republics drawing all its authority and sanction from the people; and
- iii. Cultural relations with the neighbouring states, particularly with the Indian Union.⁵⁷

Bāchā Khan extended his new party's programme to all provinces of Pakistan with the intention to get volunteers for his party. He also advised them to retain their separate identity. He himself toured NWFP to familiarize the people with the party programme. Within a month, on June 15, 1948, the PML's provincial government in NWFP arrested Bāchā Khan in district Kohat along with his son Abdul Wali Khan, Qazi Atta Ullah Khan (ex-education minister of the NWFP), and Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai. Bāchā Khan was alleged that he delivered 'anti-Quā'id-i-A'zam' and 'anti-Pakistan' speeches publicly.⁵⁸ To counter any public unrest in the province, on July 4, 1948, the NWFP government imposed 'The North-West Frontier Province Public Safety Ordinance, 1948'.⁵⁹ The provincial government frequently

57 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 81-83; Shah, *North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 81-82; Tendulkar, *Abdul Gaffar Khan*, 463-64.

58 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 83.

59 Public Record List II, Special Branch Police Department, *The North-West Frontier Province Public Safety Ordinance, 1948 (Serial No. 692, File No.8/14/20-Vol-I, 1948)*, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar.

used the Ordinance against its political rivals.⁶⁰ Exercise of this Ordinance reached at its climax on August 12, 1948 with the tragic incident of Bābṛah⁶¹ where the KKs were demonstrating against the arrest of Bāchā Khan and other leaders of the Pakistan People's Party. The police fired on them resulting in heavy casualties and mass arrest.⁶² Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, ex-leader of the PML, admitted that the Bābṛah firing of 1948 by the NWFP's provincial government on the KKs was worse than the Jaliyyāñwālā Bāgh firing of 1919 by the British government on Indians.⁶³ The arrest of the KKs and their leaders, and banning of their party removed the major opposition from the political scene⁶⁴, paving the way for further strengthening of Qayyumism.

New Version of Pakhtūnistān

Under the aforementioned circumstances, Bāchā Khan had to modify his version of Pakhtūnistān. In 1948, he delivered his first speech in the first CAP and redefined his demand of Pakhtūnistān as under:

...What does our Pathanistan mean, I will tell you just now? You see that the people inhabiting the Province are called Sindhis and the name of their country is Sind. Similarly, the Punjab and Bengal is the land of the Punjabis and Bengalis. In the same way there is the North West Frontier. We are one people and ours is a land. Within Pakistan we also want that mere mentioning of the name of the country should convey to the people that it is the land of Pakhtoons... Pathan is the name of a community and we will name the country as Pakhtoonistan...We want Pakhtoonistan and to see all the Pathans on this side of the Durand Line joined and united together in Pakhtoonistan...If you argue that Pakistan would be weakened by it then I would say that it is not so. Pakistan can never

60 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 65.

61 *Bābṛah* is a village in district *Chārsaddah* of NWFP.

62 For more details about the Bābṛah incident, see Abdul Abbas, "Da Bābṛē Pīkhah", *Pakhtūn* (Peshawar), August 2008, 6-14; Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Bāchā Khān Awō Khudāī Khidmatgārī*, Vol. II (Chārsaddah: Wali Bāgh, 1994), 120-50; Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 83; Tendulkar, *Abdul Gaffar Khan*, 466.

63 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 65.

64 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 63.

become weak by the creation of a separate political unit. On the other hand it would become stronger. Most of the difficulties are begotten by lack of confidence but when there is confidence the difficulties are resolved. Government is run on good faith and not on mistrust...⁶⁵

Bāchā Khan's commitment in the CAP illustrated that his post-independence stand for Pakhtūnistān was different from his pre-independence demand. Unlike his earlier demand for an independent Pakhtūnistān, it was simply renaming of the NWFP within the federation of Pakistan⁶⁶ which, thereafter, became a political agenda of Bāchā Khan and his followers. In 1954, Bāchā Khan retrieved his demand of Pakhtūnistān in the same CAP as under:

