
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

MUSLIM FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF INDIA BASED IN CENTRAL ASIA.

By

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(CENTRAL ASIA)
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR
PAKISTAN
1994

I dedicate this work to
MUMTAZ BEGUM,
my mother, whose affectionate
guidance led me to achieve this
distinction.

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1994

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INTRODUCTION

Central Asia and India have age old ties. Thy are not only close neighbours because of geographical contiguity, but are also bound together by ties of religion and culture. Because of geographical proximity and relgio-cultural affinity, the Indian Muslims have always looked for succour to their Central Asian brethren in hours of trial and tribulations. Central Asia, on its part, has always extended a helping hand as and when asked for by the former. This cooperation finds its roots in history.

When the British established their supremacy in India, they deprived the Muslims of their legitimate rights. Not only this, they made the Muslims the target of their cruelties as the British considered them as a potential threat to their rule in India. The Muslims were left with no choice but to rise against their enemy - the British. The freedom struggle that ensued was fought by the Indian Muslims from different angles; some sought constitutional remedy for the problem, others opted for taking up arms. The latter course of action was adopted by the religious elite hailing mostly from the Deobandi School.

Mean while another significant development took place. The khilafat in Turkey which was the symbol of the Muslim's spiritual and temporal unity was put in Jeopardy at the hands of the Europeans in the First World War. The British Government which fought in the war on the Allied side became a party against the Muslims. As there was a danger to the holy places being under the control of Turkey,

the Indian Muslims became very sensitive towards all the developments taking place in this direction.

Thus with the march of time, the sentimental inclination of the Indian Muslims towards Turkey grew stronger. The "Comrade" and the "al-Hilal", the two known Muslim newspapers of the time played a significant role in awakening the conscience of the Muslim populace. The educated youth of the time, particularly the students of Government College Lahore and Islamiya College Peshawar, impressed by the firey articles of the above two newspapers, could not remain indifferent to the developments. Without any substantial material possessions, heedless of the consequences, they bade farewell to their home and hearth in pursuit of restoring the Muslim dignity. They thus travelled to Central Asia and made it as their bastion against their enemy. Other prominent Muslims who based themselves in Central Asia and fought the liberation struggle from there included Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, Maulana Barkatullah Bhupali, Dr. Abdul Ghani Jalalpuri, Aziz Hindhi, Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori, Maulvi Bashir, Iqbal Shaidai, Maulvi Abdur Rab Barq Peshawari, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Haji Sahib Turangzai, Dr. Noor Muhammad Sindhi and many more.

The present research has examined in detail the factors and motives that forced the freedom seekers to migrate and base themselves in foreign countries. They were resource less yet they were going to collide with a mighty empire though they were not unaware of their constraints and difficulties. Their devotion to their country, their bravery and their love for adventure were exemplary and this thing

has been given due attention to as for as possible. No minute event that explains their sacrifice for the cause of their country therefore has been left untouched.

Bulk of the literature on the subject is available at the Peshawar Archives, the Tribal cell Peshawar, the National Archives Islamabad, and the National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, the richest repositories. These places can offer ample material relevant to the subject. The material present in these places however represent government's version of the events. Luckily, the other side of the story is not dark. Majority of the participants in the adventure were educated and had the ability to enlighten their prospective researchers. They have left vast treasures of their individual observations in the form of books and papers which further the authenticity of events. Both the versions as far as possible have been carefully analysed and studied for valuable historical information. At places where government record was silent, or it could not come to the hands of the writer, indigenous record has been largely drawn upon.

I frankly admit that this work is not the hallmark of research or is a final document on the subject, yet I do claim that it is a comprehensive account embodying almost all important events concerning the topic. This writing, I am sure, will go a long way in helping other students and researchers on the subject.

ZAHID SHAH

CHAPTER - I

MIGRATION TO AFGHANISTAN AND INDEPENDENT TERRITORIES DURING WORLD WAR-I

World War-I (1914-18) offered an opportunity to the Indian Muslim rebels to migrate to Afghanistan, a neighbouring Muslim country, and its adjoining independent territories to launch Jehad (Holy War), and oust the British from the Indian sub-continent. The fire of anti-British feelings among the Indian Muslims had been smouldering for many years but it burst into flames during World War-I. Certain reasons may be attributed to Muslim animosity towards the British. The British, after their victory in the 1857 war, had deprived Muslims of their sovereign power, and their social, economic, religious and political fabric was torn to pieces. The British thought that the Muslims had masterminded the war and they subjected them to inhuman treatment. Those Muslims who were suspected to have taken part in the rebellion, were executed publicly and their dead-bodies, tied in the skins of pigs, were burnt. Some were greesed with the fat of pigs and were set on fire. Others were branded with hot iron rods[1]. The Muslim religious elite was the main target of British vendetta, and in the city of Delhi alone, five hundred Ulema (religious scholars) were executed. The same way, in a general massacre that lasted for seven days, twenty seven thousand Muslims were put to death. To shock the Muslims,

some prisoners, arrested from Sheikhupura and Gujranwala were brought to the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore, and executed there.

So ruthless was the drive that innocent women, children and the disabled could not escape punishment. The dignity and honour of none of the respectable Muslim was secure. Apart from human killings, some villages were burnt to ashes to render the dwellers shelterless. Freedom of expression was suppressed and the natives could not utter a single word against their alien rulers. A person invoking the Al-mighty Allah's help in favour of the oppressed, was considered a rebel and shot dead.

The religion of Islam was not secure at the hands of the rulers, and schools, colleges and hospitals were made the centers of proselytizing activities. Christian priests were summoned to India to engage in polemic debates with the Muslim religious scholars who ridiculed both Islam and the Muslims. Establishment of Islamic Madrassas (schools) was discouraged as these institutions could prove to be the centres of rebellion. The building of the Delhi Muslim University known as Madrassa-e-Rahimiya of Shah Waliullah which had produced men like Maulana Qasim Nanotvi and Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi was blown with cannons and its site sold to Hindus. Masjids-e-Akbari, where Shah Abdul Qadir had been teaching Tafseer for forty years and where he sat to translate the Holy Quran into urdu was razed to the ground and upon the site a club was constructed. Missionary schools were opened in different parts of India with a view to spreading the religion of Christianity, and young students of these schools were required to answer questions

about God's existence in accordance with the teachings of Christianity. India was robbed of its riches and with the Indian wealth factories were established in England. Waqf Jagirs of the Musalmans of India were confiscated in favour of the Government. Muslim law of Inheritance was altered and their religious rites and customs were laughed at. Taxes were levied upon the tillers and this resulted in their abject poverty. Goods produced in India received setback with the arrival of British goods in the Indian markets, shutting the business of many. At the same time, the shortage of food made the life of the people miserable. With all this, the rulers were arrogant, proud, tyrant and selfish, and looked down upon the locals[2]. In the words of Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, "the Muslims were hounded out of employment and opportunities (and) their landed gentry was disinherited through large sale confiscations. Muslim education had been ruined through deliberate negligene on the part of the British. Persian had been ousted as the official language and replaced with English. The Muslim Qazis had lost employment when English law replaced Muslim law[3]".

Such was the gloomy atmosphere in which the Muslims found themselves after the war of 1857. Though the situation was frightening, yet the Muslim elite did not lose heart. They started fresh thinking about the future of the community, and were convinced that education was the only mean that could ashore the ship of the Muslims. But what type of education? There were two views about it. Some preferred religious education, others pleaded for English education. The former idea was adopted by the founders of Darul uloom-e-Deoband, while the latter course was

opted for by the followers of the Aligarh School.

While Muslim elite was busy in thinking about the future of the community in India, the European powers had been encroaching on Muslim territories in Asia and Africa.

To quote I.H Qureshi, "The Greeks were encouraged to rebel against Turkey by the czar Alexander-I of Russia under the influence of his Greek foreign Minister Capo d' Istra in 1821. They were successful in the beginning, but practically the whole of Europe showed interest in the venture. Money and volunteers poured in. The most notable of the volunteers was the English poet Byron. Then Russia, Britain and France Intervened asking the Turks to accept an armistice at a time when Turkish arms were victorious. Naturally the Turks refused and at this the fleets of the three countries attacked the Egyptian fleet sent by the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt Mohammad Ali, resulting in the battle of Navarino. Turkey having been defeated, accepted the treaty of Adrianople which granted Greece autonomy under the suzerainty of the Sultan. In 1832, the European powers recognized Greece as an Independent country even though Turkey had given no provocation. Greece again went into war in 1896 and was defeated by the Turks but the European powers intervened and Crete was taken away from Turkey[4]".

Similarly, "France conquered Algeria in 1830 and by the end of 1909 had brought the greater part of Sahara under its control. Tunisia, another Turkish dependency, was seized by France in 1881, though the Bey (as the Turkish hereditary Governor was styled) was permitted to remain, shorn of all real authority. Morocco,

an independent Muslim kingdom was forcibly made protectorate in 1905 by France and spain took a slice as well". "The rivalry between the western powers and Russia had some-what kept the encroachment on the Muslim countries in check, but the Anglo-Russian convention of 1908 created fresh dangers for Turkey and other Muslim countries. Iran was divided into British and Russian spheres of influence and Afghanistan's position as a buffer state was compromised[5]".

The Muslims, apart from their own miseries, felt deeply grieved over the decline and impotency of their Muslim brethren outside India. They, therefore, looked impatiently to a Muslim leader who could take their sinking ship ashore. The leader that they looked for was born on the soil of Afghanistan. He was Jamaluddin Aafghani. Born in 1838 at Asadabad (Afghanistan) in the house of Syed Safdar, a descendent of syed Ali Tarmizi[6], Jamaluddin Afghani was an outstanding person. Before he was 18, he was well versed in almost all the branches of Islamic learning including philosophy, juris- prudence, history, metaphysics, mathematics, medicine, mysticism, astronomy and astrology[7]. Having mastered almost all the dominant languages, he knew Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Pushto, French, English and Russian. He visited Hejaz, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, England, Paris, and Moscow with the single object to unify the world of Islam and make it a great power. The movement that he had launched is known as pan-Islamism-a name based mainly on the concept of "kullo Muslimoona ikhwatun" (all Muslims are brothers[8]). Jamaluddin Afghani visited India thrice; he came to India a year before the war of 1857, and stayed there for more than a year. He visited India for the second time in 1869, and lastly in 1879. He died

in 1897. The Pan-Islamist movement that surged in india in the early decades of the present century, owes its origin to the endeavours of this man.

The preaching of Jamaluddin Afghani had just created awareness in favour of world Islamic brotherhood that the Balkan wars started. In the days of Sultan Abdul Hameed II, Turkey was attacked by the European army. France attacked Tunis, and occupied it. The British Government landed its troops in Egypt. Upon this, the Young Turks founded an organization in the name of "Committee of Union and Progress" and mobilised a movement against Sultan Abdul Hameed II, forcing him to announce a constitutional government. Sultan Abdul Hameed was yet to recover form internal disorder when Italy attacked Tripoli and conquered it in 1912. The Tripoli war was not yet over, when Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro made a combined attack on Turkey in october 1912[9].

In this war Turkey lost all her European territories except Constantinople though Adrianople was recovered later. These developments could not but cause dismay among the Muslims of the subcontinent[10]. The double standards of the European powers also hurt the feelings of the Muslims. At the beginning of the war, Mr. Esquith, the Prime Minister of England and Mosewglay Mino, the Prime Minister of France issued a combined statement that whatever be the result of the war, the territorial boundaries would remain unaltered. But when Turkey was defeated, both these leaders backed out of their promise, saying that the victorious side should enjoy the fruits of success[11]. The war ended in May 1913; on May 13, 1913, a treaty was signed, according to which the lost provinces of Turkey became

independent[12].

Thus the occurrings of the Balkan wars roused the feelings of the Indian Muslims and they felt extremely anxious. Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow started taking interest in the situation. Mushir Hussain Qidwai suggested that a medical mission be sent to Turkey to help the Turkish Red Crescent in looking after the wounded and the sick. The proposal was warmly supported by the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abdul Bari as well as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. But the practical steps were taken by Mushir Hussain Qidwai, the Ali Brothers and Maulana Abdul Bari[13]. A medical mission, led by Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, an eminent physician and a nationalist leader, consisting of 24 other Indians chosen from various province including five doctors therefore proceeded to Turkey by an Italian ship called "Sardeyna" in December 1912. The mission rendered services to the war victims, and returned to India in August 1913[14]. Mushir Hussain Qidwai, the Ali Brothers and Maulana Abdul Bari also laid the foundation of the Majlis-e-Khuddam-e-Kaba almost simultaneously. The purpose of this organization was to serve the cause of the Muslims of the world, and especially the Turks. Its membership soon rose to nine thousand[15]. In order to pay thanks to the Muslims of India for their help during the Balkan wars, Kamal Omar Bey and Adnan Bey were sent to India on behalf of the Turkish Red Crescent Society. They visited Bombay, Delhi, Lahore, Patna, and Calcutta and established contact with the leading Muslims. A little later, they were joined by S. M. Taufiq, the editor of a Constantinople based news paper, followed by Muhammad Samey Bey and Lieutenant Mustafa Sadiq of the Turkish army who

disembarked at Karachi in July 1913, and visited Bombay, Delhi, and Lahore to cement relations with the pan-Islamists. Therefore, three Turks and their two servants landed at Bombay with the intention of going to Kashghar to contact the central Asian Muslims with a view to gain their support on the basis of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turan sentiments[16]. The Pro-Turkish sentiments of the Indian Muslims during the Balkan wars rose so high that the portraits of Anwar Pasha, Jamal Pash, Kamaal Pasha, Azamat Pasha and other Turkish leaders began to be sold in bazars and were purchased at high prices[17]. According to Zafar Hassan Aibak, when the British sided with the Balkans against Muslim Turks at the conclusion of the war, the Muslim students of Government College Lahore, particularly Khushi Muhammad and Shujaullah decided to take revenge from the British and for this purpose they made an attempt to burn the building of the college[18]. On the other hand, to extend financial help to the Turks, the students made generous contributions. The students were restive and the writings of the weekly "Comrade" of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and the weekly "al-Hilal" and "al-Balagh" of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad added fuel to fire. Dr. Allama Mohammad Iqbal also eulogised the martyres of Tripoli in his verses. Thus the Muslim students of Government College Lahore wanted to obtain bombs to use them against the British. As some bombs had been prepared and used by the Hindus during their protest on the occassion of the partition of Bengal in 1905, the students sent one of their fellow, Sheikh Abdulllah, to Calcutta to meet Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and collect the bombs from the Hindus through his influence. The Maulana did not agree with the proposal of the students[19].

Meanwhile the First World War started. The war had its origin in Europe, but it soon spread to the East. On June 28, 1914, Arch Duke Ferdinand, the Austrian prince, was assassinated at Sarajeo, the capital of the Austrian Province of Bosnia, which in ancient time was part of Serbia. Austria, therefore, accused Serbia to have planned the murder of its prince and declared war against it on July 28, 1914. Russia, the ally of Serbia, asked its forces to be on the alert. At this Germany tried to keep Russia outside the conflict, but Russia refused to lend an ear to the German request. Upon this, Germany declared war against Russia as well. France, being the ally of Russia, involved itself in the conflict on the Russian side. With a view to attacking France, Germany asked Belgium to allow its forces to cross its territory. Britain, sensing the gravity of the situation warned against using the territories of neutral states, but German obstinacy forced Britain to declare war against it. Japan also plunged into the war. America entered the war in 1917. The Allied side consisted of seventeen states, including Britain, France, Italy, United States of America, Japan, Belgium, China, Cuba, Greece, Poland, Portugal and Romania. The military power of Germany at that time was known all over the world. She, owning to her technological advancement possessed such weapons which other countries of the world could not think of. The fort of Belgium was thus blown with German artillery. Losses were inflicted on Serbia, and France had to flee. Germany made substantial headway in the begining. In November 1914, Turkey also entered the war on the German's side. It was so because in 1877-78, during the Russo-Turkish war, two Turkish provinces Yaseena and Herzegovina were given under Austrian

administration at the instigation of Britain. Britain had also prevented Turkish troops to cross Egypt during the Tripoli war. Having entered the war, the Turks, under the leadership of Anwar Pasha , made an attack on the Caucasus, but had to retreat. Russia captured Rom-e. On February 2, 1915, the Turks tried to capture the Suez Canal in Egypt, but could not succeed. The Allies on the other hand, on February 19,1915, attacked Darra Danyal with a view to capturing Constantinople but the Turks gave them a tough time. Three attacks of the Allies on Darra Danyal were repulsed by the Turks. The Turks also inflicted losses on the Allies with 31389 dead, 78740 wounded and 9708 missing as a result of the Allied land and naval attack on April 25, 1915. In Mesopotamia, however, the Turks received successive setbacks, because of the British Indian Army and the revolt of the Arabs, with which Turkey lost much of its territories there. At last, on October, 30,1918, negotiations for a temporary truce started at Midlass and from that day onward Turkey ended its war activities. On November 9,1918, Germany appealed for compromise and Willium-II of Germany, abdicating his throne, ran away.

The all India National Congress was on the Allied side during the war, and Gandhi, whose mind might not have been fully occupied by the philosophy of non-violence, was one of the chief supporters of Britain who used to secure recruits for it in India[20]. The Muslims, on the other hand, were deeply inclined towards Turkey. To them, "the Ottoman Empire was the only Muslim power which had maintained a semblance of authority [and] they felt that any diminution in its sovereignty or territory would mean a blow to the Independent existence of Islam as a world

community[21]". The Turkish Sultan who had been claiming to be the caliph of the Muslim world[22], on his entering the war in 1914, declared that the fighting against the Allies was a Jehad, asking the world of Islam to participate in it[23]. This declaration on the part of the khalifa had a remarkable impact upon the Indian Muslims, though they could not express their sentiments openly. When the Turkish Khalifa asserted that this war was a jehad, seven hundred Hajis led by two members of the Khuddam-e-Kaba remained in Hejaz to join the war on the side of Turkey[24]. The British Indian Government was apprehensive of the situation. The Government, therefore hoped to neutralize Muslim hostility by promising that they would respect the status of the caliph and the right of the Turks to their homeland[25]. On November 2, 1914, the British Indian Government issued the following proclamation: The Indian Muslims should believe that we or our Allies in this war would not do any such thing which could harm and affect the religious feelings of the Muslims. The holy places of Islam will be protected from desecration and every care will be taken to maintain its dignity. No action will be taken against the capital of Islam. We are fighting against Turkish Ministers who are working under the influence of Germany, and not against Khalifatul Muslimeen. The British Government accepted this responsibility not only on its own, but also on behalf of the Allied[26]. This was the British answer to the jehad proclamation of the Khalifatul Muslimeen. A large number of Muslims were made to believe that the British would respect their promise and so their rage diluted. The Muslim rank and file in the British Indian Army also began to think that it was a war fought not against Turkey[27].

In order to divide Muslim opinion further, the British "tried their best to obtain Fatwas (religious sanction) from the Ulema (religious scholars) calling for the support of the British during the war. Such Fatwas were based on the concept that the British, being christian, were Ahli-kitab (owners of a revealed Book). The British succeeded in obtaining Fatwas and pacifing the Muslims to a considerable extent[28]. Another strategy was to publish, with great show, the news of the Allied conquests. The papers carrying the news were distributed free of cost and the teachers in schools were required to read the news to their students[29].

The Muslims, on the other hand, were not inactive. More zealous among them were busy to propagate for Turkey. An Indian Muslim published a weekly newspaper called Jehan-e-Islam from Constantinople which carried articles in Turkish, Arabic and Urdu with a view to influence opinion in central Asia, Arabic speaking countries and the Indian sub-continent. The paper was obtained regularly by the editors of Muslim news papers and Pan-Islamists of the sub-continent[30]. An Egyptian Pan-Islamist, Abdul Aziz Shawesh was, in the same way, engaged by the "Committee of Union and Progress" of Turkey to work against the Allied. He was in touch with the Indians like Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Imaduaddin of Calcutta. Maulana Muhammad Ali wrote and published his famous article "the choice of the Turks" in his weekly "comrade" the publication of which played upon the feelings of the Indian Muslims, evoking great sympathy for Turkey against its enemies. The Maulana was interned and his press was banned. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, the editor of "Zamindar" was likewise interned for making a pro-Turkish

speech[31]. The weekly review of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad called "al-Hilal" which "was written in highly or-nate language" and had a disproportionately large percentage of Arabic and Persian words, meant mainly for the highly educated elite was another medium that communicated pro-Turkish ideas[32]. Maulana Azad also was interned for his pro-Turkish writings and his "al-Hilal" had to cease publications. The leading Muslims of India, at last, held a secret meeting in the office of the "Hamdard" in Delhi and discussed the possibilities of Jehad[33].

Long before the Indian Muslim elite engaged themselves in influencing opinion for migration to central Asia to wage jehad against the British during world war I, a number of individuals had gone over to Afghanistan to work for the independence of India form there. Dr. Abdul Ghanî of Jalalpur Jittan, district Gujrat (punjab) was one such person. Mohammad Abdul Ghani, born in 1864 in the house of Maulvi Abdus Samad known as Daswandi Khan, a school teacher of Jalalpur Jittan, hailed from a Rajput family[34]. He passed his Matric from Mission High School, Gujart and was admitted to Government College Lahore where he did his graduation in Medical Sciences with distinction in 1883. He proceeded to England for higher eduction on Government scholarship. In London he turned against the British. He used to visit the House of Commons, took part in its debates and advocated the cause of the Indian and Turkish Muslims. The speeches that he delivered in the House of Commons were published by the Indian press[35]. Impressed by Dr. Abdul Ghanî's capabilities, Amir Abdur Rehman, the Afghan monarch, invited him to Afghanistan to work there. Abdul Ghani accepted the offer considering

Afghanistan as a suitable bastion for his struggle against the British. He came to Afghanistan in 1891 and was appointed as private English secretary to the Amir[36]. Earlier, the British had offered him Jagir and a handsome salary if he could agree to work as secretary to the Viceroy in India, but Abdul Ghani had rejected the offer. The Turkish government also sought his service. Abdul Ghani left Kabul for India in 1893 and was appointed as the principal of Islamia College Lahore, which worked under the supervision of Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam. He worked there till 1896. Dr. Abdul Ghani became the principal because he wanted to organize the college on Islamic lines so that its every student become a freedom seeker. In 1896, he again left for Kabul to grant the request of the Afghan ruler. The elder brother of Dr. Abdul Ghani, Maulana Najaf Ali Khan was also summoned to Kabul by the Amir in 1892, where he was appointed to translate English books on medicine into Persian[39].

The Amirul Mujahjideen Smasta,* Buner, independent territory, Niamatullah also engaged a number of secrct agents in Punjab and Bangal to collect money and recruits for jehad against the British during World War-I. Maulana Wali Mohammad, Maulvi Mohammad Ahmad Mian, Maulvi Fazal Elahi and Maulvi Abdul Qadir Qasoori were the agents who worked in the Punjab. Those busy in Patna and Bihar included Maulana Abdul Aziz Tarbakri, Hafiz Abdullah Tripui, Dr. Farid and Hafiz Mohammad Siddique. In calcutta, all of the Ahli-Hadith businessmen were engaged in this task. The organization of the Mujahidden was a ramfication that spread all over the sub-continent and worked through the messengers of the Amirul Mujahideen stationed at Smasta. The messengers were Abdul Qadir, Abdullah and Abdur Rahim

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* Smasta is the name of a place in Buner areas (Malakand Division)west of the river Indus where the headquarter of Indian Mujahideen was situated.Smasta also means cave in Pushto.

alias Maulvi Bashir[40]. Of the agents and messengers, the most active were Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Maulvi Wali Mohammad and Maulvi Fazal Elahi. Abdur Rahim alias Maulvi Bashir was a native of Lahore. His father Maulvi Rahim Bakhsh, an eminent scholar and the author of many books belonged to the Ahli-Hadith group and was the Imam and Khatib of the historic Chinnian-wali Mosque[41]. Abdur Rahim left his wife and children and a prosperous business in Lahore and migrated to the Indian Mujahideen headquarter at Smasta during World War-I[42]. He had learnt English and could speak Persian and Pushto fluently. Maulvi Bashir was "extremely active, prudent, sharp, Intelligent and revolutionary in the real sense"[43]. Besides, he was "extremely sincere, expert propagandist against the British and an orator of high caliber"[44]. Maulvi Wali Mohammad like-wise was an influential person. When the British lannched a campaign against the agents of the Amirul Mujahideen, he migrated to Smasta along with one hundred other Mujahids from Punjab[45]. At the time of his abscontion to the independent territory, he had some three hundred Murids in Ferozpur District alone and a greater number of Murids in Sialkot district, where he passed most of his time. Most of his sermons used to be on the topic of Hijrat[46]. It is pertinent to reproduce here the statement of one Jalal son of Jaman, Arian, of village Radiwala, police station Ferozpur sadar, District Ferozpur, age about 40 years, who migrated to Smasta, and was later caught and interrogated by the criminal investigation police, Government of India, to illustrate how the Mujahids were induced to migrate and in which circumstances they travelled to the independent territory. The story runs: " My father is dead, but my mother is still

living.... About four or five years before I married, but I divorced my wife after one year. I have no children. We are agriculturists, but have no land of our own.... I was first educated in the primary school at village Khai Phema which I attended for two or three years and then left off. Subsequently, I learnt the Quran from Wali Mohammad , Nasir Ahmad and Ilahi Bakhsh who from time to time worked as Imams of the Mosque."

"I have been knowing M.Wali Mohammad of Pathuhi Wala for a long time, but took Bait (allegiance) at his hands some time back. After Biat I used to go to Patuhiwala on Fridays.... A lot of people used to assemble there.... After prayers, the Maulvi Sahib invariably preached on Hijrat and Jehad. He used to say that the kafirs (Infidels) had taken possession of the country and that India was no longer a Darul Aman. Musalmans should therefore leave their homes and go to independent territory for Jehad. Verses from the Quran were quoted to illustrate how Hazrat Mohammad(صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم) engaged in Jehad under similar circumstances."

"Eight or nine months after the disappearance of M. Wali Mohammad a person who looked like a Pathan of the Hazara District came and met myself, Usman and Elahi Bakhsh at Rodewala and Ali Mohammad at Khai Phema. His name was Abdul Ghafoor or Abdullah and he was aged about 40/45 years.... and had a black beard.... He said that M. Wali Mohammad wanted us at Smasta. It was agreed that those of us, who wanted to go, should meet him on a certain day at the Lahore Railway station. Accordingly myself, Mohammad, Illahi, Shada and Usman of Rodewala, Bagga of Pituwala and Wali Mohammad of Khai Phema assembled on the

canal bank near village Khai and had a consultation. We decided to go."

"On the appointed day, we left our village and took the train from different stations viz Ferozpur, Ganda Sighwala etc. We reached Kasur at about 10. a.m. We remained at Kasur till 4 p.m. Some of us got shalwars and shirts made here. We left by the 4 p.m. train and reached lahore in the evening. The agent met us near the Musafar Khana (Restaurant). Those who had not got shalwars were supplied with the same by the agent. All of us then purchased tickets and left by the 10.p.m. train. We occupied separate compartments. At Serai Kala we changed and reached Haripur about noon. A man named Mohammad Ali of Tannol received us at the station. We immediately left on foot and reached Swabi Mera about evening. Here we ate some roasted grain and proceeded onword intending to pass Darband by night because the agents were afraid of encountering the Nawab's men. Passing Darband, we crossed by boat next afternoon. We passed the night in another village and then reached Smasta next day"[47].

This was the way the Muslims migrated to the independent territory. The government had a watch over the emigrants and in the beginning of 1916, it was reported to the Goverment that large number of people were going to join the "Hindustani Fanatics" at Smasta. The Political Thesildar of Oghi himself reported that in June 1916 alone some one hundred and forty men had gone over to the Mujahideen headquarter followed on 7 July by a further party of 60 - A form of partial blockade was ,therefore, instituted in July and all C.I.D. personnel in India were asked to report at once regarding anyone believed to be leaving for the

"Hindustani Fanatics"[48] The Mujahids travelled to the independent territory in adverse circumstances and apart from the Government's blockade their journey was full of hazards. A young man named Mohammad Iqbal intending to go to the Mujhahid's headquarter at Smasta via Buner was obstructed by the Buner-wals, was robbed of his possessions and sent home back[49]. The emigrants at Smata had two objects in view. First, it was their belief that Imam Mehdi was going to reappear in the world at Smasta and that they would join him on his march towards British India.Second, the Germans would come at the same time, conquer India from the British and would reward them[50].

Maulvi Barkat Ali,B.A, former E-A.C and sub-judge Laylpur, resident of Gujranwala Punjab, who was sentenced by the chief court of Punjab to two years imprisonment in a "fabricated" case of bribery also managed his escape to Smasta.The Government of India had announced a reward of Rs.1000/- for his arrest[51]. Barkat Ali was a learned man and one of the close confidants of Amir Niamatullah. He was home sick and always remained gloomy in separation from his children. He later proved instrumental in bringing about a rapproachment between Amir Niamatullah and the British Government.

The Mujahid agents in Punjab, Maulvi Fazal Elahi of Wazirabad and Maulve Bashir got themselves introduced with the students of Government College Lahore. The students, who were very restive and had been busy in preparing plans how to help the Turks, were persuaded by the two agents to migrate to the independent territory and take active part in the jehad[52]. In order to convince the students, Maulve

Fazal Elahi supplied them with a copy of the Fatwa of Jehad issued by the Khalifatul Muslimeen, commanding to join the Turkish army against the British. The students were also asked to understand the following verses of the Quran and obey the order contained there in:

قُلْ إِنْ كَانَ آبَآؤُكُمْ وَأَبْنَآؤُكُمْ وَإِخْوَانُكُمْ وَأَزْوَاجُكُمْ
وَعَشِيرَتُكُمْ وَأَمْوَالٌ نِ اقْتَرَفْتُمُوهَا وَتِجَارَةٌ تَخْشَوْنَ
كَسَادَهَا وَمَسَاكِنُ تَرْضَوْنَهَا أَحَبَّ إِلَيْكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ
وَجِهَادٍ فِي سَبِيلِهِ فَتَرَبَّصُوا حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ اللَّهُ بِأَمْرِهِ ط. وَاللَّهُ
لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْفَاسِقِينَ ۝ . سورہ توبہ آیت ۲۴-

Say thou : if your fathers and your sons and your brothers and your wives and your family and the riches ye have acquired and the traffic wherein ye fear a slackening and the dwellings which please you are dearer unto you than Allah and his apostle and striving in His cause, then wait until Allah bringeth about His decree and Allah guideth not the ungody people[53] (Holy Quran Sura - Tauba, Ruku-3, Para-10: Translation by Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi).

All the students agreed. One of them manely Zafer Hassan Aibak, who later played an important role in the movement, made decision of his migration after istikhara (Looking to a command in a dream). The students vowed to keep the matter of migration secret[54]. The following students took oath to proceed on Jehad:

I. Government College Lahore:

M.A Students:

1. Abdul Bari.
2. Sheikh Abdullah.

B.A Students:

1. Abdul Majeed Khan.
2. Shah Nawaz Khan.
3. Sheikh Abdul Qadir.
4. Abdul Rashid.
5. Ghulam Hussain.
6. Zafar Hassan Aibak.

II. Chief College Lahore:

B.A Student : Abdul Khaliq

III. Islamiya College Lahore.

B.A Student : Mohammad Hassan.

4. Medical College Lahore.

Second Year Students:

i. Khushi Mohammad.
ii. Abdul Majeed.
iii. Rehmat Ali.
iv. Shujaullah.

Later on they were joined by two other students namely Allah Nawaz and a new convert, Abdul Haq. The swearing took place on sunday, June, 6, 1915. Having

Sworn to wage Jehad, the students asked Maulvi Fazal Elahi and Maulvi Bashir to take them to the Frontier. Arrangements for the journey for the students of Government College Lahore were made by Abdullah, and for students of the rest of the colleges by Khushi Mohammad. Before leaving, the students were divided in-to two groups. One group was to start its journey on February 5, 1915 immediately after the Friday prayer while the other group was to leave at night the same day. The first group consisted of Khushi Mohammad, Abdullah, Abdul Bari, Abdul Majeed Khan, Allah Nawaz Khan, and Sheikh Abdul Qadir. The second group comprised Abdur Rashid, Abdul Hameed, Mohammad Hassan, Rehmat Ali, Shah Nawaz khan, Abdul Haq and Zafar Hassan Aibak. To avoid C.I.D. personnel's watch, the students had to travel in different bogies. They arrived in Haripur, Hazara, on February 6, and stayed in the house of Mohammad Elahi[55]. The students left Haripur for Samsta and after a tough and hazarduous journey in the Black Mountains area arrived in the Mujahid's headquarter on February 8, 1915. At Smasta, the students saw that some one hundred Mujahideen together with their children had settled there. It would be interesting to narrate here the story of Abdur Rehman. He was the brother of Abdullah and took interest in the jehad talks.He was very keen to accompany his brother on his journey to the independent territory, but feared that his brother would not allow him to go along. So after three days of their departure, he followed their foot steps, and arrived at Haripur, but found that the students had left for Smasta. He decided to go there.The journey from Haripur onward was very tough. So on his way to Smasta, he felt tired and weak and was unable to move ahead. At a place in the

mountains, he fell on the groud and laid helplessly. Luckily, at Smasta, Abdullah, his brother, got news of his arrival, and returned to receive him. He found his brother lying in the way and took him along to Smasta.

Three days after the arrival of the students on February 11, Maulivi Abdul Karim, the Amir of the Mujahidden passed away and was succeeded by his nephew, Maulvi Niamatullah. The conditions at Smasta were not good and the accommodation provided to the students was not worth dwelling.. Here they saw that the Mujahid Force was no match to the British regular army, and, being resourceless, the Amir looked to the Afghan Government for material assistance. Besides, the weapons of the Mujahids were not dependable to counter the British in fighting. The students therefore, concluded that it was futile on their part to expect something concrete from the Smasta Mujahids, so they decided to proceed to Kabul without further loss of time. Thus they sent a mission to Kabul to secure the Afghan Government's permission. The mission returned with the news that the Afghan Government was ready to allow them into Afghanistan.

The students left Smasta for Kabul on March 19, 1915. Their guide to lead them to the Afghan border was a semi-educated Mulla named Abdur Rehman. In between Smasta and Bajaur, they traversed unbeaten tracks, sometime climbing over high mountains, for fear of encountering with the police. It was their keen desire to know something about the war conditions and so in the course of their journey thay searched for news papers to get fresh news. The defeat of the Turks in the war grieved them, while on their success, they offered Namaz-e-Shukrana (prayer of

thanks). For Ten days they had to travel to reach the Afghan border. On their way, they passed nights in mosques which were full of pests and because of which they could not go to sleep, though they felt tired. In mosques,they recited the Quran. There was no means of transportation from the Afghan border to take them to Jalalabad except the Kunar river which carried boats. The boats were made of animal's dried skins and were filled with air but were risky. The students had to ride on these boats. They at last arrived in Jalalabad. Here the students stayed at a carvan serai. One morning, when Rehmat Ali and Abdur Rashid, were going out of the compound of the serai for ablution, they were stopped by police and were ordered to confine themselves to the serai only. Thus the students sensed that something had gone wrong. Later, it was learnt that the news of the departure of the students was published in the Indian Newspapers and that sir Michael O. Dwayer Quarantine had issued ordersthat they should be shot. The students remained in detention in Afghanistan for four years until the assassination of Amir Habibullah Khan in 1919[56].

The Silk letter movement which later gained popularity among the Indian Muslims was an important event in the history of Indian liberation struggle that caused migration of a number of leading men to independent territories, Afghanistan and Central Asia. The founder of this movement was Sheikhul Hind Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan. Borm at Rai Bareli in 1268AH, Mehmoodul Hassan was brought up at Deoband. The first student of Drul Uloom-e-Deoband, he remained under the care of Maulana Qasim Nanotvi for some time. He taught Hadith at Darul uloom-e-Deoband for forty years[57], and Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, Maulana Ashraf Ali

Thanvi, Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, Moulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri, Maulana Uzair Gul of Skha kot, Maulana Abdur Rahim Pupalazi and Maulana Ahamd Ali Lahori who later played an important role in the Indian freedom struggle were amongst his students[58]. At Deowbend, the Sheikhul Hind, worked against the British. He was in touch with some of the leading Indians. Besides Muslims, he had established contact with the Hindu and Sikh revolutionaries, who used to visit him secretly. To accommodate these visitors, the Maulana had rented a house at Deoband[59]. The secret activities of Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan were not unknown to the British. One of the confidants of the Maulana, Anees Ahmad, the son of a school Head Master in Bijnore, was instrumental in passing information to the British. Out-wardly faithful, Anees Ahamd was accepted by Mehmoodul Hassan as his disciple[60]. Getting the information, the Government decided to arrest Mehmoodul Hassan, but Dr.Mukhtar Ahamd Ansari luckily came to know about the government intention and he informed Sheikhul Hind in time[61].

The Maulana left India for Hejaz minutes before his arrest. The government of India's telegraphic orders to the provincial government to arrest Sheikhul Hind reached Bombay that the ship carrying the Maulana left the harbour. The same happened at Aden[62]. The Maulana thought that his stay in Hejaz would facilitate the implementation of his scheme[63].

Prior to his departure, Mehmoodul Hassan made efforts to activate the Mujahid camp on the Frontier and for this purpose he sent his trusted companions in the area to bring about unity among the tribes and to effect reconciliation between the

tribes and the Mujahids. This he was able to achieve to a considerable extent because he had a number of pupils in the area who had influence among the local people. Haji Sahib Turangzai was among such persons. He was asked to leave British territory and migrate to the adjoining independent territory[64]. Haji Sahib's original name was Fazli Wahid Bacha. He was born in 1858 in the house of Fazli Ahmad. His ancestors belonged to the Pirzada caste[65] and hailed from Qandahar in Afghanistan[66]. Being the disciple of Maulvi Najmuddin known as Hadda Mulla, Haji Sahib was widely respected and he enjoyed great influence among the followers of late Mullah Hadda[67]. Mullah Hadda himself had been a great Mujahid, and he had taken active part in the tribal uprising of 1897.

