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Research Article

The Political Transition Among the Pakhtuns: Nationalism, Socialism and the Formation of Pakistan 1927-1947

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Abstract. The Article explore the evolution and development of the Pakhtuns nationalism and socialism for the libration of British India. During British India, a new kind of nationalism emerged among the Pakhtuns, the non-violent nationalism of Bacha Khan. The article examined the formation of nationalist and socialist political organization and their combined work for the libration and ideological split. The Zalmu Jirga (Youth League) was formed by nationalist with socialist on the model of Bukhara and Turks. The Zalmu Jirga was merged in a new organization Khudai Khedmatgar and affiliated it with the Indian National Congress. After the 1937 election, during the congress ministry of Dr Khan Sahb, the socialist leadership supported the Ghalla Dher peasant uprising which leads to the ideological splits among the Pakhtuns nationalist and socialist leaderships within congress. Consequently Mian Akbar Shah formed the Frontier Forward Bloc within Congress and represented

the Pakhtuns socialists and peasant. This work also examined the shift in the politics of Pakhtuns toward the formation of Pakistan, the Afghan Ittehad Party and its anti congress propaganda and pro Muslim League activities, the Pakhtunistan issue and Zalmai Pakhtun organization and the Partition plan particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Keywords: Nationalism, Socialism, Pakhtuns, Politics, British India, Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

The political nature of socialism among the Pakhtuns was different as compared to other. In the history of Pakhtuns two kinds of socialism exist. One was the Islamic socialism of Shah Wali Ullah, Movement of the Deoband school and the another one was Marxist, inspired by the Russian Revolution. In 1920 many young Pakhtuns including Indians migrated to Soviet Union and got training there from the Bolshevik in the line of socialism. When these Soviet trained socialist return to India, they were arrested and convicted under the Peshawar and Kanpur conspiracy trial under British Indian government. After their release in 1925, initially they organized conferences, its aims to organize and established a structured Communist Party of India.¹ The communist Party of India (CPI) was finally formed but it was different from the émigré Communist Party of India, which was founded by Indian Muhajireen in Tashkent. The CPI began its work in an organized manner by focusing on organizing peasants, workers, and trade unions. In response to the formation of the CPI, similar organizations based on communist and socialist ideologies emerged in different regions. One of the most prominent among them was the All-Indian Worker Peasant Party.² In Punjab, Abdul Majid, along with other socialist, took the initiative to organize half a dozen trade unions, including the Punjab Labour Organization Board. In 1926, Abdul Majid, Bhagat Singh, and other socialists founded the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, which adopted a militant approach to their activities.³

Despite these developments, the rise of various socialist progressive organizations in different parts of India influenced the Frontier Pakhtuns to embrace a pan-Islamic form of socialism stemming from the Deoband Movement. Maulana Abdur Rahim Popalzai,⁴ along with his teacher Maulana Mahmud ul Hassan, played a leading role in the Shah Wali Ullah Movement of Islamic socialism. They were also active members of other movements like Hizbullah, Popalzai was also a prominent member of the Khilafat and Hijrat movement, mobilizing and supporting the Hijrat movement. Inspired by him, many people, including Fazal Elahi, a Punjabi, migrated to Afghanistan and then towards the Soviet Union.⁵ Therefore the British considered him and his activities a threat to their rule. He was arrested several times as a part of

¹ Jawad ur Rahman, "The Impact of Disintegration of Soviet Union on The Left Politics in Pakistan" PhD diss University of Peshawar (2020), 97.

² Manjar, "Communist Movement and Communal Question in India, 1920-1948", 56-68.

³ Ansari, Emergence of Socialist thought among the Indian North Muslim (1917-1947), 83.

⁴ Parvez Khan Toru and Fazal Ur Rahim Marwat, ed., Celebrities of NWFP vol. 1 and 2 (Peshawar: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2005), 23-25.

⁵ Toru and Marwat. ed, Celebrities in NWFP, 27.

Kanpur Conspiracy case but the British fail to proof the charges and released him. After his release, he continued his political struggle against the British by starting the publication of a weekly newspaper called Naujwan Sarfrosht in 1927 from Peshawar. Through this newspaper, he openly criticized the British government and has capitalist policies.⁶ When he joined the Indian National Congress in 1928 and became its member of provincial committee. In December 1929, during the annual session of the Congress held in Lahore, Popalzai participated in it. On the same day, he attended the inaugural meeting of Naujawan Bharat Sabha and Kirti Kissan.⁷ Popalzai, with Kakaji Sanobar Hussain Mohmand established a separate provincial political organization called Frontier Naujawan Bharat Sabha. Kakaji assumed the role of General Secretary, while Popalzai became its President.⁸ While British reports as, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha created a wing in Peshawar, which actively import provocative and revolutionary publications from Punjab. This branch disseminated its own revolutionary materials, sometimes alongside Congress propaganda and occasionally independently. The organization succeeded in inciting and agitating the lowest strata of Muslims in Peshawar.⁹ The Frontier Naujawan Sabha aimed to promote socialist ideology and working towards the liberation of India and the emancipation of the poor from capitalist imperialism. Popalzai organized peasants and established the Kissan Committee under the Frontier Naujawan Sabha, which emerged as a progressive bloc within the Congress while advocating for the creation of a socialist group.¹⁰ In 19 February 1930, Bacha Khan visited the office of Frontier Naujawan Sabha in Peshawar. During his visit, he discussed their plans for the peasants in his village and advised members of Frontier Naujawan Sabha to expand and broaden their political horizons. They also discussed civil disobedience as a potential strategy. Meanwhile, the Frontier Congress Committee made the decision that Frontier Naujawan Sabha would participate in the strike, but emphasized the need to keep them under control due to their young age, lack of experience, and emotional tendencies. They also decided to form a committee to provide instructions to the members of Frontier Naujawan Sabha.¹¹

Zalmo Jirga (Youth League) and Khudai Khedmatgar

The Pakhtuns intellectual including nationalist and socialist founded the Anjuman-e-Islahul-Afaghana in 1921, aims to educate the Pakhtuns society, established Azad schools. The Anjuman originally emerged as a social reform movement but soon evolved into a political force. Its members strongly believed that

6 Wali Muhammad, "Mulana Abdur Rahim Popalzai" (Master thesis, University of Peshawar, 1995-1996), 28,29.

7Abdul Jalil Popalzai, Naujawan Baharat Sabha awr Abdur Rahim Popalzai (Naujawan Tahreek ki Sirfarosh ki Jadodehad sy Mutaliq Angrezo ka Hufia Record), (? n.p, n.d), 23-33

8 Mohammad Hussain Hunarmal, "A Warrior with pen and sword", the News International 10, January 2021, accessed 12, April, 2023, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/771729-a-warrior-with-pen-and-sword>.