...we are five brothers in Pakistan. There is Bengal, there is Punjab, there is *Balōchistān*, there is Sindh and we ourselves make up fifth. Our four brothers have each a name; their country has a name of Bengal knows that it is the land of the Bengalis; whoever hears the name of the Punjab knows that it is the land of Punjabis; whoever hears the name of *Balōchistān* knows that it is the land of Balōchis; whoever hears the name of Sindh knows that it is the land of Sindhis. In the same way we too have a country of our own but it has no name of its own. No one can visualize our country, the country of Pathan, until it has an expressive name of its own. I would therefore say that our country too should also have a significant name by which it may be known that it is the land of Pathans. It is just this much and no more...⁶⁷

One Unit Scheme and the Perspective for *Pakhtūnistān*

On October 24, 1954, Malik Ghulam Muhammad (1895-1956), the then Governor General of Pakistan, dissolved the first CAP on the excuse of delaying of the constitution-making process. The main factors responsible for delaying the constitution making process were the differences among parliamentarians and politicians over different issues within as well as outside the first CAP. These differences prevailed not only among the parliamentarians and politicians hailing from the two distinct wings of Pakistan, the EP and the West

65 *Debates of Baacha Khan in Constituent Assembly of Pakistan* (Peshawar: Baacha Khan Research Center, n.d.), 8-9.

66 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 82.

67 *Debates of Baacha Khan*, 11.

Pakistan (WP)⁶⁸, but even within the provinces of the WP which led the country towards provincialism. Like the first CAP, the second CAP was also facing the problem of fixation of representation for the various units of Pakistan in the proposed federal legislature.⁶⁹ With this background, the central government proposed the One Unit Plan. Ayub Khan (the then Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army and Defence Minister) was its main architect who declared that the WP was destined to stand or fall as a whole.⁷⁰ He was of the view that the proposed One Unit Plan would bring uniform economic development within the country and would reduce not only provincialism but even administrative expenses by eliminating heavy burden of provincial administrations.⁷¹ Legislatively, the WP including the provinces i.e. Balōchistān, NWFP, Punjab, Sind, the tribal areas and the conceded states were to be merged into One Unit having a single provincial legislature.⁷² Administratively, it was to be sub-divided into sub-units with decentralized administration and each sub-unit had to embrace a racial group or groups with common economy, communications and potentiality for development in order to remove their prejudices against each other.⁷³ It was also proposed that the federation of Pakistan would be comprised of only two provinces, the EP and the WP, with their respective provincial legislatures having parity in the central legislature irrespective of their population.⁷⁴ It was declared that the One Unit Plan was to remove fear of domination of a unit by other and ensure regional susceptibilities of language and

68 Geographically, the EP and the WP were isolated from each other by some one thousand kilometer territory of India in between them.

69 Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009) 103.

70 Muhammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 187.

71 Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, 189.

72 Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 124.

73 Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, 187.

74 Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 124.

culture.⁷⁵ Therefore, Punjab, being the biggest unit comprising more than fifty percent of the total population of the WP, was to be asked to show large-heartedness, to make a sacrifice of its majority for the common good, and accept forty percent representation letting the other units to have representation in proportion to their population within the provincial legislature of the WP.⁷⁶ But, the disclosure of certain secret documents regarding the One Unit Plan exposed the 'Machiavellian strategy for integration of the WP in order to assure the Punjab's dominance in the WP as well as at the Center'.⁷⁷ Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana (1916-1995), ex-Chief Minister of the Punjab, was alleged for drafting the documents whose speech in the second CAP in support of the One Unit Plan presented the evidence that the allegation might be true.⁷⁸ The documents stated:

Punjab must be kept quiet. The folly of our friends must be checked. At a later stage I hope, an effective, intelligent Punjabi leadership will have been put in place both at the center and at Lahore [Proposed West Pakistan capital]...The Pakhtuns have electricity, *Balōchistān* has mineral wealth and Sind has vast agricultural lands. It is necessary that Punjab should benefit from the electricity in the Frontier. Exploitation of the mineral wealth of *Balōchistān* and the tribal territory will bring equality in common life.⁷⁹

Disclosure of these documents created strong opposition to the One Unit Plan not only within the provincial and states' legislatures and cabinets but even within the second CAP. In response, on March 27, 1955, the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad promulgated the Emergency Powers Ordinance IX of 1955 and assumed powers to make

75 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan* Vol. I, 155.

76 Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, 187-88.

77 Khalid B. Sayeed, "Collapse of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. XIII, no. 4 (Autumn 1959): 391 as quoted in Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan* Vol. I, 168.