Besides, Haji Sahib was respected in most of the villages of the Peshawar district. He was given some land in the rural area of Turangzai (Charsadda) and there he had built a Mosque and a hostel for Sheikhs (his disciples). He was Jailed and released in 1908 on a surity of Rs. 5000/- given by ten leading Maliks of Hashtnagar that he would not preach in an inflamatory way or leave Charsadda without permission. Haji Sahib asked the people to boycott government's schools and start learning the Quran in the Mosques. His principal endeavour was to abolish payment for women. In June 1915, he left British territory and started agitation against the government in Buner, which resulted in an attack on Rustam in August the same year. Thereafter, he crossed the swat area and went to the Mohmand's country known as Yaghistan[68]. According to some reports, the Haji Sahib had shifted to Yaghistan on the request of Sheikhul Hind in order to implement his scheme of

revolt[69]. According to Dr. Lal Baha, Roos Keppel, the chief commissioner of North West Frontier province, thought that the "intriguers" in Peshawar wanted to make use of Haji Sabhi's influence for their own purpose and therefore terrified him by sending repeated messages that the Government had issued orders of his arrest and imprisonment in the Peshawar Jail and thus that is why the Haji Sahib had left British territory[70].

Maulvi Taj Mohammad, Maulvi Fazli Rabbi and Fazal Mehmood Makhfi, other prominent men of the area, also accompanied the Haji Sahib in crossing over to the Mohmand country[71]. Maulana Taj Mohammad, resident of Mardan, was a graduate and served as Head Master at the Islamiya High School, Peshawar. He resigned government service and proceeded to the tribal territory to take part in the Jehad[72]. Fazal Mehmood Makhfi, known as Manogai Maulvi Sahib in Dir area, was a Pushto poet and a revolutionary. Born in Painda Khel, Charsadda, in 1884 in the house of Noor Mohammad Khan, he was a Mohmand by tribe and his ancestors hailed from Bajaur. He passed his Middle from Charsadda School in 1910, then did his Matric from the Islamiya High School, Peshawar and was admitted to the Edwardes College Peshawar. While still in second year class, he left the college in pursuit of religious education and was admitted into the Darul Uloom-Islamiya Agra where his uncle Sher Mohammad Khan was a teacher. Thereafter he proceeded to Deoband and became the student of Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan. He joined the Hizbullah movement on the persuasion of Mehmoodul Hassan, and was introduced to Haji Sahib Turangzai who appointed him as a teacher in an Islamic Madrassa at

Gadar, Mardan[73]. He also joined government service, but when desired by the government to proceed to Masqat to bring rifles he left service, and migrated to Yaghistan in the company of Haji Sahib[74]. Being the companion of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, he also was running schools in Mohmand and Bajaur territories[75]. He had a hand in the assassination of Habibullah Khan[76].

Maulana Fazli Rabbi belonged to the Peshawar district and was a graduate from Deoband. Being the student of Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan, he was asked by his teacher to proceed to Yaghistan and convince the people for Jehad there. He proceeded to the independent territory in the company of Maulana Saifur-Rehman and fought against the British in 1915 under Haji Sahib Turangzai. Thereafter he proceeded to Afghanistan and entered the Amir's service in the education Department. He had been granted the rank of colonal in the Junood-e-Rabbania[77], a military organization of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi. Another prominent disciple of the Shekhul-Hind who migrated to independent territory and took part in the Jehad was Maulana Saifur Rehman. Born in 1883 in the house of Ghulam Khan, he was the resident of Mathra (Doaba) district Charsadda and his ancestors, Durrani popalzai by tribe, hailed from Qandahar in Afghanistan. He studied Hadith (traditions of the Holy Prophet) from Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and was appointed as teacher in the state of Tonk. He also remained as a head teacher in the Fatehpuri Mosque, Delhi. Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan desired him to become a member of the Jehad mission and migrate to the independent territory. Thus, on the request of the Sheikhul Hind, he migrated to Yaghistan and started preaching to win supporters for Jehad. He was

a firy speaker and attracted a large number of people to the Jehad Movement[78]. According to British record, he was dismissed from the Fatehpuri School Delhi for his extremist tendencies and that it was he who induced Haji Fazli Wahid Bacha of Turangzai to leave the district in June 1915 and raise Jehad[79]. He alone was responsible for the Buner disturbances. He accompanied Haji Fazli Wahid of Turangzai to the Mohmand country. He was an impressive preacher with a tragic style, and he generally ended his sermons in tears. The British considered him as one of the most dangerous men in N.W.F.P. and that his hostility to the government was unbounded. However, a suspicion existed among the people that he was a paid agitator. He later travelled to Afghanistan and settled there. He was granted an allowance by the Amir[80]. He was also called as Maulvi Abdur Rehman[81].

The most trusted lieutenant that Maulana Mehmoodul Hussan left in India was Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi who offered great sacrifices for the cause of the movement and pushed it to a greater height. Mau-lana Ubaidullah Sindhi was a born revolutionary and had zeal in his heart to oust the British from India though violent means. He was born on Friday, 12 Moharram 1289 AH corresponding to 10 March 1872 in a Hindu family of village Chianwali, district Sialkot. The popular view that he was born in a Sikh family has benen rejected by the Maulana him self[82]. His father's name was Ram Singh, son of Jespat Rai son of Gulab Rai. He was a post-humous child and his father had died four months earlier than his birth. His family's profession was the work of goldsmith but had entered government service for some time. He was however brought up in a Sikh family. His two maternal uncles served

as patwaris in Jampur, district Dera Ghazi Khan and his family shifted to their home, while the Maulana was a child. He was admitted into an urdu Middle School Jampur in 1878. He was in class III that he accepted Islam. He then left home for Sialkot, where he stayed for the next two years.

In 1884, in school, an Arya Samaj (a Hindu organization) boy gave him a book called "Tukhfatul Hind", and its repeated study strengthened his belief about the truth of Islam. His two other Hindu friends gave him another book "Taqwiatul Eman" of Maulana Ismael Shaheed and the study of this book helped him in understanding the concept of Islamic monotheism. He then learnt Namaz (Prayer) and adopted the name of ubaidullah after the name of the author of "Tukhftul Hind".

In 1887, he left home for Kotla Raham Shah, district Muzafargarh in the company of a friend, but chased by his relatives, he had to go to Sind, where he met Hazrat Hafez Mohammad Sadiq, an eminent person of his time. He remained in his company for some months. It was in Sind that he acquainted himself with the Islamic practices and rites. The Hafez also initiated him into the Qadiriyya order of mysticism and as a result of this he seldom felt awed in the presence of great men. Leaving the place of Hafiz Mohammad Sadiq, he went to the state of Bahawalpur where he studied preliminary books on Islam in the nearby Mosques.Thereafter he arrived in Deenpur where he studied books upto Hidaya (a higher book on Islam) from Maulvi Abdul Qadir. In Shawal 1305 A.H, he came over to Kotla Raham Shah back and studied from Maulvi Khuda Bakhsh. Here he learnt about the famous Darul-Uloom-e-Deoband and decided to go there. He boarded a train form Muzafargarh

station and arrived Deoband where he was admitted into the Darul Uloom-e-Deeoband in Safar 1306 AH. He studied logic and sharha-e-Jaami. One of his teacher was Maulana Hakeem Mohammad Hassan. He then left Deoband and arrived in the Madrassa of Maulana Ahmad Hassan Kanpuri. He also studied some books from Maulvi Naziruddin in the Madrassa-e-Awlia, Rampur for some time. He returned to Deoband in Safar 1307 AH, and was admitted into the Darul Uloom again. This time he studied Jamia Tarmizi (a book on Hadith) from Sheikhul Hind Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan. He studied Sunan-e-Abu Daood (another book on Hadith) from Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi at Gangoh. He then left for Delhi, and studied the rest of the books on Hadith from Maulana Abdul Karim Punjabi who was a student of Maulana Qasim Nanotwi and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi. At Delhi, he also studied Bukhari and / Tarmizi's two lessons from Maulana Nazeer Hussain. Leaving Delhi, he arrived in Bhar Chondi, district Sakhar (Sind) in Jamaddussani 1308 AH. In Shawal 1308 AH, Maualan Ubaidullah Sindhi proceeded to Amort district Sakhar and met with Maulana Abul Hassan Taj Mehmood, who arranged a marriage between Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and the daughter of Maulvi Mohammad Azeem Khan, Yousufzai, a teacher in Islamya School Sakhar. His wife proved very helpful in his study. At Amort he also established a press which ran for two years, and published some rare books in Arabic and Sindhi languages. A monthly Journal called Hidayathul Akhwam was also published. In Sind, Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi also benefitted from the company of Maulana Rashiduddin Sahib-ul-Ilmus Salis who was a Mujaddid of Da'Wat-e-Tawheed-o-Jehad, and Maulana Abu Turab Rashidullah, an

outstanding scholar of Hadith but he was impressed much by the book of Shah Waliullah Dehlwi called Hujjatullah-ul-Baligha.

During the course of his studies Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi had come across the biography of Maulana Mohammad Ismael Shaheed, and this had impressed him to a considerable degree. He took an essay from the writings of the Maulana and in the light of that he prepared a brief political programme which was both Islamic and revolutionary. He then formed a party and included in it the students studying Hujjat ullahul Baligha (a book of Shah Waliullah) from Sheikhul Hind. In 1315 A.H, Maulana Sindhi arrived in Deoband and discussed his plan of Jehad with Sheikhul Hind Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan, who appreciated it as a step towards the unity of the Muslims, making certain corrections in it. He advised Maulana Sindhi to proceed further with his mission. Thenceforth Maulana Ubaidullah kept close contact with Sheikhul Hind. In 1327, Maulana Sindhi was summoned to Deoband by Sheikhul Hind and asked to stay there to carry out his plan. Maulana Sindhi stayed at Deoband for four years and worked in collaboration with the Jamiatul Ansar, an organization founded by Maulana Mohammad Sadiq Sindhi[83]. From 1327 AH/1909 Maulana Sindhi was under the constant watch of the government and his schemes were no secret for officials. But the work of the Maulana was not so quick to prove a danger for the government and to force to take measures for its stopping.

When Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi's political activities reached a point that a clash with the government became unavoidable, the management of Deoband became anxious and Maulana Sheikhul Hind ordered Maulana Sindhi to shift his work from

Deoband to Delhi[84] as it was the policy of Deoband not to provide a pretext to the government to close or destroy the institution[85]. Maulana Sindi therefore went to Delhi and founded an institution called Nazaratul Maarif in 1321 AH. with the help of Hakim Ajmal Khan and Nawab Waqarul Mulik. The institution aimed at popularizing the teachings of Islam among the Muslim youth who came under the influence of British secular education[86]. The graduates from Aligarh were its focus[87]. At Nazaratul Maarif, Maulana Sindhi was able to write two pamphlets stressing the importance of world Muslim solidarity with a Plan of action to invade India from outside followed by a rebillion from within[88].

The devotion of Maulana Sindhi to Sheikhul Hind was unbounded[89]. One day, while Maulana Sindhi was busy in teaching at Nazaratul Maarif-al-Qurania, Delhi, he was approached by Seikhul Hind and conveyed to him his feelings that being in the Madrassa Maulana Sindhi could produce only twenty men as true Muslims in a specifc period of time, while in the same duration the British destroyed the beliefs of thousands of Muslims. Maulana Sindhi was convinced by the argument. To please Sheckhul Hind, he secretly decided to leave India for Kabul and initiate his freedom struggle from there. In the beggining, he contacted several friends in Sind, Punjab and N.W.F.P and made them members of the movement. In Delhi, Dr.Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were won over to join the movement[90]. Later, Maulana Mehmmodul Hassan himself asked Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, to leave India for Kabul for the reason that Afghanistan had become the centre of German, Turkish and Indian rebel

activities[91]. Moreover, the tribes and the Mujahids in the independent territory in the beginning had gained success against the British, but later they had begun to face difficulties because of the shortage of arms and the British propaganda that the Muslims of the Frontier area should wait far a lead from the Amir of Afghanistan. The Majahids faced a serious difficulty because of this propaganda as Habibullah Khan was never to declare war against the Britsh. Maulana Sindhi was asked to go to Afghanistan so that he would create conducive conditions for the Mujahids there[92].

The political group of Delhi (Dr. Ansari, the Ali Brothers and Maulana Azad etc)when apprised of sheikhul Hind's instruction to Maulan Sindhi to proceed to Afghanistan, also made him as their representative[93]. No comprehensive programme was given to Maulana Sindhi to pursue in Kabul[94]. Before his departure for Kabul, Maulana Sindhi wanted to make arrangement for some money to meet the expenses of his journey. He, therefore, wrote to Seth Abdullah Haroon for provision of two thousand rupees. The money was provided[95]. Having received the money, Maulana Sindhi left for Kabul in August 1915/1333 A.H. He went straight to Peshawar to meet Sahibzada Abdul Qayum, as the Maulana knew that he was under the surveillance of the CID personnel. Arriving in Peshawar, Maulana Sindhi met the son-in law of S.A Qayum and pretended to be an unwise man. The son in law of Sahibzada Abdul Qayum was an army officer and in charge of the border defence. The Maulana repeatedly requested him to allow him to go to Afghanistan where he had some important work, and if arrangement was made for his journey to Afghanistan through a government vehicle which was going there, he would pray for

him and that God would reward him greatly for the good deed. The army officer laughed at him. He dodged the Maulana and the Maulana made repeated requests. The aim of the Maulana was to give an impression to the officer that he was a coward who could not dare to cross the border without government's permission. When the Maulana became sure that watch over him has been loosened he left Peshawar for Quetta on his way to Afghanistan[96]. According to another report, the Maulana came from Delhi to Sindh[97]. Probably he left Delhi for Sindh, then proceeded to Peshawar and from Peshawar he went to Quetta. At Baluchistan, he travelled through deserts and mountains and at times moved about in unimportant places, to dodge the CID personnel[98]. All the money that he had obtained form Seth Abdullah Haroon was given away as bribes at different police posts[99]. When he again became penny-less, he wrote for financial assistance to Sheikh Abdur Rahim, the brother of Acharya Kripalani, and a close asociate of the Sheikhul Hind. Sheikh Abdur Rahim sold arnanments and house-hold equipment, and the money obtained was sent to Maulana Sindhi which helped him greatly in his further journey to Afghanistan[100]. According to another report, Sheikh Abdur Rahim Sindhi accompanied Maualna Ubaidullah Sindhi while the latter was travelling trough Baluchistan on his way to Afghanistan[101]. In India, the CID Personnel boecame alert, and hastened their efforts to arrest Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi. A person who resembled Maulana Sindhi and belonged to Jamaat-e-Mukhliseen was arrested. He kept quiet and went straight to jail. When he became sure that Maulana Sindhi would have crossed the border he shouted that he was not Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and

that he be released[102].

Maulana Sindhi entered Afghnistan in october 1915. Having no passport with him he went to Soorabek a district of Qandahar and met the Hakim (Governor) there. The governer at first supsected him but when he asked the Maulana certain questions and the Maulana was able to satisfy him, he took him as an honourable guest; and made arrangements for his further journey in Afghanistan[103]. He arrived in Kabul on October, 15, 1915. Maulana Sindhi, being in Kabul did not divulge to every one that he had been sent to Kabul by Sheikhul Hind for fear of being maligned by the Britsh.

When in 1911 the incident of the Kanpur Mosque occurred, a delegation comprising Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Syed Wazir Hussain visited England. In those days Maulana Mohammad Ali Qasoori was the president of the Muslim Associaton Cambridge, and had, by this time, turned anti-British as the British had been showing hostility towards the Muslims while the latter were not able to handle their enemy. The Al Hilal of Maulana Azad too threw light on this topic. Maulana Mohammad Ali, Qassori took this as a challenge and decided to do some service to the Muslims. The intimate friendship of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jouhar, and the influence of Maulana Azad made him to vow to fight against British imprealism. Therefore he devised plans and exchanged views with the top leaders of India. At last he decided to leave England and proceed to Kabul to start his work from there[104]. Thus he arrived in Kabul in March 1915 and met Amir Habibulah Khan who appointed him as the principal of Habibiya college, Kabul[105].

In 1915, four students from Kohat also managed to arrive in Kabul. The students were Abdul Latif, Hafiz Abdul Majid, Faqir Shah and Pir Bakhsh. Abdul Latif and Hafiz Abdul Majid had passed Middle while Faqir Shah and Pir Bakhsh had passed primary. They hoped that in Kabul the Amir would deal with them fairly, but soon after their arrival they were put in detention in the same house where the students from Lahore had been kept[106].

In June 1917, Syed Ali Abbas Bukhari of Peshawar succeeded in migrating from Peshawar to Kabul. He belonged to the revolutionary party of Haji Sahib Turngzai[107], and was known for his anti-British feelings among the Peshawarites. He had established links with Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, and Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, and had met with Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi in Delhi. Upon his arrival in Kabul, he was detained by Amir Habibullah Khan and was put in solitary confinement. None was allowed to meet him. However, bribing police officials, the Lahorite students and later Maulana Sindhi used to meet him in Jail[108]. He died in Kabul on 5th Moharam 1345 AH[109].

Druing World War-I two Pushtoon officers of the Britsh Indian Army deserted their ranks in a battlefield in France and joined the German forces. The Germans hailed them and taking advantage of their experience, desired them to take part in an attack on Britsh India. They were, therefore, sent to Yaghistan to serve under Haji Sahib Turangzai for some time. Maulana Mohammad Ali Qasoori who had, by this time, arrived in Yaghistan from Kabul also met these officers. The officers were assigned the task of imparting military training to the Mujahids. They

later proceeded to Tirah in the company of Maulvi Mohammad Bashir where they helped the Mujahids in conducting raids on British posts[110]

A large number of individuals left their homes in India and migrated to Afghanistan to fight for the liberation of their country from abroad. Their acount will be discussed in proper places.

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CHAPTER - II

INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS AT KABUL DURING WORLD WAR - I

The Indian Muslims who travelled to Afghanistan and based themselves at Kabul were sanguine about the Afghan government's support in their favour. As British India was busy in the war against the Germans and the Turks, these Indian Muslims planned to stab the British in the back. With this object in view, they organised a combined German - Turkish - Afghan attack through the Tirah mountains in the tribal territory with a simultaneous revolt within India. But, tragic enough, neither the Afghan government extended a whole hearted support, nor were they themselves able to manipulate their resources and launch an attack on their own. To evaluate the Indian Freedom struggle from abroad, it is imperative to examine the conditions that prevailed in Afghanistan at that time.

Afghanistan, on the eve of the arrival of the Indian freedom fighters, was ruled by Amir Habibullah Khan (1901-19) who had ascended the throne in succession to his father Amir Abdur Rehman. Habibullah was comfort-loving and depraved. He had four wives, but inspite of this, he had kept some one hundred slave-girls in his seraglio[1] . According to another report, the Amir had kept nine hundred to one thousand women in his harem, most of whom had been brought as slave girls from Nooristan, a land conquered by the Amir's forces. No girl of

Nooristan, the report runs, was allowed to marry except with the prior approval of the Amir. Besides, each year, newly grown girls were presented in the court of the Amir, who selected the most beautiful and charming for himself, keeping them in the harem. The rest were allowed to marry. From other parts of Afghanistan, the parents brought their young daughters and presented them to the Amir, who selected the most beautiful, conferring awards on their parents[2]. The Amir led a luxurious life and the British ambassador at Kabul provided him with all sorts of luxuries[3].

Soon after his rising to power, Habibullah Khan divided Afghanistan into six Vilayats (Provinces): Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Farah, Afghan Turkistan and Badakhshan and gave them under the care of governors called Hakims[4]. Habibullah retained some of the basic features of his father's (Abdur Rehman[24]) administration. His father was a tyrant and had run the administration of the country with a firm hand. Habibullah, thus was an absolute monarch and his word was regarded as law. Outwardly, a Qazi was appointed who decided cases according to the law of Islam, but his powers were limited and the Amir himself was the final court of Justice. The Qazi used to fear the Amir and lacked the courage to speak a word against the unislamic practices of his master[5].

Corruption, it is reported, was rampant both among the Afghan officials and the public[6]. Ignorance and unemployment in the same way had struck the roots of the Afghan society and majority of the Afghan people earned their livelihood through robbery and plunder[7]. Some time the robbers formed part of the governor's staff and gave share to the governors from the looted goods[8]. The feudal

class was influential. A feudal lord, who kept twenty to thirty horses, hundreds of rifles, servants, four wives and slave girls in his harem was unable to afford his expenses out of the income from his landed property and thus he established links with the corrupt officials, who waived their revenue dues. Besides, they established links with the robbers[9]. Majority of the government functionaries who were appointed to high posts were unqualified and inefficient[10]. Persians, Tajiks and the Kabulites monopolized government offices and most of them were flatterers who obliged their bosses through mean means. The Qazis and the officers accepted no application until recommended by their subordinates[11]. The Amir had a peculiar attitude towards the government officials and he dealt with them as his personal servants. On certain occasions, he beat them for trivial mistakes, later conferring awards on them. Even the highest dignitaries were not exempt from punishment. Resultantly, 'the Afghan officials had a peculiar psychology who had lost self confidence, self-respect and were subservient to the Amir's caprice'[12].

The Afghan army too was not worth the name. Recruitment in its ranks was made in accordance with the principle of "Hasht Nafri" (eight person). This system required selection of one person from amongst a group of eight through a draw. A soldier, having served for two years, in the army could proceed on retirement. A system called 'Iwaz' was in vogue which allowed a person to perform duty on behalf of another. This practice adversely affected the regularity and discipline among the soldiers. Men of the royal tribes such as Muhammad Zai, Mangal, Jadran and Sadozai were exempt from military service[13]. The Afghan army

was short of modern weapons. Though there were cannons and machine-guns, yet they were out of date. The Afghan soldiers lived a miserable life. They were not sound financially and their salaries did not suffice their needs. There was no state kitchen for soldiers in the country and each soldier had to cook his own food. Resultantly, most of the time they remained busy fetching in necessaries, finding little time for military training [14]. The Afghan army, to sum up, lacked in discipline and training and was no match to the British Indian regular troops.

In foreign relations, the Amir stood for friendly relations with the British Indian government. Personally he honoured the agreements his father had signed with the British, and as a result of this he received financial aid[15]. But members of the royal family were divided over the Amir's friendly relations with the British. Sardar Nasrullah Khan, brother of the Amir, was anti-British, and was averse to developing any firendship with them, while the two sons of the Amir, Sardar Inayatullah Khan and Sardar Amanullah Khan were poles apart over this question. The former sided with his father, while the latter supported his uncle's view.

Dr. Abdul Ghani, perhaps the first eminent Indian freedom-seeker present in Kabul, opined that the Afghan society needed reforms prior to its ability to help the Indians in their struggle against the British. To him, education appeared the sole means that could carry ashore the sinking ship of the brotherly society. He therefore, devised a scheme of Universal education in collaboration with his brother, Maulana Najaf Ali Khan, and as a first step established a school called Maktaba-e-Habibiya in which 400 students were enrolled. Some of the teachers of this school

were graduates and had been summoned from India[16]. The two brothers subsequently toured different parts of Afghanistan and established schools in thirteen other big cities on the pattern of Makaba-e-Habibiya. Five thousand students in all received education in these institutions upto matriculation. Dr. Abdul Ghani and his brother supervised the curriculum, text books and examinations. Besides, the "Pesh-Imams" (those who lead the congregational prayers) of sixty Mosques were paid by the government to impart religious education to the students. An institution called "Darut Tarjuma wa Talif" was also founded by Dr. Abdul Ghani. Its chief function was to translate books for general comprehension. Apart from local scholars, some graduates from India such a Ghulam Hussain Jallandhry and Muzafar Khan Marwat worked in the "Darut Tarjuma wa Talif"[17]. Dr. Abdul Ghani's other contributions included the establishment of a Teacher Training School, a Medical School and an evening school for the Labourers[18]. Dr. Abdul ghani also shared in the legislative business under Amir Habibullah Khan[19].

The British Indian government watched these developments inside Afghanistan vigilantly, taking them as a potential threat to future British designs in that country. Major Roos Keppel, British agent in the Khyber reported to Lord Robert on January 25,1902 thus: "The news from Afghanistan is not very good and the impression is gaining ground that Amir Habibullah has not the making of a strong ruler"[20].

The Government of India therefore pointed out to the Amir in 1902 that the agreements under which the subsidy was paid has been made with his late

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father personally and that it had lapsed with the latter's death[21]. Habibullah was invited to India to meet the Viceroy and discuss the prospects of a new agreement, but the Amir eschewed such a meeting[22]. Pressure on him continued and he resisted it. At last Habibullah announced that he was going to appoint emissaries to twenty four Countries in contravention to Abdur Rehman's promise with the British, stipulating that Afghanistan would not deal with any foreign country except through British mediation. At this, the British suggested to the Amir to talk to a British mission which the Amir agreed to. Thus a mission headed by Sir Louis Dane arrived in Kabul on December 12,1904 and held discussions with the Amir. One of the demands of the British mission was to put an end to the intrigues across the Durand Line, as the Afridis had been consistently harassing British Officers in the Khyber areas. The mission stayed in Kabul for about four months, but its negotiations with the Amir bore little fruit. The inflexible attitude of the Amir infuriated Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, who demanded immediate suspension of the talks, but the British cabinet pacified him. Dane, the leader of the mission, was then instructed to concede to the assurances given to the Afghans in 1880. A new treaty was thus signed on March 21, 1905 which ratified the previous agreements concluded with Amir Abdur Rehman including the subsidy of Rs: 1800,000/- . It was an apparent victory on the part of the Amir and this enhanced his prestige to a considerable degree. The Afghan nationalists termed signing of the new treaty as British recognition of Afghanistan as an independent country. The Amir thereafter paid a visit to India in early 1907.

A little later, another important development took place. The Anglo - Russian Convention, as an outcome of eighteen months secret deliberations between Russia and Great Britain, was signed at St. Peterburg (Russia) in August 1907. Major declarations of the Convention postulated that Great Britain would abstain from altering the political status of Afghanistan or force her to observe the treaty of 1905, would not interfere in its internal administration or annex any part of its territory, nor would use in any way its influence that could pose a threat to Russia. Russia, on its part, agreed to the idea that Afghanistan would remain outside her sphere of influence. The final article of the convention stipulated that the arrangement would come into effect after its ratification by the Amir of Afghanistan[23]. The Amir's reaction was sharp. He at once declared that the convention was illegal, because the Afghans had not been taken into confidence nor had they been consulted prior to its execution[24]. A message consisting of forty four pages was despatched to the Indian authorities complaining that the Convention had destroyed the political Independence of Afghanistan[25]. Habibullah pressurised the British using the card of the Frontier tribes, but in vain. In 1908, Russia and England agreed that the Convention stood valid even without the consent of Afghanistan. As a reaction, Habibullah gave signal to the Frontier tribes and the number of tribal raids increased from 56 in 1907 to 99 in 1908 and 159 in 1909.

The Afghan nationalists and the educated elite meanwhile organised themselves in the form of different groups and associations with the common name of Afghan Mashrorta Khwans (Constitutionalists). The Indians at Kabul were among

its protagonists. The movement worked underground. Some of its objectives envisaged replacing despotism by an elected parliament, diffusion of education, enforcement of the Quranic laws, guaranteeing fundamental rights, and adoption of modern methods of development. The movement revolved around three centres in Kabul: 1. The Amir's palace, 2. Associations and educational institutions and 3. Liberal Democrats led by Muhammad Wali Khan Badakhshani, the chief of the Ghulam Bachagan Khasi Amir.

The biggest group, among the Mashroota Khwans (constitutionalists) was Jamiat-e-seri Milli (national secret association). It consisted chiefly of men working in Maktaba-e-Habibiya, Madrasa-e-Shahi and Maktaba-e-Herbia, who were divided into groups of ten, each led by a Rais and a Munshi. (a chief and a secretary). Most of the chiefs and the secretaries belonged to Maktaba-e-Habibiya founded by Dr. Abdul Ghani. The leader in charge of all these small groups was Maulvi Mohammad Sarwar Khan Wasif. Some of its members stood for terrorist activities and a coup data. The headquarter of the Association was situated at Maktaba-e-Habibiya, but the members held meetings in the city of Kabul as well in the guise of social gatherings. Its membership rose to three hundred. Another important association of the constitutionalists was Anjuman-e-Sirajul Akhbar (society of Sirajul Akhbar) founded by Maulvi Abdur Rauf Khan Kandahari alias Khaki, the Head Master of Madrassa-e-Shahi (royal school) Kabul in 1906.Maulvi Muhammad Sarwar Khan Kandahari alias wasifi was its secretary. Other prominent members of the association were Maulvi Najaf Ali Khan, brother of Dr. Abdul Ghani, Haji

Haidar Bashir, Ghulam Naqsh Band Khan, Munshi Hafiz Haidar Ali Khan, Abdur Rehman and a few others. The Anjuman, in order to popularise the movement, decided to publish a newspaper, and for this purpose Maulvi Abdur Rauf Khan addressed a letter to Abdul Qadir Khan, the chief Minister, proposing the establishment of a newspaper entitled Sirajul Akhbar-e-Afghanistan on the pattern of Hablal Matin a newspaper published in persian from Calcutta, India. The paper was a fortnightly and was intended to publish articles on religious topics, government decrees, local news, court news and literature. His proposal was approved and the first issue of the newspaper in Dari language appeared in Kabul on January 11,1906. Maulvi Abdur Rauf Khan was its editor, Maulana Najaf Ali Khan sub-editor and Hafiz Haider Ali Khan as manager. Besides local news, the paper published foreign news. The paper ceased publication after its first issue. The Anjuman then voiced its ideas through its recruits and meetings.

Next in importance to Anjuman Sirajul Akhbar was Majlis-e-Jan Nisaran-e-Islam (association of the devotees of Islam). Majority of members of this association were the Indian teachers. Dr.Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Khan B.A. Maulvi Muzafar Khan Marwat and Saeed Ahmad Khan Kandahari were amongst its leading members. Akhwani Afghan (Afghan brotherhood) was another association of the constitutionalists with Mir Qasim Khan, Maulvi Abdur Rabb, Abdul Aziz Khan Kandahari, Abdul Jala Khan Kandahari and Maulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin Afghan as its members[26].

The clandestine activities of the Mashroota Khwans (constitutionalists) and the reform scheme of Dr. Abdul Ghani were at last known to Amir Habibullah Khan through his officials who terrified him that a great conspiracy was going on which envisaged the replacement of the government and killing of members of the royal family. Dr. Abdul Ghani was claimed to have been aspiring for the sovereign power[27]. Thirty eight members of the Mashroota movement including Dr. Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Khan and Muzafar Khan Marwat were imprisoned in Ark Fort Kabul in 1909. Muzafar Khan Marwat died in Jail. Seven of the arrested men, Lal Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Usman Khan, Johar shah Khan Ghorbandi, Muhammad Ayub Khan Popalzai, Muhammad Sarwar Khan, Saeedullah Khan Alkozai and Abdul Qayum Khan Alkozai were blown by cannon[28]. The drastic move on the part of the Amir roused no popular resentment, yet the victims earned the sympathy of many.

The constitutionalists and their sympathizers in another attempt revived their movement in the form of a clandestine organization called Jawanan-e-Afghan (the young Afghans). This time they focussed their attention on the Amir's palace, his family and the royal court. Inside the Amir family there were three choices for the constitutionalists or the young Afghans. Nasrullah Khan who led the anti-British conservative class, Inayatullah Khan, the leader of the pro Turkish faction, and Amanullah Khan and his father in law Mehmood Tarzi, leaders of the modernist nationalist faction vis-a-vis the pro British Habibullah and his chief Minister Qudoos Khan. Amanullah, being modernist, liberal and a man of action was their best choice

and they wished to strengthen his hands[29].

Conditions gradually changed in favour of the Mashroota Khwans, and after an interval of six years they were able to revive the Sirjul Akhbar on October, 9,1911 with the name of Sirajul Akhbar-e-Afghana. This time its editor was Mehmood Tarzi, a pan-Islamist and a prolific writer[30]. The paper continued its publication till the death of Amir Habibullah Khan in February 1919. All along the First World War the paper continued to publish anti-British and pro-Turkish news, and its copies were distributed free of cost among the leading Mullahs and were also sent by hand to persons in Peshawar. The British Indian government tried to intercept the issues of the news paper and a time came When the Viceroy himself complained to the Amir against the paper who then brought it under his direct censorship[31].

With the imprisonment of Dr. Abdul Ghani, the founder and patron in chief of Maktaba-e-Habibiya (later Habibiya College) the institution deteriorated academically, but the work left by Abdul Ghani was resumed by Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori who arrived in Afghanistan in 1914 and was appointed as principal of the College by Amir Habibullah. "There was no specific curriculum, no organised classes, and no specific medium of instruction. The teachers were at liberty to teach what they deemed necessary. Nazaratul Maarif (Syndicate) was no more than a village forum which was headed by Sardar Inayatullah Khan in his capacity as Minister for education. The secretary of the syndicate was known as Director of Public Instruction and was powerless. No major decision could be taken by him without the prior consent of the Amir and the approval by routine took no less than

six months"[32]. When Maulana Muhammad Ali took over as principal of the College, he revived it in the light of his experience in Cambridge. He evolved a new curriculum and made Persian as medium of Instruction. But difficulty was that most of the teachers being matriculates were unable to follow and teach what was contained in the new curriculum. This led to a controversy between the principal and the teaching staff. Devoted to the promotion of education in Afghanistan, Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori also prepared the blue print of a University and presented it to the Amir. The Amir appreciated the plan but desired to seek the opinion of the Qazi Quzat (Chief Justice) over it so that nothing which could harm the interest of Islam existed in the proposed scheme. The plan proposed that translation of the Holy Quran was to be compulsory for students, but the Qazi was opposed to it on the plea that unless the students had studied essential books on Islam, direct translation of the Holy Quran would twrn them to be Wahabis. He opined that the Quran was a unique book and a short cut approach to it could never prove beneficial. The Maulana on the other hand, Insisted on its inclusion in the text. The matter was referred to Sardar Inayatullah Khan who agreed with the Maulana and ordered that the scheme be presented to the Amir for his final approval. By routine the scheme could not reach the Amir in eight months[33]. Meanwhile partly because of the controversy that grew between Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori and the rest of the staff in the Habibiya College and partly because of political reasons the Maulana had to leave Kabul for Yaghistan[34].

Perhaps the most important person who came to Kabul and who was in the forefront of the freedom struggle was Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi. At Kabul, in the beginning, he lived in the house of Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim, an Indian and a teacher in the Habibiya College who was Maulana Sindh's political mentor and for whom the Maulana had a deep love and respect. Another report states that in the beginning he lived in the house of Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori[35]. The Afghan elite also had deep regard for him. On his arrival at Kabul, he was welcomed by Sardar Abdul Hadi Khan, a young boy sent by Sardar Mehmood Tarzi. After some time, the Maulana rented a house in proximity to the lodge of Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim,and started learning the principles of modern politics from Sheikh Ibrahim who had done Master in Economics and was well conversant with the art of diplomacy[36]. Maulana sindhi was then introduced to Sardar Inayatullah Khan, the son in law of Mehmood Tarzi[37]. Afraid of British vigilance, the Maulana avoided meetings with Sardar M. Nadir Khan, the commander in Chief of the Afghan army though he had contact with him and in whose name the Maulana had brought letters from the Indian elites[38]. The Maulana then met Sardar Nasrullah Khan who advised the Maulana to present his plea about his mission in writing so that it could be moved further. An eight pages statement was prepared and before its formal submission, the draft was shown to Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim who suggested a few changes in it. It was counselled to the Maulana that he should show himself as a representative of the Indian population and not of the Indian Muslims alone[39]. The suggestion worked as Amir Habibullah Khan favoured Indian nationalism vis-a-vis Muslim nationalism[40].

After some time Sardar Mehmood Tarzi Invited Maulana Sindhi to a lunch and introduced him to the sardars of the country[41]. A month later, Nasrullah invited Maulana Sindhi to Zainul Amra, his residence, and introduced him to Amir Habibullah Khan there. The Amir went through the d raft submitted by Maulana Sindi and agreed with it. He, however, advised the Maulana to work in collaboration with the Hindus. The Maulana told Zafar Hassan Aibak that he had given the temptation to the Afghan ruler, that the Indians, specially the Muslims were fighting for the liberation of India and if they came out victorious, an Afghan prince will be named as constitutional head of Delhi, and that therefore the Afghan army should extend its whole hearted support[42].

Having established himself at Kabul, Maulana Sindhi devoted himself to the betterment of the Indian Mohajirs (emigrants) who had been living in a state of misery and were under the detention of the Afghan government. As the Maulana was influential among the Afghan elite, he secured the release of these Mohajirs. After their release, the Maulana allowed them to reside in the house he was living in. Majority of the Mohajirs had come to Afghanistan only to persuade the Afghan rulers to extend support to the Indian freedom struggle and after this they intended to proceed to Turkey via Turkistan and join the Turkish army, but contrary to their expectation they were stuck in Afghanistan. After their release, the Maulana tried to persuade them to abandon the idea of crossing over to Turkey and instead prefer to stay with him in Kabul to fight the liberation struggle from there. The Maulana succeeded in this move to a considerable extent[43].