9 Special Branch Reports, Khudai Khedmatgar Note on I.G.P, Serial No. 666, Bundle No. 42 dated 1946, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

10 Toru and Marwat, "Celebrities of NWFP", 27.

11 Popalzai, Naujawan Bharat sabha aw Abdul Raheem Popalzai, 49.

the poverty, backwardness, illiteracy, and ignorance prevalent among the Pakhtuns was directly linked to British rule. They encouraged the Pakhtun people to unite against foreign domination, address societal issues collectively, and put an end to their internal conflicts.¹² Bacha Khan with other members of Anjuman, recognized the absence of Pashto journal in the entire province. As a result, they decided to launch a Pashto journal called "Pukhtun" in May 1928. This journal covered a wide range of topics, including politics, Pakhtun nationalism, Islamic history, women's concerns, Indian affairs, and social issues.¹³ Bacha Khan understood that providing high-quality material to the readers in native language would have a positive impact on the Pakhtuns.¹⁴

Mian Akbar Shah a soviet trained socialist and a prominent member of the Anjuman, proposed a political organization recommended as Zalmu Jirga (Youth League) similar as Afghanistan, Turkey and Bukhara.¹⁵ In light of this proposal, Bacha Khan convened a conference on 1 September 1929, at Hujra (guest house), openly discussed the necessity of forming a separate political organization. Although the Zalmu Jirga was eventually formed, the Anjuman recognized that its efforts were limited in scope, while the Zalmu Jirga held broader potential. As part of its preparations, the Zalmu Jirga designated Pashto as its official language and decided to hold biannual meetings. Membership was open to all literate youths without any discrimination based on caste, creed, or religion, and it was emphasized that the organization should not engage in any form of communalism. To ensure widespread representation, branches of the Zalmu Jirga was established in every district.¹⁶

In November 1929, another organization called the Khudai Khidmatgars, also known as the Servants of God, was established to cater to the needs of the majority of uneducated Pakhtuns nationalist sympathizers and elderly community members. This new organization replaced the previous one and eventually gained prominence and influence within the Frontier region. Sarfaraz Khan served as the initial president, while Hijab Gul was its first secretary.¹⁷ The Khudai Khidmatgars gained publicity through regular visits of Bacha Khan, Mian Ahmad Shah, and Sayad Lal Badshah and Faira Khan, who served as secretaries of the Khilafat Committee and Congress Committee, respectively.¹⁸ The most notable characteristic of the Khudai Khidmatgars was their unwavering commitment to non-violence. Volunteers were trained to avoid the use of violence and refrain from carrying weapons. Emphasis was placed on forbearance and tolerance, instructing members not to retaliate even in the face of humiliation.¹⁹ However, the British narrated in a report that, the Frontier

¹² Shah, *Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism*, 26.

¹³ Shah, *NWFP history and Politics*, 65.

¹⁴ Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khedmatgar*, vol.I, (Peshawar: Bacha Khan trust 2020), 72-73.

¹⁵ Shah, *Ethnicity Islam and Nationalis*, 27.

¹⁶ Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, *Da Bari Saghir Pak wo Hind pa Azadi ki Da Pukhtano Braha Zama da Jhwand sara Tarali Khalat*, (Peshawar: University publisher 2009), 75-76.

¹⁷ Shah, *Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism*, 28.

¹⁸ Special Branch Report, Khudai Khedmatgar note on I.G.P.

¹⁹ Shah, *NWFP history and Politics*, 68.

Khilafat, Congress, and Frontier Naujawan Sabha associations were linked to the newly formed Zalmo Jirga or Afghan Jirga in terms of its leadership. The Zalmo Jirga declared its primary objective to get complete independence. Additionally, it pledged to strive for Hindu-Muslim unity, the betterment of people's lives, and the political education of youth. The president of the organization was Abdul Akbar, a refugee who had received training in Tashkent.²⁰

On 19, 20 April 1930, over a thousand members of Khudai Khidmatgars, Zalmo Jirga, Congress, and Khilafat committees gathered during the annual session of Azad school Utmanzai in Charsadda. Bacha Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgar leadership were requested to participate in the Congress civil disobedience movement to ensure its success, and they wholeheartedly agreed. On April 23rd, prominent Frontier Congress members were arrested, including Sayed Lal Badshah, Ali Gul Khan, Molvi Abdur Rahim, Rahim Bakhsh, and Khan Mir Hilali, most of whom were members of the Khilafat and Congress. The leaders of the Khudai Khidmatgar organization, including Bacha Khan, Abdul Akbar Khan, Mian Ahmad, Sirfaraz Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, and others, were arrested on April 24th.²¹ Consequently, agitation erupted in different cities demanding the release of their leaders, following the massacre at the Qissa Khwani Bazaar on May 31st, which resulted in the death of twelve people. Troops attacked Takkar, a village in Mardan, on May 28th, leading to the imprisonment of Khudai Khidmatgar supporters. On August 24th, open fire was held on a protest gathered in Hathi Khel (Bannu). Lathi charges and gunfire on peaceful Khudai Khidmatgars became routine.²² However, the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, Zalmo Jirga, and Frontier Naujawan Sabha was banned and declared unlawful organization.²³ Following the release of Congress leaders due to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Bacha Khan and Khudai Khidmatgar was also released in March 1931. The Khudai Khidmatgar leaders were invited to Karachi for the Congress annual meeting on 30 March 1931, in which Bacha Khan publicly announce his affiliation with the Congress. The Zalmo Jirga and Khudai Khidmatgars were formally merged in the Congress on August 9, 1931, while maintaining their distinct identities. Bacha Khan became the leader of these organizations under the Frontier Congress and represented North West Frontier Province.²⁴

After merging Khudai Khidmatgar within Congress, a regional organization became an integral part of national politics, gaining popularity across India, Bacha Khan friendship with Gandhi and their commitment to liberation in the principle of nonviolence.²⁵ The Congress was anti-imperialist party, Bacha Khan demanded representative government and "complete autonomy" for the Frontier province. The mass movement's insistence led the British to grant the NWFP the status of a

²⁰Special Branch Report, Khudai Khidmatgar Note on I.G.P.S.

²¹ Naeemullah Khan, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Its Impact upon the Frontier Tribes, 107-108.

²² Shah, Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism, 37.

²³ Special Branch Report, Khudai Khidmatgar Note on I.G.P.

²⁴ Shah, Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism, 40-41.

²⁵ Ibid., 41-42.