78 Sayeed, "Collapse of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan".

79 Ahmad Salim, *Iskandar Mirza: Rise and Fall of a President* (Lahore: Gora Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1997), 210-11; Muhammad Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan, *Emergence of Bangladesh and Role of Awami League* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1982), 36.

provisions for framing the constitution of Pakistan including making a single province of the WP under the One Unit Plan. To his frustration, on April 13, 1955, the Chief Justice of Pakistan declared his act as *ultra vires* in famous Usef Patel's case.⁸⁰

Keeping in view the opposition to the One Unit Scheme, Ayub Khan was convinced that before bringing his plan into practical shape 'the existing provincial and state legislatures and cabinets would have to be done away with so as not to interfere with and impede the reorganization'.⁸¹ In this regard, coercive persuasion seems to have been used to get provincial legislative assemblies' endorsement of the One Unit Plan.⁸² Three provincial ministries of Feroz Khan Noon in the Punjab, Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan in NWFP, and Pirzada Abdus Sattar in Sind were dismissed by the central government in an arbitrary way.⁸³ In addition, the legislature of the state of Bahawalpur was also dismissed by the *Amīr* of the state and the Governor General declared that it was done with the approval of the central government. By January 1955, the central government had the consent of all units of the WP including the provinces of the Punjab, the Sind, the NWFP, the Balōchistān, the FATA, and all the conceded states to be merged into a unified province known as the WP under One Unit Plan.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, 'the vital principal of the parity between the EP and the WP was accepted by the EP based AL, which also obliged other parties to accept it'.⁸⁵ On September 30, 1955, the second CAP passed the bill of creating the province of the WP by merging 310,000 square miles into a single entity⁸⁶ 'by forty-

80 In Federal Court, Usef Patel and two others challenged the Governor General's declaration of 'Emergency' as unconstitutional. For more details, see Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 112-13.

81 Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, 188.

82 For more details see Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 153-55.

83 Khalid B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*, (New York: Praeger Publications, 1980), 42.

84 Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 124-25.

85 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 156.

86 Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 124.

three to thirteen votes'.⁸⁷ Soon after the creation of the province of the WP, a ministry of the seven members under Dr. Khan Sahib as the first Chief Minister of the WP was sworn in. Elections to the unified legislature of the WP were called, and the existing provincial assemblies of the WP were declared as the Electoral College for the proposed elections.⁸⁸

By joining the One Unit as its first Chief Minister, Dr. Khan Sahib (Bāchā Khan's elder brother) proved that, within a short period of eight years, he had given up not only his earlier stand for Pakhtūnistān but even supported the abolition of very existence of NWFP as a separate province and its merger into the WP. He was a seasoned politician and, by doing so, he got an opportunity to be in power at least for the time being.⁸⁹ Afghanistan protested against Pakistan over merger of Pakhtūn dominated NWFP in West Pakistan under One Unit. In response, Dr. Khan challenged that if Afghanistan allowed referendum in its Pakhtūn dominant areas on the question of joining Afghanistan or Pakistan, an overwhelming majority would opt for Pakistan.⁹⁰ All these developments were a great blow to the cause of Pakhtūnistān.

Contrary to Dr. Khan Sahib, Bāchā Khan and his followers, including his son Abdul Wali Khan, were of the view that the undemocratic imposition of the One Unit had darkened the perspective for Pakhtūnistān.⁹¹ They continued their redefined demand for Pakhtūnistān with fresh zeal in combination of their new demands of dissolution of the One Unit and grant of maximum provincial autonomy. They considered the One Unit as a mean of curtailing the regional autonomy and exploiting the resources of smaller provinces of the WP at the behest of the biggest region of Punjab

87 *Dawn*, October 01, 1955.

88 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan* Vol.I, 169.

89 Dr. Fakhr-ul-Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Political History (1901-1955)*, 338-39.

90 Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol.I, 156.