As majority of the Indian Mohajirs were educated having studied in colleges, the Maulana considered them as a precious asset through whom he wanted to bring about educational reforms in Afghanistan, but conscious of Dr.Abdul Ghani's fate, he felt this desire could not materialise for the time being. After some time, when he realized that the atmosphere was congenial, he organised these educated Mohajirs under the leadership of Abdul Bari and embarked upon the implementation of his educational strategy in the light of his experience at Nazaratul Marif, Delhi[44]. Prior to assigning the task, training of the Mohajirs on Islamic lines was necessary. The Maulana, therefore, started coaching them in the exegesis of the Quranic verses. one of the Mohajirs, Zafar Hassan Aibak attended the lectures for consecutive two years and took them down under the title of "al Mazhab Wal Siyasah Fil Quran" (Religion and Politics in the Quran)[45].

The Maulana, in consultation with his friends from Deoband viz Maulana Mansoor Ansari, Maulana Saifur Rehman and maulvi Bashir, an active member of the Jamaat e-Mujahideen, formed an organization called Junoodullah or Junood-e-Rabbaniya (Soldiers of Allah) on the pattern of Christian salvation army[46]. Its recruits rendered voluntary services and were zealous to lay down their lives for the cause of the islamic world. The formation of this army madeup the internal differences among the Mujahids[47]. The Commander in Chief of this Army was Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan and below him were the ranks of generals, colonels and lt.colonels. The Lahorite Mohajirs formed major portion of this army[48]. Maulana Saifur Rehman, Maulana Fazli Rabbi and Fazal Mehmood Makhfi held the positions

of major general, colonel and lt. colonel in the Junood-Rabbaniya respectively[49]. The Maulana also thought of raising similar contingents in different Islamic countries particularly Iran, Turkey and Arabia. For this purpose, Zafar Hassan Aibak and Muhammad Hassan Yaqoob were instructed to proceed to Hejaz and gradually form a similar organization there. The Hejaz organization was expected to collect the skin of the slaughtered animals on the occasion of Haj and to build a tannery industry there, the production of which was to be exported to various islamic countries. An Islamic Bank was also envisaged to be raised at Hejaz. Aibak and Muhammad Hassan were required to convince and persuade the pilgrims to help implement the scheme. This scheme, however, could not materialise due to unfavorable conditions[50] The Junoodullah, however was an effective organization and in addition to the afore - ementioned personnel, some delegates of Haji Sahib Turangzai also formed part of this organization[51]. The grandson of Rashid Ahamad Gonghoi, Qazi Bashiruddin, was a colonel in this army[52].

The commander in chief of the Junoodullah, Sheikhul Hind Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan, in order to get knowledge about the enemy's strength and strategy, got some volunteer secretly recruited in the British C.I.D. Staff. The volunteers so inducted were outwardly loyal to the British, but secretly passed information about the government's activities to the revolutionaries. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari was the head and patron of these volunteers[53]. Before their induction into the British staff, they were imparted training as to how would they collect information and pass it on to the men of Sheikhul Hind. At the first call, some eighty

volunteers offered themselves for training, but after a test only nineteen were found suitable. The passed candidates were coached in the secret job, the rest were assigned other duties. Working in the British staff, the revolutionary volunteers succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of young sepoys. As Haji Sahib Turangzai was busy in fighting against the British in the tribal area, he benefited much from the information passed by these secret volunteers. These volunteers carried their work upto World War - II, though some of them were arrested earlier and some got themselves discharged for fear of being apprehended.

Sheikhul Hind, Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan also sent a number of missions to foreign countries to win over international public opinion in favour of the movement. The first mission that he sent to China consisted of eight members, and was headed by Maulana Maqboolur Rehman Sarhadi, a graduate from Deoband. Mr. Shaukat Ali of bengal, who knew chinese well, was his secretary. The mission worked on Islamic lines and was able to found a secret committee with its branches spread all over the host country. A journal titled "al-Yaqeen" was started which published articles in Chinese and Urdu languages. The mission is said to have succeeded in winning the sympathies of the Chinese Muslims as well as of the general public. It worked in China from 1905 to 1909 when three of its eight delegates left for Burma, three remained in China and one left for India. Part of the mission to China when arrived in Burma, worked on philanthropic lines rather than on religious lines as a schism existed among the Burmese Muslims which had rendered work on religious lines practically impossible. In Burma, the mission met

its expenses by carrying on cloth business. Maulana Maqboolur Rehman opened a medicine shop in Rangoon. Shaukat Ali with two Hindu members of the mission returned to India in 1916 while Maulana Maqboolur Rehman stayed in Rangoon upto 1923.

Another mission led by Professor Barkatullah Bhupali, and consisting of five members, was sent to Japan for a similar purpose. Knowing Turkish, German and Japanese languages, Barkatullah was appointed as professor in college in Tokyo. Here he founded an organization called "Islamic Fraternity" with a newspaper in the same name. The paper published articles in Japanese and English. On instructions from central command, Barkatullah entrusted his work in Japan to other members of the mission and himself shifted to France where his services were badly needed. in France, Barkatullah took over from Chaudhry Rehmat Ali of the Punjab who had been running the work for the preceding four years. Here too Barkatullah founded an organization called Ghadar Party. This party founded a newspaper called Inqilab. Barkatullah remained in France for two years.

A third mission consisting of six members and led by Hardayal, a Hindu, was sent to America. Here the mission was joined by Rehmat Ali. Barkatullah also, on instruction from central command came to America. An organization Called Ghadar party and a newspaper called Inqilab were founded in America. This mission carried the business of dyes, visiting Peshawar, Lahore, Karachi, Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Dacca - places where they delivered progress reports and received further instructions. This mission left America for Berlin and then came to

Afghanistan on the eve of World War I.

Inside the country, too, Hindu - Muslim Unity was secured and both the religious elite and the modern graduates were taken into confidence.Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi was instructed to prepare a war map to facilitate the movement of an invading army. The Maulana studied English, German, French and Arabic books on War manoeuvres in the library of Peerul Ilm and mastered both old and new methods of fighting. Then he prepared a map which showed ups, downs, fronts, passages for reinforcement, routs of the invading army and supply lines.

In order to collect weapons and financial aid, centres were opened in Berlin, Constantinople, Istanbul, Ankara and Kabul. Mehendar Pratap was incharge of the Kabul headquarter who later gave way to Maulana Ubaidullah Sindihi. Hardayal was assigned work in Berlin who was able to secure alliance between Turkey and Germany and make the German government to help the Indian Freedom Fighters.

The Scheme conceived by Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan envisaged attack on British India by the Turkish army, but in between Turkey and Afghanistan lay the territory of Iran - a country which was British protectorate and opposed to Turkey and Afghanistan. Here in Afghanistan, Amir Habibullah was averse to picking a quarrel with the British, but the Afghan subjects, particularly the Pathans were sympathetic to the Freedom Fighters and could be relied upon.

As organizing a public revolt formed part of the strategy of Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan, the following centres were opened in the sub-continent: Delhi:

This was the headquarter. Mehmoodul Hassan, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, M.K. Gandhi, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Mootilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and Mehendar Pratap worked as this centre. Its branches included: Rander, Centre of Gujrat and Bombay.This centre was controlled by Ibrahim Kawi, 2) Pani Pat: Maulana Hamdullah was its Amir, 3) Lahore: This centre was run by Maulana Muhammad Ahmad Chakwali and Maulana Ahmad Ali, 4) Deenpur, Centre of Bahawalpur state was administered by Maulana Abu Siraj Ghulam Muhammad, Sajada Nasheen, 5) Imrot: This was the centre of Sind and Baluchistan and Maulana Taj Muhammad was its Amir, 6) Karachi: This centre was controlled by Maulana Muhammad Sadiq, 7) Utmanzai: Bacha Khan was incharge of this Centre, 8) Turangzai; Here Haji Sahib turangzai was responsible, 9) Bengal: Maulana Riaz Ahmad was the Chief of this Centre, 10) Oghi, Mansehra: this centre was controlled by Maulana Muhammad Ishaq.

The scheme envisaged that Turkish army would march through the Afghan territory and would attack British India with the help of the mountainous tribes. On the Kalat Front, the tribes of Kalat and Makran under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Sadiq were supposed to attack Karachi. On the Quetta Front, the tribes of Qandahar under the leadership of Hafiz Taj Mehmood Sindhi were required to help the arriving army in its attack on Quetta. The tribes of Mohmand and Masood led by Haji Sahib Turangzai were, in the same way, expected to help the friendly army in its attack on Peshawar. The tribes of Kohistan under the leadership

of Maulana Muhammad Ishaq were required to assist in the attack on Oghi. A Front in Nepal was also contemplated, where Pandit Loi was expected to lead the tribes, but this was linked with the cooperation of Russia.

The scheme further envisaged that the Turkish army after conquering India would return home and entrust the reign of government to the indian revolutionaries. In return for the Turkish assistance the Indian government would extend material help to Turkey in its fight against Britain. Territorial integrity of Afghanistan was assured to the Afghan authorities through Raja Mehendar Pratap. Mehmoodul Hassan issued clear instructions that for attack they should wait for a signal from the central command at the appointed time. If no signal was conveyed to them, they should know that something had gone wrong and that action was to be postponed.

Sheikhul Hind then left India for Hejaz with the intention to discuss the scheme there with the Turkish authorities and having obtained their assent to return to India for final operation. At Makkah, he met Ghalib Pasha, the governor of Hejaz and expressed the desire to meet Anwar Pasha, a Turkish minister[54]. The governor made certain enquiries from him and advised him to go back to India and work there, but Sheikhul Hind expressed the apprehensions that the moment he would put his step on the Indian soil he was liable to be arrested. Ghalib Pasha then informed Sheikhul Hind Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan that he felt that alone the Indian Muslims would not be able to achieve much and that they must secure the cooperation of the Hindus[55]. Ghalib Pasha then wrote to the governor of Madina to

arrange a meeting between Sheikhul Hind and Anwar Pasha either in Damascus or in Constantinople. Sheikhul Hind then left Makka for Madina and met the governor who promised that he would fulfil his desire. After some time, it was known that both Anwar Pasha and Jamal Pasha were arriving Madina for paying homage to the shrine of the Holy Prophet. Sheikhul Hind was informed of this development. The guests arrived on the appointed time and Sheikhul Hind had the chance to meet them. Then Sheikhul Hind handed over the draft he had brought with him from India to Anwar Pasha and Jamal Pasha. The draft having approved was returned to Sheikhul Hind after one month. The draft consisted of two agreements. One of the agreements was between the Turkish Government and the Provisional Government of India at Kabul while the other was between the Turkish Government and the Afghan government[56].

In a letter addressed to Anwar Pasha, Sheikhul Hind wrote that almost all the agreements with the Indian revolutionaries have been signed only the agreement with Afghanistan remains. If the Afghan government permits the movement of the invading army, please get a date fixed for attack so that the army may be sent Inside Afghanistan ten days before the combined attack[57].

In order to get the assent of the Afghan government, the draft agreement between Afghanistan and Turkey was handed over to Maulana Hadi Hassan to take it to the Afghan authorities. Hadi Hassan changed his name and appearance and concealed the draft in a wooden box prepared by Sheikhul Hind for the purpose. A member of the movement from Bombay was asked to come to the

help of Hadi Hassan who had changed his name to Zafar Ahmad, as it was felt that he might face difficulty in carrying the message to its proper destination. Before embarking on the ship, Hadi Hassan was instructed to be extremely alert. At the Bombay port, the assistant took the wooden box in his possession and carried it out of the port through the help of a cooli. The box was taken to the house of Muhammad Nabi of Muzafar Nagar who opened it and brought the document out. The document was then sent to Haji Noorul Hassan who got it copied through Haji Mirza Ahmad. Though some of its copies were distributed in India as per instructions, yet the original was burnt for fear of its seizure by the police.

Earlier, while Sheikhul Hind Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan was sending Hadi Hassan to India on his way to Afghanistan, he accompanied him upto the port of Jedda. The C.I.D. staff, thinking that Sheikhul Hind was personally going to India, informed the Bombay authorities about his arrival. At the Bombay port however they found that sheikhul Hind was not on board. They held Hadi Hassan, suspecting him that he might be representing Sheikhul Hind in India. They took him to Neni Tal and interrogated him, but he stood the test of police examination[58].

I.H. Qureshi remarks about the document given to Hadi Hassan in the following words. "The letter was carefully concealed in the cavity of the bottom of a box in which some clothes were patcked and sent to India ... with instructions to deliver the letter to Haji Noorul Hassan in district Muzafar Nagar who was to get it photographed by Ahmad Mirza, Photographer of Delhi and then distribute them to the persons indicated. The whole mission was successfully completed even though the

Indian police got correct information several times, but despite a thorough search every time, their attempts to seize the letters failed"[59].

Thereafter, Anwar Pasha wrote a letter in the name of the Muslim Ummah emphasizing the need of unity in their ranks and fighting against the tyrannical enemy in the way of Allah. The letter is known as Ghalib Nama, because Ghalib Pasha, the governor of Hejaz affixed his signature upon it[60]. The relevant portion of Ghalib Nama is: "The Muslims of Asia, Europe and Africa have equipped themselves with all kinds of weapons and have come out to participate in Jehad in the path of Allah.Thanks to Almighty God, the Turkish army and the Mujahids have overcome the enemies of Islam ... Muslims ! attack the tyrannical Christian government which has enslaved you ... show your enmity and hatred against them and put all your efforts with determination to strangle your enemy to death as quickly as possible. It may be known to you that Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan Effendi, formerly of Deoband Madrassa came to us and sought our counsel. we agreed with him on this matter and gave him necessary instructions. If he comes to you, trust him and help him with men money and whatever he needs[61].

Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan himself wished to go to the tribal territory and distribute copies of Ghalib Nama there and in this connection he requested the Turkish Ministers to make arrangement for his journey to the Mujahid Camp on the Frontier, but he was told that the enemy was in occupation of parts of Iran and his journey to that area was not without danger[62]. Thereafter, he deputed Maulvi Mansoor Ansari with the proclamation of Jehad issued by the governor of

Hejaz on behalf of the Turkish Government (Ghalib Nama) to travel to India and the tribal territory to distribute its copies and stir the feelings of Jehad there[63]. Maulvi Ansari concealed Ghalib Nama behind a mirror and gave it to his wife to carry it to Hindustan. The lady was not searched at the sea port and the document arrived in Hindustan safely. It was then taken to Kabul[64]. According to I.H.Qureshi, "Maulana Muhammad Mian Ansari ... had been his [Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi's] co-worker at Deoband. He had travelled with Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan to Hejaz and had been sent back from there to India by him with an appeal for Jehad from the Turkish general Ghalib Pasha. The copies of this appeal were distributed by Maulana Muhammad Mian Ansari in India and enroute. The document was referred to by those who were in confidence as Ghalib Nama. Only a few copies could be distributed because of the vigilance of the government of India. Orders for the arrest of Maulana Muhammad Mian Ansari were issued but he was able to escape into the tribal territory where he stayed for some time in the Mujahid Camp and then made his way to Kabul"[65]. At Kabul, he met Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and delivered the letter he had brought along.

The revolutionary leaders in Kabul presented the copy of Ghalib Nama to Amir habibullah Khan and demanded his reply to it. The Amir summoned a Jirga (Council) of the Afghan elite to consider the issue of proclamation of a Holy War against the British. Almost everyone suggested to the Amir that to fight a war at that juncture was to go a long way in helping Islam and the Muslims. But the Amir and his son Inayatullah Khan did not subscribe to that idea. In order to avoid displeasure

of the Jirga members, they, however, agreed to allow movement of the Turkish army in the tribal mountains, but involvement of the Afghan government in this war appeared to them suicidal for the interests of Afghanistan. The proceedings of the meeting were recorded by Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi on a silk cloth to be despatched to Hejaz for the information and further action of Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan. This writing was later known as the famous silk letter[66]. The silk letter called upon Sheikhul Hind at Madina to finalise talks with the Turkish authorities and to inform the Kabul headquarter back by January 1,1917. The Turkish army, the letter proposed, was to arrive in Afghanistan by February 9, 1917 while February 19, was fixed as attack date. The same day a general revolt was to take place inside India[67]. According to another report, two letters stating the activities at Kabul were written on the silk cloth[68]. The silk letter however was written in Arabic and Amir Habibullah Khan and his two sons Amanullah Khan and Inayatullah Khan had affixed their signatures to the yellow silk handkerchief in yellow ink. The length of the cloth was one yard and so was its breadth[69].

"A number of fictions", says Qazi Muhammad Adeel, "exist about the silk cloth. Some people say that this cloth was given by Mehmoodul Hassan to his devotees and that the cloth was prepared in such a way that if one or two threads were pulled out, in it emerged the name of Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan and that this cloth was owned by the workers as a mark of identification. Besides, this cloth was in possession of those to whom the task of killing the British was assigned"[70].

To carry the silk letter to its proper destination, on July 9,1916 Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi entrusted the letter to Sheikh Abdul Haq[71] with the instruction to take it to Sheikh Abdur Rahim[72] in Sindh who was to carry it to Hejaz either in person or through a reliable Haji. Carrying the letter, Sheikh Abdul Haq sat in a railway bogy and having reached Multan, he dropped to see his family members. Here he was seen by Khan Bahadar Rab Nawaz Khan, father of Allah Nawaz, who enquired about the reason of Sheikh Abdul Haq's coming to Multan from Kabul. The cause of his visiting Multan was explained to him. When Rab Nawaz Khan came to know about the secret letter in his possession, he got the letter from Sheikh Abdul Haq either by threat or by bribe and delivered it to the British authorities. Resultantly, a large number of Muslims involved in the movement were arrested instantly. Rab Nawaz Khan was rewarded with jagir While Abdul Haq was given a post in the police department[73]. Another report states that Sheikh Abdul Haq took the silk letter to Peshawar in a bundle of five dozen similar cloths on his way to Sindh to deliver it to Sheikh abdur Rahim. Abdul Haq was instructed that if he felt any danger, he could hand it over to Khan Bahadar Haq Nawaz Khan, a member of the movement at Peshawar, for its onward carrying to Sindh. Abdul Haq was caught at Peshawar and thoroughly searched, but the letter could not fall in to the hands of police. However he abandoned the idea of its carrying himself and entrusted it to Haq Nawaz Khan in Peshawar at about 9.00 P.M. Haq Nawaz Khan entrusted it to his own confidant with the instructions to leave Peshawar early the next morning. Accordingly, the messenger left Peshawar for Deenpur (Bahawalpur) at about 4.00

P.M. No sooner had he left Peshawar than the police raided the house of Haq Nawaz Khan, who was arrested and interrogated, but he stood firm. He was released after one month. The silk letter arrived at Deenpur safely the next morning at about 10-o-clock. Here the letter was entrusted to Khwaja Ghulam Muhammad Deenpuri who gave it to his own confidant to take it to Sheikh Abdur Rahim in Sindh. The police raided the house of Khwaja Ghulam Muhammad, but the letter had already gone underground. The police arrested the khwaja and took him to Ferozpur for interrogation, but nothing was extracted from him. He was sent to jail and was released after four months. The letter was delivered to Sheikh Abdur Rahim at noon. In the evening, while he was busy sewing an old cloth to conceal the letter within, the army personnel rushed his house. Abdur Rahim got frightened and he made good his escape .

The silk letter fell in to Government hands[74]. Dwelling on the story, I.H.Qureshi says, "The silk letter was sewn in between the cloth of the messenger's jacket and its lining to prevent detection and was given careful directions. His ostensible mission was to give the father (Rab Nawaz Khan) of one of the students (Allah Nawaz Khan) who had gone over to Afghanistan news of the welfare of his son. The father who was a friend of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, ferreted out the secret and took possession of the letter which he handed over to Sir Michael. On this a number of arrests were made"[75]. Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani opines that the secrets about the silk letter were cabled to the British by Amir Habibullah Khan and his son, Sardar Inayatullah Khan, who were

not willing to subscribe to the scheme of the revolutionaries and were not prepared to run the risk of British displeasure[76].

Having seized the silk letter, the Government arrested a large number of people suspected to have links with the revolutionaries, a big army was deployed in the North Western Frontier, and British contingents were moved into Iran to cut off links between Turkey and Afghanistan[77]. Besides, the government of India protested to the Afghan Government and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and his friends were interned[78].

Earlier, Maulana Muhammad Mian Ansari wrote a letter to Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan in which he "gave details of all that had transpired upto then and included proposals for the organization of an army to be called Hizbullah with its centres in constantinople, Tehran and Kabul. The entire organization was to be under Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan and the Kabul Centre under Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi"[79].

Meanwhile, Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan moved from Madina to Taif to meet Ghalib Pasha to discuss with him his future plan of action. He was still there when Sharif Hussain of Makkak revolted against Turkey in the name of Arab nationalism and Taif was cut off from the rest of Arabia. Communications having been restored after six months, Mehmoodul Hassan was able to return to Makkah. An agent of the Sharif came to Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan and asked him to sign a Fatwa justifying the Sharif's rebellion against Turkey.

Mehmoodul Hassan refused to do so. He and his companions were arrested and transported to Jedda from where they were taken to Cairo. A British Officer was summoned from India to Interrogate him[80]. Then he was tried in the Egyptian military court. Having been convicted, he was taken to Malta as a prisoner of war. He was released from jail on June 8, 1920 and returned to India to take part in the Khilafat Movement upto the last moments of his life[81].

The activities of Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan and those of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and his associates in Kabul became known to public after the publication of the Sedition Committee Report in 1918. The report of the sedition committee culminated in the enactment of the Rowlat Act which legalised imprisonment without trial of any person suspected of sedition or subversive activities. The Act was stiffly opposed by the Indian leaders and a situation of public resentment and revulsion was seen in the sub-continent[82].

Commenting on the performance of Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan and Manulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, I.H.Qureshi says, "It was no mean feat for two theologians brought up in the cloistered seclusion of Seminaries without any previous experience of secret organization or even of normal political activities to manipulate a conspiracy of an international complexion and organize a secret work on such a large scale"[83].

In 1915, a Turkish-German Mission visited Kabul as an extension of the scheme chalked out by Maulana Mehmoodul Hassan. Anwar Pasha was its patron, and Mehendar Pratap, a Hindu landlord from Banaras was its leader. The

mission consisted of some eighty members, including Maulana Barkatullah Bhupali, Turkish representative Kazim Beg and German delegate von-Heintisch. According to another report the command of the Mission was in the hands of Neidermeire[84]. The Mission aimed at inducing the Afghan Government to collaborate with Turkey and Germany in their attack on British India with a view to divide concentration of the British troops on the European Fronts and, if possible, to liberate India from British clutches[85]. It entered Afghanistan via Herat and arrived in Kabul in August 1915. Another report states that the Mission arrived in Kabul in the first week of October 1915[86]. The Mission, however, represented the Sultan of Turkey and the Kaiser of Germany[87]. and was sent under the supervision of the indian National Party Berlin[88].

As soon as the Mission entered into Afghanistan, the British Indian Government got alarmed and took up the matter with the Amir, but the latter allayed their fears and assured them that the Mission would not alter the Anglo Afghan friendly relations. The mission, however, was widely hailed in Afghanistan and Amanullah Khan, the prince, showed much enthusiasm. Afraid of Public annoyance, the Amir too accorded welcome[89].

In order to learn about the object of the Mission, the Amir summoned the members for an interview. Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori, who knew English, French and German, was asked to translate the letters the members had brought[90]. "Habibullah Khan", Says Zafar Hassan Aibak, "was a British protege. He was not prepared to lose his financial benefits and invite British fury by listening to and complying with the advice of the Mission. As he did not like to displease the Mission

owing to public enthusiasm, he resorted to double standards"[91].According to Dr. Lal Baha, "Habibullah handled the situation skillfully in the interest of his agreement with the British. He listened to the advice of the pro-Turkish elements in his court, but never acted on it. He welcomed the Turco-German Mission, but kept it guessing about his intentions"[92].

The Mission then met Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and discussed with him the situation at hand. Mian Abdul Bari, President of the Indian Mohajirs, was the interpreter of Maulana Sindhi in this meeting. In the meeting it came to light that there existed a big difference in the opinion of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and the members of the Mission[93]. The Maulana felt that the members were not frank in their discourse probably because they thought that the Maulana was an ordinary man who knew little about the world dynamics, but the Maulana convinced them of his vast learning and experience which made them change their earlier stance. The Maulana learnt that the Hindu members of the Mission were not sincere towards the Muslims. He took serious notice of the claim of the Hindus that the Muslims owned little importance in India vis-a-vis the Hindus who were in numerical majority and warned Barkatullah Bhopali to guard against similar claims of the Hindus. Raja Mehendar Pratap, leader of the Mission, held the view that in case India got freedom as a result of the efforts of the Freedom Fighters, the Hindus, as a matter of principle, were entitled to succeed the British as they were numerically in majority in India. This view of Mehendar Pratap, Maulana Sindhi came to know, was not opposed by Maulana Barkatullah Bhupali while the latter was in Berlin, simply because of the

fact, Maulana Sindhi felt, that he, being away from India for long, was not fully aware of the Indian situation[94]. Mehendar Pratap also thought, it was learnt by Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, that in case the Afghan rulers agreed to an attack on British India, and, in the event of victory, the balance of power tilted towards the establishment of a Muslim rule in India, he would seek the help of the ruler of Nepal against such a development[95]. Similar thinking on the part of the Hindu leader led to some sort of bitterness among the Hindus and the Muslims and neither Mehendar Pratap nor Barkatullah was able to bring the situation under control. Resultantly, a rift emerged between the Indian members and the German members, holding one another responsible for the sad state of affairs[96].

The Presence of the German Mission, was a source of strength and optimism for the general public. The Amir, on the other hand, to exhaust the patience of the unwanted guests, stayed in Paghman long after the usual season hoping that the increasing cold would force the members to leave Kabul without their aim having been fulfilled. On December 20, 1915, it was reported to Lord Harding that Habibullah refused to commit himself to the German party for the reason that he felt himself unable to take any overt action against the British until the start of the next summer because an exceptionally large number of an important Afghan tribe called Ghilzais had gone over to India along with their camels that year and that they provided hostages to the British on a large scale[97]. The Germans felt annoyed at the Amir's attitude, and were secretly planning to overthrow the existing Afghan Government. Locally, too, the Amir's attitude was resented. An alliance called Jang

Party of Kabul was formed in support of the Turco-German Mission. This consisted mainly of the nationalist, modernist and conservative traditionalist elements of the Afghan Society. It was not a well-organized party, but was rather an association or union of anti-British and anti-Habibullah elements. Their effort, too, proved of no avail[98].

The British were very cautions about the Amir's role. On April 13, 1916, Sir ERK addressed a letter to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, stating: "I can not share in the admiration sometime expressed of his loyalty, as it seems to me inconsistent with his obligation as our ally that he should receive in Kabul a German Mission and should treat the Mission considerably better than he has treated any one of ours ... I do not think that he has any particular affection for us, probably the reverse, but he is a clever opportunist and will doubtless use his utmost endeavor to remain on the fence until he becomes certain which is to be the winning side [in the war]... Had Persia joined Turkey as appeared likely in the late autumn of last year, I think that the pressure on the Amir would have become so great that he would have been forced to go against us and in the early days of this year all our information showed that he was beginning to waver, but the Russian success in Persia and in the caucasus have put a new complexion on affairs and have enabled Habibullah to point the moral to his reckless subject"[99].

The Mission at last succeeded in bringing the Amir round its point. In February 1916, the Amir consented to the overtures of the Germans but on conditions that (1) Germany should Pay 4,000,000 marks a month during hostilities (2) it should

send 5000 men to Afghanistan (3) The German Government should arm 80,000 Afghans and (4) Afghanistan should receive Punjab and Baluchistan[100]. The Amir was committed to declare war against British India, but it was to be only after he was sure that the German Turkish army had actually arrived on the borders of Afghanistan[101].

A delegation under Dr. Mangal Sing of Bengal was sent to Turkey and Germany to convey the message of the recent decision of the Afghan Amir and to collect material support for the Mujahideen. Mangal Sing while crossing Iran accompanied by two other Mohajirs, was arrested by the Russian troops and handed over to the British. His two companions, however, succeeded in escaping the enemy's hands. Mangal sing was later tried and executed[102]. The delegation as such could not reach its destination.

While Mangal Sing was on his way to Turkey and Germany, the Mission started imparting military training to those who were desirous to take part in the ensuing jehad. The British were not unaware of these activities of the Mission. On 8th April 1916, the viceroy informed his superiors thus: "There is some military activity in way of trench digging near Butkhak, but this is probably for purpose of instruction"[103]. Another report of May 20, 1916 stated: "Cabul (Kabul) munition factory is under German supervision. Officers are organizing regular Afghan army and carrying out fortification works. Each Afghan regiment is under orders of a German Officer. There is talk of one recently imported aeroplane. All big towns have a telegraph service. Wireless station is said to be installed at Kabul. Arms no longer being imported via Bersia. considerable quantity were imported last spring

and summer"[104]. The viceroy, on May 24, 1916, cabled: "German continue to employ to train the Amir's troops, especially artillery, but unusual discipline is making them unpopular with Afghans and has led to assault if not murder, in one instance"[105].

The chiefs and Mullahs, during this period, had been proving a source of trouble, but the Amir kept them as his guests in Kabul on generous allowances with a view to tide over the difficult time. The daily allowance of these chiefs and Mullahs ranged from 5 to 25 Kabuli according to ranks[106]. The Amir at the same time announced that prior to starting Jehad (Holy War), the Muslims needed a proclamation by an Amir and a Muslim Ulul Amr (commander) and in the absence of the Amir and his proclamation, no war fought is jehad, nor the dead is martyr. He asserted himself to be the requisite Amir and called upon the Muslims not to start fighting until he issues proclamation in this regard. "The propaganda", says Zafar Hassan Aibak, "proved effective and during the whole world war-I, no massive operation could be launched, for the tribes hesitated taking part in fighting in the absence of the Amir's proclamation"[107]. Lord Chelmsford, the new viceroy, on 8th April 1916, apprised the British Government : "As this (granting allowances to Chiefs and Mullahs) puts [the] Amir to considerable expense ... I have decided in informing the Amir of my assumption of office, to announce to him ... a free gift, at the close of the war of 44 lakhs"[108] a subsidy exaggerated by the public into one or more than one crore.

Mean while, two representative of the Turkish Government, Kheiry Bey and Ahmad Effendi arrived in Tirah area and tried to rouse the people against the British there, but they faced tough resistance from the tribes loyal to the British. They consequently left Tirah for Rajgal and sought refuge, but here too, they were not allowed to carry their activity. They at last crossed over to Nangrahar. The appearance of these two men in the Tirah area had a visible impact upon the local people. Some of the Frontier Sepoys refused to fight against Turks at the expense of their lives and hardships of court Martial[109].

The Amir disowned these two men. He summoned Hafiz Saifullah Khan, British agent at Kabul on September 6, 1916 and clarified to him the position of the Turkish agents in Tirah thus, "I have called you now with regard to a special matter which though trifling yet is liable, as the result of vague rumours, to cause the government of India to entertain suspicion or prejudice against me and hence want you to inform your government of the actual facts of the case. These are that I have heard from my informants at Peshawar that a rumour is current in official circles there that Khairuddin and Ahmad, Turks, both of them lately in Aghan employ here, and now in Tirah, are falsely representing themselves as Naibs (representatives) of his imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey and are stirring up trouble in that part of the country under the false representation that they have been sent from Kabul to do so. Now the truth of their case is that Kairuddin was a tutor in the Military College here who was dismissed from the service a year ago owing to his having been suspected of poisoning the minds of the students with politics, and the second man

Ahmad, is a Kannad (confectioner) who was brought from Syria last year by one Saleh, the father in law of Mehmud Tarzi with the reputation of being a famous confectioner, but as he did not prove to be as efficient as he had been represented, he also was dismissed from service in the state kitchen some six months ago. As the exits were blocked owing to the war, they dared not leave Afghanistan and so remained here in privacy till recently after conspiring together they left in secret for Tirah. they are neither Turkish representatives as they have given themselves out to be, nor have they received any secret hint, sign, help or authority from me to go to Tirah. I assure you with Saugand again that I have no knowledge whatever about their movements or doings, except what I have heard from the reports I have received from Peshawar... I want you, therefore to inform your government what I have told you about so that there may not be a wrong impression in this matter[110].

A Turkish military contingent under Rauf Bey who had shown great feats of bravery in the Balkan wars started towards Afghanistan via Iran with a view to attacking British India, but its movement was blocked by the presence of British and Russian troops in Iran[111].

At last the Turkish-German Mission left Kabul in September 1916. Before reaching Mazar Sharif, Neidermeyer arranged with Abdul Majid Khan, the governor of Shiburghan, for the services of a well known Turkoman in his employ named Oros Galdi, with 12 of his men to take them safely across the Russian frontier. With the help of these Turkomans, they crossed the frontier near Kara Tape and Tashkuduk. Oras Galdi and his associates returned. The former was paid £300

for the service while each of the other men received £9. They brought back letters from the Germans announcing their safe arriveal and praising their guides. The letters were written in persian. One letter was addressed to Abdul Majid Khan and the other to Sardar Nasrullah Khan. The writer promised to be back in Kabul after Eid-e-Kurban[112]. Shortly before the departure of the German Mission, the Amir granted them a secret interview at which no subordinate was present. The hints said to have emanated from Nasrullah Khan Said: " The deciding factor in the German's abandonment of their efforts was the refusal of the Amir to entertain any proposal of action unless a Turco-German force arrived in proximity to Afghanistan"[113]. Soon after the departure of the Mission, the Amir Informed the British agent at Kabul thus: "You know that the German Mission visited this country and tried their best to persuade me to join their cause, but I declined and totally disapproved of their objects and aims which seem to me to be based not on reasonable grounds but on selfish and wicked motives. As I disagreed absolutely with what they advocated and pleaded, I permitted them to return and accordingly they recently left Kabul for their homes, utterly disappointed and are now out of the limits of Afghanistan, having crossed the border. Three of them have remained behind here, to my great dislike because I would have liked them also to have left with the rest of the party, had they been willing to do so, but as they were unwilling to leave Kabul at that time and were in a manner guests from foreign countries I did not see my way to force them to leave. As you probably know, the three who remained were Kazim Beg, Maulvi Barkatullah and Kanwar Mehendar Pratap, but they also have now made up their minds to leave

this country and it has been settled that they will start in a week or so. I tell you this and tell you the truth because I am a sincere Muslim and to me hypocricy, lies and falsehood are synonymous with profanity, I hate treachery with all my heart and would prefer to be destroyed rather than violate faith or break of covenant once agreed upon, and I assure you with Saugand that nothing has shaken the firm determination which I have held from the first to maintain neutrality and my friendship with the British Government to the last, at any, and I will continue to preserve this policy to the end"[114].

Kazim Beg, Maulvi Barkatullah and Kanwar Mehendar Pratab, who stayed in Kabul on the eve of the departure of the Turkish German Mission, formed a provisional government of India in exile. Raja Mehendar Pratab was declared its president, and Maulana Barkatullah Bhupali as Prime Minister. The object of the formation of the government was to establish diplomatic contact with the outside world, to mobilize international opinion and to secure foreign help against British India. Later, Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi was appointed Interior Minister and Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori as Foreign Minister. The defence portfolio was entrusted to Mullah Bashir, representative of the Smasta Masnhids[115]. At the top of the government, there was a council consisting of three members, two Hindus and one Muslim. Sheikhul Hind represented the Muslims while Gandhi represented the Hindu community. This government had a military organization with Sheikhul Hind as the commander-in-chief. Below him were twelve generals. The hierarchy of positions also included the ranks of majors and colonels[116]. The government,

however, suffered from internal suspicions and lack of trust in one another. The Hindu members of the cabinet suspected the Muslim and the Muslim suspected the Hindu[117]. Raja Mehandar Pratap invited Maulana Sindhi to join the government with the hope that he would decline the offer as the rules framed by Pratap entailed an oath of fealty in the name of the president (Raja Pratap) but the Maulana, contrary to the expectations of Raja Pratp, accepted the Invitation and joined the cabinet to fight for the cause of the Muslims from within [118].

The Indian Provisional government at Kabul, with a view to winning international public opinion in its favour, decided to send a delegation to the Russian Government to negotiate with the Czar to give up his alliance with Great Britain and to Invade India in lieu of some political and trade concessions. Raja Pratap proposed that the mission should consist of Dr. Mithra Sing, formerly a member of the Ghadar party in America and a zealous seditionist. Barkatullah supported the idea. When Maulana Ubaidulah Sindhi was apprised of this,he proposed that a Muslim member should also accompany Mithra Sing. The aim of Maulana Sindhi was "to ensure that the Muslim point of view did not go unrepresented and also that he should know what has transpired"[119]. Raja Pratap declined to entertain the proposal of Maulana Sindhi. This led to some agument between the two. At last, Pratap agreed honowring the wishes of some Afghan elite. Accordingly Sheikh Khushi Muhammad with the seudo name of Mirza Muhammad Ali was nominated to accompany Dr. Mithra Sing. The elders of the provisional government allowed Khushi Muhammad to proceed on the Mission subject to the condition that he would afford his expenses himself. This was

distasteful to Maulana Sindhi. Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori, however, shouldered the burden and earmarked £100 from his own pocket. A Sikh named Harnam Sing and an Afghan were appointed to serve the Mission during its journey[120]. A letter inscribed on a plate of gold and signed by Raja Mehendar Pratap, requesting the Czar of Russia to throw over her alliance with Great Britain and assist in the overthrow of the British rule in India" was entrusted to the Mission to deliver it to the Russian authorities[121]. The Mission accordingly met the governor of Tashkand and delivered him the gold plate letter who despatched it to St. Petersburg to enquire about the Czar's opinion, asking the Mission to keep waiting at Tashkand for a reply. The reply was "inordinately delayed" and the Mission returned with an assurance from the governor that as soon as the reply was to be received, it would be communicated to them in Kabul[122]. According to another report, when the gold plate was sent to St. Petersburg, the Czar issued orders to arrest the members of the Mission, but the governor intervened and saved them from the arrest[123]. The Russian revolutionaries at Tashkand "not only extended help to the Mission, but also published a pamphlet about the Mission's appeal to the Czar under the title "sonay ki patri" (Gold Plate)[124]. The gold plate was later photographed and sent to the British, pressing for certain concessions from Great Britain so that Russia should avoid signing a peace treaty with Germany[125]. The British doubted the sincerity of the Russian Government and were not prepared to believe in the genuineness of the story[126]. This led to the severance of relationship between Russia and Great britain for some time[127]. The Mission returned to Afghanistan safely. Mithra Sing and Khushi Muhammad were

presented before Sardar Nasrullah Khan. On enquiry, Khushi Muhammad narrated the whole story with the help of the notes he had taken down during the Journey[128].