Governor's province.²⁶ Therefore the Act of 1919 was extended to the Frontier province in 1932. Ralph Griffith was appointed as the first governor on April 18, 1932.²⁷ In 1934, under the new reforms in NWFP, elections were held, Dr. Khan Sahib nominated as a representative of the Frontier Congress in Central Legislative Assembly for the first time.²⁸

Congress Ministry in North West Frontier Province

The 1935 act were expended to North West Frontier Province, the act significant to provide and granted the provincial autonomy. Give provincial legislative Assembly and Cabinet were responsible to the legislatures. The Governor was to be the executive head of the province under the new Act, managing provincial matters with the assistance and advice of a Council of Ministers. The mixed reaction aroused among the Indians people regarding the Act, the Congress condemned and reject the proposed constitution. The Congress demanded the election on adult franchised to the Legislative Assembly.²⁹ The Congress workers in the NWFP began their electoral campaign once the AICC decided to participate in the elections. Dr. Khan Sahib assumed control of the Congress leadership in the province while Bacha Khan was out of the province. To restructure the party, he travelled to many places inside the NWFP. Dr. Khan Sahib proposed the formation of "Parliamentary Boards" at the district and provincial level.³⁰ During the election Mian Akbar Shah participated in the election campaigns preaching the Khudai Khidmatgar doctrine on the socialist lines. He criticized the Khan Bahadurs, Jagirdars and Nawabs are the British agents and requested the masses that support the Congress against the British imperialist. The combined effort of the socialist with the nationalist under the Congress flag resulted better in the election.³¹

Election was held in the February 1937, total number of seats were fifty in the Frontier Provincial Assembly, in which Muslim seats was thirty-eight, Hindu nine and three for Sikhs.³² In election 72.8 percent of register electorate casts their vote the Congress won nineteen seats out of 35 contested, the Hindu Sikh National Party seven, the Independent Hindus one, Muslim Independent Party two, and Nationalist Muslims twenty-one. With 19 representatives in the assembly, the Congress became the largest party. The Congress performed well won the majority in the Pakhtun-dominated areas. It established itself as the most popular political entity in the Peshawar Valley.³³ In the Absent of Congress, a pro-British retired civil officer, sir Abdul Qayum Khan had the opportunity to collect the Khans. With the full backing and assistance of the Frontier Governor George Cunningham, he formed ministry on

²⁶ Shah, *Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism*, 43-49.

²⁷ Fakhur-ul-Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa a Political History (1901-1955)*, (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2014), 77-78.

²⁸ Khan, *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khedmatgar*, 233-234.

²⁹ Shah, *Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism*, 51.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

³¹ Shah, *NWFP History and Politics*, 98.

³² Shah, *Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism*, 54.

³³ *Ibid.*, 56.

April 1st, 1937. Initially Congress refused to join the executive part of the government. When the Congress agreed to establish ministries across India after receiving conciliation from the Viceroy in August 1937, which was concerning the governors would not use special powers to interfere in elected governments. As a result, on 3 September 1937 Dr. Khan as opposition passed a motion of no confidence in the NWFP Assembly with the support of Hindu Sikh National Party and Hazara Democratic Party. Dr Khan established his ministry and remained in office for two years and six weeks.³⁴

The most important issue for the Congress was the agrarian unrest in the entire India. The congress considered its final solution was the problem of British Imperialistic exploitation, possible through changes in the land tenure and revenue system. While the land system and agrarian condition was different in every province. Due to the provincial congress committee responsible to work for the future plan on agrarian programmed and solved the peasantry problem which the congress promised with the peasant during the election campaign to gain his support in the NWFP election.³⁵ The congress ministries passed some bills regarding the agrarian reforms, which directly challenges the high status of the landed aristocracies and abolished the Honorary Magistrate a non-official selected group mostly they were big Khan invested the judicial power. The Agricultural Produce Market Bill, which was passed in March 1938, was developed to protect small peasants from the influence of the Mahajans (loans), who dominated the markets and acted as middlemen, looting the peasants of their hard-earned money. The most beneficial activity of the Dr. Khan administration was legislation designed to help the small zamindars and give them marketing facilities in the face of strong opposition from the local Hindus and the Congress high command.³⁶

Ghallah Dhir Peasant uprising

The Frontier Congress ministry face very difficult agrarian rebellion in Ghalla Dhir, a small village in Mardan, with populations approximately two thousand. The majority of the residents were Muslim with a small number of Hindu peasants. Gallah Dhir land belongs to the Nawab of Toru Mardan, Hamidullah Khan, after his death the youngest son Azimullah. They were famous in the collection of heavy rents and illegal taxes from the peasant. Nawab Azimullah appointed the local men as his agent to look the Ghallah Dhir land.³⁷ By collaborating with his local agents and receiving support from the British authorities, the nawab of Toru managed to gain ownership of almost all the land in Ghalla Dhir. Taking advantage of this control, the nawab and his agents subjected the impoverished tillers to exorbitant rents and conducted illicit practices to extract their wealth. This organized and overt exploitation was reinforced by the backing of British laws and patronage.³⁸ Bhagat Ram a Hindu peasant of Ghalla

34 Khan, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Its Impact upon the Frontier Tribes, 157-158.

35 Shah, Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism 62-63.

36 Khan, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Its Impact upon the Frontier Tribes, 158-160.

37 Shah, Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism, 67

38 Bhagat Ram Talwar, The Talwars of Pathan Land and Subhas Chandra's Great Escape, (Delhi: People Publishing House, 1976), 49.

Dhir was an active member of the Frontier Naujawan Sabha and the Kirti Kisan Party, a volunteer of Khudai Khedmatgar, and the local leader of the Ghallah Dhir Congress.³⁹ They protested against the high revenue rates and declared that they would not pay the fines. In June, the Nawab received eviction orders from the civil court but was unable to execute them. Despite being evicted, the tenants resisted and even resumed cultivation on some of the reclaimed lands. On June 1938, the district administration arrested the leaders of the tenants to support the Nawab.⁴⁰

The people of Ghalla Dhir approached to the local leadership Waris Khan, Mian Akbar Shah, Ajun Khan and Mian Mukaram Shah, seeking their assistance in addressing the grievances of the peasants against the oppressive actions of the landlords. A meeting was held at Ghalla Dhir under the leadership of local Congress, Sahib Shah and Bhagat Ram. Almost all the local peasant attended the meeting. They passed a resolution, and sent copies to Dr. Khan and the President of the Provincial Congress Ghulam Mohammad Khan and Amir Muhammad Khan MLA, as well as some copies distributed on the press.⁴¹ Dr. Khan and other Congress leaders were accused of prioritizing their own class interests over the marginalized members of the Khudai Khidmatgars. In response, an organized campaign was launched against them with the assistance of Mian Akbar Shah and his socialist comrades, who readily provided their support.⁴²