91 Khan, *Bāchā Khān Awō Khudāī Khidmatgār*, Vol. II, 253-73.

besides the fact that Punjab was given forty percent representation under the One Unit which was less than its actual population (exceeding fifty percent of the total population of the WP). Their fear of Punjab's domination was based on the fact that 'the One Unit System held out a promising future for the bureaucratic and military clique at the center. Punjab had majority share in those institutions and the regional nationalists took it as a systematic way to internal colonialism.⁹² To organize their activities more effectively, they joined other provincial autonomists in the Anti-One Unit Front which was a loose association of the KKs of Bāchā Khan and the 'Awāmi Muslim League (AML) of Pīr Sāhib of Mānkī Sharīf⁹³ from NWFP, the Warōr Pakhtūn of Abdus Samad Khan and the Astmān Gul (People's Party) of Prince Abdul Karim Khan (brother of the Khan of Qalāt) from Balōchistān, the Sind Awāmi Mahāz of G.M. Sayyid and the Hāri Committee of Haider Bakhsh Jato'ī from Sind, and the Azād Pakistan Party of Mian Ifthikhar-ud-Din and Mian Mahmūd Ali Qasūri from Punjab. As a whole, nothing came out of their opposition to the One Unit Plan.⁹⁴

Later on, the aforementioned six regional nationalist parties of the Anti-One Unit Front, excluding the AML of Pīr Sāhib of Mānkī Sharīf, formally merged to constitute the non-communal Pakistan Nationalist Party (PNP) in August 1956. Its main objective was dissolution of the One Unit in the WP.⁹⁵ Initially, the anti-One Unit movement was based only in the WP. Later on, it also extended to the EP after the formation of the Pakistan National 'Awāmi Party⁹⁶ (NAP) on July 25, 1957 by the merger of the PNP with Maūlāna Abdul

92 Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origin of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1999), 202.

93 In NWFP, Pīr Sāhib of Mānkī Sharīf was a staunch supporter of the PML. He got differences with Abdul Qayyum Khan and separated his faction from the PML under the name of 'Awāmi Muslim League. For more details, see Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. I, 63.

94 Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*, 169.

95 Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*, 197.

96 Its original name was the Pakistan National 'Awāmi Party which, later on, became popular as the National 'Awāmi Party.

Hamīd Bhashani's faction of the AL⁹⁷ and Ganatantri Dal (Democratic Party-hereafter DP).⁹⁸ Its main objectives were replacement of the One Unit with a sub-federation; introduction of land reforms; regional autonomy for both the EP and the WP; abrogation of the military pacts; and introduction of an independent foreign policy.⁹⁹ On September 17, 1957, the NAP remained successful by passing a resolution from the Provincial Assembly of the WP recommending abolition of the One Unit and reconstruction of the WP as a sub-federation having four provinces with full provincial autonomy.¹⁰⁰

Imposition of the One Unit in the WP was purely 'in a military fashion'¹⁰¹ rather than democratic one. It left everlasting effects on the political history of Pakistan.¹⁰²

97 Soon, after the death of Quā'id-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah on September 11, 1948, differences arose within the PML which led the party to division. In February 1950, the first faction separated from the PML under the name of the All Pakistan Awami Muslim League (APAML) which was led by Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy and Maūlāna Abdul Hamīd Bhāshāni in the EP. Another faction was the Jinnah Muslim League (JML) which separated from the party towards the end of 1950 and was led by Nawab Iftikhar Mamdot and Mian Abdul Bari in the WP. In January 1951, these two factions merged and formed a party with a lengthy name of the All Pakistan Jinnah 'Awāmi Muslim League (APJAML) to counter the PML as a joint front. Initially, APJAML emerged as a popular opposition both in the EP and the WP but, gradually, it lost its popularity in the EP and became confined only to the EP. With the passage of time, the words 'All Pakistan', 'Jinnah', and 'Muslim' were omitted from the name of the APJAML and it emerged as the 'Awāmi League (AL). In the EP, it won the popular support of the non-Muslims along with the Muslim population. Later on, like the PML, differences also emerged within the AL which divided it into two factions known as AL (Suharwardy Group) and AL (Bhāshāni Group). For further details, see Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan* Vol. I, 86-94.

98 Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*, 199-200.

99 Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*, 200. For further details also watch Abdul Wali Khan's Urdu speech on the formation and objectives of the NAP at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r6Ruw6Dj5xA>

100 Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*, 201.

101 One Unit Plan was General Ayub Khan's 'brain-child'. He himself admits that his mind gave birth to the idea of One Unit purely in 'military fashion'. For more details, see Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, 186-195.