Thereafter Mehendar Pratap decided to send two other missions to various countries. Barkatullah Bhupali proposed that one of the Missions should consist of Sheikh Abdul Qadir and Dr. Mithra Sing and be sent to Japan via Russia. Maulana Sindhi desired that the second mission be sent to Turkey via Iran and should consist of Abdul Bari and Dr. Shujaullah. Both the proposals were agreed to[129]. Von Heintisch, a delegate in the German Mission, prior to his departure for home promised that he would afford the expenses of the missions to Japan and Turkey. He as such paid 300 to Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi[130]. Both the missions left for their destinations. The Mission Intended for Japan while crossing the Russian border, was arrested by the Russian authorities and handed over to the British. The other Mission while crossing Iran was caught by the British themselves at Meshed. All of the four members were brought to Lahore. Mithra Sing who was also wanted by police in a bomb explosion case was awarded death penalty and was hanged. The rest of the members were kept under detention. Abdul Bari was later released for disclosing secrets of the provisional government and the Junoodullah army[131].

As soon as the freedom activists fell in to British hands and they became sure that the Freedom Fighters are going ahead with their plans, the British government lodged a protest to the Afghan government. Maulana Muhammad ali Qasoori and Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim who taught at Habibiya College Kabul and were active in the implementation of the freedom schemes were asked to leave

Afghanistan. Both Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim and Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori shifted to Yaghistan (Mohmand Country). Muhammad Ali Qasoori stayed in Yaghistan and took part in the Jehad operations under Haji Sahib Turangzai while Sheikh Muhammad Irbahim decided to leave Yaghistan for Russia. Accompanied by Fazal Mehmood Makhfi, a disciple of Haji Sahib Turangzai, Sheikh Muhammad Irbahim passed away on his way to Russia due to typhoid. It was, however, suspected that he had been killed by British assassins[132]. Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori reports that sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim received martyrdom together with two other companions while he was crossing Iran on a Mission to Turkey possibly having been caught by the British[133].

In December 1916, the Amir of Afghanistan reaffirmed his friendship with the British government and expressed his intention to maintain "neutrality to the universe". The British felt satisfied. The Amir, However, displayed resentment at a passage in the Viceroy's message "emphasizing desirability of Amir's issuing stringent orders to prevent Afghanistan becoming a base for alien intrigues". The Amir said, he deserved thanks for doing service to the British, keeping Afghanistan neutral and thereby enabling the British to send a large force from India overseas, adding that he had constantly and successfully discouraged tribes from wanton attacks on British territory[134]. The Amir's reasonings on this count carried weight and were acknowledged.

When the Indians, Turks and Germans were busy in evolving schemes and implementing strategies, the Sultan of Turkey had been making appeals for rising

against the British. This had a gigantic impact on the tribal Mullahs. Reinforced by the Mullahs of southern Afghanistan, the tribal Mullahs moulded public opinion in favour of the Sultan of Turkey[135]. In the first instance in January 1915,serious trouble broke out in British ranks. As the commander-in-Chief decided to send 130th Baluch regiment to East Africa, at that time three companies of the Pathans, mostly Afridis, declined to fight against Turks. These mutinous army personnel were then disarmed and imprisoned. Those thought to have fomented the mutiny were tried by Court martial and punished severely. In July 1915, when Kitchener asked for more British regular battalions from India, both the viceroy, Lord Hardings and Beauchamp Duft, the commander in chief, refused to send any as only eight British battalions were left on the Indian Frontier. To Harding peace in India hung in the balance and if Persia got itself involved in the war, the balance could no longer be maintained. For several weeks in 1915, the number of troops for the maintenance of internal security in India fell below the safety level and the total British garrison left in India consisted of less than 15000 men[136]. According to another report, only ten thousand army personnel had remained in India[137]. In December, 1915, Chamberlain conveyed to the war committee the Viceroy's feelings and his anxiety about the military situation on the Indian frontier. four garrison battalions instantly sailed for India[138]. Dr. Lal Baha opines that "it was fortunate for the British that the Amir of Afghanistan and the Afridis did hold firm; for, from military point of view, 1915 was a very trying year for the government of India. Their military strength was waning as a result of Kitcheners ceaseless demands for troops from India to which Harding's government

responded with increasing reluctance", adding, "the efficiency of the three Frontier divisions was greatly reduced when good Indian battalions were sent overseas and replaced by Inferior Indian battalions under-officered, under gunned"[139]. To another writer, "if Afghanstan and the tribes could make an attack on British India, at that time the British would have summoned Indian army home back from Mesopotamia and this could have altered the course of events[140].

ENDNOTES

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER - II

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4. Marwat, Evolution,op.cit. p.20.
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7. Ibid. PP. 90,91.
8. Ibid. PP. 112,113.
9. Ibid. PP. 119.120.
10. Aibak, Ap. Beti: Vo. I. Op.Cit. P.117.
11. Akbar, Safarnama: Op.Cit. P.60.
12. Qasoori, Mushahidat: Op.Cit. PP. 24-26.
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14. Ibid. P. 59.
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17. Ibid. PP. 46-48.

18. Ghani, Political History, Op.Cit. P.IV.

19. Najfi, Abdul Ghani: Op. Cit. P.46.

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22. Ibid.

23. Ibid PP. 137-139.

24. Baha, Administration Op. Cit. P.81.

25. Marwat, Evolution : Op. Cit. P. 139.

26. Ibid. PP. 140-148.

27. Najfi, Abdul Ghani: Op.Cit. P. 57

28. Marwat, Evolution : Op. Cit. P.150.

29. Ibid. PP. 151,152.

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31. Baha, Administration : Op. Cit. P. 95 .

32. Qasoori, Mushahidat : Op.Cit. P.12.

33. Ibid. PP. 12-29.

34. Ibid. P. 105.

35. Ibid. P.35.

36. Sindhi, Kabul Op. Cit., PP. 37, 40.

37. Aibak, Aap Beti Vol. I, Op.Cit. P.94.

38. Sindhi, Kabul : Op.Cit. P.37.

39. Aibak, Aap Beti, Vol.I. Op.Cit. PP.94,95.

40. Sindhi, Kabul, Op. Cit. P.41.

41. Ibid. P.38.

42. Aibak, Aap Beti, Vol.I, Op.Cit. P. 96.

43. Sindhi, Kabul : Op. Cit. P.56.

44. Ibid. P.57.

45. Aibak, Aap. Beti ,Vol.I, Op. Cit. P.104.

46. Madani, Tehreek.Op.Cit. PP. 212, 213.

47. Ibid.

48. Aibak, Aap Beti, Vol.I Op.Cit. P.110.

49. Shahjehanpuri, Ghazi.Op.Cit. P. 199.

50. Aibak, Aap. Beti. Vol.IOp. cit. PP. 111,112.

51. Madani, Tehreek. Op. Cit. P.213.

52. Shahjehanpuri, Ghazi Op.cit.P.120.

53. Madani, Tehreek. Op. cit. P.152.

54. Ibid. PP.84,137-194.

55. Qureshi, Ulema, O.Cit. PP. 250, 251.

56. Madani, Tehreek. Op.cit. PP. 192,193.

57. Ibid. P. 179.

58. Ibid. PP. 195-197

59. Qureshi, Ulema : Op.Cit. PP.251-252.

60. Sindhi, Kabul. Op.cit.P.90.

61. Ibid. P.91.

62. Qureshi, Ulema : Op. Cit.P. 251.

63. Sindhi, Kabul. Op.Cit. P.91. Muhammad Mian Ansari was the grandson of Maulana Qasim Nanotvi, was a distinguished scholar on world politics and economics and the author of many books. After taking Ghalibnama safely to Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, he settled permanently in Afghanistan where he remained on high posts including ambassadorship. (Madani, Tehreek. Op.Cit.PP.191-192).

64. Aibak, Aap Beti, Vol.I, Op. Cit. P.110.

65. Qureshi, Ulema : Op.cit. PP. 248,249.

66. Madani, Tehreek. Op. cit. P.199.

67. Ibid. P.180. The proposed date has been mentioned as January, 1915 which appears incorrect.

68. Abbasi, Tehreek, Op.Cit. P. 67

69. Madani, Tehreek. Op.Cit.P.201.

70. Abbasi, Tehreek. Op.Cit. P.66.

71. Sheikh Abdul Haq was a member of the Tehreek and Worked as messenger between the revolutionary leaders. He carried on cloth business between India and Afghanistan and as a treadesman he carried messages from one place to another. He was new convert to Islam, had sworn allegience at the hands of Sheikhul Hind and was his close

confidant. He was wise and prudent and had obtained a Maste's Degree. (Madani, Tehreek. Op.Cit. P.201).

72. Sheikh Abdur Rahim was the real brother of Acharya Kripalani, the Congress Leader. He had accepted Islam at the hands of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi. He died at Sarhind.

73. Aibak, Aap.Beti, Vol.I, Op. Cit. PP. 113,114.

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123. Sindhi, Kabul, Op.Cit.P.82.

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133. Qasoori, Mushahidat. Op.Cit.P.137.

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CHAPTER - III

MIGRATION TO AFGHANISTAN DURING THE HIJRAT MOVEMENT

The rise of Amir Amanullah Khan to Power is a significant event in the history of Afghanistan as well as of the Indian freedom struggle. Amanullah unlike his predecessors was anti-British and a sympathiser of the Indian revolutionaries. The Indian revolutionaries too considered him a source of strength for their movement. This phenomenon gave an impetus to the revolutionary activities both at home and abroad.

Amanullah Khan ascended the throne of Afghanistan is succession to his father Amir Habibullah Khan on February 20, 1919. Though Amir Habibullah, a few days before his assassination,had demanded from the British on February 2,1919 "absolute liberty, freedom of action and perpetual independence for Afghanistan" and sought British cooperation in obtaining international recognition for free Afghanistan at the Paris Peace Conference[1], yet he, felt happy over the fall of the Turkish Khilafat because he aspired himself to become Khalifatul Muslimeen. This attitude of the Afghan monarch shocked the Indian revolutionaries specially. Earlier, when the silk letter had been seized and as a result of which certain leading Indians were arrested, it was suspected that Amir Habibullah had a hand in the leakage of the secrets, causing set back to the freedom struggle. For these reasons

the Indian freedom fighters had been looking for an opportunity to get rid of the unfriendly Afghan ruler.Consequently the group of Amanullah Khan in liaison with some Afghan officers plotted the murder of the Amir. Thus one night during the Jishn bullets were sprayed on the Amir from a nearby balcony but he narrowly escaped. Later several attempts on the life of the Amir were planned, but they proved abortive. At last on February 20, 1919, while he was on a hunting excursion at Jalalabad, an assassin entered his room and shooting him dead succeeded in running away. Upon the death of Amir Habibullah, the legal heir to the throne was Sardar Inayatullah Khan, but the people of the revolutionary party declared Amanullah Khan as the king.Inayatullah Khan, owing to public pressure kept quiet. Nevertheless, Nasrullah Khan, brother of the Amir, claimed himself to be the Amir, but with no success[3].

Amanullah, a member of the young Afghan party on assumption of power, declared through a Farman (decree) "that he was the proclaimed Amir of the people and that he accepted the throne on the condition that (i) Afghanistan should be internally free, (ii) the people should unite with him to avenge the assassination of Habibullah, (iii) that the people should be free and no one be oppressed (iv) and that the Government should be by "Qanoon: (Law)[4].

Soon after his rise to power, Amanullah released Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and his companions (20 to 25 in mumber) who had been made prisoners by Amir Habibullah Khan in a dark cell and were given, at first, under the watch of Sardar Mohammad Nadir Khan and later under the cave of Mustawafiul Mumalik.

At the time of Habibullah Khan's death they were shifted to Jalalabad and during this period, for some time, they were given under the care of Maualana Saifur Rehman who was not prepared to Cooperate with Maulana Sindhi and let him know the happenings outside the walls of the prison[5].When Amanullah established himself on the throne, he summoned them from Jalalabad to Kabul and bestowed honours on them. "we felt the reign of Amanullah Khan", says Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi "as our own". He trusted us in the same way as he trusted his own ministers. We even attended his private meetings. He respected us in the same way as he respected and trusted his national elders. Our every suggestion was welcomed and our every recommendation was honoured. We also left no stone unturned in strengthening his empire"[6].

Dr. Abdul Ghani and his brother who were arrested by Amir Habibullah in 1909 and had been kept imprisoned despite the protest of the Indian press, were released by Amir Amanullah Khan soon after his accession to power in April 1919. Dr. Abdul Ghani was held in high esteem. When Amanullah formed a new council, Abdul Ghani and his brother Maulana Najaf Ali Khan were taken as its members[7].Restrictions imposed on the other Indian Mohajirs by Amir Habibullah Khan were also relaxed with the coming of the new monarch and now they were free to move as they desired[8].

The next step Amanullah Khan was contemplating to take was to win independence for his country because hitherto Afghanistan had been a British tutelage. The tribal chiefs and the Afghan nationalists too pressurized him to take advantage

of the world political situation and strike a blow for the complete independence of his country, keeping in view interests of the North West Frontier Province, the Ottoman Empire and the pan-Islamists[9]. It was agreed by Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and Amanullah Khan that the Afghan army should move towards the border and deploy itself there. Maulana Sindhi was asked to convey the message of the impending attack on the British, so that the support to the Indian Muslim leadership is mustered in time. Accordingly, Maulana Sindhi secretly sent Allah Nawaz, a Lahorite student and Muhammad Ali, nephew of Maulana Sindhi to India. The friends and confident if Maulana Sindhi in Hyderabad Daccan were informed by Muhammad Ali and those in the Punjab by Allah Nawaz[10]. The tribes on both sides of the Durand Line were asked to prepare for a Jehad, distributing arms, ammunition and money among them. Amanullah Khan sent a delegation to Bolshevik Russia and other European countries under the leadership of Muhammad Wali[11]. Maulana sindhi, in order to win support of the Indian population in favour of the Afghans, sent the following announcement on behalf of the Provisional Government of India Kabul Brave Indians courageous countrymen. you have read the account of the organiszation of the provisional government of India. Its object is to liberate India from the iron Clut ches of the English and to establish an indigenous government there.

"This government of yours heard with utmost pleasure, the news of your gallant deeds done for the noble cause of liberty. You have no arms to extirpate the enemies of India and mankind. This government of yours has tried and succeeded in obtaining help from without...

"Murder the English wherever you find them, cut the telegraphic lines, destroy the railway lines and the railway bridges and help in all respects the liberating armies. None shall be molested, but who shall resist. Your properties and your homes are safe"[12].

The Afghan army was divided into three divisions. Eastern, Southern and western, each being under a commander. Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, Khushi Muhammad and Saleh Muhammad were appointed by Amanullah Khan to counsel the Eastern wing deployed against Landi Kotal and Jamrud. Zafar Hassan Aibak was appointed to assist M. Nadir Khan who was supposed to control the southern division of the army. Abdul Latif, leader of the Kohat Mohajirs and M. Ayub Khan, a Khan of Bajaur, were to assist the commander of the Central division. Without waiting for a formal announcement of war by Kabul and without consulting Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, the commander of the eastern division deployed at Jaalalabad however started war on May 22,1919. Though in the beginning he was able to capture a disputed spring at Torkham, yet his army was air raided by the British in which one of his legs was Injured. He Cried, پائے من شہید شد (myleg is martyred). "Amanullah Khan deposed him immediately and sought counsel for his punishment. All the people proposed that he should be killed. But Amanullah Khan ordered that he should be dressed in women's garment and kept within the confinement of his house. It was published that if ever he was seen outside his house in men's dress, his blood was halal (lawful) for every one (i.e. every one had the right to kill him)[13]. Taking advantage of Sardar Saleh Muhammad Khan's retreat, the British captured Dakka.

The people of Jalalabad, hearing the news, started plundering the city, thinking that the Government of Afghanistan had fallen out[14]. Contravention of the instructions on the part of saleh Muhammad Khan and the ensuing defeat resulting from his folly disappointed Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi who crossed over to chamarkand headquarter of the Mujahids, also taking Khushi Muhammad along. Maulana Sindhi was later summoned back to Kabul by the Afghan authorities after an appeal of Zafar Hassan Aibak to Sardar Mehmud Tarzi, the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan[15].

Prior to the formal commencement of the third Anglo Afghan War, also called by the Afghans as the Istiqlal war, on May 9, 1919, the Wazir and Mahsood tribes of Waziristan attacked the British posts in Wana and the adjoining areas forcing the militiamen to flee and seriously disrupting the communication system. Some of the militiamen joined the army of Shah Wali Muhammad Khan, an Afghan commander. This development perturbed the British war strategists and policy makers. "The Waziris and Afridis" says Dr. Lal Baha, "in the south and north Waziristan Militia then mutinied. Some 12000 rifles and 70,00,000 rounds of ammunition fell into their hands and Wana was then occupied by Afghan troops. The whole of Wazirstan was now up in arms. The tribesmen chased away the few British loyalists of the South Waziristan Militia across the Gomal to Baluchistan. Many desertions took place in the Zhob Militia too, and Fort Sandeman was attacked. The British Government thus lost the whole of Waziristan, except for the line along the Tochi valley upto Miranshah, which was also seriously threatened"[16].

Infuriated at the fiasco of the Jalalabad army under Saleh Muhammad Khan and the heartening developments in Waziristan areas, Amanullah Khan issued orders to Sardar M. Nadir Khan to start war in the southern parts of the country. Nadir Khan prepared a war strategy first and then appointed colonel Abdul Qayum Khan and Colonel Abdul Latif Khan to attack the British posts in Thall. Abdul Latif Khan was appointed incharge of Afghan artillery with instruction to wait until the arrival of the main plank of the army. A few enthusiastic Mujahids from Thall, without waiting for the arrival of the army and without receiving orders from commanders, attacked the city of Thall. The local people helped them but inspite of their help, the Mujahids plundered their shops, thinking that the city had fallen to them and that the available goods was war booty. Upon this, the British soldiers came to the rescue of the locals. With the march of the enemy's forces Abdul Latif shelled with artillery.The British soldiers also retaliated with artillery causing injuries to a number of Afghan sepoys. The injured soldiers lay in frustrated condition because of lack of medical aid and this led to demoralisation of the fighting sepoys. In Khost and Gardez areas, a few miscreants conspired against Sardar M. Nadir Khan,the Commander of the southern division, but their mischiefs were soon foiled. Meanwhile a number of Afghan tribes including Mangal and Jadran came voluntarily on the side of the Afghan Government who were provided with arms and financial assistance.

The Afghan army was not well disciplined. At one stage during the war, Sardar M. Nadir Khan, asked his guards to go and bring the main plank of the

army forward, but they refused to obey his orders, saying that they have nothing to do with the war, except protecting his person from assassins. On another occassion, the British aeroplane bombarded Afghan military camps, causing injuries to a number of Afghan soldiers, but Abdul Haleem, an Indian doctor, who was appointed to look after the injured, was hiding for fear of enemy bombs, caring little for the injured soldiers[17].

But Nadir Khan, the commander, demonstrated great courage. He marched at the head of his regulars and tribal levies, besieging Thall. General Dyre was sent against him who later appreciated the bravery of Nadir Khan in this war[18]. "The British difficulty during the 3rd Anglo-Afghan war", says Qazi M. Adell " was that the Indian troops had not yet returned to India and that a Bolshevik revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky had taken place in Russia in 1917, which, inspite of internal difficulty, was prepared to help the oppressed in their struggle for independence. In such a situation it was difficult for the British to teach a lesson to Afghanistan"[19]. The British therefore, "decided on May 26, (1919) to evacuate the militia posts in upper Tochi and Thal Idak line, and to concentrate troops in Miranshah. The evacuated posts were immediately occupied by Mahsuds and waziris. Spinwan fell to the Afghans. The danger of an all out Mahsud and waziris attack became imminent [and] the P.A. Wana ordered withdrawal from the Sarwakai and lower Gomal and the Wana and upper Gomal posts"[20].

General Shah Mehmood Khan, brother of Sardar M. Nadir Khan too had been defeating British forces. But on May 27, 1919, Amanullah Khan agreed on

a cease-fire and decided to stop hostilities with the British. He ordered his troops to vacate Indian conquered territories twenty miles off the Indo-Afghan border[21]. As soon as cessation of hostilities were announced Sardar M. Nadir Khan sent a delegation to Kabul consisting of Aibak, Bad Shah Mir Khan and Muhammad Yousaf Khan to apprise the Afghan rulers about the tales of his military success to heighten their moral lest they may agree with the British on humiliating terms[22]. The British though appreciated the bravery of the Afghan soldiers, yet they did not take it as a serious danger. Commenting on the Afghan army fighting, a British Officer said. "I do not look upon the Afghans as a serious danger. The sample of the Afghan army that we have had to fight in the last few days has fought better than I expected, in fact they have fought with great bravery and tenacity but they have no organized commissariat or transport and are incapable of conducting a campaign on a large scale"[23].Amanullah Khan lauded Zafar Hassan Aibak, one of the participants in the fighting, in the following words. "Though this boy is of young age, yet he has shown such a chivalry during the war that would dwarf skilled and experienced officer's achievements. He is a Muslim emigrant from India but has surpassed many Afghans[24].

The armistice between Afghanistan and British India however did not lead to the cessation of tribal revolts. Tribal trouble continued till 1920, involving no less than 611 raids in the settled areas of N.W.F.P.During these raids, 298 British subjects were killed, 392 wounded and 463 kidnapped.The loss of property was estimated at Rs: 30,00,000. Towards the end of 1919, the government then undertook

military operations against the Mehsuds, which continued nearly four years. In the end the British however, reestablished their control over Waziristan[25].

To negotiate a permanent accord, both the British and the Afghan delegates met at Rawalpindi in July 1919. The Afghan delegation which also included Dr. Abdul Ghani was led by Ali Ahmad Jan, a cousin of Amanullah Khan. The British side was headed by Sir Hamiltan Grant. "Speaking at the conference the leader of the British delegation accused Afghanistan to have started the war and feeling proud of his country's strength said that his country had shown mercy to a weak country like Afghanistan to have agreed on a ceasefire. In his rejoinder, Sardar Ali Ahmad Jan said, "The war was started by you and it is you that have requested for a compromise. You are unjustifiably proud of your power and strength. You were very weak in comparison to Germany, but your advantage was that you had the support of the Allied world. You found your Allies and you succeeded ..."[26]. The negotiations had been started on 27th July 1919 and lasted upto 8th August 1919. On 8th August 1919 a treaty was signed by Hamiltan Grant and Ali Ahmad Jan according to which Durand Line was recognised as Anglo-Afghan border and Afghanistan was officially recognised independent internally and externally[27]. In the eyes of the young Afghans, however, Sardar Ali Ahmad Jan had failed to protect the Afghan cause "for the reason firstly that he could not make the British Indian government to recognise the independence of Afghanistan and secondly that he agreed that the Durand Line was a line of demarcation between Afghanistan and British India". Enthusiastic young Afghans under Mehmood Tarzi seriously protested against

all this. After his return from Rawalpindi conference, Ali Ahmad Jan was put under house detention and remained in such a state until 1922 when he was released at the intervention of the mother of Amanullah Khan[28].

Perhaps the most important event that took place in the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan was the migration of the Indian Mohajirs to Afghanistan during the Hijrat movement. As this movement caused the migration of thousands of people, both lay and educated solely because of religious fervour and a show of disgust for their alien masters, it is pertinent to trace the origin of this movement before narrating the events.

In 918 A.H/1018 A.D, Khalifa Muhammad Abbasi, the last Caliph of al-Abbas, with the permission of the world of Islam, shifted khilafat as the spiritual government of the world of Islam to Sultan Saleem Azam, the ruler of Saltanate-Usmania. With this also, the sword, gown and other items of the Holy Prophet were transferred to the first Caliph of the family of Usman (in Turkey). From that day onward, the ruler of Sultanate-Usmania was granted the title of Khilafatul Muslimeen, Sultanul Islam and Khuddamul Haramain Sharifain and from the day onward he was recognised as the successor of the Holy prophet and the spiritual Imam by Muslims all over the world. Not only in Makka and Madina, but everywhere where Muslims lived, the Khalifa was prayed for in the Khutbas (Sermons) of Fridays and Eids[29]. The Muslims of India too had a deep love and respect for the khalifa of Islam seated in Turkey.

When the Allied emerged victorious in world war-I, they bound Turkey to vacate Darra Danyal, Bosforus together with all the pickets and forts built therein and hand them over to the Allies,2) to lay down arm and surrender to the Allies,3) to give any place to the Allieds which they considered important for military purpose,4). The management of the Turkish railway and telegraphic lines were given in the hands of the Allies 5). Turkish prisoners of war were to continue to be in Allied possession while Allied army personnel fallen to Turkish hands as prisoners of war were to be released forthwith. Rauf Bey, Turkish Naval Wazir, was made to sign these humiliating conditions on October 30, 1918[30].

The attitude of the Allies after signing the armistice grew more hostile towards the Turks. "Constantinople was under Allied occupation and the Sultan was a prisoner in his palace. The British forces despite the armistice, advanced from the South to occupy Mosul to secure the future oil fields for themselves"[31]. Having captured Constantinople, the British started a hunt to seize Turkish leaders and to put them to sword. Talat Pasha, the Prime Minister, Anwar Pasha, the War Minister and Jamal Pasha, the Naval Minister fled to Europe and when returned they remained underground. The Khalifatul Muslimeen, Sultan Abdul Hameed Khan lived under British umbrella. The British at the same time promised the Jews to give them homeland in Palestine. All these factors combined togather greatly disturbed the Ulema of Islam and the sensible Muslims. In reality, the British Government had promised with the Indian Muslims that whatever be the result of the war, the Khilafat would remain intact and that the Holy Places would remain under the charge of the

Khalifa. The Muslims felt that the British had backed out of their promise and they apprehended that the Holy places like Madina and Baitul Muqaddas were going out of the hands of the Muslims[32].

Thus, protest meetings were held at different place, the more important being a Muslim Conference held at Lucknow on January 26, 1919, presided over by Maulana Abdul Bari which decided to constitute a Khilafat Committee. Because of the publication of the Rowlat Bill on 18th January 1919, resentment of the Indian population was already widespread. The Muslims thus found an excellent opportunity to raise their voice against the British and join hands with the Hindus. The Hindus by themselves came to the fore. On 30th March 1919, Swami Shardhanand, the Arya Samaj leader delivered a speech from the pulpit of the Jamia Masjid, Delhi and the Muslims listened to his speech impatiently. Public resentment was further heightened with the Jalyanwala Bagh incidence when on 13th April, General Dyre opened fire on a public meeting, leaving 379 dead and 1200 injured[33].

A khilafat conference was convened at Delhi on September 22,1919 presided over by A.K. Fazlul Haq, emphasizing the need for securing Hindu cooperation to make the Khilafat movement a success. It was also decided to send a deputation to England under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ali. Before this deputation could be organized it was decided to send another deputation under the leadership of Dr. M.A. Ansari and consisting of M.A. Gandhi, Seth Chhotani, Maulana Sanaullah Amratsari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mufti Kifayatullah, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Syed Hassan, editor of the "Independent" Allahabad,

Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi, Syed Zuhur Ahmad, Secretary Muslim league, Maulana Fakhir Ilahabadi, Maulana syed Suleman Nadvi, Agha Muhammad Ashraf Qazil Bash, the Raja of Mehmoodabad, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mr. M.A. Jinnah, to wait upon the viceroy. Nehru and Jinnah could not participate. But they sent telegrams extending full support to the aims of the delegation. The delegation demanded that in order to make the caliphate effective, integrity of Turkey was to be ensured. But the Governor General did not give them a satisfactory reply. On this several Muslim leaders issued a joint warning that if the terms of the peace treaty violated Muslim sentiment, the British would alienate the Muslim community in India. The British was also reminded of the previous promise they had made with the Muslims.

The details of the terms of the Treaty of Severes given to Turkey created great disappointment among the Muslims, because the treaty not only dismembered the Ottoman Empire, but the Turkish homeland itself was put in danger. The treaty was imposed on Turkey forcefully, liquidating the Ottoman Empire and abolishing Turkish Sovereignty[34].

Another Khilafat conference was now held at Bombay to appoint a delegation for going to England. The deputation left for England in the beginning of March 1920. It consisted of Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Syed Suleman Nadvi, Abul Qasim, Syed Hussain and Hassan Muhammad Hayat. Shoaib Qureshi and Abdur Rehman Siddiqi were already in England and joined the deputation there. Maulana

Muhammad Ali was the leader and Hassan Muhammad Hayat was the secretary. The deputation met Lloyed George who told bluntly that Turkey could not expect a better treatment than the defeated Christian countries. The deputation therefore returned empty handed. When the news of the British Prime Minister's disappointing reply reached India, a black day was observed in all important cities and towns. The Muhammad Ali deputation came back from Europe in October, 1920.

In this Connection, Maulana Muhammad Ali himself and Mahatama Gandhi toured different parts of India to give a direction to the agitation that was gathering momentum. Khilafat committees were established in every part of the country, leaving no small village or town without one. A programme of non-cooperation with the government was chalked out. Inaugurated on Ist August 1920, the programme called upon the people to surrender all the titles and honours, offices conferred by the Government and to refuse to attend official semi-official functions organized by the Government. The programme further recommended the gradual with-drawal of students from institutions maintained or aided by the government, bycot of British courts, of legislative councils, of elections to these councils and of foreign goods. The resolution was adopted by a special session of the All. India National Congress. A Fatwa on the same lines was signed by a large number of Ulema[35].

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a man of learning and eloquence, after his release from internment, entered the field. A few days after the declaration of the Non-cooperation, Tark-e-Mawalat as it was called by many, Maulana Azada

issued a Fatwa in which he asked the Muslims to migrate from India. The Maulana said: "Having considered the present conditions and demands of the time, I am fully convinced in the light of Sharia that the Muslims of India have no option but to migrate. It is necessary for all those Muslims in India who wish to perform the greatest Islamic action", adding "however, those who believe that their presence in India is more necessary for the service of Islam than from Hijrat (migration) or those who have been rendered unable by the circumstances compatible to Islamic injunctions ... may undoubtedly stay in India. Such people should devote their energies for the service of Islam here". (translation, text urdu)[36]. The Maulana said that neither the entire population can migrate from India at one time, nor is required by Sharia. It would be a continuing process, he said. Regarding the question as to who should migrate and who would stay in India, the Maulana said it was the task of the leader of the Jamaat to determine. The Maulana pleaded for Biat (allegiance) before Hijrat (migration) as there was a precedent in the Great Migration carried out by the Holy Prophet. To the Maulana, no Hijrat without a Bait was valid. The Maulana advised that any person who wished to join him, should inform him instantly. The following persons were also named to be contacted for instructions and guidance: Maulvi Abdul Qadir Advocate Qasoori, Maulvi Mohiuddin B.A. Qasoor, Maulana Muhammad Daood Ghaznavi, Maulana Abdur Razaq Maleehabadi, editor al-Bayan Luck-now. Thus the call for Hijrat by Maulana Azad went hand in hand with his call for allegiance[37].

At this, one Ghulam Muhammad Aziz Amratsari, sought a Fatwa regarding Hijrat from Maulana Abdul Bari. The Maulana gave the following ruling: "I would so declare about Hijrat that those Muslims who can not satisfy their conscience in this country, they having moulded their lives according to Islam, should leave for such a place where they can better serve their religion and can act upon the Islamic law in a better way" (translation, text urdu). The original Fatwa of Maulana Abdul Bari was published in Indian Newspapers in May 1920, which raised questions in the minds of many. Several Ulema disagreed with him. On May 6, 1920, he clarified his Fatwa as follows "... Hijrat from Darul Harb (Land of Infidels) to Darul Islam is Mustahab (non obligatory) and is Wajib (necessary) in certain cases. Living in Darul Harb without need therefore is Haram (unpermissible). We people consider India as Darul Harb and are staying here with a view to promote the cause of Deen (Islam). That is why we do not consider Hijrat as Farz (obligatory)" If we have no option except to perform Hijrat or face hardships or that we can serve Islam more outside than our own country, then Hijrat is permissible under the law of Islam. In the present circumstances, if capable and hardworking people migrate to Kabul with the hope that their journey is beneficial for Islam, it is better for them to perform Hijrat". (Translation, text urdu)[38]. "The Fatwa", Says S. Waqar Ali Shah Kakakhel, "that declared India as Darul Harb said that whoever would live in Darul Harb would lose their rights on their wives as their Nikah (contract of marriage) did not remain Intact[39].

The leading spirit of the Hijrat movement was a "young firebrand" Ghulam Muhammd Aziz of Amritsar who later abbreviated his name after going over to Afghanistan as Aziz Hindi, His restless spirit did not find the programmes drawn up by the leaders sufficiently dynamic for his way of thinking. He met most of the leaders, but was not convinced that their techniques would achieve much success. At last he sent a telegram to Maulana Abdul Bari requesting him to issue a clear injunction on the question of Hijrat. The Maulana sent a reply reiterating that Hijrat was permissible in case a person felt that he could not perform his religious duties under an alien non-Muslim government. This Fatwa encouraged Aziz Hindi to open an office in the Fatehpuri Mosque's building and to organise a movement on sound footings. The senior leaders like Dr. M.A. Ansari and Hakim Ajmal Khan did not encourage him, but his enthusiasm was boundless and could not be controlled easily. Maulana Muhammad Ali once called him a "dangerous fanatic". Aziz Hindi sought an interview with Maulana Fazal Elahi of Wazirabad, a local contact and organizer of the Mujahids in Punjab. In the meeting that was arranged by a friend of Aziz Hindi, the Maulana informed him of the aims and objects of the Jihad Movement and possibly told him that if it could attract a larger number of recruits and collect sufficient resources, the time was proper to shake the foundations of the British Indian government. The Maulana left an impression on the mind of Aziz Hindi which added fuel to his burning passions and thereafter he began to accelerate his efforts to effect a mass migration from India to Afghanistan. Aziz Hindi, in this connection found an opportunity to talk to a big public meeting organised by Anjuman Himayat-

e-Islam, a non-political body, and persuaded the people for migration from the platform to the embarrassment of the officers of the Aanjuman and thus he roused the enthusiasm of the audience[40].

During this time, Khan Adul Ghaffar Khan, met Aziz Hindi and pointed out to him that Hijrat was unthinkable unless the permission of the Afghan government was secured beforehand. Ghaffar Khan himself offered his services to go to Afghanistan and obtain necessary permission of the Afghan authorities. He travelled to Afghanistan and stayed there for about a month, but was unable to get the favour of the Afghan government. He therefore returned to Charsadda .

Knowing about the Fatwa of Maulana Abdul Bari, Amir Amanullah Khan came out with a statement announcing that the Government of Afghanistan was prepared to accommodate and provide shelter to the emigrants coming from India[41]. Maulana Arif Haswi, one of the supporters of Aziz Hindi requested the Afghan Councillor General to issue a statement in pursuance of the announcement of Amir Amanullah Khan to facilitate migration of Indian Muslims to Afghanistan. His request was granted. In addition the Afghan Councillor General said that every migrant who intended to go to Afghanistan would get about three acres of land for cultivation with financial help to get himself settled in any part of Afghanistan selected by the government of Afghanistan for the purpose. None of the Mohajirs, however, would be allowed to indulge in politics that ran counter to the Afghan policies. Upon this, Aziz Hindi published large posters, mentioning the Afghan Government conditions and calls for Hijrat[42].

A few students from Islamiya College Peshawar consisting of Mian Akbar Shah Badrashi, Sarfarz Khan, Gohar, Sultan Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Akbar Khan of Hazara who had been, since the days of the enactment of the Rowlat Bill and Jalyanwala Bagh occurrence, contemplating how to make their protest against the British strong and effective, left Peshawar and came to Utmanzai, the village of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, with the intention to seek his assistance in making their way to Afghanistan. Having stayed at Utmanzai at the house of Abdul Ghaffar Khan for three days, the small carvan entered Mohmand territory (independent area) in the evening of May 16,1920 crossing Umarzai,Katozai and Sadr Garhi. After a hard and tough journey in the Mohamand mountains, they arrived in the Mujahid headquarter of Haji Sahib Turangzai, where they were received and encouraged by Haji Sahib in the following words. "Boys! your intentions are good. God may maintain your courage and tenacity. To liberate the country from the British needs the sacrifices of the educated youth like you. You have started for Afghanistan at an opportune moment. Jihad is at its peak. God may liberate Muslim countries from the British"[42a]. Having stayed for six days at Lakaray with Hiji Sabib Turangzai, the boys left for Chamarkand where Mohammad Akbar Khan was called by his father to return home.But the son informed his father through the messenger that he had come out of his house with the intention that he would liberate his country and that without achieving his aim he would not return home. One of the students, named Sarfraz, who was home-sick, however was allowed to return with the messenger. On June 1,1920 the Mujahid Leader at Chamarkand, Maulvi Abdul Karim through a

guide took them to the Sarkaney cantonment where they crossed the Kunar river and arrived in Jalalabad. At Jalalabad Sepasalar M. Nadir Khan entertained them and then guided them to proceed to Kabul[42b].