The Frontier Socialist Party led the demonstrations in August 1938, the predicament Congress government was in complicated. The Dr Khan ministry capacity as keeper of the law and depend on the interests of his party members, while also preventing any breakdown in law and order as a result of the agitation unrest. He unexpectedly paid a visit to Ghalla Dhir because he was upset by the Socialists' meddling. Akbar Shah, Bhagat Ram, and Faqir Mohammad were chosen by the peasants as their representatives in the negotiations with the Congress Ministries. They met with Dr. Khan and demanded the following things from him: a complete ban on bigar; the withdrawal of tora; an end to the Nawab's policy of eviction; the elimination of malba (tax for the Nawab's guests); restrictions on giving khar dhari (tax collected for the Nawab's donkeys, horses, and other livestock); a complete ban on illegal fines and physical harassment of the peasants. The negotiations produced no fruitful outcomes.⁴³ The Frontier Congress Ministry was seriously disturbed to the agitation of Frontier Socialist Party in Mardan, the Congress Committee convened a special meeting some resolutions were passed regarding the civil disobedient at Ghallah Dhir. The resolution stresses that the socialist of the province not to create friction between the landlords and peasants and considered that the real problem was not the distribution of wealth but the cast of the problem in agriculture both faced same problem. And warned the socialist that they would expel from the Congress.⁴⁴

39 Talwar, *The Talwars of Pathan Land and Subhas Chandra's Great Escape*, VII.

40 Shah, *Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism*, 69.

41 Waris Khan, *Da Azadi Tehreek*, (Peshawar: Sirajull Islam Siraj, 1988), 169-170.

42 Shah, *North West Frontier Province*, 99.

43 Shah, *Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism*, 70.

44 Erland Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan the Nationalist Movement in North West Frontier Province, 1937-47*, (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1981), 92.

The action was taken the police arrested the twelve most prominent and leading Socialist leaders.⁴⁵

When the Ghalla Dhir incidence spread, the supporters of the peasant became the champion for the arrested socialist Congress worker.⁴⁶ The movement gain momentum and publicity the matter was come up to the National Congress Session at Delhi in September 1938. In Congress session a committee was formed to make inquire and report on the Ghalla Dhir peasant event and to resolve it.⁴⁷ A committee Delegation comprising on the All-India Socialist Party Leader N. Dev, Munshi Ahmad Din, and M. R. Masani. The delegation arrived to Peshawar and meet Dr Khan on October. Dr Khan assured the delegation that the problem would be resolved in few days but the delegations were not allowed to visit Ghalla Dhir. Therefore, in November 1938 Dr Khan released all the convicted political prisoner and put ban on the illegal taxes levied by Nawab, and promised the peasantry to improve their general conditions.⁴⁸

Frontier Socialist party

On 23 July 1934 British government issued a notification declared banned on the Communist Party of India and its committee and branches. In Punjab on 10 September 1934, the government issued a notification and declared the communist and socialist organization including the Naujawan Bharat Sabha unlawful. The Lahore Conspiracy case and ongoing socialist and revolutionary propaganda had awakened the masses, preparing them for a new phase of open socialism revolutionary struggle. In order to carry on the work that had previously been done by Naujawan Sabha, the leaders of Naujawan Bharat Sabha resolved to operate in the future under the name of Punjab Socialist Party. the Punjab Socialist Party published a manifesto, aims to establishment a socialist government in India.⁴⁹ Similarly in NWFP the previous Frontier Naujawan Sabha member formed the Fronter Socialist Worker league or Frontier Socialist party, which was a branch of the Punjab Socialist Party for guidance and propaganda material.⁵⁰

The constitution restriction in the North West Frontier Province From 1935 to August 1937, Due to the Frontier Socialist Party would not operate openly. But the socialist activities continue underground its different rural areas in Mardan, Charsadda, and Hazara District.⁵¹ Waris Khan described that the Frontier Socialist Party were very active and organized during the Ghallah Dhir peasant uprising, the local congress committee became the Socialist party under the Congress. the first Socialist conference was held in Akora, many socialist leaders participated including Teka Ram of Punjab, Abdur Rahim Popalzai, Mian Akbar Shah, Bhagat Ram and

45 Talwar, The Talwars of Pathan Land, 53

46 Shah, Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism, 73.

47 Talwar, The Talwars of Pathan Land, 53.

48 Shah, Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism, 73-74.

49 Comrade Ram Chandra, Naujawan Bhahat Sabha ' And Hindustan Socialist Republican Association army (Delhi, Ralhan Brothers Printers and Publishers, 1986) 190-193.

50 Jansson, India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan, 101.

51 Ram Seran Nagina, Tekhreek I Ghaladir (Lahore: Al Mahmood Academy, 1994) 26-28

Waris Khan with other local peasant leaders. in this conference many socialist leaders show their sympathy and support with the Ghallah Dhir peasant and passed some resolution regarding the peasant struggle.⁵² Cunningham believed that the general political interest had responsible for the increase rather than radicalization among the active political group. However, he was certain that the main leaders possessed revolutionary instincts. According to him, their pamphlets were skillfully written and demonstrated a significant understanding of Socialism and Communism propaganda techniques.⁵³

Frontier Forward Bloc

When the socialist and communist left wing increased in Indian National Congress Committee. A Congress session was held in March 1939 to re-election the President of Indian National Congress in which Subhas Chandr Bose was elected as Congress President defeated the Gandhi group's nominated Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Gandhi group considered it the defeat of truth and non-violence. But still Gandhi had hold on the central leadership of Congress. Therefore, Bose resigns on 29 April from the presidency at Calcutta Congress Session.⁵⁴ On 1 May Bose meet with other leftist, socialist and communist and formed the Forward Bloc within Congress. Bose was elected the president of Forward Bloc and appointed his own secretary from different provinces. Bose aim was to attract the leadership of Congress Socialist Party as a left wing under the National Congress, whom had little faith on the leadership of Gandhi right wing.

In June 1939 left consolidation committee were formed communist and socialist leaders joint the working committee under the leadership of Bose. The entire leftist held the first All India Forward Bloc Conference at Bombay. The Forward Bloc declared their aims, complete Independence and established a socialist state and decided to continuous their anti-imperialist struggle under the Congress. Akbar Shah represented the Frontier Province in the meeting and he was appointed as a member of the Working Committee of Forward Bloc.⁵⁵ Bose visited Peshawar in June 1939, aim was garnering support for his organization, a meeting was held at Saddar. Many leaders of the Frontier Socialist Party participated and jointed the Forward Bloc including Abdur Rauf, Mian Mohammad Shah, Waris Khan and Bhagat Ram. In this meeting the Frontier Forward Bloc and its Committee was formed. Akbar Shah became the General Sectary and Abdur Rauf became the President of Frontier Forward Bloc.⁵⁶

The General Sectary of All-Indian Forward Bloc informed the Akbar Shah to organize the Frontier Forward bloc, at Abbottabad before the meeting of Provincial

⁵² Khan, Da Azadi Tehreek, 175-76.