102 For more details, see Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan* Vol. I, 152-56, 168-69, and 197-202.

Bāchā Khan and his followers considered the One Unit as the main hurdle in renaming NWFP as Pakhtūnistān, grant of provincial autonomy, and due share in the state affairs. They were of the view that imposition of the One Unit had given birth to unending issues between the centre and federating units of Pakistan.¹⁰³ They took the One Unit as a challenge and struggled for its dissolution. Opposition to the One Unit was not acceptable to the central government. According to Ayub Khan, the opposition to the One Unit Plan was more the creation of politicians than the real issue to deal with.¹⁰⁴ Having similarity in views with Ayub Khan, Iskandar Mirza considered the One Unit Plan as a steamroller. He declared:

One Unit is a steamroller. Have you seen a steamroller being stopped by small pebbles on a road...? None can stop the formation of West Pakistan's one unit. No doubts should be entertained in this connection...¹⁰⁵

He was of the view that the anti-One Unit provincial autonomists must quit Pakistan as they wanted complete dismemberment of Pakistan in the guise of their demand for greater provincial autonomy.¹⁰⁶ They were titled as 'traitors' and 'anti-Pakistan'.¹⁰⁷ Their leader, Bāchā Khan, was consecutively kept in detention or in exile. He was considered as a force having centrifugal political views. In his absence, his son Abdul Wali Khan led the NAP efficiently. Like his father, he also remained stuck to the redefined demand of renaming the NWFP as Pakhtūnistān and grant of maximum provincial autonomy within the federation of Pakistan.¹⁰⁸

103 Khan, *Bāchā Khān Awō Khudāī Khidmatgār*, Vol. II, 318-19.

104 Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, 187.

105 *Dawn*, February 24, 1955. For more details, see Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. I, 152-56.

106 Ahmad, *Iskandar Mirza*, 66 & 77.

107 For more details, see Pirzada, *The Politics of the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam*, 108-18; Zia Shahid, *Wali Khan Jawāb Daiḡ: Subay Kā Nayā Nām Yā 'Alihdagī Kā Ai'lān* (Lahore: Liberty Publishers, 1998), passim.

108 Khan, *Bāchā Khān Awō Khudāī Khidmatgār*, Vol. II, 339.

Split in the NAP over the Issue of Pakhtūnistān

Under Abdul Wali Khan, a significant development took place within the NAP over the issue of Pakhtūnistān. In Balōchistān, a prominent former Khudā'ī Khidmatgār and Pakhtūn leader of the NAP, Abd-us-Samad Khan Achakzai (also known as Balōchistāni Gandhi) demanded that, after dissolution of the One Unit, a province named as Pakhtūnistān should be created on ethnic lines by merging the Pakhtūn-dominated areas of Balōchistān with that of the NWFP. The Baloch leaders within the NAP opposed his demand.¹⁰⁹ This issue started an unending controversy within the party. In response, Achakzai criticized the Baloch *Sardārī* system¹¹⁰ and termed it as the main hindrance in the way of economic development of *Balōchistān*. Atta Ullah Khan Mengal, a Balōch *Sardār* and prominent leader of the NAP, defended the *Sardārī* system and termed it essential for the maintenance of law and order in the region. It visibly divided the NAP into a *Pakhtūn*-Group led by Abd-us-Samad Khan Achakzai and a Balōch-Group led by *Sardār* Khair Bakhsh Marri. The party's central committee recognized the Balōch Group as its official branch in *Balōchistān*.¹¹¹ Achakzai and his *Pakhtūn*-Group parted their ways with the NAP of Abdul Wali Khan and called themselves as the NAP (*Pakhtūnkhwā*) demanding creation of a province of *Pakhtūnistān* by combining the *Pakhtūn*-dominant areas of

109 *Pakistan Times*, June 26, 1969.

110 *Sardār* means a tribal chieftain. Balōch *Sardārī* System is a centuries old system of leading and governing the Balōch tribes by their tribal chieftains. In British Balochistan, Lord Sandeman (Agent to the British Governor General in Balochistan) legalized this system to establish British 'indirect rule' in Balochistan. Under this system, the Balōch *Sardārs* had certain legal powers to maintain the law and order for the smooth running of the British administration. This system conferred powers upon the Balōch *Sardārs* who mostly misused their authority against their fellow tribesmen. This system continued even after the creation of Pakistan till its abolition in 1976. For more details, see Javed Haider Syed, "The British Advent in Baluchistan", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, XXVIII, No. 2 (2007) available at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/The_British_Advent.pdf

111 *Pakistan Times*, May 30, 1970.