The calls of the Hijrat leaders spread far and wide, and the move gained momentum with religious fervour because the religious leaders cited the Great Migration of the Holy prophet and the love and affection shown by the Ansars (helpers) of Madina for the Mohajirs (migrants from Makka). Overpowered by religious passions, the Muslims sold out their belongings - houses, landed property and cattle - and with the money obtained purchased horses, donkeys, carts and other equipment necessary for travelling. Besides men, women and children were prepared to go along[43].Though majority of the Muslims Intended to proceed on Hijrat solely on religious grounds, yet there were some who lived a miserable life and they thought that in Afghanistan they would be paid from government treasury[44].The number of persons who sold their belongings at "throw away prices"[45] was twenty thousand. According to another estimate the number ranged from 18000 to 50,000[46].

In order to tackle the migrants problems, a Hijrat committee was formed which consisted of Haji Jan Muhammad, Ali Gul Khan, Agha Lal Bad Shah, Maulana Abdul Hakim and Hakeem Qutub Alam. Haji Jan Muhammad was its president. The members of the Hijrat committee toured the outskirts of Peshawar and asked the well-off to make contributions for the intending Mohajirs. The people made generous contributions amounting to thousands of rupees. Women sold their Jewelrys and procured food items, clothes and riding animals.The Tanga (carts)

owners promised to carry passengers free of cost. Caravans coming from other parts of India on their way to Afghanistan were received at Peshawar by the workers of the Hijrat Committee and were offered flowers and cold drinks. The members of the Hijrat committee pleaded that wise and educated young men were needed to migrate so that they may bring consciousness among the tribal people and to make wider publicity of British cruelties to win the sympathy of the Afghans to extend whole hearted support to the Indians in their struggle for freedom[47].

The British reaction to the Hijrat movement was marked by inconsistancy. In the beginning they tried to prevent people from going on Hijrat but later they encouraged them to proceed in large numbers. The authorities thought that the emigrants would over-burden the weak economy of Afghanistan and secondly India itself would be cleansed of active political workers.They also prepared their spies to accompany the emigrants to penetrate into the heart of Afghanistan and obtain secrets[48].

The enthusiasm of the people of N.W.F.P knew no bounds. In June 1920, Abdul Akbar Khan of Umarzai and Qazi Abdur Razzaq of Harichand met khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at Sarki (Charsadda) and discussed with him the Hijrat issue.They decided to prevent women, children and the old from going on Hijrat as their journey was bound to add to difficulties, but the women and children were so eager that none could dissuade them from their intention of Hijrat. "If some one asked the old what would he do if he migrated, his retort was blunt, was paradise good for young alone? He expressed his desire to receive martyrdom if he was to

die on his way to Afghanistan[49].

Crowds of people poured in from Swabi and Mardan to make their way to Afghnistan, and several thousands from Peshawar alone were ready to leave on Hijrat.

Earlier the students of Islamia College Peshawar were contemplating how to make the movement effective. Some suggested non-coopertion,others demanded boycott of education on oath.Receiving the information, Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum, an eminent politician from N.W.F.P,arrived in Hardinge Hostel at midnight and addressed the students thus "your this spirit is praise worthy, yet I advise you that the time is not ripe for your participation in polities.He quoted the following Pushto Tappa: عاشقی ښه ده بده نه ده - یوکال مې کړې سوکړدان به کړځیدم (Love is good, not bad. I tasted it for (complete) one year which gave me nothing, except sufferings).The next morning, Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar[50] was summoned by the principal of the College and told him that he did not think about him to be a mischievous boy and that he did not want to rusticate him from the college as he was an outstanding student, yet he liked to fine him Rs.50/- for being active in politics. Abdul Akbar Khan told him that he had already made up his mind to leave the college for good[51]

At last in June 1920, a big caravan of Mohajirs from N.W.F.P consisting of some 1000 to 1200 men led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan left Charsadda for Shabqadar to cross Mohmand territory on its way to Afghnistan. Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar of umarzai also accompanied this caravan. Having arrived at

Anbadher (Shabqadar area) the caravan was joined by Mian Ahmad Shah B.A,a class fellow of Abdul Akbar Khan, who had no horse of his own.Abdul Akbar Khan and his servant shared their horses with him by turn.Other members of the caravan were Maulvi Abdur Razaq of Harichand. From Shabqadar onward, after a hard and tough journey through the barren and waterless mountains of Mohmand territory, the caravan arrived in the Mujahids headquarter set up by Haji Sahib Turangzai Here the caravan was joined by Maulana Muhammad Israel of Rajjar, Qalander Khan of Rajjar and Maulana Khalilur Rehman of Tangi.Those migrants who were accompanied by their family members started for Peshawar to proceed to Afghanistan via Landi Kotal and Torkham[52]. In August 1920,18000 Pathans sold their lands, homes and shops and moved to Kabul[53]. Communication between Peshawar and Kabul was by no means easy. There was no motor transport available to ordinary travellers between the two cities. and the only available vehicles were Tangas, but they too were expensive. Most of them travelled on foot accompanied by their children.Despite the perceptible difficulties, the enthusiastic caravans crossed over to Afghnistan saying loudly the following verse:

برباد ہوں پرواہ نہیں - ناشاد ہوں پرواہ نہیں
اے دوستو جو کچھ بھی ہو - کابل چلو کابل چلو
برادرانِ ھنود! تم کو رہے مبارک وطن کی راحت
غریب مسلم شکستہ خاطر وطن کی الفت لٹا رہے ہیں -
امیر صاحب بلا رہے ہیں - امیر صاحب بلا رہے ہیں -

I am ruined, I am sad, but I do not care go to kabul, Oh Friends! whatever happens to you.Congratulations to you, Oh Hindus!the comforts of your country; Indigent Muslims with all their sufferings grab the faith and love of their country. We are being summoned by the Amir of Afghanistan.We are being summoned by the Amir of Afghnistan[54].

Iqbal Shaidai, the famous revolutionary,[55] who himself took an active part in the Hijrat movement has very exhaustively recorded the migration events[56] which speak profusely about the conditions that waited the intending emigrants.

Besides Iqbal Shaidai, Jan Muhammad Junejo, a Barrister and a wealthy land lord from Larkana, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and Aziz Hindi, the leading men in the Hijrat Movement, the following notables also made their way to Afghanistan Hakim Mehmood Sanjari, Muhammad Aslam Sanjari, Syed Amir Badshah, Qazi Abdul Wali, Colonel Abdus Rehman, Muhammad Abbas Khan, Ahmad Ustad, Nawab Salim Khan, Abdus Sattar Khan, Arbab Raza Khan, Mian Abdullah Shah of Qazi Khel Charsadda, Abdul Qadir Sahrai and Qazi Abdur Razzaq[57] The names of Taj Gul Khan Ali Gul Khan, Shaukat Usmani, Ali Abbas Bukhari Maulana Muhammad Israel of Rajjar, Muhammad Akbar Khan of Utmanzai Muhammad Akbar Qureshi of Haripur Akbar Shah Badrashi , of Nowshera and Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar of Umarzai have already been mentioned elsewhere. The names of Maulana Ahmad Ali Lahori, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan (Baluchistan) Ahmad shah Khan Bhupali also form part of the list of elite that migrated to Afghanistan during the Hijrat movement[58].

Having crossed the Anglo-Afghan border, the Muhajirs first stayed at Jalalabad.Here they faced food problem. There was no hotel nor any restaurant, except a few shops. Though Sardar M.Nadir Khan with the approvel of the Government of Afghanistan had made certain arrangements for food, but it could not suffice caravans after caravans. Having exhausted the Government supply, some of the Muhajirs turned towards the shops where they were provided with meal, but on payment.The number of the Muhajirs was so great that most of them could not find food even on payment,[59] and those who availed on payment felt that their Afghan brethren were not like the Ansar (helpers) of Madina, the stories of whose generosity had Inspired them for migration.[60]

From Jalalabad, the Muhajirs moved to Kabul. The Afghan Public thought that these Muhajirs had been banished by the British[61].The Muhajirs believed that they would be received in Kabul as warmly as they had been received in Peshawar by the khilafat committee, but here the situation was different.Though in the beginning they were treated well, but as their number increased, chaos and confusion happend. The lack of knowledge of persian language added to the difficulty. Some of the Afghans rebuked the Muhajirs and this led to the problem of Mulki and Ghair-e-Mulki (local and non-local). The Muhajirs had been accompanied from India by British spies and now they started their work. They instigated the Muhajirs against the Afghan Government. The situation deteriorated so much so that one day all the Muhajirs were asked to appear before the Kotwal along with their bags and baggages and when they assembled, an Afghan Officer, giving five minutes

to the Muhajirs, asked them to decide whether they preferred returning to their homes or they be taken by the Government to a marshy area[62]. This incident further disheartened the Muhajirs.

In order to tackle the Muhajir problem, the Afghan Government farmed a committee with Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi as its president. Other members were Maulana Ahmad Ali Lahori, Akbar Khan of Barekab (Mardan), Aziz Hindi, Maulana Fazli Rabbi, Maulana Saifur Rehman of Mathra (Charsadda) and Bacha Khan. The Afghan government was represented in the committee by Sardar Aziz Khan, Sardar Nadir Khan and Abdul Bari Khan. This committee, after some deliberations decided that each Muhajir should be paid Rs:200 per annum as subsistence grant. If some one wanted to cultivate land, he would be allotted 30 jereeb of land in Turkistan with housing facility and additional money for purchase of oxen etc. The Afghan government would also provide wheat from government godown upto 5 maunds per family on half payment. Each family was to be government's guest for three days. The educated from amongst the Muhajirs were to be granted nationality rights and there would be no discrimination whatsoever between the Muhajirs and the actual citizens in civil and military recruitments[63].

Having made the decision, Bacha Khan (Abdul Ghaffar Khan) asked Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar to go to the Muhajir's camp and inform them about the decision of the committee so that the process of their returning in haste is stopped. Abdul Akbar Khan accompanied by a few Maulvis came to the Muhajir camp and announced the decision. The reaction of the Muhajirs was very sharp. The

announcement had not yet been finalized that they abused the announcer in filthy language. They did not spar even Bacha Khan and had other Maulvis not been present on the occasion, they would have either killed or wounded Abdul Akbar Khan. They thus scornfully rejected the offer of the committee for Muhajirs and started their Journey back home. While the Muhajirs were on their way back, they came across the carvan of Muhammad Abbas Khan and Mian Abdulullah Shah which was no its way to Kabul. The returning Muhajirs discouraged the arriving Muhajirs. At this, Muhammad Abbas Khan stopped his further journey to Kabul and decided to go back to Peshawar to dissuade other Muhajirs from coming to Kabul Mian Abdullah Shah, however, continued his journey to Kabul[64].

From amongst those who remained in Kabul, a few thousand people who had their own resources, however, did settle down on land. some families hailing from Tangi, Sherpao and Charsadda proceeded from Kabul to Turkistan and settled permanently on lands granted by the Afghan Government[65]. As regards other employments, the able bodied desirous to get service were inducted into the Afghan army and an exclusive brigade consisting of Muhajirs was raised. Only a few persons with special skills were absorbed, but employment otherwise was scarce[66]. There were some who did not accept jobs and demanded of the Afghan Government to declare a holy war against the British as they said they had come for jihad and not for jobs. To this Amanullah Khan replied, "you generate strength in you to wage a war with the British and I shall extend all help to you, because British are like black cobra that does not allow me to rest in peace"[67]. Some of the Muhajirs were sent to

Jablas Siraj (Northern Afghanistan) where they started military exercises. They demanded arms and ammunition, but none were provided, as the third Anglo Afghan-War recently fought had exhausted the Afghan military resources.

In Afghanistan the Muhajirs thus divided into factions. Some stayed in Afghanistan, others moved to Russia and Turkey, while majority of them returned to India broken-hearted. The return journey was horrible. A large number of the returning Muhajirs died on their way home."Even today a large number of graves in between Kabul and Peshawar furnish testimony to their plight". Those who succeeded in arriving home were treated with humiliation. They were dubbed as cowards and courageless. They were extremely poor as they had sold out all their belongings. Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum was sympathetic to those government employees who had proceeded on migration and then returned. He restored previous jobs to many. He also helped many in getting their properties back[68]. Taking advantage of the miserable plight of the returned Muhajirs, the shopkeepers sold articles at high prices. At the time of migration the price of wheat per maund was one rupee only. But when the Muhajirs returned home after a few months, they had to purchase grain at the rate of fifteen rupees per maund. Those who did not proceed on migration amassed wealth, but those who undertook migration were ruined economically[69]."The Hijrat Movement", says I.H.Qureshi, "was but a small episode in the struggle of the Muslims of the sub-continent against British policies relating to the Muslim world and though it stands witness before the bar of history regarding the sincerity and depth of Muslim resentment regarding Turkey, it served no other

purpose and created grand hardships for many Muslim families"[70].

Some of the leading men also retraced their steps towards their country. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, with a few companions reached Bajaur with the intention to establish schools for educating the independent tribes. He established a school in a village in Dir wherein he enrolled a number of students, but the political agent influenced the Nawab of Dir who gave irders that the school be closed. After visiting a number of places in Dir and Bajour areas, Abdul Ghaffar Khan returned to Utmanzai where he tried to restart his school closed by the British during world War-I[71]. Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar and Mr. Usmani of Bhupal proceeded to Russian Turkistan and arrived in Tashkand. The former could not stay longer and soon returned home, the latter settled there for some time and had an indepth study of the communist literature[72].Aziz Hindi stayed in Afghanistan for ten years. When Bacha Saqao came to power in succession to Amir Amanullah Khan, he interned Aziz Hindi. After his release, he continued to live in Afghanistan in the company of his family members. H-e returned to India in 1930. After a few months he was made royal prisoner, but was released in 1933[73]. Sheikh Abdul Haq, a notable, crossed over to Tashkand, but returned to Afghanistan after some time. "When the other emigrants decided to return to their country", says Zafar Hassan Aibak, "he also left Kabul for India without informing his companions which generated doubts in the minds of many. He wanted to proceed to India via Qandahar. Before leaving Kabul he wrote a letter to an English officer at Quetta informing him about his return journey. The letter was intercepted by some Afghans. Abdul Haq was arrested and brought back to Kabul.

Some other documents were also recovered from his possession. After an investigation, it was found that he was a British spy. He was put behind bars and latter put to death"[74]. Detailed events of this story as reported by Iqbal Shaidai with a slight difference may be read in the succeeding chapter entitled "Indian Freedom Fighter in Tashand, Moscow and Istanbul". Ahmad Shah Khan settled in Turkistan and was employeed in Education Department there. After some time, he returned to Kabul and established a flourishing business there. After the creation of Pakistan, he left for Karachi where he was seen by Zafar Hassan Aibak after 34 years in 1949[75]. Maulana Ahmad Ali Lahori, the nephew of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi who was a known scholar of islamic learning had no residential lodge of his own and used to stay with Maulana Sindhi. He could not enlighten the people at Kabul with his knowledge of the Holy Quran, because he did not know persian. As the people could not be benefited from his presence, he was advised by Maulana ubaidullah Sindhi to return to his native city Lahore where he had been spreading the rays of knowledge before his journey to Kabul during the Hijrat Movement[76].

Ahmad Jamal Pasha, the one time Turkish Naval Minister, a man who showd great feats of bravery in world War-I, arrived in Kabul via Turkistan in the autumn of 1920. He was sent to Kabul on the request of Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari. The aim of his visiting Kabul was to prepare the Indian Muslims for a revolt against British India. At Kabul he was the guest of the Afghan government, but for financial aid he had to extend his hand to the Russian government. In order to acquaint himself with the Indian Political situation, he needed to read Indian newspapers. He,

therefore, set up a translation department to translate into persian Indian newspapers published in other languages. Iqbal Shaidai was appointed as head of the Translation Department. Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar while in Kabul also worked in this Department. Akbar Khan however, refused to accept reward for his services offered by Jamal Pasha on the ground that his life was devoted to the service of the nation[77]. Jamal Pasha, suspected that Zafar Hassan Aibak was a British spy. Though Sardar M. Nadar Khan had introduced him to Jamal Pasha, yet when Zafar Hassan Aibak wanted to attend a meeting arranged between Sardar M. Nadir Khan and Jamal Pasha, the latter objected to the presence of Aibak. This saddened both Aibak and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi[78].Financed by the Russian government, Jamal Pasha had to give a new turn to his activities. When the Dobbs mission arrived in Kabul after a temporary agreement at Masoori (Rawalpindi) to settle the remaining questions between Kabul and Delhi, the Mission desired to isolate Kabul from Moscow. Russia wanted the Afghan government not to sign such an agreement and as a compensation promised to set up an ammunition factory at Kabul. Russia tried to influence the Afghan government through Jamal Pasha. Jamal Pasha, on the other hand, wanted to extract from the British some concessions for Turkey. His priorities thus changed and his presence in Kabul did not bring the desired results. Later, on his way to Moscow, he was assassinated at Kafkaz[79]. Detailed story is coming in chapter IV.

Amanullah Khan was in between two gigantic neighbours. On the one hand he had to deal with British India, on the other to handle Soviet Russia. He had to choose a safer line inbetween, keeping in view the interests of his country and the

interest of the Ummah at large. Announcing his foreign policy objectives, Amanullah stressed on three points, establishment of cordial relations with Soviet Russia, normalization of relations with great Britain and solidarity with the Muslim world and other Independent countries. Perceiving the Afghan gesture of goodwill, Bolshevik Russia as a first step recognized Afghanistan as an independent and sovereign country.The R.S.F.S.R (Russia Soviet Federative socialist Republic) sent a note to the paris peace conference in March 1919 calling the participant states to bind themselves to abstain from helping any power which would attempt to overthrow the Government of Afghanistan by force.Obviously, this move on the part of soviet Russia, aimed at winning sympathy of the Afghan nation.In reponse, the Afghan Government despatched two letters to Moscow, one being from Amir Amanullah khan and the other from Mehmood Tarzi, the foreign Minister of Afghanistan to his Soviet counterpart G.V Chicher, expressing a desire to strengthen ties with that country. The 3rd Anglo-Afghan war fought in May 1919 gave further impetus to reciprocal gesture of cooperation and goodwill.On the close of the 3rd Afghan war the deteriorating economic condition of the country impelled Amanullah to look to Soviet Russia for economic assistance. Amanullah then sent Maulana Barkatullah to Moscow to aprise the Russian anthorties of the Afghan needs.Thus on 7th May,1919 Lenin gave an audience to Barkatullah in the Kremlin, rewieving the Bolshvik-Afghan relations. Barkatllah Bhupali promised that he would write a pamphlet on "Bolshevism in Koran" and print its 100,000 copies in Arabic, Hindustani and Persian languages for distribution in India and elsewhere.In late May 1919, an Afghan Mission

under Muhammad Wali was sent to Tashkand to meet the Soviet authorities there. The mission arrived on June 4 and was cordially received.The Afghans were allowed to establish an Afghan consulate under Muhammad Aslam at Tashkand. The head of the consulate in his speech at the opening caremony said.."we strive for the salvation of the Muhammadans all over the world", persauding the Turkamen to "prefer the Soviet copper to the British pieces of gold."[80] At this the Brithish agent in central Asia informed his Government that in May 1919 the Bolsheviks had largely succeeded in uniting their propaganda with that of the pan-Islamists, and that large sums were being spent on it. Afghanistan was frequenthy exchanging agents and literature with the Bolshviks,the agent reported. At Tashkand, the Afghan Mission led by Muhammad Wali invited K.N.Z Bravin, the Soviet representative to proceed to kabul for futher talks with the Afghan authorities. While the Afghan Mission was still in Moscow, a Soviet Mission under Bravin arrived Kabul and started negociations with Amanullah on September 4,1919. Bravin pointed to the Amir that the Soviet Government was prepared to grant territorial concessions to Afghanistan equal to the area taken from it by the Tsarist Government in the Panjdeh crisis of the 1880s.He also tried to win the Afghan Government's sypmpathy in favour of the Bolsheviks fighting in the civil war in certral Asia in return for guaranteed Russian assistance against the British.Similarly the Afghan Mission met Lenin in Moscow on October 14, 1919, and Muhammad Wali, leader of the Mission, delivered a letter from the Afghan Amir, requesting for Military assistance to Afghnistan. Lenin thanked the Afghan envoy and promised an early reply.[81]

Earlier, on June 23,1919, while the Afghan Mission was in Tashkand, Lenin signed credentials in the name of Y.Z. Suritz, entrusting him to conduct diplomatic relations with the people of "Independent Afghanistan". Thus Suritz headed a Mission to Kabul which consisted of twenty one members, including Mehendar Pratap, Acharya and Abdur Rab Berq Peshawari, the Indian revolutionaries staying at Tashkand. In his discussions with the Afghans, Suritz tried to persuade the Afghan Amir to allow free passage for Bolshevik agents and literature through Afghanistan and the establishment of a Bolshevik press. Amanullah was reluctant to agree to these proposals on the ground that Mehmud Tarzi,the Afghan Foreign Minister was already in Masoori trying to bring out the details of a treaty with the British Indian authorities. This considerably reduced the Bolshevik hopes of using Afghanistan as a passage to revolutionary India. The Masoori talks with no success lasted from April 17 to July 24, 1920. Suritz, sensing the situation, apparently engaged himself in talks with the Afghan authorities for finding an agreement between the two countries, but secretly entered into negotiations with the Indian revolutionaries staying at Kabul to enlist men for carrying Bolshevik propaganda. Despite the fact that the Afghan authorities and the soviet mission held conflicting views, Amanullah requested for assistance from Moscow and offered in exchange a trade agreement and military alliance on 8th May 1920. Meanwhile Mehmood Tarzi returned to Kabul from Massoori (India) and held talks with the Soviet Mission under Suritz in the light of Amanullah's strategy and succeeded in evolving a treaty which was given final shape in Moscow on February 28,1921 and ratified by the Soviet government on March

3,1921 and by the Afghan Government on July 16,1921. Main provisions of the treaty included exchange of diplomatic representatives, opening of Soviet Consulates at Herat, Maimana, Kandahar, Mazar Sharif and Ghazni, free transit of Afghan goods through Russian territory, construction of the Kushk-Herat-Kandahar-Kabul telegraphic line,the transfer of Panjdeh Territory and an annual subsidy to the Afghans of one million gold roubles. But the prospects of friendly relations between Kabul and Moscow were soon dampened by their conflicting perceptions about the developments in Muslim Central Asia.

When the promises of self determination given to the central Asian Muslims by the Bolsheviks were not fulfilled, it drove them to rise in revolt against the defectors. Amanullah Khan and other Afghans of his camp together with the pan Islamist Indian revolutionaries not only supported the cause of the central Asian Muslims, but also extended all possible assistance to the rebel (anti Bolshevik) Basmachis. In addition to his pan-Islamist feelings on the basis of which he was supporting the anti Bolshevik Central Asian Muslims, the strategic and economic importance of Khiva and Bukhara for Afghanistan were the other factors that contributed to his pro-Turkic and pro-Bashmachi Central Asian Policy. In fact in the fall of the khanates he saw his own doom and destruction. Driven by the Bolshevik atrocities in central Asia, Amanullah met privately with Francis Humphrys, the British Minister at Kabul and asked him for British aid to Bukhara and Khiva, but Britain refused to subscribe to the request. One month later, Mehmud Tarzi, the Afghan Foreign Minister again requested the British Minister in Kabul to influence

his government to agree to the supply via Afghanistan of arms and ammunition to the Bukharan forces. But again this request was not granted.

Amanullah Khan's pan Islamic policy and actions in Central Asia antagonized Moscow. The Soviet diplomates called upon the Afghan authorities to stop their support to the Basmachis and demanded of Kabul to announce neutrality in future. As a counter move, the Bolsheviks encouraged the Jamshidi tribe to conduct raids into Afghanistan. The Bolsheviks also prepared a plan to overthrow Amanullah .On September 20, 1920, the Soviet ambassador at Kabul handed over a protest note to the Afghan foreign office and demanded the withdrawal of the Afghan troops from the support of the Amir of Bukhara. The Afghan Government responded after three months with an official declaration on January 21,1921 that Afghanistan had ceased to support the Amir of Bukhara. Amanullah, however, continued to extend support to the anti-Bolshevik elements in Bokhara and other places in Central Asia. Amanullah in a message to Lenin on December 1,1920 wrote that the treaty he had concluded with the Russians had laid the foundation of brotherly relations and that undoubtedly those foundations would solidify in future. In March 1921, however, when Amir Said Alim was forced by the combined forces of the young Bukharans and the Bolsheviks to retreat to East Bukhara and then flee to Afghanistan he was welcomed alongwith his family and close officials in Kabul. Thus he openly ran the risk of an encounter with the soviets sending his best troops to the northern frontiers to await the developments there[82].

In January 1921. The British Indian government sent a Mission under Henry Dobbs to Kabul with new proposals to the Afghan government, but the Afghan Amir rejected the proposals on August 11,1921. In April 1922, the Soviet government held up all deliveries and assistance to Afghanistan due to reports of the Afghan intrigues against Soviet Russia. In June 1922, Moscow protested to Ghulam Nabi Khan Charkhi, the Afghan Minister in Moscow and demanded of the Afghan government to execute the Russo-Afghan treaty in letter and spirit, and informed him that if Afghanistan withdrew its forces from the border to the interior of Afghanistan, Russian Military and technical supplies to Afghanistan would be restored. That the Afghan government should stop assistance to the rebels in Central Asia and that the Afghan government was to publicly announce that it was not interfering in hostilities in Eastern Bukhara and that the Afghan subjects too would not be permitted to extend help to the rebel movement. Afghanistan was to recall her representative in Bukhara. The Afghan Government kept mum till it finally came out with an announcement by Muhammad Wali Khan on July 29,1922, stating that Afghanistan in no circumstances wished to develop hostility with friendly neighbors like Russia and Bukhara and that the existing disturbances in Bukhara were regarded by the Afghan statesmen as an internal disorder in which both the Russian and the Afghans governments have no right to interfere. Moscow probably unsatisfied with this statement of Muhammad Wali Khan sent another formal note on July 11,1922 demanding the Afghan Government to immediately suspend aid to the rebels in Bukhara, and to extradite all rebel leaders in Afghanistan to Soviet Russia and an assurance from the Afghan

Government that Anwar Pasha and his supporters would not be allowed to enter the Afghan territory. In response to this Soviet appeal, the Afghan authorities disarmed 1000 Basmachi workers who had fled to Afghanistan. Anwar pasha,the pivotal figure behind the anti-Bolshevik movement in Bukhara, died in August 1922.Upon his death, the Soviets were able to consolidate their power in Bukhara and Khiva and this made Amanullah to abandon the idea of maintaining status quo in Central Asia.

On November 22,1921, Afghanistan signed a peace treaty with Great Britain. Britain recognised complete independence for Afghanistan, renounced control over her foreign policy together with some other concessions to help modernize the country. Afghanistan in return agreed to keep the Soviet consulate out of Eastern Afghanistan.[83] Having signed a peace Treaty by Amanullah Khan's Government with Great Britain, Maulana Sindhi understood that the Indians would no longer be allowed by the Afghan Government to indulge in any secret activity against the British. He, therefore, founded a congress committee in Kabul in consultation with Dr. Noor Muhammad who had arrived from India in 1919. The Maulana became the President of the congress committee, while Dr.Noor Muhammad was named as its general secretary. The rest of the Indian Muhajirs became its members. Later, in an annual session of the All India National Congress held under the presidendship of Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, the committee was formally annexed with the main organization.[84]

After the establishment of the congress committee, Kabul, Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi decided to set up an Indian Urdu University at Aliabad Afghanistan

to advance the cause of the Indian freedom struggle. Maulana Sindhi appointed Abdun Nabi, a student of the Maulana, as its Head Teacher. The management of this institution was entrusted to Zafar Hassan Aibak in addition to his duties at Wazarat-e-Harbia. In order to meet the expenses of this educational institution Maulana Sindhi influenced Sardar M.Nadir Khan who agreed to donate some Jagir from his landed property. The medium of Instruction was Urdu.The nationalist Afghans thought that with the growth of Urdu language in Afghanistan, the Afghan culture would be deshaped. They therefore instigated the students to rise in revolt against the spread of the Indian culture in Afghanistan perceived to be spreading with the Introduction of Urdu language. The nationalist Afghans took it as a great conspiracy against Afghanistan, rendering it subservient to Indian leanings. The Maulana thus demanded a charter from the Government of Afghanistan to run the Institution in line with Afghan thinking but the charter was refused. The Maulana and some other Indians thus inferred that the Afghanistan itself was not happy over the establishment of this institution. Why, was the Afghan Government not lending any cooperation?They thought that the Dobbs Mission Kabul had bound the Afghan authorities not to lend any support to Indian revolutionaries. The Maulana, therefore deduced that to expect any thing more from the Afghan rulers would be utterly futile. More over the Indian revolutionaries had been fully established in Tashkand and Central Asia. He thus decided to bid farewell to the country with which he had been attaching great expectations. The Maulana left Kabul for Russia in November 1922.[85]

Dr. Abdul Ghani who was appointed by Amir Amanullah Khan as member of legislative council in 1921 and who witnessed the reigns of five successive Afghan monarchs- Abudur Rehman to Zahir Shah was very keen to see India liberated from alien clutches. Evaluating and assessing the powers of Afghanistan and Soviet Russia which was also expected to help in the liberation of India, Dr. Abdul Ghani opined that both these powers even if they do help the freedom fighters, could not achieve much. To him British India was far more strong and had an established administration. To oust the British from India needed a more comprehensive and practicable strategy. He thus called upon the Indian emigrants not to sit contented as, to him, migration alone was of no avail. He at the same time reminded the firey orators of India that with their emotional speeches they could not shake the British administration. If they really desired to see their country liberated from British hold, they had to become more serious in evolving a more solid strategy than those evolved by the British. Dr. Abdul Ghani counselled the Indian political leaders to become self-reliant, adopting austerity measures. In order to implement his own scheme in the early part of Amanullah's reign he formed an organization called "India independence league". Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was chosen its president, while Iqbal Shaidai was made its Secretary General. Other members of this organization were Maulana Najaf Ali Khan, brother of Dr. Abdul Ghani, Haji Sahib Turangzai and Sheikh Abdul Haq. The League decided to send a delegation of its own under Iqbal Shaidai to Russia to secure its help against British India. The delegation or the mission under Iqbal Shaidai visited Russia in September 1920. Khan Abdul Ghaffar

Khan stayed at Kabul. The plan envisaged that on the return of Iqbal Shaidai from Russia, if need be, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan would move to Yaghistan to assist Haji Sahib Turangzai[86]. The enemy in order to disturb the implementation of his scheme, came out to give mental torture to Dr. Abdul Ghani. One day Dr. Abdul Ghani's son whose age was about eight or ten years went to the Bazar for fetching necessaries. Till late, he did not come back. He was looked for, but none found him. Next morning a basket was found lying in front of the house of Dr. Abdul Ghani. It was full of the pieces of limbs of human body. When Dr. Abdul Ghani and his family members were informed about it, they recognised that they were the limbs of Dr. Abdul Ghani's son. It was Indeed an unbearable shock for an affectionate father. But Dr. Abdul Ghani's courage was enviable. He said, he had no enmity with any one except the British and that his son was one of the martyred of Indian freedom[87].The mission appears to have achieved no success. Abdul Ghani returned to India in 1921 and settled in his native city jalalpur (Gujrat, Punjab) for good. Here he engaged himself in medical practice, extending free medical treatment to destitute patients. He died in 1943.

ENDNOTES

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER - III

1. Baha, Administration, Op.Cit. P.101.
2. Aibak, Aap Beti, Vol.1, Op.Cit. 130.
3. Akbar, Safar Nama, Op.Cit. P. 62.
4. Marwat, Evolution, Op.Cit. PP. 89, 99.
5. Madani, Tehreek, Op. Cit. PP. 232, 233.
6. Sindhi, Kabul, Op.Cit. PP. 102, 103.
7. Najfi, Abdul Ghani.Op. Cit. PP. 85, 115.
8. Aibak, Aap Beti, Op.Cit. p. 146.
9. Baha, Administration.op.cit.p.100.
10. Aibak, Aap Beti. op.cit. pp. 141-142.
11. Ibid. p. 143.
12. Ibid. pp.140,141.
13. Abbasi, Tehreek, Op.Cit., P.91.
14. Abibak, Aap Beti. op.cit. pp. 158-160.
15. Ibid. p. 187.
16. Baha, Administration. op.cit. p. 103.
17. Aibak, Aap Beti, op.cit. pp. 147-174.
18. Abbasi, Tehreek. op.cit. p.91.

19. Ibid.

20. Baha, Administration. op.ct. p. 103.

21. Abbasi, Tehreek. op.cit. p.91.

22. Aibak. Aap Beti, Vol. I. Op.Cit. p.181.

23. Letters , Political Situation, Op.Cit., P. 57.

24. Aibak, Aap Beti, Vol.1, Op. Cit. p. 197.

25. Baha, Administration. op.cit. p. 103.

26. Abbasi, Tehreek. op.cit. p.92.

27. Mian, Azadi, Op.Cit., P.12.

28. Hindi, Zawal, Op. Cit. P.9.

29. Abbasi, Tehreek. op.cit. p.104.

30. Ibid. p.75.

31. Qureshi, Ulema, Op.Cit. P. 261.

32. Abbasi, Tehreek, op.cit. pp. 75,76.

33. Ibid. pp. 77-88.

34. Qureshi, Ulema. op.cit. pp. 261-263.

35. Ibid. pp. 267-272.

36. Abbasi, Tehreek. op.cit. p.132.

37. Ibid. p. 133.

38. Ibid. pp. 137-139.

39. Mian, Azadi. op.cit. p.34.

40. Qureshi, Ulema op.cit. pp. 264,265.

41. Aibak, Aap. Beti. op.cit. p. 210.

42. Qureshi. Ulema op.cit. p. 266.

42a. Mian Akbar Shah, Da Azadai Talash (Peshawar : Manzoor-e-Aam Press, N.D), pp.20-23. Hereafter cited Mian, Da Azadai.

42b. Ibid. pp. 7-42.

43. Akbar, Safar Nama op.cit. p.27.

44. Aibak, Aap Beti. op.cit. pp. 210,211.

45. Qureshi, Ulema op.cit. p. 266.

46. Ahmad, Muhammad Bashir, Tareekh-e-Pakistan (Lahore : 1978), p. 364.

47. Akbar, Safar Nama, op.cit. p. 27. also see Mian, Azadi, p.14.

48. Tendulkar, D.G. Abdul Ghaffar Khan : Faith is a Battle (Bombay : Popular Prakhashan, 1967), p. 32.Hereafter cited Tendulkar, Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

49. Akbar, Safar Nama, op.cit. p.29.

50. He was a revolutionary, was born in the house of Abdul Qadir Khan in Umarzai (Charsadda) in 1899. His grand father Arsala Khan was a landlord, owning 13000 jereeb of land. He passed his matric from Islamic High School Peshawar in 1916 and was admitted into the Islamia College Peshawar which he left in 1920 for Aligarh where he was admitted into Jamia Millia Islamiya . In politics he followed the line of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Abdul Akbar Khan was a poet and

dramatist. Jhongara is his known pushto drama. In order to dissuade him from proceeding on Hijrat, Mr. A.Waili, Assistant commissioner Charsadda, visited his house in the company of Abdul Akbar Khan's cousin, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Haider Khan of Sherpao, and offered him a high post, but he refused it saying that he had already left Islamia college for non-cooperation with the Government. He proceeded on Hijrat to Afghanistan and went as far as Russian Turkistan. He returned to Charsadda, having been disillusioned with the leaders of the freedom movement in Tashkand. He wrote his Safar nama, in which he recorded his observations. (Safar Nama, Introduction).

51. Akbar, Safar Nama, op.cit. pp. 20,21.

52. Ibid. pp. 35-39.

53. Tendulkar, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, op.cit. p.33.

54. Mian, Azadi, op.cit. p.14.

55. For details please see appendix - A (in the end of this thesis).

56. For text see appendix B.

57. Akbar, Safar Nama. op.cit. p. of introduction.

59. Abbasi, Tehreek. op.cit. pp. 134, 135.

60. Akbar, Safar Nama. op.cit. p. 47.

61. Ibid. p 53.

62. Abbasi, Tehreek. op.cit. pp. 135,136.

63. Akbar, Safar Nama. op.cit. pp. 55,56.

64. Ibid. pp. 56,57.

65. Ibid. p. 58.

66. Qureshi, Ulema. op.cit. p.267.

67. Tendulkar, Abdul Ghaffar Khan op.cit. p.33.

68. Mian, Azadi, op.cit. p. 15.

69. Akbar, Safar Nama. op.cit. pp. 33,34.

70. Qureshi, Ulema, op.cit. p. 267.

71. Tendulkar, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, op.cit. p.33.

72. Aibak, Aap Beti, Vol.1, op.cit. p. 216.

73. Hindi, Zawal, op.cit. pp.

74. Aibak, Aap. Beti, Vol.1, op.cit.. pp. 216,217.

75. Ibid.

76 Ibid. pp. 214,215.

77. Akbar, Ṣafar Nama, op.cit. p. 153.

78. Aibak, Aap Beti. op.cit. P. 224.

79. Sindhi, Kabul, op.cit. pp. 116-119.

80. Marwat, Evolution. op.cit. pp. 96-104.

81. Ibid. pp. 104-106.

82. Ibid. pp. 108-114.

83. Ibid. pp. 115-118.

84. Aibak, Aap Beti, Vol.1, op.cit. p.233.

85. Ibid. pp. 236-251, also see Sindhi, Kabul.op.cit.p.106.

86. Najfi, Abdul Ghani. op.cit. p. 125.

87. Akbar, Safar Nama, op.cit. pp. 58-60.

CHAPTER - IV

INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN TASHQAND, MOSCOW AND ISTANBUL

Disappointed with the attitude of the Afghan Government, the Indian Freedom Fighters staying in Kabul left for Turkistan in successive waves of migration to find a more suitable environment for their revolutionary activities. In fact, the more zealous emigrants had no idea of a permanent stay in Afghanistan even at the time of their departure from India. They were of the view that after a short sojourn in Afghanistan during which they would be able to persuade the Afghan Government to make common cause with the Turks, they would leave for Turkey. But, unintentionally they had to stay in Afghanistan for a longer period, hoping that their stay would be of greater avail.Moreover, a group of Indian revolutionary leaders had already crossed the Amu river and had based themselves in Tashqand. These revolutionary leaders had been in constant contact with their fellow brethren in Afghanistan and had been wishing them to come to their side and strengthen their hands.