⁵³ Jansson, India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan, 101.

⁵⁴ Chandra, Naujawan Bhahat Sabha and Hindustan Socialist Republican Association army, 199-200.

⁵⁵ Special Branch Report, Khudai Khedmatgar note on I.G.P Serial no. 669, Bundle no. 42. And also see Chandra, Naujawan Bhahat Sabha ' And Hindustan Socialist Republican Association army, 200.

⁵⁶ Khan, Da Azadi Tehreek, 198.

Congress Committee which was held in 22-23 July 1938. Akbar Shah organized the Frontier Forward Bloc in Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat and Abbottabad. Akbar Shah claimed that eight members of Frontier Provincial Congress Committee had joined the Frontier Bloc and nine were expected to join.⁵⁷ Meanwhile the differences emerging and came on the surface in the meeting of Frontier Congress. Bacha Khan openly criticized Akbar Shah and his comrades to joined Forward Bloc during the meeting of Frontier Congress working Committee held at Abbottabad, Bacha Khan endorses the contribution of Akbar Shah as founding member of Zalmu Jirga, and role of his comrades for the national cause. Bacha Khan considered Forward Bloc as radical which were opposed his Non-Violent philosophy, due to he advised Akbar Shah to formed a separate organization. When the matter reported to Gandhi immediately summoned the Congress at the residence of Bacha Khan. He told them of his opinions on the "Forward Bloc" members and reminded them that the Congress was a nationwide organization with a strong communist element. Subhas C. Bose was considered as example, who never abandoned his membership in the Congress and always identified his faction within the Congress as the "Forward Bloc," he argued that there was no damage in the organization having these socialists. Gandhi therefore considered them all to be integral parts of the Congress. In this way, a challenging and intricate problem keeping their membership in the Khudai Khidmatgar organization was resolved without generating further animosity among the local Congress leadership.⁵⁸

After the permission of Gandhi to have a party in Frontier Congress, Akbar Shah Organized the Frontier Forward Bloc at Peshawar, Mardan, Swabi and Kohat. He distributed the membership form to increase the Frontier Forward Bloc, Khudai Khedmatgar were interested to joined it.⁵⁹ When the Second World War started in September 1939, the whole scenarios were changed. The British Parliament amendment to override the Indian constitution provision and authorized the Indian Viceroy. The Viceroy declared India status as Belligerent without the permission of Indians and its leadership and issued Defense ordinance of India and meet 52 Indian leaders individually. The Congress Working Committees decided not to support the British in the war and resign all Congress Ministries in the entire India in December 1939. While the Muslim League supported the British in war effort and celebrated the resign of Congress Ministries as Deliverance Day.⁶⁰ However the Bose consider the war as opportunity for Indian to fighting for liberation and launched no rent campaign. In November 1939 a meeting was held of the All-India Forward Bloc Working Committee at Calcutta, in which Akbar Shah were also participated. In the meeting he criticized the Congress Working Committee and decided to organize the Provincial Forward Bloc and prepared a propaganda campaign against Gandhi and Congress Working Committee to prepare his program for the mass movement. The

⁵⁷ Special Branch Report, Report about Akbar Shah Mian. Serial no. 56 Bundle no. 5, dated 1939, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

⁵⁸ Shah, North West Frontier Province, 99-100.

⁵⁹ Special Branch Report, Report about Akbar Shah Mian, Serial no. 56 Bundle no. 5.

⁶⁰ Chandra, Naujawan Bhahat Sabha ' And Hindustan Socialist Republican Association army, 202-203.

Frontier Forward Bloc held several meetings at Peshawar valley, in which Akbar Shah delivered speeches, stated as the time came to Congress revised his policy toward non-co-operation movement and passed resolution that don't help the British in the war instead of prepared to supported the liberation mass movement.⁶¹ He also explained the policy of Forward Bloc during the war and requested the audience that non subscriptions of war loan and non-supply the recruitment during the war.⁶²

On 19 and 20 June, the second session of All India Forward Bloc conference were held at Nagpur. Bose delivered objectionable speech at the conference and declared that only a miracle could save the Britain from defeat. He stated that "cease talking of saving Britain with the Empire's help or Indian's help". Resolution was passed at the conference urged that the formation of a National Government, the intensification of the national struggle and the establishment of communal unity. On 2 July 1940, Bose was arrested but he left a message to all provincial Forward Bloc to cooperate with congress right wing. And stated that "the golden opportunity has come... I am sure that this time we shall succeed in liberating our mother land".⁶³ The government released him on 5 December 1940, after his released Bose contact Akbar Shah to meet him, Akbar Shah reached Calcutta. Bose discussed with him that he informed by the Punjab communist Party to leave for Afghanistan before the next year to prepare a journey of escape for the Bose. When Akbar Shah return, he prepared the Bose escape with the help of Frontier Forward Bloc, the Bose secretly escape to the Afghanistan through the route of Frontier province.⁶⁴

Anti-Congress Propaganda

The Indian politics during Second World War were completely depending on the British war effort when Japan entered to the war on 1942. The war came near to India due to British send Cripps Mission to India to negotiate with Indian leaders to support the war effort of British. The Congress refused the Cripps Mission proposal and demanding complete independence. On 7, 8 August 1942 the Congress Working Committee session were held at Bombay and passed some resolution and demanding the British to Quit India. Announced to launch the non-violent quit Indian movement and invited Gandhi to lead the Movement.⁶⁵ While the Muslim league got opportunity and supported the Cripps Mission and considered the Quit Movement as attacked on the Muslims of India. The pro-British Khan and Mullah were actively participated in the propagandas against the Congress. The Muslim League supported

61 Special Branch Report, Reports about Akbar Shah Mian and also see the Special Branch Report, Forward Bloc note on All India by D.I.B Serial no. 669 Bundle no. 42, dated 1945 Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

62 Special Branch Report, Reports about Akbar Shah Mian Serial No. 57, Bundle No. 5, dated 1940, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP. And also see Talwar, The Talwars of Pathan Land, 199.