Balōchistān and NWFP within the federation of Pakistan. Later on, they established the *Pakhtūnkhwā Millī Awāmi Party* and became much critical of Abdul Wali Khan and his followers.

The Issue of *Pakhtūnistān* and the Charge of High Treason against Abdul Wali Khan

Abdul Wali Khan was an influential spokesman of provincial autonomists during the governments of Ayub Khan (1958-1969), Yahya Khan (1969-1971), and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-1977). He demanded dissolution of One Unit, maximum provincial autonomy, and renaming NWFP as *Pakhtūnistān*. He was also much critical of the autocratic policies of those governments. Under their conventional 'carrot and stick' approach, initially, the successive governments of Pakistan opted for the 'carrot' and offered lucrative posts to Abdul Wali Khan which he denied.¹¹² The next option with the governments was that of the 'stick'. Hence, they portrayed his demand for *Pakhtūnistān* as a heinous act for Pakistan's integrity. On February 10, 1975, Bhutto succeeded in banning the NAP for once and ever through a reference to the Supreme Court of Pakistan.¹¹³ Abdul Wali Khan and his other colleagues were charged under Article 6 of 1973-Constitution of Pakistan for high treason. One of the main charges against Abdul Wali Khan was that he was manoeuvring for attainment of an independent Pakhtūnistān outside the federation of Pakistan from the platform of the NAP.¹¹⁴ It further darkened the perspective of Pakhtūnistān.

112 For lucrative offers to Abdul Wali Khan, see Khan, *Bāchā Khān Awō Khudāī Khidmatgāri*, Vol. II, 175-76; 336-402; _____, *Vol. III* (Chārsaddah: Walī Bāgh, 1998), 193-95.

113 For more details, see Reference No. 1 of 1975 in the Supreme Court of Pakistan by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan against the National Awāmi Party and its president Abdul Wali Khan through Secretary, Ministry of Interior and Kashmir Affairs, Islamabad on the dissolution of the National Awāmi Party, Rawalpindi, June 19, 20 and 23, 1975.

114 For more details, see The Opening Address of Yahya Bakhtiar, Attorney General for Pakistan, in the Supreme Court of Pakistan in the Reference No. 1 of 1975 u/s 6 (2) of the Political Parties Act, 1962 by the Islamic

In 1977, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq brought military *coup d'état* against Bhutto's regime and imposed the third Martial Law in the country. Zia observed that more than ninety-nine percent cases lodged during Bhutto's era were of political nature.¹¹⁵ However, he did not abolish the case of high treason against Abdul Wali Khan on the pretext that the case was already in the Supreme Court of Pakistan.¹¹⁶ Later on, the Court concluded that the case was baseless and asked Abdul Wali Khan and other co-accused to apply for their bail. Abdul Wali Khan refused to apply for his bail. He claimed that the case was baseless and he committed nothing against the law or constitution, hence, why should he request the Court for a bail. On 6 December 1977, the three-member Court (including Justice Mushtaq Ali Qazi as its Chairman, and Justice Abdul Ghani Khattak and Justice Muhammad Rafique Tāraḡ as its members) granted him a bail on its own and released him.¹¹⁷

Replacement of the demand of *Pakhtūnistān* with *Pakhtūnkhwā*

Bāchā Khan and his followers realized that their demand of renaming the NWFP as Pakhtūnistān within the federation of Pakistan had become a counterproductive for them due to their pre-independence obsession to the demand of an independent Pakhtūnistān. They also came to the conclusion that their political opponents in Pakistan would never support their demand, who always used it against them on political grounds. Like his predecessors, Zia was also not ready to rename NWFP as Pakhtūnistān on the same grounds. However, in a meeting with Bāchā Khan, he showed his willingness for any alternate name. Bāchā Khan, after consultation with his followers, agreed to Zia's proposal. In

Republic of Pakistan on the Dissolution of National Awāmi Party, Rawalpindi, June 19, 20 and 23, 1975.

115 *Chatān*, February 13, 1978.

116 Khan, *Bāchā Khān Awō Khudāī Khidmatgārī*, Vol.III, 204.

117 *Dawn*, December 7, 1977. For more details about Abdul Wali Khan's release, see *Bāchā Khān Awō Khudāī Khidmatgārī*, Vol.III, pp. 223-34.