Probably in August 1920, Maulvi Abdur Rab, the leader of a group of Indian revolutionaries at Tashkand, who was on a visit to the Russian Embassy in Kabul[1] was called on by a group of Indian Mohajirs to greet their leader. At the embassy, they were received by Maulvi Abdur Rab and the Russian ambassador.

Both the leaders delivered speeches which furnishes an example how the Mohajirs were excited to leave Afghanistan and go to Tashkand. The ambassador said, " Soviet Union is a democracy of the peasants and this is why it sympathizes with the oppressed of the world. My country looks to you with great interest and hope. You too should consider the Soviet Union as your home. My Country has decided to provide you with shelter and any type of assistance you need". Maulana Abdur Rab, speaking on the occasion, said that the Russian ambassador had promised with him that if young and educated people from India came to Tashkand, the Soviet Union would build a military training school for them where they would be imparted air and ground training. The Maulana thus invited the Mohajirs to come to Tashkand, and work there. He then left Kabul for Tashkand[1].

The revolutionary Mohajirs (emigrants) were greatly impressed by the speech of the Russian ambassador and the appeal of Maulvi Abdur Rab, and were eager to leave for Tashkand sooner than later. After three days of the departure of Maulvi Abdur Rab, a revolutionary leader from Peshawar, Qazi Abdul Wali Khan hired a Tanga (horse-driven cart) to take the Mohajirs to Jabal al Siraj, a military fort, fifty miles off Kabul in Northern Afghanistan. At Jabal al Siraj, Ameenullah Khan an official who knew Urdu well received the Mohajirs. About 200 sepoys of the Khyber rifles who had deserted British ranks in the 3rd Anglo Afghan war were already there. The Afridi sepoys felt pleased at the arrival of the Mohajirs as they, being Pushtoons, were disliked by the locals.

Soon the number of Mohajirs increased and this multiplied their problems. Some Mohajirs were illiterate and being emotional they picked quarrels with their fellows on trivial matters. A committee was thus formed to resolve their problems, specially disputes. The committee was headed by Mohammad Akbar Qureshi. Other assignments of the committee included arranging military training to the Mohajirs in order to prepare them against British India. A number of men who had deserted British ranks and were conversant with the principles of fighting were appointed to train the Mohajirs. The leader of these commanders responsible for training was Abdur Rahim, a former student of the Punjab University, Lahore who had received military training in the University Training Corps. Almost one hundred Mohajirs used to go to parade each morning. The old and weak were exempt from military training. Haji Mirajuddin and Haji Shahabuddin, two scholars hailing from Lahore, though old, were keen to participate in the training.The committee after some time demanded from the Afghan Government rifles for the Mohajirs for practicing. But its request was not granted. The Mohajirs, however, were not discouraged and continued to receive training, using wooden sticks instead of rifles. The expenditure of training was met from the funds raised by the committee through the contribution of the well-off Mohajirs, and the aid provided by the Indian leaders.

Meanwhile Saeed Khan, another Mohajir hailing from Akora Khattak, Dangarzai (Nowshera) arrived in Jabal al Siraj and joined the Mohajir party. Friendly and active Saeed Khan had at his credit the experience of service in the British Indian army as a Jamadar. Soon he gained influence among Mohajirs and began to claim

that he was the most suitable person to command, threatening that in case he was not recognized as the commander, he would form a group of his own. He thus became a threat to the unity of Mohajir Party. Abdur Rahim, the commander, fearing dissension in the Mohajir's ranks, decided to relinquish his position voluntarily, naming Saeed Khan as the commander. But Saeed Khan was a man of merit. His capabilities soon came to the fore and he proved that he deserved the position he claimed .

The Mohajirs receiving self organized training at Jabal al Siraj were confident that one day they would be able to stand on their feet and mustering the Afghan governments support would oust the British from the Indian subcontinent. But the edifice of their hopes was soon razed to the ground. When they come to know that the Afghan Government had agreed to a permanent agreement with the British in the backdrop of the third Afghan war at Rawalpindi, they perceived that the Afghan Government had agreed to a compromise on the Afghan's and the Indian's cause. The news therefore caused great indignation among the Mohajirs and they decided forth-with to leave Afghanistan as this was no longer a Darul-Islam. Where to go then was a question that perturbed their mind. Some suggested that they should go to Chamarkand and fight a Jehad from there, others were of the view that they should go home and work against the British within India. Haji Mirajuddin meanwhile stood up and delivered an exciting speech saying that they need not go any where other than Turkey which he thought was busy in countering. Imperialism . He argued that their Turk brothers needed their help the most. He roused the enthusiasm of the

Mohajirs by offering himself for that difficult adventure inspite of his old age. Most of the Mohajirs thus began to support the old Haji. Akbar Shah of Badrashi (Nowshera) and his friend Sadiq of Gordaspur (East Punjab), a graduate, were of the view that going over to Turkey through the mountainous snowy region of Caucasus would prove suicidal, particularly for the old and weak Mohajirs. But their reasoning were of no avail and were quietened by the enthusiastic mob. Upon this, Abdur Rahim of Tehkal (Peshawar) on behalf of Mohajirs wrote an application to the Afghan Foreign Office requesting for grant of passports to eighty two Mohajirs who were willing to leave the country. The application had a note of thanks to the Afghan government for its hospitality and sympathy shown to them on the basis of Islamic brotherhood and clarifying its aim stated that the Mohajirs could no longer stay in Afghanistan as another Islamic country, Turkey, which had been attacked by the infidels (Greek) needed their help the most. In such a situation, the application stated, it was obligatory upon the Muslims to go there and fight Jehad and as both the Afghans and the Indian Mohajirs were Muslims, it was incumbent upon them to go to Turkey and help their Turkish brethren. The Afghan Government was therefore requested to provide eighty two passports, together with a similar number of rifles and financial support to enable the Mohajirs to proceed to Turkey and take part in the jehad. The Afghan government responded positively. A single passport allowing eighthy-two Mohajirs, mentioning no name, was issued. Thus the Mohajirs left Jabal al Siraj for Mazar Sharif and Balkh. Six extra men beyond the limit of the eightly two also embarked on the Jouney[2].

The Mohajirs were travelling on foot. Akbar Shah, with a few companions, who were without passports fearing Afghan security officials, went ahead of the caravan at some distance. At a place, they were informed by a traveller that the caravan had faced serious hardships, because of food shortage and that a few of the old and weak had passed away. They prayed for the departed souls. At Mazar Sharif Akbar Shah and his companions were arrested by the security guard of Wazir-e-Adliya (Minister for justice) who abused and humiliated them greatly. They were, however, released when the guards came to know through Maulana Fakhri-Alam, one of their companion, that they were Muslims and were members of a caravan going to Anatolia (Turkey). The big caravan also arrived at Mazar Sharif and entered the Russian Consulate . The Consul and his wife greeted them well, assuring them that the Soviet Union was their own country where they would find themselves in comfort. The Mohajirs then left Mazar Sharif. At the Tarmez cantonment across the Amu river, the Russian commissioner and military personnel accorded them warm welcome, honouring them greatly. Here they passed some days in the company of Soviet soldiers who entertained them generously. When the soldiers were informed that the Mohajirs intended to go to Anatolia, they warned them against such an adventure, especially for the reason that on their way the men of Amir of Bukhara would arrest and torture them. But the Mohajirs heard no argument, saying that the Turkmen were their Muslim brethren who would cause them no harm. They then left for their destination. After a voyage of two days in the Amu river, the Mohajirs entered the Turkmen territory. Here, the Turkmen security staff suspecting the

Mohajirs as Jaddidis to have come to the assistance of the besieged Soviet troops at Karkey stopped and searched their boats.

Muhammad Akbar Khan, the leader of the caravan, informed the Turkmen that they were Indian Mohajirs and were going to Anatolia to assist their Turkish brethren against the Greek, but the Turkmen hardly believed their words. They then searched their baggage to ascertain whether they possessed weapons. The Mohajirs unfortunately had with them some swords and wooden sticks brought from Jablal Siraj which catered evidence to their doubts. The Mohajirs were thus taken into custody and were ordered to go to a place ten miles off to present them before their elder, called Sheikh. Their miseries knew no bounds. They were weary, and were beaten badly. At a place they were tied up in a deserted serai called Serai Nizam Beg. Here young Turkmen climbed the nearby trees beside the walls of the serai and pelted stones on them. Even in this condition, they offered prayer with Tayammum (ablution with dust). After two days, however, a shopkeeper was brought by the Turkmen guard to the doors of the serai, allowing the Mohajirs to purchase food with their own money. The Mohajirs were suspected to be non-Muslims and the agents of Russia.

While the Mohajirs were in the custody of the Turkmen in Serai Nizam Beg, on fourth day, fifteen Turkmen sat to decide their fate. It was thus decided that all of the men in their custody should be put to death. The sad news was conveyed to them through Sarfraz Effendi. The Mohajirs were then deprived of their belongings. They now awaited death. A few Mohajirs asked their leader, Muhammad

Akbar Khan to go to the Turkmen with the Quran in his hand and appeal to them in the name of Allah that they were not their enemies and thus be spared. But Muhammad Akbar thought it futile preferring death to humiliation at the hands of the savage Turkmen. A white-bearded old man riding on horse back meanwhile arrived. He chastised the Turkmen for mistreating the Mohajirs. The Mohajirs were now safe. The old man was aggrieved much when he came to know that their belongings had been snatched from them by the Turkmen. He asked the Mohajirs to go to the Ameer-e-Bukhara who would compensate the losses done to them.

When the old man called Sheikh who was elder of the tribe liberated the Mohajirs from the Turkmen's hold, he ordered some of his men to take them to the Ameer-e-Bukhara for compensation.But, on their way to Bukhara the Turkmen again let loose the rein of terror on the helpless Mohajirs, beating them severely and not allowing them to drink water when thirsty. One of the Mohajirs who hailed from Peshawar and whose name was Jilani fell unconscious on the ground due to the severity of thirst and when his companions tried to attend to him, the Turkmen beat them on their backs. The Mohajirs, however, continued to help their fallen companion, caring little for Turkmen's beating. At last the Turkmen took pity on them and allowed them to drink water. Jillani too was provided with water and when he drank it, his senses were restored. Jilani was helped to ride on a donkey procured by the Turkmen and the journey was resumed.

The Mohajirs were, at a place divided into two sections, and each section was then sub-divided into groups consisting of three persons each and were

given under the custody of the Turkmen army, besieging the Bolshevik cantonment of Karky. Here the Mohajirs were provided food for survival. At night, they were tightly tied to the pillars of a hut so that they may not escape. Wilayat Shah, a Mohajir, cried due to pain. They remained here for three days. A Turkman, taking pity on them came and loosened the ropes to facilitate their sleep. During thir period, two Mohajirs one from Jalalpur Jittan (Gujrat) whose name was Abdul Rehman and another from Amratsar were killed by the Turkmen.

Divided into small groups, the Mohajirs were unaware of one another, Akbar Shah, Wilayat Shah and Maulvi Fakhri-Alam who formed a small group were released but they had lost their way. So, they sought the help of half Mulla called Akhund, to lead them to their destination. The Akhund unfortunately for the Mohajirs considered them as Jadidis (modernists), and took them to a big Mullah who asked the Akhund to imprison them. The Akhund thus imprisoned them in a suffocating room where they, hungry and thirsty, had to stay for three days. At last they were released. Again they did not know where to go. They, however, started towards the bank of the Amu river, hoping that they would finally reach the Charjoi cantonment. Bare-footed and bare-headed, going along the bank of the Amu river, the jungles caused them injuries. They were hungry for the last five days. At last they arrived the charjoi cantonment were they gave themselves under the protection of the Russian troops. Here they came to know that the other Mohajirs who were still under the arrest of the Turkmen forces had been liberated by an expedition of the Russian troops sent for the purpose and that they had been brought to the Karky cantonment.

Akbar shah and his two companions desired to meet their fellows. Thus, they too, were taken to the Karky cantonment. Their joys knew no bounds. Out of the eighty two Mohajir, seventy two had arrived Karky. Two of them had been killed by the Turkmen, but the fate of the rest was not known.

When the Mohajirs gathered in the Karky cantonment, news arrived that the Russians were preparing for a war against the Turkmen. At this the Mohajirs assembled in a room and counselled under the leadership of Akbar Khan. The leader addressed the Mohajirs thus: "We, Indian Mohajirs, deem the liberation of our country as our holy aim. To achieve this aim we left our country and came to Afghanistan which was at war with British India. We thought that we would liberate our country from our enemy's clutches with the help of Afghanistan, but the truce between Afghanistan and the British deprived us of a chance to fight for the independence of our country. The circumstances have now led us to the Soviet territory. Soviet Union is a country which consider British India as its enemy and hence it is our ally. Besides the Soviets have extended us hospitality and help and they continue to do so. Now the Soviets are fighting against the Turkmen who have wronged us unjustifiably, who troubled us in such a way that is unprecedented in history. They killed two of our colleagues and caused others to disappear and no nation on the surface of the earth would appreciate their brutality. The Soviets, on the other hand, have treated us well and so it is no justice that a person who hosts you and you deny help to him at a time his house is attacked by robbers, on the plea that the attackers are Muslims. Now, at Karky, we are in the siege of the

Turkmen forces. War is certain. The triumph of the Turkmen is our death and the destruction of those who have given us protection. To die at the hands of the Turkmen without facing them is coward-ice and insensibility, and death with a sword in hand is no death at all.It is also certain that the Turkmen not only would not spare our lives, but would also not spare the lives of the innocent children of our well wishers. Think if we remain without fighting, the world community would curse us. So it is my considered opinion that we should willingly offer our services to the rulers of the karky cantonment for the protection of our selves and the children of our hosts, against the enemy." As soon as the speech ended, a debate broke out. Some favoured fighting against the Turkmen, others opposed it. Those who were against fighting argued that both the Mohajirs and the Turkmen were Muslim and as such they could not take up arm against other Muslims. The debate, however, took place in a friendly atmosphere. At last both the parties agreed that whoever considered it just to take part in the fighting may do so and those who wanted to remain impartial may not be compelled for fighting. Thirty seven Mohajirs opted to take part in fighting while a similar number abstained[3]. Those who opted for siding with the Soviets against the Turkmen approached the Soviet military officers at the karky cantonment and offered their assistance. The offer was hailed. They were provided rifles and were imparted necessary training. On the occasion of fighting the Indian soldiers were divided into two groups, one was to be led by Akbar Khan, their companion, while the other was given under the command of a Bolshevik officer called Latif Tatar. Both the groups were deployed to protect the one-mile long

boundary line along the Amu river. The Indians performed their duties diligently. The beautiful bearings, manly qualities and sweet conversation of Latif Tatar.enchanted the Indians and when he came to know about his respect and influence, he began to inculcate in their minds communist ideology, unveiling the Tsar's atrocities and the defects of capitalism. Having fought at Karky, the Mohajirs were sent to the Charjoi cantonment where they reached after eleven days. The ship carrying them was fired at by the Turkmen.

Having arrived in the Charjoi cantonment the Mohajirs learnt that a messenger sent by M.N.Roy, leader of the Indian revolutionaries at Tashkand was on his way to persuade the Mohajirs to come to Tashkand instead of going to Anatolia. At this, a meeting was called to decide the question. This time the meeting was presided over by Haji Abdur Rahim of Tehkal (Peshawar). Some Mohajirs were of the view that they should accept the offer of M.N.Roy and should go to Tashkand to work for the liberation of India, while other Mohajirs opined that they should go to Anatolia, their intended destination, to help their Turkish brethren against the Greeks. The group of thirty seven Mohajirs which had opted for fighting against the Turkmen under the leadership of Mohammad Akbar Khan favoured going to Tashkand, while the second group which had refused to fight against the Turkmen, filled with a pan-Islamist spirit viewed that they should go to Turkey. Both the groups, however, respected each other's view. Mean while, the messenger sent by M.N. Roy arrived. Akbar Shah was asked to read out the message written in English and then to translate it for the convenience of the unlettered Mohajirs. The message

stated, "Revolutionaries and Indian Freedom Fighters welcome from India. I assure you on behalf of the Soviet Union that the soviet government would extend you all possible help in your struggle for the liberation of India. I and all the Soviet people are shocked at the killing of your fellow Mohajirs. We assure you that the Soviet Union has made arrangement for your air training so that you may successfully fight against the imperialist forces". After staying for three days in Charjoi, thirty seven Mohajirs boarded a train and left for Tashkand, while the rest travelled by another train to Baku on their way to Anatolia[4]

Another caravan of Indian Mohajirs left Kabul for Turkistan in pursuance of the caravan under Mohammad Akbar Khan, also called Mohammad Akbar Qureshi. While Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar of Umarzai was staying in Kabul in the house of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi someone informed him that some 300 Mohajirs under the leadership of Muhammad Akbar Qureshi had left Jabal al Siraj for Turkistan with the intention to go to Angora and participate in Jehad there. Impressed by the courage and the adventurous spirit of some of the old and weak Mohajirs, Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar on 15th August 1920 started for Turkistan in the company of Dr. Haryana, Muhammad Afzal and a few others. Riding on horse backs, they thought that they would find the caravan of Muhammad Akber Qureshi which was going on foot. The next day they arrived in Jabal al Siraj where they were informed that the caravan preceding them had left for Mazar Sharif, and would have reached there. They followed the footsteps of the earlier caravan via Punjsher. Beyond Jabal al Siraj in the Punjsher mountains there was a river which flowed very swiftly. A horse

loaded with luggage and food slipped in the midst of the river in between Kotal Khawak and "village Haji Sahib", was drowned and carried along by the gushing water . They were thus deprived of their belongings. As their food had also been flowed in the water, they had to remain hungry on their onward journey. Cold and pests proved another trouble for them. From khanabad onward they chose the route leading to Turkistan via Chooli Dazdan serai Qafsan. This was a terrible route because of the multitude of robbers, but being probably shorter they preferred this route.

Shortage of drinking water could prove another source of difficulty for them and their horses. The caravan however was escorted by a band of guards. What they expected about robbers, happened. A little ahead of Chooli Dazan Serai Qafsan, at dawn, four Uzbeks equipped with rifles and riding on horses appeared on the scene. They were robbers. Soon they enquired from the escorting sepoys as to where they were going. The sepoys informed them that they were royal guests and were going to Mazar Sharif. "You do not appear to be Muslims, are you kafirs"?asked the robbers, adding that their property was lawful for them as such. Abdul Akbar khan interrupted and said they were not kafirs, but Muslims and that they had come for the service of Islam. "Be quiet, you look to be a jadidi" said one of the robbers. Mean while other robbers also arrived. The robbers then started snatching their belongings and almost every thing possessed by the caravan was snatched, save the money which Abdul Akbar Khan had concealed under the saddle of his horse. The escorts of the caravan were help-less who begged the robbers not to snatch their rifles from them as these were government property. The robbers then beat one of the companions of

Abdul Akbar khan so much so that his ribs and a hand were broken. Abdul Akbar khan fell down his horse. The robbers then tied the members of the caravan together with a rope and left. The helpless caravan members then managed some how to untie themselves with great difficultly and resumed their journey.[5]

A Hindu scholar, named Dr. Haryana also accompanied the caravan. One day, during their onward journey, Abdul Akbar Khan requested his companions that they should take rest at a place as they were weary. Haryana opposed the proposal and insisted that the caravan should continue its journey. This led to a quarrel between the two. Supported by other companions, Akbar Khan isolated Haryana. The caravan thus arrived Mazar sharif via Qandoos. Here Abdul Akbar kahn Akbar complained to the Naibul Hakoomat against Dr. Haryana who was stopped from going ahead. Now Abdul Akbar khan was in a state of dilemma whether to go ahead or to return home as the companion on whose inspiration he started his journey had parted ways with him. They passed the night in Mazar Sharif. Early in the morning , the waiter informed them that another caravan from India had also arrived. Abdul Akbar khan was very pleased This caravan consisted of Nawab Salim of Teri, Abdus Sattar khan Teri, Iqbal Shaidai Abdul Qadir Sahrai, Maulavi Muhammad Amin of Nowshera, Ghazi Khan of Quetta, Risaldar Masood Baluch, Sheikh Abdul Haq Multani and his two companions and a Hindu driver form Punjab. Abdul Haq Multani was the leader Akbar khan Akbar who was disappointed met them on by one and informed Nawab Salim Khan and Iqbal Shaidai that as Anwar Pasha had been martyred their was no need of their going over to Russian Turkistan. But the Nawab and his companions

explained to Abdul Akbar khan about their motives. They said,"we are in search of the enemies of the British and freedom mongers of India. The hate for the British has forced us to embark on migration, and thus we came to Kabul...In which ever country we would find enemies of the British, we would take them as our friends. We worked for the independence of India and welfare of Muslims, and for this purpose we have left our country and parents and have put our lives and properties at stake," adding that the Indian revolutionary leaders such as M.N.Roy, Maulana Abdur Rab Barq, Maulana Barkatullah Bhupali and many more are waiting them.

Maulavi Suleman, Jamal Pasha and friends of Anwar Pasha were already there. They argued that their march to Russian Turkistan was pre-requisite in order to get the arrested Mohajirs, numbering 80 to 100 ,liberated form the clutches of the Turkmen. They thus decided to go ahead[6]. From Mazar Sharif the bigger Caravan which was also joined by Abdul Akbar Khan and his companions, started by train and arrived in Merve, from where they left for Tashkand and joined the Camp of the Indian revolutionaries there. Having arrived at Tashkand Akbar Khan received the news that the Caravan under arrest of Turkmen had been released and was arriving at Tashkand in a day or so. Abdul Akbar Khan therefor went to the Tashkand Railway station to greet their fellow Mohajirs[7].

Haji Faiz Muhammad Khan of Darbar, Chakdara who came to Afghanistan during the Hijrat Movement in the company of his two comrades Usman of Dir and Abdul Qadoos Khan of Teri (Kohat) Via Dir and Asmar through the introductory letters of Nawab Shah Jehan, the Nawab of Dir, also decided to leave

Kabul for Russian Turkistan. The nephew of Hakim Ajmal khan, Sultan Mirza joined him. Both Haji Faiz Muhammad Khan and Sultan Mirza left Kabul and arrived in Mazar sharif. Here they stayed for three days. Leaving Mazar Sharif, they arrived in Bukhara. Here, they met Muhammad Shafiq of Akora Khattak. From Bukhara both comrades arrived in Tashkand where Faiz Muhammad Khan stayed for three days, When he retraced his steps to Bukhara on his way back to Kabul.[7a]

Two years later, the group of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, disappointed of their success at Kabul also made preparations to cross over to Russian Turkistan on their way to Moscow. Khushi Muhammad who was in touch with the Afghan Government on behalf of the Indian revolutionaries at Tashkand, made visa arrangements for the intending travellers. This group comprised Aziz Ahmad, nephew of Maulana Sindhi, Khushi Muhammad, Dr. Noor Muhammad, Iqbal Shaidai, a mobile revolutionary who returned from Tashkand and had joined the translation department under Jamal Pasha in Kabul, Umar Za-far Mehsood, Abdur Rashid, Abdul Aziz and a teacher of the Habibia school Bannerjee, and Zafar Hassan Aibak. The Afghan Government wished Zafar Hassan Aibak and Dr. Noor Muhammad to stay away at Kabul but they did not agree telling the Afghan Government thus: " When our elders are not allowed to work politically in Afghanistan, we do not want to serve under the Afghan Government as we have come to Afghanistan not for paid service, but for the liberation of our country."[8] In order to obtain money to meet the journey expenses, Zafar Hassan Aibak sold his horse and household equipment in lieu of £53. Khushi Muhammad had money granted to him by the Russians, While Dr.

Noor Muhammad doing private practice at Kabul had earned much. Iqbal Shaidai and Abudr Rashid had served in the office of Jamal Pasha and had savings from their salaries. Banerjee also had savings from his service at Habibia College. Maulana Sindhi and his nephew Aziz Ahmad too had money with them. Abdul Aziz's expenses ,however, were to be afforded by Khushi Muhammad and Umarzafar's by Iqbal Shaidai.

The caravan of ten Mohajirs thus started for its destination at dawn on Sunday, the 15th of october 1922. They had horses for riding and mules for carrying their luggage. The route specified for them was horrible, passing through lofty mountains full of robbers. They had to climb on the top of mountains and then go down along with their horses and mules. It was a hard experience and the horses and mules particularly felt troubled. Some time the passages used to be so narrow that it was difficult for the animals to move ahead. At a place the mule carrying the luggage of Zafar Hassan Aibak slipped rolling down the mountain cleft and breathed its last. His luggage was then loaded on another mule. They also came across dead bodies of those who could not withstand the intensity of cold weather. After a tough journey, they arrived in Mazar Sharif. Here they stayed a while and then made preparations for their onward journey. Before entering into the Russian territory they crossed the Amu river by boats and they arrived at the Karky Railway station. Here it came to their know-ledge that the suitcase of Zafar Hassan Aibak where in lay his two suits granted to him as gifts by Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, had been stolen by a Turkmen thief. The caravan left Karky for Bukhara by train and after a

journey of 36 hours they arrived there.From Karky onward upto Moscow, they being Indian revolutionaries were guests of the Soviet government[9]. At Bukhara Khushi Muhammad whispered in the ear of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi that they had to mould their lives in accordance with the tenets of Communism., otherwise, it would be difficult for them to stay longer. Mulana Sindhi took serious notice of this opinion of Khushi Muhammad and was sad over his misbehaviour.

Khushi Muhammad was an Indian Mohajir but had turned to be a Communist. In early 1920 Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, having been disappointed with the Afghan Authorities sent him to Russia as Mirza Muhammad Ali to Russian to secure the Bolsheviks support against British India, but on his way to Moscow at Tashkand, he came in contact with M.N.Roy who influenced his thoughts in favour of Communisim. Khushi Muhammad then visited Moscow, where he met the leaders of the Communist International. He then devoted himself to the study of Communist literature and became a member of the Communist party of India. He returned to Kabul with instructions from the Moscow Authorities that he would be active for the spread of communism and would keep in contact with the Russian counsellate at Kabul[10]. While at Kabul,Khushi Muhammad was one of the close confidants of Maulana Sindhi.The present attempt of Khushi Muhammad to influence Maulana Sindhi in favour of Communism was probably part of the mission assigned to him by the Russian Authorities. At Bukhara, Abdur Rashid, the companion of Maulana Sindhi, influenced by Hafiz Abdul Majid of Kohat who was already in Bukhara, refused to go to Moscow and preferred to stay there. He then left Bukhara for India

via Iran.From Bukhara, the caravan of Maulana Sindhi arrived in Tashkand and stayed there for a day to ride on the train leaving for Moscow.

Maulana Barkatullah, a known revolutionary, accompanied by a number of followers busied himself in visits to Tashkand and Moscow to promote the cause of the Indian liberation struggle and of the Muslims at large.In an open letter to M.Briand the one time French Foreign Minister, Barkatullah threw light on his visit to and activities in central Asia in the following words:

"We were a prominent member of a mission sent ten years ago by Turkey (our adopted country) via Persia to Afghanistan, where we and captain Kazim Bey, a military representative of the Turkish government remained till the end of 1918 as the honoured guests of the Afghan government. At the time of our returning via Russia to Europe, the governor of Mazar Sharif (Afghan Turkistan) prevailed upon us to go to Bukhara and persuade its Ameer not to fall into British snare, endangering there-by the independence of Afghanistan and Persia. This was in December 1918, when the Turkmen territory between the Caspian sea and the river Oxus was occupied by the British troops and colonel Bailey of the British Indian intelligence department was intriguing with the people of Turkistan on the false plea of alliance between the Sultan of Turkey and the British. The Ameer of Bukhara was surely the main-stay of the British hold upon the people of Central Asia then.In order to make some return for the Afghan hospitality of nearly four years, we went to Bukhara in January 1919. Although the Ameer of Bukhara received us with great cordiality, he did not listen to our advice against the British intrigues, which cost him

his throne the following year. Sardar Junaid of Khiva, whom we had known in Herat, Afghanistan, and who had since returned home, however, fell in with our views. Hence captain Kazim Bey went to khiva to arrange the terms of peace between the government of khiva and Tashkend and we went to Moscow in March 1919 to urge upon the Soviet government of Russia the necessity of driving the British troops from the Caspian and Oxus valley, of recognizing Afghan independence by establishing diplomatic terms on equal basis, and of returning confiscated lands to the Muslims of Turkistan. Through our Persian pamphlet that we wrote at Tashkand, the Muslims of Turkistan abstained from intrigucing with the British and soon got back their landed property from M.Illiyava, the governor of Tashkand. By the kindness of M.Lenin, we in Moscow and Kazim Bey at Khiva were successful in our mission in 1919. But in 1920 through the British intrigues with the Ameer of Bukhara a situation arose, which threatened war between Russia and Afghanistan.

"We went, therefore, back to Tashkand and explaining the situation to commander, Frunce, averted the calamity. At that juncture arrived the late Ahmad Jamal Pasha in Tashkand, with whom we went to Kabul the second time. There we took with the Pasha an active part in negotiating a friendly treaty between Afghanistan and Russia and in strengthening the friendly relations between Turkey and Russia. In short all our dealings with the Soviet Russian government were of diplomatic nature, of which any patriotic statesman, like M. Herriot, can be proud. After the assassination of Jamal Pasha in July 1922, however, we left Moscow in the following month and came to western Europe. Since then our relations with Russia

came to an end. It may be a matter of justice to record that when we started negotiations with the Russian Foreign office in April 1919, We laid special stress on the absolute necessity of not carrying on communistic propaganda in Afghanistan. The promise, to the honour of the Soviet government, we are informed through authentic source, is kept in the letter as well as in the spirit"[11].

With reference to the developments in Central Asia those days, a plan to consolidate a Turkish empire in Central Asia conceived and implemented by the Pashas is of interest to be described below in the words of Iqbal Shaidai, an observer of the events.

"After defeat of the Turco-Germano - Austrian Allies in the first World War, the Turkish trio-Tala't Pasha, Anwar Pasha and Jamal Pasha with the help of the Soviet Russia, planned to attack "British "India. A very famous Indian Muslim leader, who had gone to Europe at the head of the Khilafat Delegation to "request" the victorious Allies (England, France, Italy etc-) not to dismember the Ottoman Empire... met Tala't Pasha some where in Switzerland.

"Maulana Mohammad Ali gave a letter to Tala't Pasha for his big Brother (Maulana Shaukat Ali) and requested him in it to collect funds and to send them to Jamal Pasha in Kabul who according to the plan had gone there to prepare an Afghan Army to invade India. Jamal Pasha asked Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi to propose to him the name of some very reliable Indian Muslim who could be entrusted to deliver the letter to the big brother. The Maulana proposed the name of Mr. Jan Mohammad Junejo of Larkana who was staying in Kabul as a Mohajir (emigre).

After the delivery of the letter at Aligarh, Mr. Jan Mohammed Jonejo died either in his native town Larkana or some where else in India. The Big Brother replied to Jamal Pasha that Khilafat Committee had no funds and the people did not contribute money to it any more.

"According to this plan to invade India Tala'T Pasha was to remain in Moscow, Anwar Pasha in Tashkand and Jamal Pasha in Kabul, another Pasha (Khalil Pasha, an uncle of Anwar Pasha) was to proceed to Chinese Turkistan (Kashgar) at the invitation of Muslims of that country. He was to prepare an army there to invade India through Kashmir. I met Khalil Pasha in Tashkand in the month of November, 1920, and had long talks with him on the subject. He was staying in Regina Hotel. It was he who told me about the programme of the Pashas. He also advised me to return to kabul and to help Jamal Pasha in his work.

"Some time in the middle of December, 1920, I together with 9 other Indian Muslims left Tashkand for Kabul via Kashk, Herat, Farah, Qandhar and Ghazni reaching our destination in the middle of January, 1921. The late Mr. M.N. Roy was in Tashkand in those days as the head of the Indian Communist Party outside India.

"With Comrade M.N. Roy was another Bengali comrade Aboni Mukarjee. This man one day went to the house where Abdur Rabb Acharya group was staying and told them that if they joined the Communist party, all facilities such as clothing, food, etc., will be accorded to them, otherwise they had no right for any thing. This silly talk of Aboni Mukarjee enraged Abdur Rabb and Acharya group.

The former went to the Regina Hotel and complained to Khalil Pasha against M.N. Roy. The Pasha went to see Roy and told him that all Indian work was entrusted to the Pashas and he, Roy, had no right to interfere in it. This was the most idiotic thing on the part of Khalil Pasha. Roy at once sent a long telegram directly to comrade Lenin that these Pashas must not be given charge of the Indian work. Roy was very powerful in those days and had many friends in the Comintern. Zinovief, the president of the Comintern, was for Roy and against the Pahsas. Lenin ordered Khalil Pasha to return to Moscow and give up the plan of Chinese Turkistan. Jamal Pasha had already reached Kabul with a band of Turkish officers who were war prisoners in Russia and whom the Soviets had released. They were about 10 or 12. These officers had to train the Afghan Model Army which was to invade India. All the expenses of this army were being paid by the Soviets. There were some three or four thousand Afghan soldiers under training. Col. Zia Beg was the Principal Officer of this training school.

"But the plan of the Pahsas was not to attack India. They were planning to establish a Turkish empire joining in one unit the Russian Turkistan, Chinese Turkistan, the Afghan Turkistan and the Persian Turkistan. It was the old idea of some Turkish leaders and was known as Pan-Turanism.

"The Bolsheviks came to know about this plan of the Pashas through some Communist Bukhara leaders who were also in the confidence of Anwer Pasha and his colleagues. Anwer Pasha had also told Amanullah Khan that when the Bolsheviks would be ousted from Russian Turkistan a part of the state of Bukhara

would be ceded to Afghanistan. Amanullah believed in the good faith of Anwer Pasha and gave him the title of "Sirdar-i-Aa'la", a very high title of Afghanistan. At the same time he, Amanullah, promised all possible help to Anwer Pasha in this adventure.

"This title and "Khila't were given to the Pasha when he was still in Moscow. Probably in September, 1920, there was an Oriental People's Conference in Baku in which Anwar Pasha also took part. There were 2 or 3 Indian delegates also who participated in this conference. They were all of Abdur Rabb Acharya group. The chief delegate of this Indian group was one Fazl-i-Qadir of Peshawar who was also the secretary of the party. When the conference was over all the delegates were dispersed. Anwar Pasha wanted to stay in Baku to be in touch with his partisans inside Turkey. Kamal Ataturk protested to the Soviets at the presence of Anwar Pasha in Azerbaijan (Baku) which was very near to Turkey. The Soviet Government did not like to make Ataturk angry at that most delicate and critical time both for Turkey and Russia. They, therefore, asked Anwar Pasha to leave Baku for Bukhara. It was probably in January or February of 1921. Anwar Pasha was the idol of young Bukharans who wanted to get rid of the Bolshevik domination. They received him royally. When the Russians got news of the real designs of Anwar and his colleagues they ordered him not to get out of Bukhara town and its suburbs. One day in the early spring of 1922 he with some other Bukhara youngmen slipped out of the town and fled to the east Bukhara mountains. The feudal chiefs of Bukhara who were still "independent" did not know that he was Anwar Pasha and arrested him as a

Bolshevik agent. But later on when they became sure that he was really Anwar Pasha they released him and promised to help him in every possible way in the fight against the Bolsheviks. Anwar Pasha made an army from among the East Bukhara, many Bukharan leaders like Usman khoja, the president of the "Bukhara republic", Abdul Hamid Beg, the War Minister, etc. joined Anwar Pasha in East Bukhara. The great difficulty for them was the supply of arms and ammunition. Anwar Pasha sent his yawar (secretary) Sami Bey, Usman Khoja and Abdul Hamid Bey to Kabul to request Amanullah Khan for help against the Bolsheviks. But Amanullah Khan had already got news about the real designs of the Pasha through an Indian, Abdur Rahman Khan of Peshawar, who had become a Turkish national but always posed to be an Afghan Prince while in Turkey, came to Kabul as an un-official Turkish representative. While passing through Bukhara on his way to Afghanistan he met some Bukhara youngmen who were partisans of Anwar Pasha. They thinking him a "Turkish Ambassador" opened their hearts to him and told him the whole plan of Anwar Pasha. Abdur Rahman Khan Peshawari when reached Kabul told every thing to the late Mahmoud Beg Tarzi, the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, who was a deadly enemy of the Turks. Mahmood Beg Tarzi told the story to Amanullah Khan who became very angry with the Pashas. Sami Beg, Usman Khoja and Abdul Hamid Beg were lodged in the palace of Bagh-i-Babur in the outskirts of Kabul as the guests of the Afghan government. After a couple of months waiting Amanullah Khan gave them five hundred gold roubles and a few boxes of cartridges. During this period Anwar Pasha's Bukharan Army' being hopeless of any help melted away and the

Pasha... attacked the Bolshevik army and was killed. Thus the whole plan of uniting four Turkistans came to a tragic end.

"Jamal Pasha, while in Kabul, heard that Anwar Pasha was thinking to run away to East Bukhara, hurried to meet him but he was too late. It was, I think, the month of April or the end of March, 1922. Anwar had already slipped away to East Bukhara mountains.

"Tala't Pasha, the brain of the plan, was murdered in Berlin by the Armenian Dashnak party in 1921. Jamal Pasha was also murdered by the "Armenians" in the late summer of 1922 in Tiflis"[12].