63 Special Branch Report, Forward Bloc note on All India by D.I.B Serial No. 669, Bundle No. 42, dated 1945, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

64 Shah, North West Frontier Province, 100-112. And also see Special Branch Report, Extracts and History Sheets about Akbar Shah Mian, Serial No. 59, Bundle No. 5, dated 1942-43, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

65 Chandra, Naujawan Bhahat Sabha and Hindustan Socialist Republican Association army, 206-207.

and provided all sorts of helps to the British during the war. Reported as the Muslim League were very helpful to the authorities and doing the right sorts of propaganda.⁶⁶

While Wali Khan exposed in his Book, in which he argued that the British was engaged with the Mullahs to work for the Muslim League. The Mullahs were used to change the scenario of the World War II and to counter the Frontier Congress and Khudai Khedmatgar on Islam. He stated as:

*Jamiat-ul-Ulema toured in Kohat District in June of 1942, and in Peshawar and Mardan in July, doing intensive propaganda; anti-Axis, on the Islamic theme, generally, and anti-Congress on the Pakistan theme. Mullahs in Peshawar and Mardan intensified their anti-Congress propaganda in July/August 1942.*⁶⁷

Many anti Congress propagandas were reported On January 1943 to counter the congress. Reported as The Anti Congress propaganda poster were circulated in Peshawar, the caption as; Treachery with the Khudai Khedmatgar by the agents of Japan. In which the writer addressing the Congress leaders as Japan agents. The poster also propagated anti Bacha Khan and criticized Bacha Khan and Dr Khan daughters' marriages with non-Muslim. Another propaganda poster circulated in Pashto under the caption of "it is the camp of Redshirts or the Centre of sodomy" in this poster stated that the Peshawar camp, Khudai Khedmatgar and their workers involved in sodomy. Including this propaganda some meetings and speeches were also reported. After the Jumma prayers in Mohabat Khan Mosque Peshawar Syed Gul Mohammad Shah delivered a speech in which he criticized the Japan and Hindus and also criticized Bacha Khan and his un-Islamic activates.⁶⁸

Afghan Ittihad party

On 30 October 1942, Arbab Abdul Gafoor Khan Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) of Frontier Congress and the Parliamentary Sectary of Congress resign from the Congress office. After the resignation he founded and organized the Pakhtun Jirga or Afghan Jirga. The Afghan Jirga was later setup as Afghan Ittihad Party. The aims and objectives of new organization were to liberate the Pakhtuns from the clutches of the Congress and worked for the unity of the Frontier Muslim against Congress and Khudai Khedmatgar. The new Afghan Jirga was held some meetings at Mosques of Peshawar, Charsadda, Nowshera. In the meeting they criticized the Khan Brothers and their daughter marriages with Hindu and advice to the people for the unification of Muslim and stated that could not follow un-Islamic leadership to associates himself with Hindu Congress but joined the Muslim Party.⁶⁹ The member of the Afghan Jirga was increased; many people and influential Mullah joined the Afghan Jirga including Badshah Gul son of Haji Sahib of Turangzai. Due to the new office Barriers were elected in a meeting held at Peshawar office on January

66 Khan, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Its Impact upon the Frontier Tribes, 194-195.

67 Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Rekhtia Rekhtia De, (Peshawar: Bacha Khan Research Centre, 2021), 137-142.

68 Special Branch Report, Congress: Anti Congress Propaganda General File, Serial No. 674, Bundle No. 42, dated 1943, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

69 C.I.D, the Afghan Jirga or Pashtun Jirga Utmanzai Charsadda Peshawar, Serial No. 823, Bundle No. 51 dated 1942, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

1944, many members were participated. The Arbab Abdur Ghafoor was nominated the President of the Afghan Jirga, Mian Abdullah Shah became Vice President and Zarin Khan of Nowshera became secretary, Zain Khan joint secretary and Afzal Khan became Treasurer.

During the annual conference of Afghan Jirga on April 1944, many people participated in the conference including Bakht Jamal, the ex-President of Frontier Muslim league. The conference start with the message of Manki Sharif and his wishes for the Afghan Jirga. Many speeches were delivered in which the Bakht Jamal expressing his creed of the Pakistan and supported the aims and objectives of the Afghan Jirga. At the meeting of Afghan Jirga passed some resolution; (a) demanding the Frontier Government to close all brothels in the province and forbid non-Muslim to sell Islamic book. (b) Demanding the government to established the Qazi Mahkama as embodied in the Sharia Act. (c) Demanding the government to make suitable arrangement for the supply of food grains to masses.⁷⁰ However, in February 1945 Abdul Wahid Khan Secretary of Muslim League, Nowshera informed the editor of Nawa-i-Waqat Lahore that some active member of Afghan Jirga meets him and discuss the affiliation of their Organization with All India Muslim League. While he promised them that he would be discuss it with Muhammad Ali Jannah. Therefore, a meeting was held after the Jumma prayer at Mohabat Khan Mosque Peshawar. In this meeting Zain Khan recited verses in the praise of the Pakistan, Arbab Abdul Ghaffor Khan explained the significance and supported the Muslim League scheme of Pakistan. And express his desire that suitable person would be nominated to contest the election on the ticket of Muslim League.⁷¹

While in October 1945, Arbab Abdul Ghaffor affiliated the Afghan Jirga with Muslim league. But later Arbab Abdul Ghaffor was temporary clashes with the Muslim league during the Selection Board meeting on tickets. He declared that the Afghan Jirga would put up eight candidates for the election and left the meeting because he had not given any ticket. Consequently, he threats that Afghan Jirga would run its own candidates and refused to support the Muslim League candidate in the election campaign. Arbab Abdul Ghafoor was the most prominent leader of the Pakistan movement in the North West Frontier Province in 1946-47.⁷² In Frontier Province the Afghan Jirga provided environment for Muslim league and its demand of Pakistan. Due to Abdul Qayyum Khan the Congress Frontier Provincial representative in the central legislation in 1937, joined Muslim League in August 1945 and became the Muslim League candidate for 1946 election from Peshawar. Another x-president of Frontier Congress, Ghulam Mahammad Khan joined and supported the Pakistan Movement. However, the Khudai Khedmatgar commander in chief, Rab Nawaz Khan also joined the Muslim League and organized the volunteers as Muslim National Guards. The propaganda against the Congress based on religion and the environment inculcated by the Afghan Itehad Party or Afghan Jirga for the Muslim

⁷⁰ C.I.D, Afghan Girga or Pashtun Girga Utmanzai Charsadda Peshawar, Serial No. 824, Bundle No. 51, dated 1943, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

⁷¹ C.I.D, the Afghan Girga or Pashtun Girga Utmanzai Charsadda Peshawar, Serial No. 825, Bundle No. 51, dated 1945, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

⁷² Jansson, India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan, 147-148.