1979, he wrote a letter to Zia proposing Pakhtūnkhwā¹¹⁸ as an alternate to Pakhtūnistān for renaming NWFP. Zia promised to rename NWFP as Pakhtūnkhwā which was never fulfilled by him.¹¹⁹

Parliamentary Struggle for renaming NWFP as Pakhtūnkhwā

In 1986, Abdul Wali Khan founded a new party known as the Awāmī National Party (hereafter ANP). Soon, the demand for renaming NWFP as Pakhtūnkhwā became at the top of its agenda. Since 1988 till 1999, it made political alliances with the PPP and the PML (Nawaz Group) [PML (N)] respectively in search of getting this name for the NWFP but, all the time, their efforts bore no fruits. With the passage of time, the demand got momentum at the public level.¹²⁰ Hence, besides the ANP, other political parties in NWFP including the PPP, the JI, and the JUI (Fazl-ur-Rehman Group) etc. also realized the political significance of this demand and started to support it.¹²¹ As a result, on November 13, 1997, the provincial assembly of NWFP unanimously passed a resolution in support of renaming NWFP as Pakhtūnkhwā¹²² and sent it to the Center. During

118 Pakhtūnkhwā means the 'Land of Pakhtūns'. Pakhtūn nationalists claim that, historically, the Pakhtūn-dominant areas across the Durand Line, both in Pakistan and Afghanistan, were jointly called as Pakhtūnkhwā for thousands of years. They were of the view that they were demanding restoration of the centuries old name of Pakhtūnkhwā for NWFP rather than renaming it. For more details, see Khwaja Muhammad Sāyal, "Pakhtūnkhwā", *Pakhtūn* (monthly), July 2009, 21-27; Professor Alamzeb Khattak, "Da Pakhtūnkhwā Muqaddīmah: Ilmi Awo Tārīkhī Manzar Nāmāh", *Pakhtūn* (monthly), October 2009, 3-7.

119 Interview of *Bāchā Khan* by Muhammad Riaz in weekly *Hurmat*, Vol. 5, August 1-7, 1986, No. 29, 8-16.

120 Muhammad Bilal Ghauri, "Pakhtūnkhwā Kā Muqaddīmah", *Mashriq*, January 11, 2010; Salim Safi, "Kahīñ Aīsā TōNahīñ", *Jang*, April 14, 2010.

121 Muhammad Bilal Ghauri, "Pakhtūnkhwā Kā Muqaddīmah", *Jang*, January 2, 2010.

122 Hamish Khalil, "Pakhtūnkhwā Da Māzī Pah Ā'inah Kē", *Pakhtūn*, March 2009, 15. The prominent movers of the resolution were Najmuddin of PPP, Akram Khan Durrani of JUI (F), and Pir Muhammad Khan of JI. For more details, see Zalan Momand, "Da Pakhtūnkhwā Khabarah", *Pakhtūn*, November, 2009, 8-11.

General Pervez Musharraf's era (1999-2008), the issue remained in the cold storage. After the general elections of 2008, the ANP and the PPP formed a coalition government in NWFP. They mutually agreed to rename NWFP as Pakhtūnkhwā, grant of provincial autonomy to all provinces of Pakistan, and other constitutional reforms through amendment in the 1973 Constitution. A Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms was established under Mian Raza Rabbani (the PPP's Senator) as its Chairman.¹²³

Name of Khyber Pakhtūnkhwā rather than Pakhtūnkhwā for NWFP

The PML (N) and the Pakistan Muslim League (*Quā'id-i-A'zam* Group) [PML (Q)], both having strong footings in Hazara Division of NWFP, opposed the renaming of NWFP as Pakhtūnkhwā on the plea that there was a considerable opposition to the proposed name within the province in general and Hazara Division in particular¹²⁴ despite the fact that, at the time of the passage of the resolution by the provincial assembly of NWFP in support of renaming NWFP as Pakhtūnkhwā in 1997, Sardar Mehtab Ahmad Khan Abbasi of the PML (N) was the sitting Chief Minister of the province, who did not oppose the resolution. The PML (N) had 45 members within the provincial assembly of NWFP and, by getting support of other like-minded members of the assembly; they could prevent the passage of the resolution.