Zafar Hassan Aibak, another observer of the developments in Central Asia, puts the events as under: " Anwar Pasha of Turkey had a secret understanding with the Afghan government against Russia for the purpose of liberating Bukhara and turkistan from the Bolshevik's clutches with the help of the Basmachi freedom fighters and to establish there a Muslim government under the shadow of Turkey. According to the agreement, Sardar M. Nadir Khan had sent a small contingent of Afghan soldiers in plain clothes. M. Nadir Khan had kept this action secret from me but I came to know about it through one of M. Nadir Khan's servants who had participated in the encounter and had just returned. When I perchance gave the information to Khushi Muhammad who had by then turned a Communist, he took interest in the affair. Maulana Sindhi later warned me against passing such information to communists who used to convey it to the Russian diplomat in preference to Muslim interest"[13].

The Indian Mohajirs who travelled from Afghanistan to Tashkand in successive waves joined the Indian revolutionaries present there. But the Indian revolutionaries were themselves divided into two distinct groups. One group was led by Maulana Abdur Rab Barq of Peshawar and his associate Mr. Acharya of Madras and which was know as Abdur Rab-Acharya group. The second group was headed by M.N.Roy of Bengal and was assisted by another Bengali called Aboni Mukarji. A brief introduction of both the leaders would be of interest here. Born and grown in Peshawar, Abdur Rab had the experience of having served the British government as Assistant Gazetteer officer in Quetta. Before world war-I, the Maulana worked in British embassy at Baghdad. When, during the war, the Turks resented the Allied, the Maulana kept in contact with the Turks and gave them secrets of the British government. In March 1919, he arrived in Tashkand in the company of Barkatullah Bhupali, Mehendar Pratap and Muhammad Shafiq of Akora Khattak, Nowshera. At Tashkand, he devoted himself to the promotion of the Bolshevik cause. For some time thus he remained as one of the most trusted friends of the Soviet Authorities[14]. M.N. Roy's real name was Bhatta Charya. He was born and bred in Alipur Bengal. As leader of the Bengali terrorists he escaped British hands, and arrived in New York, where a lady named Evelyn Hill, an American, fell in love with him. Both Roy and Evelyn became members of the Mexican Communist party. When the congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow in 1920, the couple, married by then, arrived Moscow as delegates of the Mexican Communist Party. There, Zinovief, the President of Comintern, together with other communist

leaders were attracted by the beauty of young Evelyn. As there was no bar on extra-marital relation-ship, the friend-ship between Evelyn Hill and the Communist leaders, strengthened". M.N.Roy himself was not capable", Says Iqbal Shaidia, "and that whatever influence he gained in the communist circles, was because of the relationship of his wife with the Communist leaders"[15]. Influential M.N.Roy was thus made as head of the Indian Communist party based in Tashkand and at the same time as member of the Comintern. The Comintern also made him incharge of all Asian Affairs[15]. Muhammad Shafiq of Akora Khattak, Nowshera, a young but experienced revolutionary was one of the close confidants of M.N.Roy and resided with him in "Refkem", the house of the revolutionary committee, Tashkand. Abdul Qadir Sahrai was the secretary of M.N.Roy while Fazal Qadir of Peshawar and Abdul Akbar Khan remained the secretaries of Abdur Rab Barq. Both the groups struggled for ascendancy and were poles apart.

In August, 1920, Maulana Abdur Rab Barq visited the Soviet Embassy in Kabul and encouraged the young Indian Mohajirs to the effect that if they visited Tashkand they would be extended help by the Soviet Government, including an air training. So nine of the Mohajirs who arrived in Tashkand the same year, including Akbar Shah Badrashi, were selected for the proposed air training. "There was no proper air training schools", Says Akbar Shah Badrashi,"but a monastery building seized by the Bolsheviks during the revolution was named to be the requisite air training school for the time being. There was no air ground, nor any aeroplane to observe. The mechanic had a motorcycle which he opened and showed to the trainees

on the ground that a motorcycle resembled an aeroplane in working. When the mechanic went outside the school and took the vehicle along with himself the school had to stop functioning as there was no other teacher nor any other machine to practice upon. Both the teacher and the students had to stand in the classroom during the lecture for want of seating arrangements".

After a few days, the Air Training school in the monastery's building in the outskirts of Tashkand was shifted to a new building inside the city. This building was spacious compared to the former. The former teacher, John, was transferred and substituted by a Muslim colonel named Ahmad . With the arrival of the new teacher the condition of the school improved and soon it looked to be a military training school in reality. The trainees were provided with Russian rifles, small aeroplane machine guns and pistols. A class of artillery was started in which nineteen other trainees were admitted. Nabi Bakhsh who belonged to Bannu, was admitted into the School at a later stage, raising the number of trainees to 29. Ahmad, the Muslim teacher, having taught his students in the art of operating pistols and guns, was transferred and replaced by a Russian teacher, about 50. Food and clothing were provided to the trainees free of cost. Besides, five thousand rouble per month came to be their salary.

Having received training at the Tashkand military training school, the Indian trainees, were transferred to the Lenin Academy of Turkistan in January, 1921. It was a bigger school and had the facilities of all kinds of military training. Discipline was the special feature of this school. A Tartar officer who was called day

officer made the trainees to parade before breakfast. Subsequent to the parade used to be class work. The following subjects were taught. (1) Condition of Air and flying aeroplane in it, (2) theory of Air-fighting, (3) Photography and Topography, (4) Opening and setting rifles and machine guns (5) Opening and setting parts of aeroplane. (6) Aeroplane flying. For each subject was a special teacher. The medium of Instructions in the Academy was English, but if a teacher was unable to explain his views in English, he sought the help of an Interpreter appointed by M.N.Roy for the purpose. The trainees were after sometime asked to devote their energies to learning aeroplane flying alone as time was short and the trainees were expected to make strikes against their enemy the British. Meanwhile the Soviet Union, in June 1921, entered into an Economic and Trade agreement with the British as a result of which trade embargo imposed on the Soviet Union was lifted and made the Soviet Union bound to close the Tashkand Air Training School. Thus,after ten months the school was closed.The Mohajirs, specially the trainees felt aggrieved as their longings for air strikes against their enemy could not be fulfilled. To anchor their shattering hope, M.N.Roy addressed the Mohajirs thus: "You need not worry, you will go to Moscow which is a bigger city and the capital of the Soviet Union, where, a big university has been opened for the Asians. You will be admitted into the Indian section of that University and thus you will be able to acquire scientific knowledge which will help you greatly against your enemy. Great revolutionaries from Britain, France, America and Australia will educate you there. If some one amongst you desires to fulfil his air training course, he will be admitted into the great Air

Academy of Moscow"[16]. The Mohajirs were encouraged and the more zealous among them made preparations for their onward journey to Moscow. The rest, with broken heart, returned to their homes. "There were some 70 or 75 Indian young men," Says Iqbal Shaidai, "who were staying in Tashkand ... But they could not succeed in their desire . About 50 of them returned to India via Afghanistan, some 10 joined the Indian Communist Party while the rest joined another revolutionary group whose leaders were Maulana Abdur Rab Barq of Peshawar and Mr. Acharya of Madras"[17].

Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar of Umarzai who also worked as secretary to Abdur Rab Barq,the leader of a distinct group comprising Maulvi Suleman, Umar Bakhsh Peshawari, Syed Amir Badshah of Moosazai (Peshawar), Ishwar and his wife and a few other from Akora Khattak (Nowshera),throwing light on the disappointing state of affairs that prevailed in Tashkand at the time of his visit, indicates to a number of factors that contributed to the failure of the Tashkand based revolutionaries in the realization of their aim. Akbar Khan gives an instance in which he explains the contempt of the local Turks for the Mohajirs. He says that one day a few Turkmen visited the residence of the Indian Mohajirs, Zood Aiwan and enquired from Maulana Abdur Rab Barq about the identity of the newcomers. The Maulana in his talk of introduction said that they were Indian Mohajirs and were desirous to assist Anwar Pasha in his Jehad and that presently they intended to proceed to Anatolia to help the Turks there. At this the Turks reacted saying that they needed money, food and arms, and not men adding that if the Mohajirs crossed over to Turkey, they would become a burden upon the people of Turkey. They said that if the Mohajirs did not mind,

they would tell them that the Turks did not trust the Indians as it was the Indian army that had caused destruction to them. In conclusion they opined that it was better for the Indians to go back to their own country and work there rather than wish to help the Turks, who needed them least. Another factor which appeared disastrous to Abdur Akbar Khan was the rift between the groups of M.N.Roy and of Abdur Rab Acharya who complained and quarrelled against each other. The Punjabi-Bengali-Pushtoon nationalism reigning supreme among the Indians at Tashkand looked to Akbar Khan as one of the major cause of their disunity and was responsible chiefly for lowering their position in the eyes of the locals. A visible division among the Indians was on the basis of religion and socialism. Most of the followers of Abdur Rab Acharya group stuck to their religious beliefs while the followers of M.N.Roy in most cases were alien to religion and were devoted to the promotion of Marxist doctrines. Some of the Indian Mohajirs were in between, adopting double standards. Besides, the young among the Mohajirs had fallen in love with the native girls, passing most of the time in their company , forgetful of the object with which they had migrated. Two factors particularly forced Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar to contemplate about his returning to India. They were: (1) the suspicions of the Turks about the Indians and (2) the rift among Mohajirs which made them poles apart[18].

Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar thus decided to return home. He went to Abdul Hadi Khan, the Afghan ambassador at Tashkand and sought his assistance. Abdus Sattar Khan, Sheikh Abdul Haq, Iqbal Shaidai, Maulvi Muhammad Amin,

Masood, Muhammad Afzal, Sardar Baluch, Nawab Salim Khan and Muhammad Akbar Khan also intended to return to India. Abdul Hadi Khan gave them a letter, introducing them as royal guests. The returning Mohajirs intended to go to Kabul via Herat and then to Hindustan. Horses were procured for them by Abdul Hadi Khan[19].

Narrating the story of their returning to India Iqbal Shaidai, one of the participants dwells upon the events as under:

"The first assignment that I was supposed to fulfil was to take back to Afghanistan the thirty or forty religious minded youth who were disliked by M.N.Roy and were likely to join the Abdur Rab, Acharya group, in opposition to the former (M.N.Roy). Now Roy decided for me to go to Kabul and stay there until he arrives there as he intended to open a headquarter at Kabul. After the arrival of M.N. Roy at Kabul, I was to go to Chamarkand, the headquarter of the Indian Mujahirs. Roy also informed me that I would go to India to meet some of Roy's friends including Jadonath Sarkar who were to help me in my revolutionary activities. I wished to include Sheikh Abdul Haq in my mission but Roy was not in its favour. I disagreed with M.N. Roy and convinced him that he was a trust-worthy revolutionary on the ground that he was a member of the "India Independence League" formed at Kabul by some Indian leaders.Sheikh Abdul Haq when informed about his inclusion in the mission expressed his readiness. Roy thus gave me three-and-a half thousand gold roubles; three thousand for missionary work and five hundred for personal expenses as, besides my journey to India, I had to establish

revolutionary centres in various cities. Roy also asked me to smuggle one hundred revolvers to India but I argued that to smuggle arms to India in such a large quantity was not without danger. I agrued that we should take only ten revolvers, each one to be possessed by each of my ten companions. So we took ten revolvers with us. Roy also gave a credential recorded on a silk cloth, introducing me as member of the Communist party of India. On my request Roy reluctantly gave a similar credential to Sheikh Abdul Haq. As Sardar Abdul Hadi Khan was still in Tashkand, I considered it appropriate to have a chat with him in ambiguous words to learn from him that if I took some money and arms to India through his country-Afghanistan what would be his and his country's reaction. Hadi Khan informed me that he and his country had no objection. This discussion was held in Hotel "Regina".

"Shortly after our departure from Tashkand I gave all the money (three and a half thousand gold roubles) to Sheikh Abdul Haq who was outwardly a pious man but inwardly a satan whose true colour I had not yet known. I admit that giving him all the money was a dangerous stupidity on my part. The true face of Sheikh Abdul Haq was unveiled to me at the Kushk Railway station where we stayed and waited in a railway boogie till the arrival of horses. At the Kushk railway station, there stood another boogie wherein comrade Rozen Berg, the first Secretary of the Soviet Diplomatic staff together with the third secretary Comrade Minloss and a few other Russians also waited for horses to go to Kabul. We knew one another. One day I met Rozen Berg in his boogie who told me that Sheikh Abdul Haq had informed him a few hours ago that he and his companions had an underground ammunition -

manufacturing factory at Multan or some other city. Rozen Berg enquired from me whether such factory existed somewhere.I replied in the negative. Upon this Rozen Berg advised me that I should beware of that bearded pious man (Sheikh Abdul Haq) I listened to Rozen Berg's advice and repented in my heart as to why I gave him the whole money. We left Kushk... Next day we arrived Harat in the afternoon... we stayed there for three days and met the govenor. From Herat we arrived in Qandahar... where we stayed for five or six days staying at Qandahar... Sheikh Abdul Haq told me that a Hindu merchant was going to Chaman (Baluchistan) and that he intended to entrust a few letters to the merchent to put them in a letter box there. He asked me that if I had some letters for my relatives in India I should give him for the purpose . But I informed Abdul Haq that I was a Mohajir and had forgotten all about my near and dears. Next day we left Qandahar for Kabul. At a distance of about fifteen/twenty miles off Qandahar there was a serai where we stayed. Here Sheikh Abdul Haq told me that he had to have a very important but secret talk with me and for that purpose I should go with him outside the Serai. When we went off the serai for about two hundred yards, I asked him to tell me what he had for me, but the Sheikh insisted on going ahead. In the meantime I sensed some danger as the Sheikh possessed a revolver under his armpit and was afraid lest he would kill me. I thus addressed him in a harsh tone asking him to tell me what did he mean. Upon this the Sheikh replied that some forty four pounds (roubles had probably been converted into pounds) out of the money kept with him had been stolen by some one and that he suspected that the man behind this was Zafar Masood, their

companion. I rebuked him for telling a lie ... and demanded from him to give me the money I had given him.... Then I came towards the Serai and the Sheikh followed me. Consoling me the Sheikh said that he would give me the money in Kabul ... we reached Ghazni after three or four days ... From there we arrived[25] Kabul after a few days. Here I and my four friends (Khan Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, Abdus Sattar Khan, Maulvi Abdul Rashid whose real name was Muhammad Amin and Mirza Zafar Masood) stayed for the night in the house of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi while Abdul Haq and his companions passed the night in the serai of Shor Bazar. The next day we rented a residence near the house of Maulana Sindhi .... The third day Abdul Jabbar Khan, director Afghan Foreign Ministry met me and requested me to visit the Ministry... (later) Maulana Sindhi informed me that some letters addressed to an important British Officer have came into the possession of the Afghan government and that the Afghan authorities suspected that the letters were written by me. I was susprised but assured the Maulana that I had written no such letters .... After some time I went to Serai Shor Bazar to see Sheikh Abdul Haq but he was not there. His companions told me that a policeman had taken him the day before and that he had not returned. I understood that he was under arrest .... Then I visited the Foreign Ministry and met Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who received me well .... Back from the Ministry I met Mirza Abdul Jabbar Khan and enquiried from him about the place where the letters in question had been seized. Abdul Jabbar informed me that they were seized in Qandahar. He then rushed to the Foreign Ministry and informed Mr. Nadir Khan on phone that the writer of the letters was Abdul Haq .... (Earlier) ....

Abdul Haq, soon after his arrival in Kabul, met Mr. Nadir Khan and told him that Iqbal Shaidai had come to Kabul as a Bolshevik agent with the special mission of spreading Communist ideaology in Afghanistan and in India. Nadir Khan took him to Amanullah Khan to whom Abdul Haq repeated the same story. As evidence Abdul Haq presented to the Afghan monarch one thousand gold roubles, telling him that this money had been given to Iqbal Shaidai by Mr. Roy which had been kept with him as amanat. Amanullah was convinced and thought me as Bolshovik agent in reality. The Sheikh also spoke to Amanullah Khan and Nadir Khan against Jamal Pasha, dubbing him as a Bolshoveik agent who wanted to spread communism in Afghanistan and India. He therefore, requested Amanullah Khan and Nadir Khan to allow him to go to India to inform the Muslim leaders against this menace. Both the Afghan Leaders fell pray to his reasonings and they permitted him to go to India as desired by the Sheikh. No sooner had he left Kabul for India than the letters seized at Kandahar were brought to Kabul. The Hindu merchant receiving the letters from Abdul Haq had given them to one Mehmandar at Qandahar who sent them straight to Kabul ... knowing the situation, Mr. Nadir Khan informed his brother Mohammad Hashim Khan on telephone at Jalalabad asking him to detain the outgoing Abdul Haq till further orders. Abdul Haq arrived at Jalalabad from Kabul and stayed in a hotel contentedly. Meanwhile, Mr. Hashim Khan, sent Allah Nawaz Multani to the hotel who asked Abdul Haq to meet Hashim Khan. When the Sheikh met Hashim Khan he was informed that he was under custody. The Sheikh requested Hashim Khan not to detain him un-necessarily as his going to India was of utmost importance but Hashim

Khan did not agree... The same day when I met Mr. Nadir Khan in the company of Zafar Hassan Aibak and Dr. Noor Muhammad Sindhi he told me that I was very fortunate that Abdul Haq, the true culprit was detected, otherwise, the Afghan government was going to execute me. The next day Nadir Khan asked Hashim Khan on phone to bring Abdul Haq to Kabul under tight security. When (in Kabul), the letters were shown to Abdul Haq and sought his comments, Abdul Haq admitted that the letters were written by him but, refuting the allegations that he had links with the British, he clarified that the letters formed part of his strategy to deceive the British. Mr. Nadir Khan, narrated to me the story when he was an ambassador in Paris. According to him one of the letters was addressed to Sir Hamilton Grant, the Chief Commissioner of N.W.F.P.and it said " I am coming with very important news. As soon as I will arrive at Torkham, I will say "H" (Hamilton Grant). Ask the men on duty there to open the gate when they hear the letter "H". Signature... Abdul Haq having admitted that the letters were written by him, was sent to jail and after a few months was ordered to be executed. It was the day when Sir Henry Dobbes stepped on the Afghan soil to negociate an agreement with Amanullah's Government.... It was three days earlier than this incident that I entered the staff of Jamal Pasha Jamal Pasha in Kabul. (He worked will him from January, 1921 to September, 1922). He made me head of the propaganda office. My work was to translate into Persian important portions of Urdu and English newspapers from India.... M.N.Roy could not enter Afghanistan as the Afghan Government regretted him entry visa. Meanwhile a treaty was signed between Britain and Russia according to which the Russian

government had to close the Tashkand centre and ordered M.N.Roy to go to Moscow"[20].

The activities of the Indian revolutionaries in Tashkand and Kabul, however, were a matter of no secret for the British. The intelligence Bureau, Government of India, assessing the Tashkand situation and probably the plans of M.N. Roy gave the following reports:

"Reliable information is in our possession which shows that the aim of the Bolsheviks and their Indian allies in Kabul and Tashkand is to establish centres all along the frontier and an organization through these centres to spread propaganda on the frontier and in India and to prepare the ground for an outbreak of Internal revolution co-inciding with a general Frontier rising .... The Haji Sahib of Turangzai and his son Bacha Gul etc., are employed in the furtherance of this plan. Parts of the plan such as the support of a rising in India by Bolshevik troops[21], may be more or less visionary, but the portion of it described above is definite and concrete. The Bolsheviks are already spending considerable sums of money on it and are prepared to supply arms and ammunition as soon as the organization for their receipt and distribution can be set up".

Now let us pick another thread of the story of the Indian Mohajirs. The group of Mohajirs which left Charjoi for Baku on their way to Anatolia in preference to going to Tashkand at last reached Anatolia but were entertained neither by the government nor the turkish people. They thus returned to Baku broken - hearted and in a miscrable plight. When in Feb. 1921, Akbar Shah, together with Maqsood Ali

of Shahjehanpur were sent by M.N.Roy as representatives of the Indian Mohajirs at Tashkand to Baku to participate in the Asian Youth Conference, he met some of the Mohajirs who had just returned from Anatolia. All the Mohajirs were in a state of absolute misery and were feeling sorry over their useless adventure. Haji Mirajuddin, the most enthusiastic old man who had inspired other Mohajirs to go to Anatolia was himself disappointed. Recounting the painful tale of his Journey he said, "we saw everything. Slave is slave everywhere and is disgraced. None looks upon them with dignity". His complaints against the Turks knew no bounds. Changez Khan, another Mohajir also dwelt on the events. He said that the Mohajirs went straight-way to Baku where from they went on foot to Anatolia in the company of Turkish Artillery. Changez informed Akbar Shah: " The journey in the Caucasus and in the mountains of the Roman territory was not easier than the journey in the mountains of Afghanistan. We spent nights amidst snow. Let alone this trouble, Mustafa Saghir, an Indian agent of the British had made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Mustafa Kamal, the Turkish leader. Though the attacker war killed, yet the action infuriated the Turks against the Indians. So on our arrival when the Turks were informed about our entry into Anatolia with a view to help Turkey against its enemy, they refused to entertain us. They rather treated us with contempt. The Turkish rulers ordered that the Indian Mohajirs should be sent back to India. Tired and unattended, we returned in the month of January (1921) through the snowy mountains of Caucasia". Tears rolled down the eyes of Haji Mirajuddin. What they intended then ?asked Akbar Shah. They said that they wished to return to their country. Changez

said they had submitted an application to the president of Azerbaijan to make arrangement for their traveling to Tashkand[23].

The Indian Air School at Tashkand was closed in June 1921 and after a wait of two months, the Mohajirs left for Moscow, on August 16, 1921 .The group consisted of seventeen men. Having arrived Moscow they stayed in a hotel called Delux Hotel. After sometime they were shifted to the hostels of the Eastern University, Moscow.Here each Mohajir was bound to watch a Drama in the company of young girls. The main object of this, besides entertainment, was to inculcate in the minds of the students the principles of communism and a contempt for British imperialism. when the Mohajirs showed a dislike for attending the dramas, Begum Roy taunted them as men of Capitalist thinking, as conservatives and supporters of bourgeoisie. They watched the drama, lest they were dubbed as bourgeoisie.

Frequent meetings between the young Mohajirs and the local girls aimed at offering them a chance to start love with one other. A time came that almost every Mohajir had a girl friend. Akbar Shah too fell in love with a lady whose name was Aniya Asayan.

On December 16,1921, Sultan Mohammad Khan, Feroz, Majid and Akbar Shah were summoned by Mrs. Roy in Delux Hotel and said" you are revolutionaries and the liberators of your country. You suffered hardships, crossed the mountains of Afghanistan travelling on foot, and bore the hardships of hunger and thirst. You have seen death but are still alive. You are alive only to work for the

liberation of your country. Your countrymen look to you with great hope and interest. I am confident you will not disappoint them ... Boys! your country needs your sacrifices ... you know that the Moplas have started war of independence in southern India and the Pushtoons are fighting the British on the North Western Frontier. The Punjabi sepoys particularly the Sikhs are greatly annoyed with the British and this is my hope that when the general public will make a revolt, the army will side them ... Now you would go to Baku from where you would go to India. When you reach India, be ready, the war of independence of your country is being started on a large scale"[24].

The four Mohajirs thus left Moscow by a special train and after a journey of four days arrived in Baku where they were joined by another Mohajir. Each Mohajir was given rupees 600. Their proposed route was Baku, Merve, Kushak, Herat, Qandahar, Ghazni, Kabul and Jalalabad. At Baku, unexpectedly they stayed for nearly two months as neither the Afghan ambassador nor the Iranian ambassador, fearing British animosity, was prepared to grant them passports. They thought that two routes were open to them through which they could proceed secretly. One was Baku, Ashkabad, Meshed, Dazdad via Sistan, Quetta or from Meshed to Herat, Qandahar and India. The second route was Baku, Tiflis, Aministan, Tabriz, Baghdad and India. This route was a bit hard. In the meantime, Suleman Zikriya, a confidant of M.N. Roy, arrived from Moscow with the message that M.N. Roy was very unhappy over their unnecessary stay in Baku and regretted their shyness that they were unable to get passports for themselves. Zikriya then

arranged two passports. One for Akbar Shah and the other for Gohar Rehman and sent them off to India via Tehran and Inzali. Zikriya ordered Majid and Sultan to stay in Baku till further orders and took Feroz alongwith him to Moscow. After one year it was known that Majid, Feroz and Sultan had crossed over to Chitral via Pamir and were arrested there.

Akbar Shah and Gohar Rehman arrived Tehran via Inzali and Qazween on March 15, 1922 and met the Soviet ambassador there who made them the guests of one Abdul Karim. They stayed in Tehran for about two months till 16th May 1922, when the Soviet ambassador Tambakov who was going from Tehran to Shiraz, took Akbar Shah in his company to Shiraz. His other companion, Gohar Rehman had to travel to Shiraz in a Dak vehicle. Leaving Gohar Rehman in Shiraz, Akbar Shah left for Bu Shahr in the company of a caravan. On his way, he came across Shaukat Usmani who had just arrived in Iran from India. He was dressed in the garb of a Dervish, pretending himself to be Syed. The people respected him greatly. Akbar Shah and Usmani exchanged information about their journey. Akbar Shah arrived in Bu Shahr and Stayed in the house of one Jalaluddin. Here he fell into police hands and was jailed. He however, managed to escape and was able to get a passport for Bombay. He got a ticket and sat on a ship. Instead of going to Bombay he landed at the Karachi port. From Karachi he came to Lahore and met Haji Mirajuddin accidentally. Staying at Lahore for about 18 days, he came to Akora Khattak by train, reaching his home in Badrashi on foot. On 4th day, he was arrested and jailed in Peshawar for two years, 97 days[25]. Muhammad Shafiq of Akora Khattak too had

to bear great hardships. He was banished by Afghan government,and came to Herat, but here too he was not left at rest. He then marched towards Iran. Weary and hungry he surrendered himself to British embassy in Sistan wherefrom he was brought to Peshawar in chains. Here he faced a trial and was awarded three years imprisonment. Tired of hardships, some mohajirs committed suicide[26].

The caravan of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi consisting of some ten Indians arrived in Moscow in November 1922. After a stay of about a week in Moscow M.N.Roy through Khushi Muhammad, offered them admission in the Eastern University. The offer was accepted. Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi instructed Zafar Hassan Aibak to attend the classes and have an indepth understanding of communist ideology so that he might work against Communist propaganda in independent India, particularly to protect the religion of Islam from Communist onslaught[27]. Having listened to the lectures based on Communist preaching, Zafar Hassan Aibak reported its summary to Maulana Sindhi at Lux Hotel each evening. The indian students were taught the following subjects in the University :(1) History of the labour movements of various European countries, (2) Movements of the Trade Unions in European countries, (3) History of the Russian Communist party and the establishment of the proletariat government (4) History of First, Second, and third congress of the communist international (comintern)., (4) Principles of Communism and anti-religiosity as mentioned in the "Das Capital" of Karl Marx. Maulana Sindhi thus fully understood the principles and contents of the Communist ideology through the reportings of Zafar Hassan Aibak. During the course of lectures doubts used to

emerge in the mind of Zafar Hassan Aibak, who discussed them with Maulana sindhi. The latter effaced them through his vast learning and sound reasoning, protecting him against the influence of communism, other members of the caravan of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi admitted into the Eastern University, however, were under the influence of communists. They could not go openly for prayer. The house of Musa Jarullah a Muslim, situated in the Leningrad was a place where Zafar Hassan Aibak used to go and offer prayers. One night at about 3.00 P.M. Rehmat Ali Zikriya who pretended to be a Communist recited verses of the Holy Quran in a very sweet tone. When his colleagues enquired from him how he claimed to be a Communist when he negated the ideology by referring to a Holy Book. He said, "My political and social belief is communism, but I love the Holy Quran and am convinced of its virtues"[28]. Iqbal Shaidai and Zafar Umar Masood, indifferent or against communism, preferred to go to Turkey rather than stay in Moscow. They therefore met Ahmad Mukhtar Bey the Turkish ambassador in Moscow and sought his help for their travelling to Turkey. The ambassador promised them visas. After a few days they left Moscow for Turkey.

As regards the help of the Russian government to the Indian revolutionaries, it was the policy of communist Russia not to extend support to the Indian freedom fighters unless they agreed with the programme of the Communists and promised to work for the propagation of Communist ideology in the event of their success. Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi did not subscribe to this notion of the communists. To discuss the issue with the Russian high ups, Maulana sindhi met

Chachren, the Russian Foreign Minister in June 1923 and informed him that as president of the Congress Committee Kabul, he was prepared to extend cooperation to the Russians in eliminating British supremacy in India and was prepared to sign an agreement with the Russians on this point, but he clarified that this deal would be with the Russian government and not with the communist party which tried to hold the revolutionaries as their hostages. Chachren presented the case before the Russian cabinet which agreed to the opinion of Maulana Sindhi. The cabinet, however, sought clarification that whether the assistance meant for the Indians would be in the form of financial aid or in the form of supplying of weapons. The Maulana informed the Russian authorities that as the Indian National Congress believed in the principles of peaceful non-cooperation, the requisite aid should be in the form of money and not in the form of weapons. The Maulana, however, clarified that the monetary aid provided to the Indians shall be considered as aid only and would be returned to Russia as soon as India got freedom. The Maulana at the same time insisted that in order to make the plan a success, Russia should obtain the consent of Afghanistan as this was the only country that could provide a short passage to India. The Maulana demanded from the Russian government one crore rupees for the Indian National Congress and one crore for Afghanistan. Chachren demanded guarantee from Maulana Sindhi saying that in case aid was extended to Afghanistan, who would ensure that it would not go against Russian interests. The Maulana named Sardar Nadir Khan in this connection, saying that after receiving the aid, he would exercise influence on Amanullah Khan. Chachren then discussed the demand of Maulana

Sindhi with his government at which the government sought further clarification as to how the aid would reach to India and Afghanistan. The Maulana informed the Russian Authorities that he would personally proceed to Turkey where he would invite an Indian National Congress leader or convey the news of the grant from Russia through a messenger. The Maulana said that after doing so he would arrange a treaty between the Indian National Congress and the Russian government and unless a treaty was signed, no aid whatsoever was to be granted either to Congress or to Afghanistan. As regards Afghanistan, the Maulana said, he would establish contact with Sardar Mohammad Nadir through correspondence and would make him bound that Afghanistan in no circumstances would prefer friendship with the British to that the Indian Freedom Fighters. In the fourth meeting that was held Chachren conveyed the consent of the Russian government to Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and asked him to proceed to Turkey and receive the aid through the Russian embassy there[29].

A few days earlier than the departure of Maulana Sindhi for Turkey, Dr. Noor Muhammad, left Moscow for Germany. Dissatisfaction with achievements in Russia, dislike for communist ideology and restriction on his private medical practice formed part of the causes that forced him to bid farewell to Moscow. From Germany he proceeded to France wherefrom he came to India. Here he worked as ambassador of Afghanistan, enjoying the confidence of Sardar M. Nadir Khan. Khushi Muhammad was sent by the Russians to Germany and France on secret missions several times. He married a Yogoslov lady named Fatima who was brought to Moscow and lived with him there. In 1933, the Russian Communist Party sent him

on a secret mission to Madras where he narrowly escaped British hands. In 1938 he fell victim to Stalin's fury and was killed. Rehmat Ali Zikria proceeded to France under the directions of the Russian Communist Party. He learnt French language and did doctorate in French literature. He married a French girl. After the partition of India, he visited Pakistan and began to teach French language here. Dissatisfied with his job, he again proceeded to France. Abdul Hameed was sent by the Russians via Pamir to India in the company of some other Indians in the middle of 1922, but, crossing the Afghan territory, he was caught. Released after some time, he again arrived in Moscow and was again sent to India with a fake passport by sea. He was caught at Karachi and brought to Peshawar, was tried, and sentenced to one year imprisonment. Faqir Shah of Kohat received air training in Russia and Joined the Russian Air Fleet[30]. Maulana Sindhi dwells on his stay in Moscow as follows: "I stayed in Moscow for seven months and studied socialism with the help of young Indians. The Soviet Government made me an honourable guest and provided me with facility for study as I belonged to the Indian National Congress. It is wrong to say that I have met Lenin as he was ill at that time and was unable to recognise his close friends. As a result of my study in Moscow, I equipped myself to protect my religious movement based on the philosophy of Shah Waliullah from the onslaught of the secular elements, for which I am thankful first to the Indian National congress, second, to the Indians both Hindus and Muslims, socialists and Nationalists and third, to Soviet Russia"[31].

In the middle of July 1923, Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi left Moscow for Turkey in the company of Aziz Ahmad, his relative and arrived in Ankara. Here he met Asmat Pasha, the Turkish Prime Minister. His meeting with the Turkish leader, however, bore little fruit as the Maulana, owing to his little command over English language was unable to convey his message in a force-full way. After a short stay in Ankara, the Maulana proceeded to Istanbul in October 1923.

According to the programme drawn at Moscow, Maulana Sindhi met Lala Lajpat Rai in Turkey and informed him about his agreement with the Russian Authorities. When Lala Roy came to know about the idea of involving Afghanistan in the secret deal, he resented it. He, however, carried the message to India and gave the news to Madan Mohn Malvi. "When Lala Lajpat Rai returned to India", says a report, "he started a campaign of propaganda against Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and this affected adversely the Hindu Muslim relation. Meanwhile "Shudhi" and in retaliation "Tabligh" movements started resulting in Hindu Muslim clashes. Thus the question of Indian independence receded to the background and sectarian feelings came to the fore"[32].

During his stay in Turkey, Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi prepared a political programme comprising the following objects:

1. To achieve complete independence for India.
2. To set up a federal government in independent India.
3. To protect Islam and Muslims and ensure due rights for other minorities.
4. To include in the proposed government peasants, labourers and intelligentia.

5. To eradicate landlordism and capitalism and at the same time to protect the public from falling prey to Communism.

6. To form an Asiatic Federation vis-a-vis British Imperialism[33].

Zafar Hassan who arrived at Istanbul in August 1924 assisted Maulana Sindhi in the preparation of the final draft. In order to implement his programme, Maulana Sindhi founded a party called Saroo Raja Party which the British erraneously called Swaraj. Saroo is a Hindi word and means "of all" Raj means government. For members of the party it was necessary that their life style would not be different from the life style of the peasants, and that they would not receive money more than the earnings of peasants. The surplus income was to go to the party[43].

The programme envisaged that India would be divided into three natural geographical zones viz north western zone, eastern zone and southern zone. These zones were then to be sub-divided into numerous provinces on the basis of language and culture of locals. Foreign Affairs, defence and foreign trade was to go to the federal government, with residuary powers vested in the provinces. It would, however, be optional for the provinces to form a federation of their own on the basis of unity in culture. Each adult male and female was granted the right of franchise, but each social class such as peasants, labourers, intelligence, tradesmen and industrialists were to elect representatives from their own class only in proportion to their ratio of population. In the assemblies of each province thus the representatives of peasants labourers and the intelligentsia would form majority and as such would protect the interest of the working class. In the economic and social sector, all

sources of public interest were to be nationalized, allowing individual ownership to a particular extent and the surplus property declared as public property. Taxes were to be levied upon the affluent to the maximum of fifty percent. Landed property was to be nationalized and landlordism brought to an end. In the provinces or the groups of provinces where the Muslims were in majority, lands were to be dealt with in accordance with the decisions of Hazrat Umar and Hazrat Imam Abu Hanifa. Each peasant was to be granted land in accordance with h-is capacity for tilling. Interest was to be declared forbidden, and old debts of the working class were to be written off. Labour Unions would run the nationalized industries and the labourers were to get a share in the profit. Clean accommodation and free medical facilities were to be ensured to the working class. Education upto middle was to be free and compulsory. Internal trade was to be in the hands of cooperative societies, foreign trade being the subject of the federal government. The state religion of a province or a group of provinces should be the religion of majority of the people of that province or group of provinces, provided that religion did not go against the collective programme of the state. The Federation at the top was to be secular, having no right to interfare in the affairs of any of the religions. Different provinces or groups of provinces were to send their represent-atives to the federation according to their ratio of population and in accordance with their economic, cultural and military significance. To counter imperialism, an Asiatic Federation consisting of States having programmes similar to/of independent India was to be created in which Russia would act as a partner in order to work as a bulwark against imperialism, but with no right to interfare in the

affairs of any state including India[35].

This programme of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi consisting of about twenty pages was published in Urdu. Zafar Hassan Aibak translated it into English and gave its copy to Ahmad Mukhtar Bey, former Turkish ambassador to Moscow, who got it translated into Turkish through his brother Khan Tehsin Bey. The Turkish version was presented to the Turkish government for perusal in order to give it an impression that the Indians were busy in evolving strategies regarding India without any detriment to Turkey. The Urdu copies of the programme, however, were sent to different Indian leaders in instalments. But how could it remain a secret from the British? It soon fell into enemy hands and was banned in India. To avoid British objection, the programme was ,however, amended in 1926, but still with little success.

Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi at the same time strived to establish a Bainul Muslimeen University in Turkey. For this purpose he secured the services of Abdur Rehman Peshawari, a known revolutionary settled in Turkey who enjoyed respect among the Turkish elite. Abdur Rehman thus arranged a meeting between Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and Rauf Bey. During the meeting, in which Zafar Hassan Aibak acted as interpreter of Maulana Sindhi, the Maulana briefed the Turkish leader about his programme of an international Muslim University at Istanbul but could not succeeded in winning his sympathy. Rauf Beg was afraid that if he subscribed to the views of Maulana Sindhi, his party would look conservative. The hopes and optimism of Maulana Sindhi in this connection were, therefore, shattered.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1926, Maulana Sindhi received the news that a Congress of the Muslim leaders (Motamar-e-Islam) was being held at Makkah on the occasion of Haj. The Maulana decided to proceed to Hejaz and meet the summit leaders of the Ummah to apprise them of his programme. Owing to transport difficulty the Maulana arrived in Hijaz late. He could not meet the leaders as the congress was over and the participants had dispersed. The Maulana ,howeve r, stayed in Hejaz for about thirteen years. During his stay there, he met the top scholars of Islam and benefited from their scholarship. During this period he kept aloof from politics.