league. consequently, the Muslim League emerged in the Frontier Province and became the second largest party in the 1946 election in NWFP.⁷³

Frontier Partition Issue and formation of Zalmi Pakhtun

After the second World War, the Labour Party came into the power in July 1945, the new Prime Minister Clement Atlee announced that the time reached to transfer the power of British India to handover the Indians. However, the power transfer process was slow due to the political tension between the Congress and Muslim League. On June 1945 Simla Conference were held between the Congress and Muslim League in which Congress was not ready to accept Muslim league as the sole Muslim representative party of India. On 21 August the Viceroy announced election to be held in the start of 1946 to know about the strength of two political parties.⁷⁴ The provincial election was held on February 1946, in which the Frontier Muslim League contests 38 Muslim seats out of total 50 seats. The Muslim league won only 17 seats, while Congress won majority with 30 seats. The Jamiat-al-Ulama won 2 seats and Akali Dal 1 seats, once again Dr Khan under the Congress flag formed Ministry. After the election the Britain Cabinet Mission arrived to India to solve the problem of transferring power to Indians. Meetings were proposed between Jinnah and Nehru but the agreement was rejected by both Congress and Muslim League. The Mission was failed, British announce to try their best and return.⁷⁵ The British Government invited Congress and Muslim league for Second Simla Conference to reach the conclusion. But the Second Simla Conference was also failed because Muslim League could not agree less then Pakistan and consider himself the representative of all Indian Muslim. However, the Cabinet Mission declared that if Congress and Muslim league did not reach the conclusion, they would impose its own decisions on both.⁷⁶

The situation at the end of 1946 was very tense when the communal violence was reported. The Frontier Muslim league, which had been inactive before, had transformed into a strong rival of the Congress. While Dr. Khan Sahib still held a comfortable majority in the assembly, keeping the province under Congress control. The Muslim League could only challenge the Congress through non-parliamentary means. Young leaders Fida Mohammad, the president of the Peshawar City Muslim League, had long advocated for civil disobedience to shed the image of being a passive league, and this idea gained increasing support within the League. In December 1946, the communal violence erupted, the situation rapidly deteriorated. On the night of December 7th and 8th, tribesmen from across the border attacked the village of Battal in the Hazara district and set the bazaar on fire. The following night, the village of Oghi suffered the same fate. These raids were organized and incited by religious leaders working with fanatical tribes as retaliation for events in Bihar.⁷⁷ To prevent the escalation of communal violence against minorities, the Frontier Congress took decisive actions in Hazara district. They imposed heavy fines on the tribes residing in

⁷³ Ibid., 161-162.

⁷⁴ Khan, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Its Impact upon the Frontier Tribes, 211.

⁷⁵ Shah, Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism, 139.

⁷⁶ Khan, Rekhtia Rekhtia De, 165-168.

⁷⁷ Jansson, India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan, 190.

the Black Mountain region and demanded the surrender of a certain number of rifles and men as a guarantee for future peaceful behavior.⁷⁸ Abdul Qayyum expressed the Frontier Muslim League's reaction as following; In Bihar, thousands of Muslims were brutally killed, but no one considered imposing punitive fines on the Hindus of Bihar or organizing military campaigns against them. Consequently, the Frontier Muslim League established the War Council, led by Pir of Manki, and instructed the Frontier League committee to maintain a force of Mujahidin prepared for engaging in civil disobedience against the Congress Ministry.⁷⁹ Due to Muslim League organized a group of Muslim Student Federation with the financial aids of Pir of Manki Sharif known as Muslim National Guards some time called Ghazi. This group of students was trained on minor terrorist activities. They played prominent role in the Frontier League politics and its demonstrations.⁸⁰

However, in Hazara district jointly Hindu and Sikhs were thirty-one thousand out of these twenty thousand had fled the areas due to communal violence. The Frontier Muslim League exploited the situation against the Congress government visited Hazara and advised the people that not obey the order of government.⁸¹ In the beginning of January 1947 another matter was reported as a pregnant Sikh women husband were killed by a Muslim gang and converted her to Islam and married a member of gang whom killed her husband. The issue taken publicity due to the authority brought the women to Peshawar Dr Khan house. During her stay with Dr Khan, she stated on the front of her family and new husband that she wanted to return Sikhism. The Muslim League got opportunity to politicize the issue and claimed that it was her free will converted to Islam but pressed the government to return her to Sikhism.⁸² Due to these violent events in February 1947, after the permission from Bacha Khan his elder son Ghani Khan organizing Zalmi Pakhtun to counter the communal violence and propaganda against the Congress and Khudai Khedmatgar. Ghani Khan and Wali Khan visited different villages recruited the volunteer with weapons for Zalmi Pakhtun. Bacha Khan stated regarding the Zalmi Pakhtun that it's the reaction of Pakhtuns against the Muslim League violence and belongs to those whom believed armed defense against the violence and terrorism. He clearly stated that the Khudai Khedmatgar had not connection with Zalmi Pakhtun, while he still believed on non-violence. Zalmi Pakhtun a independence party belongs to those whom believed on violence for the defense of non-violence people and their land and for general peace.⁸³

When 3rd June partition plan of the British Government proposal discussed the Viceroy with the two leading political parties. According to the proposal that referendum would be held in NWFP to joined Pakistan or India, and decided that for the partition of Bengal and Punjab a commission would be appointed. June 1948 was

78 Khan, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Its Impact upon the Frontier Tribes, 230.

79 Shah, North West Frontier Province, 142.

80 Jansson, India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan, 196.

81 Khan, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Its Impact upon the Frontier Tribes, 230-231.

82 Jansson, India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan, 191-192.

83 Special Branch Report, Congress: Zalmi Pakhtoon, Serial No. 670, Bundle No. 42, dated 1947, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

announced a deadline for the transfer of power. The Muslim League and Congress accept the 3rd June proposal while the Frontier Congress and Khudai Khedmatgar opposed the proposal of referendum in NWFP.⁸⁴ Due to on 9 June reported as Ghani Khan held a meeting at Tangi village, in which he explained the aims and objectives of Zalmi Pakhtuns and described the Pakistan as detrimental to the interest of the Pakhtuns. He advocated the establishment of separate state Pakhtunistan. And stated that the British would quite India very soon, while police had not capable to maintained peace and order in the province but the Zalmi Pakhtun had maintained peace.⁸⁵