123 For more details, visit the website:

http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/report_constitutional_18th_amed_bill2010_020410_.pdf

124 Hazara is the North-eastern administrative Division of NWFP which includes the districts of Haripur, Abbottabad, Mansehra, Batagram, Kohistan, and Tōr Ghar. Linguistically, majority of its population is Hindku-speaker; however, ethnically there are also Pakhtūn tribes like Tarins, Jadoons, Mashwanis, Sawatis, Kohistanis, and Tahirkhelis who are living there for centuries. Their relations with the non-Pakhtūns are so cordial that they have adopted their language and culture. For more details, see Salim Safi, "Pakhtūnkhwā Kā Masalah: Samajh Sē Bālātar Ai'tirāz", *Jang*, March 13, 2010. At public level, even in Hazara Division, some of the forums supported the name of *Pakhtūnkhwā*. See "Da Pakhtūnkhwā Da Tārīkh Hawālē" (editorial), *Pakhtūn*, October 2009, 49.

But, by then, they remained neutral.¹²⁵ Similarly, Amir Muqam of the PML (Q) was the man who came one step forward with a resolution in the National Assembly to rename the NWFP as Pakhtūnistān.¹²⁶ The only two members of the assembly who opposed the resolution were Humayun Saifullah Khan and his younger brother Salim Saifullah Khan who belonged to district Lakki Marwat of NWFP. The ANP severely criticized the PML (N) for its unnecessary opposition to the Pakhtūnkhwā. After a hot debate between the ANP and the PML (N) over the issue, the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms recommended to rename the NWFP as Khyber Pakhtūnkhwā rather than Pakhtūnkhwā. At last, in April 2010, the 18th Amendment became part of the 1973-Constitution of Pakistan and the NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtūnkhwā.¹²⁷

Conclusion

In the light of aforementioned facts and figures, it may be concluded that the Pakhtūn nationalists in NWFP have been passed through a long journey from separation to integration. Earlier, they opposed the creation of Pakistan during freedom movement and demanded a separate independent state known as Pakhtūnistān. Later on, they

125 Salim Safi, "Pakhtūnkhwā Kā Muqaddīmah", *Jang*, January 2, 2010.

126 Salim Safi, "Pakhtūnkhwā Kā Masalah: Samajh Sē Bālātar Ai'tirāz", *Jang*, March 13, 2010.

127 The word Khyber was added as a prefix to the word Pakhtūnkhwā on PML's (N) demand despite the fact that Khyber is the name of a historical pass which is, administratively, not part of the province. It is located in Khyber Agency of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. For more details, see Salim Safi, "Punjab Kō Gālī Qur?" *Jang*, March 24, 2010. Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao [Chairman of the PPP (Sherpao) and member of the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms] put a note of reiteration before the Committee. He pointed out that renaming the NWFP as Khyber Pakhtūnkhwā instead of Pakhtūnkhwā was deviation from the spirit of democracy and resolutions passed by the provincial assembly of the NWFP in favour of Pakhtūnkhwā. Hence, he insisted on renaming the NWFP as Pakhtūnkhwā rather than Khyber Pakhtūnkhwā. For more details about the 18th Amendment to the 1973-Constitution of Pakistan, visit the website at:
http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/report_constitutional_18th_amend_bill2010_020410_.pdf.

declared their faith in the territorial integrity of Pakistan and modified their ideas on democratic and constitutional lines within the federation of Pakistan. However, their earlier stand for an independent Pakhtūnistān has been a liability for them in the political history of Pakistan. Their political opponents always maligned them for their past. The state of Pakistan dealt them with 'carrot and stick' approach. They got involved in the state affairs under a system of 'check and balance'. They were also incarcerated whenever it deemed necessary. At present, after a long journey from separation to integration, the Pakhtūn nationalists are playing a pivotal role in national integrity of Pakistan, especially in the on-going war on terror.

Integral Life is a member-driven digital media community that supports the growth, education and application of Integral Philosophy and integrative metatheory to complex issues in the 21st century. Integral Life offers perspectives, practices, analysis and community to help people grow into the full capacities of integral consciousness in order to thrive in a rapidly-evolving world. Recent Posts. Supporting Development in Adolescents. How to Have More Compassionate Conversations. Conversations From the Road. Coronavirus: Making Sense of Our Sense-Making. Overcome Frustration by Accepting What Separation, Integration, and Marginalization. Floyd W. Rudmin. University of TromsÅ,Â from the second millennium B.C. indicating. that the Egyptian empire switched from an ac-. culturation policy of separation from Nubians to. one of assimilating them (Smith, 1993). In ap