On 11 June the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee meeting were held, in which they decided to boycott the referendum unless the referendum option were changed to Pakistan verses Pakhtunistan instead of Hindustan. In the meeting resolution were passed to authorities Bacha Khan. Therefore, Mountbatten arranged a meeting between Jinnah and Bacha Khan at Viceroy House, but Jinnah refused to have any discussion with Bacha Khan due to the Meeting was failed.⁸⁶ A joined meeting of the Frontier Congress, Khudai Khedmatgar and Zalmi Pakhtun were held on 21 June at Bannu. The political situation and the AICC decision regarding the partition were discussed, and demanded the establishment of separate Pakhtun state based on its own constitution an Islamic concept of democracy equality and social justice based on the Pakhtuns tradition and culture. It was decided to boycott the referendum because it did not include the Pakhtunistan option.⁸⁷

However, the Jinnah appointed the Frontier Muslim League Referendum Committee under the Pir of Manki Sharif, and started their referendum campaign usually on Islamic line.⁸⁸ The referendum scheduled for July 6th, 1947, was assigned to British army officers who had administrative and police responsibilities. They were supported by 17,000 soldiers under a special ordinance. Criticism arose from the Frontier Congress and Nehru towards Governor Caroe, as they accused him of supporting the Muslim League. In response to the criticism, Mountbatten compelled Caroe to take leave and appointed Lieutenant General Lockhart as the acting governor from June 26th to August 13th, 1947. The official announcement of the referendum's result took place on July 20th. Out of the 572,798 individuals eligible to vote, 289,244 voted in favor of Pakistan, 2,874 voted in favor of joining India, and 286,370 abstained from voting. This meant that 50.49 percent of the electorate in the province voted to join Pakistan. As the referendum was heavily one-sided, the Muslim League faced no significant obstacles.⁸⁹

Therefore, serious concerns were raised regarding the nature of the referendum. Erland Jansson describes the poll as follows: "The referendum was overseen by the army, but there were insufficient British officers to supervise the

84 Khan, Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgar, 430-433.

85 Special Branch Report, Congress: Disarming of Zalmi Pakhtoon, Serial No. 673, Bundle No. 42, dated 1947, Provincial Archie, Government of NWFP.

86 Jansson, India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan, 212.

87 Shah, Ethnicity Islam and Nationalism, 220.

88 Jansson, India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan, 217.

89 Khan, Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Its Impact upon the Frontier Tribes, 240-241.

actual polling process. Consequently, the task was entrusted to the regular election staffs, which were predominantly in favor of the Muslim League. With no Congress election agents present, the election staff had considerable freedom to act as they pleased". The Muslim League consistently denied allegations of fraudulent votes and manipulation. They argued that their workers had no opportunity to influence the referendum since the province was governed by a congress Chief minister.⁹⁰ The Muslim League in NWFP reconsidered their demand for the resignation of Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry. Although Dr. Khan Sahib had no immediate plans to resign, he had mentioned in a private conversation that he would consider resigning if he was given assurances that a general election would be held in the near future.⁹¹

CONCLUSION

The Pakhtuns nationalist and socialist both contributed in the liberation of British India. Their combined effort for the Pakhtuns society to educate them socially, economically as well as politically. The politics of socialism under the non-violent nationalism within the Frontier Congress challenge the British authority on the front line of frontier. While the Ghallah Dir peasants uprising was the turning point for the socialist to support the peasant against his own Frontier Congress Ministry. The Ghallah Dir peasants uprising became the case of ideological split between the nationalist and socialist within the Frontier Congress. The Frontier Socialist Party under the flag of Congress supported the peasants and lead their demand against the landlords, while the Congress Ministry of Dr Khan trying to control the law-and-order situation in Ghallah Dir. Therefore, Dr Khan warn the socialist leaders to quit the peasant activity if not he will expel them from the Congress but the socialist continues their struggle under Congress. The All-India National Congress high command make a committee to report the Ghallah Dir peasant uprising and to solve the dispute of socialist and nationalist in the Frontier Congress.

In 1939, the socialist and communist grew up in the presidential election of All-India National Congress, Subhas Chandra Bose was elected the president but he resigns from the presidentship of Congress because Gandhi still influences on the high command of Congress. He organized the Forward Bloc within the congress, to capture the congress leftist element particularly socialist and communist. However, the Frontier Province represented by Mian Akbar Shah became the member of working committee of Forward Bloc and formed the Frontier Forward Bloc within the Frontier Congress. The socialist faction of Frontier Forward Bloc supports the central Forward Bloc and play their role in the Bose escape to Afghanistan.

During the second world war the congress opposed the Cripps Mission and opposed the British help in War and started the Quit India Movement against the British. Meanwhile the Muslim League supported the British in the War and opposed the congress slogan with the slogan of divide and quit India. The Muslim League

⁹⁰ Himayatullah Yaqubi, "Pakistan National Awami Party: Nature and Direction of Politics" PhD diss QAU (2015), 40.

⁹¹ Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad, "Electoral Politics In NWFP. 1988-1999", PhD diss QAU (2010). 81.

played their card to show loyal toward British and support to agreed them on the demand of separate homeland. It was the turning point for the Muslim league to strong their hold on the Muslim majority provinces due to the anti-congress propaganda started against the Muslim congress leadership. Particularly in Frontier Province the anti-Bacha Khan and Khudai Khedmatgar propaganda based on the Islam to counter Khudai Khedmatgar on the line of religion. The Afghan Ittehad Party formation to promote anti Khudai Khedmatgar propaganda and create environment for the Muslim League. The Afghan Ittehad Party openly propagate anti-Bacha Khan, Khudai Khedmatgar speeches called them Japan agent, Hindu etc. and supported the Muslim League demand of Pakistan. Meanwhile in 1945, the Afghan Ittehad Party merged in Muslim League which was the emergence of the Muslim League in the Frontier Province, due to the Muslim league emerged as the second largest party in the 1946 election.

During the partition, when the communist party of India accept the formation of Pakistan and the All-India National Congress accept the 3rd June plan of partition. some Pakhtun socialist also support the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. some socialist was actively supported the Muslim league during partition. While the Pakhtun nationalist stand against the decision of partition and demanding the option of Pakhtunistan in the referendum in NWFP. However, the Pakhtun nationalist boycotted the referendum with the option of India or Pakistan and in response of communal violence promoted by Muslim league wing they formed Zalmai Pakhtun. The Zalmai Pakhtun violent nationalist group to counter the communal violence and propaganda against the Khudai Khedmatgar. When Pakistan emerged in 14, August 1947, firstly the Frontier congress cum Khudai Khedmatgar ministry were dismissed and crackdown were started by the Muslim League Pakistan against the Pakhtun nationalist, Khudai Khedmatgar. While the Bacha Khan clear their stance regarding the partition and on the Pakhtunistan issue in the first constitutional assembly of Pakistan. he interpreted the Pakhtunistan issue as regarding the name of the province and provincial autonomy.

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