The Maulana returned to India as a result of the efforts of the Congress leaders, in November 1938. He entered India in March 1939, after an exile of about 24 years[36]. "After returning into India, his future programme was :

1. To remain an ordinary member of Congress and to live his life under the law of non-violence participating little in practical politics .
2. To make wider publicity of the philosophy of Shah Waliullah, drawing the attention of scholars towards it.
3. At an appropriate time to form a party within the National Congress in line with the economic philosophy of Shah Waliullah"[37].

Zafar Hassan Aibak, the trusted lieutenant of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi who remained in his company for eleven years in Kabul, Moscow and Istanbul, stayed behind in Turkey.

In 1925 he proceeded to Makkah Mukarrama to perform Haj, but returned to Istanbul the same year. He got Turkish citizenship and joined the Turkish army as Captain in artillery in August 1928. Subsequently, he made three visits to Russia in 1932, 1936 and 1937. He returned to Lahore in 1949 after an exile of 34 years. The followers of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi persuaded him to record his observations on his exile, which he agreed to with the condition that it would not be published in his life time[38]. The published record of his observations, however, is available now in three volumes under the title " Aap Beti", which is a valuable source of guidance for researchers on the subject. He died in September 1976.

Maulvi Barkatullah Bhuphali, who visited Paris several times in the last decade of the nineteenth century and had been active in the Far East and Central Asia since 1911, having been in England for eleven years, in the United States for six years and in Japan for five years revisited Paris in April 1925. This time he came here to publish an Arabic paper called "El-Eslah".The paper was started but was stopped after the publication of its first issue on the allegation that it intended to promote the cause of rebel "Rifis". Defending his case Maulvi Bhupali said, "We had written a book on the subject of the spiritual Khilafat last year (1924), the French version of which was published by M. Paul Genthner of 13, Rue Jacob, Paris. As this subject was new to the Muslim world, we wanted to popularise it through our paper "El-Eslah"[39]. As regards the Rifi's rebellion, Barkatullah reproduced the relevand portion published in El.Eslah which said,"The fighting between the French Republic and the Rifi leader, Abdul Karim, does not please us. We hope through the

kindness of the French nation that this conflict would not last long, but, before long, peace would reign between them by granting to the Rifis what is essential for their livelihood. The French nation possess vast and fertile dominions. She has been the first among nations of the earth to proclaim the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Kindness is the best method of capturing human hearts; as it is said, man is the captive of kindness"[40]. The Maulana argued that there was nothing wrong in projecting and publishing similar ideas.

Thus on October 2,1925, a French Policeman called at the residence of Maulana Bhupali in Paris and took him to the prefecture of police near the Hotel de Ville. Here, they treated him like a convict, seizing his identity papers and taking his photographs , with impressions of all his fingers. They then ordered him to leave France the same evening. Discovering the cause of police's fury, the lawyer of Barkatullah was able to obtain from official sources the information that the "real motive power" behind the expulsion procedure were the agents of the British Government, who had been collecting material against him for the last three months, depicting him as a dangerous man having come to Paris to foment rebellion among the Arabs against the French Republic with the additional allegation to spread Bolshevik doctrines in France. As regards the British spy who caused the expulsion of Barkatullah he said, "The indian British spy... was studying at Moscow in 1921, was arrested on his return to India with others and was then released on becoming an informer in 1922. We were surprised to see him in Rome staying at the most expensive hotel, the Hotel Excellsior, with an English man in 1923. Then we found

him in Paris in the spring of 1925, going by the name of Muhammad Jamil, while his former name was Abdul Qadir Sahrai. As we knew his identity, he naturally fought shy of us and realized that as long as we remained in Paris, he could not perform his infernal duties freely. So, he, in collusion with other British agents, did evidently develop a plot against us and bring about our expulsion from France through the French authorities"[41].

Abdul Latif, the leader of the Kohati Mohajirs who stayed in Afghanistan and was appointed private secretary to Bacha Sqao after the departure of Amir Amanullah Khan, became a partisan of Bacha Sqao struggling against Sardar Muhammad Nadir Khan in Qandahar. When Nadir Khan subdued Bacha Saqao and occupied Qandahar, he executed Abdul Latif in 1931[42].

END NOTES

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Such leaders had been active in Afghanistan to help Communist Infiltration to spread.

1.A. Mian, Akbar Shah Badvashi, Da Azaday Talash Manzoor-e-Aam Press (Peshawar: N.D.).pp. 67, 68. Hereafter cited Mian, Da Azaday.

2. Ibid. pp.71-98.

3. Ibid. pp. 229-232.

4. Ibid pp. 253-259.

5. Akbar, Safar Nama. Op.Cit. pp. 68-83.

6. Ibid. pp. 92-93.

7. Ibid: pp. 107-121.

7.A. Kaka Khil, S.Wiqar Ali Sh-ah: "Some Indian Travellers in central Asia". Central Asia Biannual Research Journal of Area Study Centre, Peshawar University No.25, Winter, 1989, pp.89-92.

8. Aibak, Aap. Beti. Op.Cit. pp. 255,256.

9. Ibid, Vol. II pp.4,5.

10. Ibid. Vol. I. pp. 204,205.

11. National Archives, Iqbal Shhaidai's Collection, Op.Cit. File No.6, pp.6-9.

12. Ibid. File No.38, pp. 24-30.

13. Aibak, Aap Beti, Vol. I, Op.Cit. PP. 238-242.

14. Marwat, evolution. Op.Cit. p. 131. Also see Mian, Da Azaday, Op.Cit. PP. 62,63.

15. National Archives, Iqbal Shaidai's Collection Op.Cit. File No.22, pp.54-57.

16. Mian, Da Azaday, Op.Cit. pp. 275-307.

17. National Archives, Iqbal Shaidai's Collection, Op.Cit. File No.38, P.26.

18. Akbar, Safar Nama, Op.Cit. pp. 111-127.

19. Ibid. p. 130.

20. National Archives, Iqbal Shaidai'sCollection, Op.Cit.file No.22, pp. 1-27.

21. It is probable that the plan must not have referred to regular troops of Soviet Russia but to the Indian communists who were trained in Tashkand and were sent to india to implement the plan.

22. Peshawar Archives, special Branch list No.1 Bundle No.27, Serial No.404, P.69.

23. Mian, Da Azaday, Op.Cit. PP. 294-299.

24. Ibid. pp. 346-356.

25. Ibid. pp. 475-590.

26. Ibid. p. 495.

27. Aibak Aap. Bet. Vol. II. Op.Cit.pp.20,21.

28. Ibid. pp. 35,36,41.

29. Ibid. pp. 51-56.

30. Ibid. pp. 59-67.

31. Sindhi, Kabul.Op.Cit.pp. 155,156.

32. Ibid. p. 139.

33. Aibak, Aap Beti vol.II. Op.Cit.pp.101,102.

34. Ibid. pp.104,105.

35. Ibid. pp. 105-109.

36. Sindhi, Kabul. Op.Cit.p.141.

37. Ibid.p.160.

38. Aibak, Aap. Beti: Vol.I, Op.Cit.p.1.

39. National Archives, Iqbal Shaidai's Collection Op.Cit.An open letter to M.Briand, File No.6, p.5.

40. Ibid. p.4.

41. Ibid. p.5

42. Aibak, Aap Beti. Vol. I, Op.Cit.P.236.

CHAPTER-V

INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS ALONG THE ANGLO-AFGHAN BORDER

The Anglo-Afghan border stretching from Chitral to Baluchistan is covered by vast lands and lofty mountains. Because of its peculiar geo-strategic position and because of the unruly nature of the peoples living around it, the British declared the area as Independent territory outside the limits of its civil administration. In this vast hilly tract which was beyond the easy reach of the British and difficult for the movement of their troops, the Mujahids founded their headquarters at various points and continued to conduct raids on their enemy over a long period of time. The most important of these points were Asmas (Bunir), Chamarkand (Bajaur) and Lakaray (Mohmand), with mini bases in the Waziristan areas.

Asmas or Smasta which means cave was situated near a village called Sulemani and the Brando stream at a distance of about 30 miles from Darband on the right bank of the Indus. The nearest route leading to India passed through Darband and Haripur though it was possible to reach Peshawar via Bunir[1]. The Mujahids based in Smasta called by the British "Wahabis" or "Hindustani Fanatics" had a long history of encounters with the Sikhs and the British. To have a view of their achievements it is pertinent to reporoduce below their "Brief chronology" prepared

by V.VIVIAN, Assistant Director, Criminal Intelligence, on 11th August 1915, more or less in his own words: In 1824 Syed Ahmad Shah of Bareily, Wahabi, founder of the Hindustani Fanatics, arrived with 40 followers among the Yusafzais of the Peshawar border.

2. 1827. Under their first Amir, Syed Ahmad Shah, they raised rebillion against the Sikhs and were defeated owing to defection of the Peshawar Sirdars.

3. 1829. After gaining considerable influence among the border tribes, they occupied Peshawar, but were defeated again with great slaughter. Syed Ahmad Shah was slain.

4. 1829. The 300 remaining fanatics settled in Sittana, property of Syed Akbar Shah, who there upon became their Amir, and also declared himself king of Swat.

5. 1853. They joined the rebillious Hasanzais, who attacked the British feudatory cheif of Amb and occupied Kotla in Amb territory. The British column approached and they fled.

6. 1857. The 55th Infantry mutinied and 600 sepoys made their escape to Swat. Syed Akbar Shah, their Amir, had just died. The Akhund of Swat who had long been jealous of their influence, did not allow them to entertain rebellious sepoys in Swat. Syed Mubarak Shah, son of the late Amir was therefore driven out with the sepoys. They tried to make their way to Kashmir but were cut up on the way.

Mubarak Shah and a few survirors took up their abode at Punjtar, near which at Mangal Thana residence was a branch colony under a few wahabi Maulvis of the parent colony of Sittana.

In the same year, the disaffected Khudu Khels invited the Mangal Thana colony under Maulvi Inayat Ali Khan to their village Chinglai, where they commenced helping border villages to give trouble and occupied Shekh Jana.

In July, they were attacked by the British, driven out and pursued to the foot of the hills.

A fortnight later, they, under their leader, Maulvi Inayat Ali Khan raised the standard of Jehad in Narinji. In the same month, a British force moved against them and inflicted punishment. Owing to the trying season defeat was not pushed home.

In Narinji, they were then reinforced from Sittana and Mangal Thana and in August their number rose to 1,000. They were again attacked by the British and the village was razed to the ground. Soon afterwards they made an attack on the Assistant Commissioner Yusafzai and murdred his servants.

7. 1858. The British again moved against them, destroying Punjtar, Chinglai and Mangal Thana. KLater in the same year, an encounter between them and the British took place in which they fought desperately and with great spirit. Sithana colony was broken up and men from Bengal and Rampur were found among the prisoners.

8.1858. The remnant among them retired to Malka on the slopes of Mahaban granted by the Amazai tribe.

9.1861. They advanced as for as Siri overhanging sittana.

10.1861. They reoccupied Sittana.

11.1863-64. Reoccupation of Sittana caused the Ambela expedition which cost the

British many lives. They, under Maulvi Abdullah, nephew of the last Amir, fought with blind ferocity. The Akhund of Swat was in league with them, and the whole force opposing the British amounted to about 15,000.

In December (1863) Malka was occupied and destroyed. It was found to be much larger than expected, had a hall of audience for the Maulvi, stabling for the soldiers, a powder magazine, and a rough system of fortifications.

12. January 1864. Mandi near Sittana where they (the Mujahids) had returned the previous July was also destroyed.

13. From 1864-1868. They under Maulvi Abdullah led an un-comfortable and harassed existence in Chagarzai country, north of Barandu river, finally obtaining grants of land from the Chagarzais in the Tangor and Batoro. They were viewed with abhorrence by the Akhund of Swat.

14. 1868. 400 or 500 of them moved to Bajkatta in Buner on the invitation of Azim Khan of that place, an opponent of the Akhund.

15. In the same year, Feroz Shah, the son of the last king of Delhi visited them, where-upon the Akhund of Swat determined to put an end to them (the Mujahids). They beat a hurried retreat to Malka, where they began to rebuild houses. Maulvi Abdullah, their Amir, managed to turn away the Akhund's wrath, and regained permission to settle in Buner. The Akhund, sensing intrigues, ordered their expulsion, forcing them to comply. The whole body were seriously mauled in their retreat from Bajkatta to Batora, their rear guard being entirely cut up.

From Batora they retired hastily to Gulema Bori, in Chagarzai territory, but were obliged to push on through Tangor to Bihar on the right bank of the river Indus. Later Maulvi Abdullah and some hundreds of followers came over to Judba where they won great popularity and brewed great trouble until a British force arrived on the crest of Black Mountain in 1868. They then retreated hastily across the river deserting their Chagarzai hosts, finally ruining their reputation as soldiers of the Faith.

16. 1868-85. After a period of unsettled wandering they finally threw themselves on the mercy of the Hassanzais and received some land called Maidan, 15 miles from Darband. Here they built and fortified.

17. 1885. During the Buner complications of this year, their colony was not actually hostile, but their missionaries were exceedingly active. Maulvi Abdullah was still Amir.

18. In 1888 they took an active part in the complications with the Black Mountain tribes which led to the Hazara expedition. The settlement in Maidan was then burned to the ground. 88 among them were slain.

19. 1888-91. Maulvi Abdullah and his followers, still numbering 600, took up their abode at Kabul-gram among the Chagarzai and Akhund Khel of the Indus Valley and were there when the Hazara Expedition of 1891 took place. They made a determined attack on the British advanced posts, which were hard pressed by them.

20. 1891-94. They deserted their quarters in Chagarzai country and settled in among the Amazai on the slopes of Mahaban.

21. In 1894 they refused to combine in an attack on Chilas.

22. In 1902 Maulvi Abdullah died and was succeeded by his son Abdul Qaddus.

23. In 1905 they were said to be about 900 strong and living among the Amazai, north of Mahaban, near their old abode at Malka. They lived on the charity of their sympathisers among the disaffected population in India, their chief supporters being at Patna and Ajmer. They were not engaged in agriculture, but spent their time in war-like exercises and preparations.

24. In 1908 they made a half hearted attempt to stir up trouble on the border, but without success. Later they were seized with panic and fled to Chagarzai.

25. In May 1910, a deputation from the colony visited Kabul by invitation and was very fovourably received. During their stay sirdar Nasrullah Khan frequently exhorted them to use their influence in India for Islam and gave them valuable presents on their departure.

26. In 1912 their leader was reported to be one Abdul Ahad. Their fighting number was then about 800, and their fighting value almost negligible.

27. In 1913 their number remained the same. They were reported to possess 800 martini Henry rifles and a few rifles smuggled from the gulf.

28. In February 1915, Abdul Ahad died and was succeeded by his grandson Rahmatullah or Niamatullah. The colony is now at Smasti on the Chamla-Amazai border.[2] Thus, after years of trials and tribulations, they set up their abode in Smasta or asmas in Buner.

In 1915, a trying year for the British, the Smasta Mujahid leader, Amir Niamatullah, was by no means above board. Outwardly he claimed himself to be the successor of Syed Ahmad Shaheed, but inwardly he indulged in vices. He had three wives by marriage but in addition, he had ten to twelve young girls under him with whom he spent most of his time. Some time these girls gave birth to illegitimate babies who were thrown into a river by the confidants of the Amir. The girls who gave birth to babies were separated and given in marriage to other Mujahids. The Amir, if he so desired could establish contact with a woman even given in marriage to another man. Rehmatullah brother of the Amir, was equally a man of loose character. He was fond of young boys. The Amir was a powerful despot and none could dare to hold him accountable. Once a "rude" person enquired from him about the accounts of Baitul Mal (treasury) he was secretly killed at night. None had the courage to ask about the slain. The Amir was a terrific despot. Anybody who tried to stand in his way was bound to lose his life. He poisoned Abdul Sabuh and Abdul Samad, his real cousins. He got Mir Alam killed in Kabul. He was the cause of Syed Akbar Shah's murder. The Amir was still a successful man to enlist men into his fold. He attracted them into his following by saying, "you should strengthen your bonds of devotion towards your lord and earn a perfect faith. But the faith can not be complete and perfect without obedience to and through the guidance of the Imam of the day and it is difficult to earn success and happiness in both the worlds unless you initiate yourself as a follower of the Khalifa of God. The Holy Hadith says, 'He who did not know the Imam of his time, if he dies, die the death of an ignorant. This

means that he who does not know the Imam of his days, and did not initiate himself as his follower and does not sincerely obey him, his death, when he dies, be that of an ignorant and infidel[4]. Probably because of similar exhortations, the most devoted men to the cause of Jehad like Maulvi Bashir, alias Abdur Rahim who was widely respected because of his piety and devotion not only in the Smasta colony but in the court of Amir Habibullah Khan, had sworn allegience to him. Maulvi Bashir, it is reported, was being granted one thousand rupees per annum as stipend out of which he took only rupees five for personal expenses and the rest he gave to Amir Niamatullah's Baitul Mal for the purchase of arms and rifles[5].

The Mujahideen at Smasta numbered 300 to 400 including their families. The married owned separate quarters. They were divided into five Jamaats (groups) namely Bari Jamaat, Sarkari Jamaat, Deen ki Jammat, Hindustani Jamaat, and Madi Khana Jamaat. Majority of the Mujahids hailed from Bengal or Punjab and all of them lived under assumed names. Training to them was given first with bamboos and then with rifles. The words of command used to be in Arabic. They lacked in the knowledge of modern warfare and were short of modern weapens. They, as such, were no match to the well-disciplined well-equipped British Indian army. Though there was a press (probably cyclostyle machine), but it was not in working condition and a small library[6] but no proper arrangement for teaching.

The Chief source of revenue of Smasta colony was the donations collected from Punjab and Bengal, with a stipend from the Amir of Afghanistan.

In April 1917, two Bengali Muslims namely Ahmad and Mujahid who were carrying Rs: 8000/- to the Mujahids colony were arrested at Peshawar[7] and this put a great stress on them. The government took it as a great achievement and were of the opinion that if the case of the above men was instituted under section 121 of the Indian penal code, the ensuing enquiry would lead to the discovery of the whole netwrok[8]. Thus having obtained more powers for police under the law, the enquiry was initiated with more vigour. The examination led to the recovery from Ahmad of the address of Maulvi Yaseen of Duptara. Other men involved were Abdur Razzaq and Abdul Malik of Nowgaon and Abdul Hakim of Punsruki. The police came to know that, these men had been collecting funds for Mujahideen by convening public and secret meetings in January 1917[9].Another man that came to the knowledge of police was Basiruddin of Dhaleswar, a Punchayat president, from whose house was recovered a manuscript of "Risala-e-Jehadia" making a violent appeal for subscription and Jehad. He, it was known proceeded to Calcutta to attend an Ahli-Hadith conference convened on March 9-11, 1917 and came in contact with Mujahid, the second captive. Basiruddin togather with his eleven brothers and some other men outside his family, particularly Yasin Bepari, treasurer of the local Jamaat, were active in their village Dhaleswar, a dangerous Wahabi centre, and raised subscription for Jehad. This money, according to investigation, formed part of the amount captured with Ahmad and Mujahid. The enquiry also revealed that Basiruddin acted as a Bank for the subscriptions collected during the tour of Ahmad and Mujahid and that he converted the money into notes of high denomination for the purpose of

convenient conveyance to the Frontier[10]. Ghazi Akram Ali, who was one of the most important Wahabi Maulvi in eastren Bengal was known to have connection with the Bepari Mullah. Akram Ali had opened a school at Dauri whose professors were in reality fund collectors for Jehad. Another man who assisted in fund collection was Mohiuddin alias Abdul Majid of Duptara, a relation of Maulvi Yaseen[11].

With the arrest of Ahmad and Mujahid, as a result of which a big amount of subscritions went to the government hands, and the ensuing rigorous enquirines which exposed a number of underground contributors, the blockade of the Smasta Mujahids was further intensified, resulting in the economic ruin of the colony. "Since the arrest of Ahmad and Majahid", Says Jalal S/O Jaman, "as well as the other agents of the Fanatics, their main source of financial assistance has been stopped. They are, as it were, in a state of absolute blockade with regard to India and are very hard up for money. They have borrowed money from two Hindu Sahokars (merchants) one of village Chamla and the other of village Dheri... the Amir also gets grain from these Sahokars and owes about Rupees 12000 or 13000 to them. Thee Sahokars are constantly dunning the Amir for payment of their money, while the Bengali Mujahideen are longing to go to their homes. No one likes to live therein the colony, in such straitened circumstances. About 20 Bengalis escaped from Asmas while I was there... There is lack of food and no clothing. The daily ration of Mukki flour and Dal has been reduced to a great extent. For some time past the Bengalis and Hindustanis have been pressing the Amir to make peace with the British to enable them to go away to their homes ... Besides ... another source of annoyance has

cropped up to increase their difficulties. The Mujahideen live in the illaqa (area) of the Mada Khels whom they pay rupees 100/- per annum by way of rent of the land occupied by them. The Nawab of Amb being at enmity with one Kadir Khan, asked the Madda Khels to have nothing to do with the latter and not to assist him in anything. The Madda Khels not having complied with the Nawab's, the latter led an attack against them and destroyed several Bastis (villages), killing about 50 ro 60 men. Seeing this, another tribe, the Hassanzais or Ekkazais also attacked the Madda Khels from another direction. The Madda Khels thereupon asked the Amir of the Fanastics to assist them. Bit the Amir wanted to put off the Madda Khel with excuses. Hence the latter got displeased and are now pressing the Amir to leacve their territory"[12].

Earlier, Maulvi Wali Muhammad alias Muhammad Musa who was one of the most devotees of the Mujahideen and had been very actived in the Punjab to collect funds for the Mujahideen arrived in the Smasta Colony. He was followed to Smasta by Maulvi Muhammad Ali Qasoori who had been a teacher in the Habibiya College Kabul and had taken an active part in the Jehad in Yaghistan. The British authorities took serious notice of his movements, considering him as a German agent and a dangerous man. On their arrival at Smasta, Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum pointed out to the Chief Commissioner, N.W.F.P. thus, "The appearance among them (Mujahids) of some individuals from India directly and some via Afghanistan has influenced the majority if not the whole colony of the Mujahideen. The Amirul Mujahideen is specially under the influence of these foreigners"[13].

After the arrival of Maulvi Wali Muhammad in Smasta, Amir Niamatullah gave a beautiful slave girl in marriage to him. After a few months, he gave another girl in his marriage, who later gave birth to a baby. Amir Niamatullah at the same time gave him considerable emoluments as annual stipend. He respected him greatly, winning him over as one of his most trusted men[14]. This greatly undermined the fighting spirit of Maulvi Wali Muhammad about which the Maulana himself was not ignorant. In a discussion among Maulvi Bashir, Maulvi Muhammad Ali Qasoori and Maulvi wali Muhammad, the latter complained against Maulvi Niamatullah for his wrong-doings, corruption, comfort loving, negligence, eschewing Jehad and misuse of Baitul Mal. Maulvi Wali Muhammad said, "I feel ashamed that I had been spreading false propaganda about this man in Punjab, convincing people through incorrect tales of great deeds of this Jamaat.... Now I know that this Jamaat is dead morally. Their capacity to work has disappeared..." The Maulana lamented that having come to Smasta, his Eman (faith) was in danger. He wished to have died or killed in India rather than coming to Smasta. The Maulana said that the Amir ul Mujahideen was very cunning who bound him in two marriages. The Maulana felt sorry, saying that then he could not utter a single word against the Amir, lest he is killed stealthily. He was afraid that if he was killed what was to be the condition of young wives and children after his death. The Maulana was extremely disappointed[15].

Maulvi Wali Muhammad had brought with him to Smasta about a hundred other Mujahids from Punjab. But soon a conflict arose between the Punjabi

Mujahids and the Bengali Mujahids on the basis of provincialism. Upon this, the Bengali Mujahids started agitation against the Punjabi and this further worsoned the situation. Maulvi Muhammad Ali Qasoori intervened in the affair, and with the consent of Amir Niamatullah, the Punjabi Mujahids were taken to Chamarkand, another headquarter of the Indian Mujahids[16] formed a year earlier.

The Smasta Mujahids had a strange notion. They believed that Syed Ahmad Shaheed had not received martyrdom at Balakot, rather, like Christ, he was lifted to the Heavens and was still alive. They further believed that he would come again to hoist the standard of Islam and lead the Mujahideen to conquer India with Divine Help and bring the whole world under the influence of Islam. They maintained that before the arrival of Syed Ahmad Shah no attack be made on India, and as such full fledge preparations for the purpose was premature.

Maulvi Muhammad Ali Qasoori alias Maulvi Suleman, a man of revolutionary spirit wished to effect reforms in the colony. But when he expressed the idea before Maulvi Waliullah of Qasoor alias Maulvi Abdul Wasia, the Munshi of Amir Niamatullah, his old companion he warned him against such reformotive thinkings,telling him that attempting to alter the status quo was tentamount to an inviting one's own destruction[18]. This probably convinced Maulvi Muhammad Ali of the futility of his endeavours who began to contemplate about an honourable return to India. He was shared in his this idea by another powerful man from the Punjab, who was a former E.A.C. and had been convicted by a court in a corruption case. His name was Deputy Barkat Ali. They both prevailed on the Amir and convinced

him about the desirability of an agreement with the British.

The Amir, therefore wrote a letter to Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum in December 1916 requesting him to use his influence to persuade the government to agree to some sort of friendship with the Mujahid colony. The Amir wrote, .. "In short, our colony neither cherishes ill feelings towards the government, nor does anything prejudicial to the interest of the government ... But nowadays the government seem to be quite bent upon creating all sorts of difficulties for us and giving us every kind of trouble, have adopted a very vigorous policy of investigation and enquiry into every thing and put many Musalmans in prison on suspicion. This policy is causing unbearable loss to our people in as much as we are unable to move about even for every-day necessaries. Since there has been very close and intimate connection between your noble ancestors and those of ours ... we approach you as one of co-religionist and on the strength of those old mutual relations and request you to represent our case to government and establish between us friendship and smooth relations, which should protect us from all dangers and to accomplish this, we shall without hesitation submit ourselves to your guidance and advice. Once again we earnestly request you to graciously turn your attention towards us - a party of devotees retired from the world and advise some suitable and proper means to shelter us from prospective dangers and calamities. We pray that Al-Mighty God may amply repay your efforts to help our poor and distracted Community"[19]. At this the Chief Commissioner N.W.F.P. took up the case with the Foreign and political Department Simla and having obtained necessary instructions from them, started communications

with the colony through the Sahibzada. In a series of letters that were exchanged in the following months, each side sought to get clarifications regarding certain likely events in future. The Amir insisted on the secrecy of the deal while the government tried to impress upon the Amir the strength and might of the British Empire.

At last Maulvi Muhammad Ali and Barkat Ali arrived in Peshawar to discuss the terms of a peace with the government. The Chief Commissioner N.W.F.P. informed the foreign secretary, Government of India, thus "I had given permission for Barkat Ali and Muhammad Ali to visit Peshawar to discuss with Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum the possibility of a settlement with the fanatic Amir. Barkat Ali and Muhammad Ali arrived on the 15th instant (June 1917) and spent a week in discussing the case with the Nawab who has now submitted his report of the proceedings... My personal assistant Risaldar Mughal Baz Khan was present at the conferences and had given me the details verbally and Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum has sent me some further explanation through him"[20]. In the course of discussion Muhammad Ali and Barkat Ali admitted that they had influenced the Amir for peace. They said, "... taking into consideration the strength and stability of the British Government and its sense of justice, and prompted by our natural love for our home and the country of our birth, we as the honest well-wishers of the colony suggested to its chief that he should form an alliance with this worldwide empire and avoid falling into selfish hands, which may bring about his ruin. In this manner after six months efforts we were able to assure the Amirul Mujahideen of our sincerity and induced him to sue for peace"[21] Amir Niamatullah who had shown keen interest in

his correspondence was specially interested in getting pardon for Deputy Barkat Ali, who had been serving the British for 27 years and was alleged to have accepted a bribe of Rs: 150/- for which he was sentenced to four years imprisonment with his dismissal from service. The punishment was later reduced to two years imprisonment as a result of an appeal made before a court. The Amir tagged peace with the British with grant of pardon to both Barkat Ali and Muhammad Ali. The Government had no objection to a pardon to Muhammad Ali but as regards the pardon to Barkat Ali, the Government was reluctant. The Chief Commissioner took up the matter with the foreign Department and sought the opinion of the Punjab Government but pardon to Barkat Ali was great impediment. At last with the recommendations of the Chief Commissioner NWFP the Punjab Government agreed to allow Barkat Ali to come down to the settled territory and stay in Mansehra. If his conduct was found satisfactory he would be granted pardon and allowed to enter Punjab.

Having removed all the obstacles an agreement was arrived at which was signed by both the parties on December 1,1917. Content of the agreements is as follows:

1. The Ameerul Mujahideen will be responsible for all the members of his colony-wherever they may be that they will not commit any act of hostility against the British government, its subjects and dependents, in return for which government will not interfere with the colony and will allow free inter-course with India to the members of the colony against whom there is no criminal charge pending in India.

2. The Amirul Mujahideen will gradually recall his detachments from Chamarkand and all Mujahideen in Tirah, the Mohamand country, Bajaur and Swat.

3. Those of the Mujahideen against whom there is no legal or criminal claim individually will be allowed to have free intercourse with India and to settle there permanently if they like but it will be necessary for a considerable time at any rate for the Amir himself to remain in his colony in order to enforce this agreement.

4. After the agreement has been settled all who have been arrested for being or on suspicion of being Mujahideen will be set free and money confiscated will be restored to him. Such remittances will not be interfered with for the future for so long as the agreement holds good"[22].

Another Headquarter of the Indian Mijahids was Chamarkand in the Bajaur area in vicinity of the Afghan border. This place, because of its remoteness in the hilly region was beyond the direct access of the British government. The Chamarkand headquarter, established in 1915 was an extention of the Smasta Colony. In 1916, when Maulvi Wali Muhammad brought with him some 100 Mujahids from Punjab to Smasta and as a result arose a conflict between the Bengali and the Punjab Mujahids, the latter were taken to Chamarkand. At the same time some 110 Indians[23] also came from Kabul and joined the new colony. Chamarkand thereafter became an important Mujahid headquarter subserviant to the Smasta Amir.

In 1919, subsequent to the third Anglo Afghan war, the Mahsuds in the Waziristan area became more active in their radis against the British. Seizing the opportunity the Indian Mujahideen of Chamarkand rushed to the Waziristan area and established a new centre at Makin in the Abdullai Mahsud tribe. Thus on the arrival of Mujahids, the tempo of raids further increased. During this period a battle known as the battle of Badar was fought against the British in which a small party of the Chamarkand Mujahids with the support of the local Ghazis was able to force the British soldiers to retreat. A British trench fell to the Mujahids. The bravery of the Chamarkand Mujahids, thereafter, became proverbial in the Waziristan area.

After the battle of Badar the Mahsuds fell short of food. At this Maulvi Bashir heading a qafila (caravan) of Ghazis from chamarkand arrived. His appearance infused a new vitality among the Mehsuds. The Chamarkand Mujahids demonstrated exemplary selflessness. Whatever money they possessed,they distributed among the Mehsud tribe and themselves began to live a harder life depending on God's assistance .

The Indian Mujahids in Waziristan had three famous tribes under their influence. They were Abdullai, Abdur Rehman Khel and Jalal Khel. Three thousand men of these tribes fully equipped stood firmly beside the Mujahideen with a solemn promise that they would n-ever make peace with the British so long as they were alive. Maulvi Muhammad Hussain B.A. alias Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub, a leading member of the Chamarkand party commanded the confidence and support of Mehsuds[24].

The Mahsuds under the command of Chamarkand Mjahids fought six or seven battles against the British in which they emerged victorious. Immense booty including camels and mules at Paiza, Jandola, Qila Saidgi, Raghza, Shawangai Kotki Serwakai, Idak and Dwatoi fell to their hands. "After a period of forty or fifty years, the Mujahideen ... revived the memory of their ancestors":[25]. Thus the Mujahideen grew so popular among the Mehsud tribes that "Once when a few men started from Makin for Chamarkand Dak and it was wrongly rumoured that the Mujahideen being displeased are marching away. Thousands of men, women and children gathered in a short while and began to weep. Old women caught the skirts of the garments of the Mujahideen and said with tears in t heir eyes, do not you go so long as we are alive we will bring you bundles of wood from the forest. When they came to know that Dak was going they were satisfied and slaughtered many sheep in pleasure and gave feasts and beat drums"[26].

When the news of the losses sustained by British forces in their encounters against Mashuds and the Chamarkand Mujahids, was heard by the British Parliament, it took a serious view of the situation and desired to punish the Mehsud tribes. The supreme government thereafter Communicated its decision to the government of India with instructions that the Mehsuds were to be crushed in the summer of 1920, by all possible means as they had "proved most injurious".

The Government of India therefore informed the Mahsuds that if they brought in 500 rifles as indemnity before the 13th of November 1920 and submitted to the British terms, they would be safe, otherwise they would be dealt with full

British might.

The Mahsud tribes, hard pressed, were about to succumb to British threats, but the timely intervention of the chamarkand Mujahids boosted their morale and their likely peace with the British was averted. Mr. Grant, General Staff Major, Waziristan thereafter tried to scatter the Mujahideen and so he asked Maulvi Muhammad Hussain alias Maulvi Yaqub to return to India unconditionally and promised him anything he desired. But Muhammad Hussain was not a man to falter in his opposition to the British . He replied .... "Instead of calling me to your side, I invite you to Islam which is the way of eternal salvation ... You can never deceive this true Muslim by the grace of God, the prophet and the country as his duty and believes that its contrary leads to disgrace of both this and the other world ... Do you think that I am a traitor of God and the prophet and Syed Ahmad's movement of a hundred years duration. Mind that this body will work wonders which you and your posterity will remember for ever. Remember not to write to me again, I warn you"[27].

When the Government of India could not by itself succeed in scattering the Waziristan tribal force, they turned their attention again to Maulvi Niamatullah, their old friend and demanded of him the immediate dispersal of the Chamarkand party, the mainstay of the Waziristan force. The Amir was promised three lakhs rupees for this task. Niamatullah, the Smasta Amir, tried his level best in calling back the Chamarkand and Waziristan parties, but Maulvi Fazal Elahi, a strong and influential Mujahid leader who had suffered tremendous hardships for the Mujahid's cause including British incarceration, stood firm in opposition to Amir Niamatullah

and tried to frustrate his attempt to scatter the Chamarkand and the Waziristan centres. Amir Niamatullah, however, succeeded in calling back Maulvi Abdul Karim and three fourth of the fighting strength on the plea of making jehad in Thakot, illaqa Alai. At this success, Maulvi Niamatullah demanded from the British the promised reward, but the government refused to pay it unless Maulvi Fazal Elahi was called back. He was then annoyed with the Government. The Amir was determined to get the reward. He thus in his last bid to disspense the Chamarkand Party, gathered all the Jamadars on 24th Shaban 1339 A.H. and told them that as his well wishers in Chamarkand had decreased, they should send him forty or fifty armed men to help him in killing Maulvi Fazal Elahi and his men who were responsible for dividing the Mujahid force. The Amir directed them to take Abdur Rashid alias Maulvi Muhammad Yousuf, his former Mir Munshi, with the Qafila and to dispose of him on the way as he had disclosed the secrets of Amir Niamatullah[28]. Thus, one morning at about 7 O' clock a contingent of 50 young armed men waited Amir Niamatullah's orders to proceed to Chamarkand to arrest Fazal Elahi and dispense his party. Meanwhile Maulvi Muhammad Yousuf who was not unaware of Niamatullah's intention, entered the private room of Amir Niamatullah and in-formed him that he had to have secret talks with him. Maulvi Niamatullah accompanied by four armed guards came out of his room and went with him in-to a nearby garden. Maulvi Muhammad Yousaf in privacy discharged five bullets from a German pistol in Niamatullah's forehead and breast, resulting in his instant death. None of the guards dared to catch or fire upon Maulvi Yousuf. He came directly to the crowd standing

outside and addressed the assembly thus: "Brothers! I have killed the enemy of God, the prophet and Islam, the well-wisher of infidels, the barrier in the way of union and progress, the shame of the family of Maulvi Vilayat Ali and the disgrace of the party of Mujahideen i.e. Niamatullah. Nay, nay not Niamatullah (the boon of god) but La'natullah (the scourge of Gode). Yes I have killed the devil with this pistol. The Chamarkand party is in the right. You shall never succeed in destroying it. Repent, do not follow the devil, be grateful to India and try to achieve the object with which Syed Ahmad of Barailly emigrated to Yaghistan. La'natullah was bred upon Indian money and, not-with-standing this, made friendly relations with the enemies of India". Meanwhile Ayub, Ahmad and Balal three Bengali Mujahids caught him from behind and took him to the secret chamber where a certain Yaqub hurled a stone at his head. He, raising his hands to his ears, said, "Help is from God and the victory is near. Give the tidings to the Momins". At this time Muhammad Hanif, who was suspected of being an accomplice in the murder of the Amir, fired some shots at Maulvi Yousaf and he breathed his last.

Maulvi Muhammad Yousuf's real name was Abdur Rashid. His father's name was Hafiz Abdul Latif, a vakil (advocate) in Mardan. His two real uncles were Deputy Commissioners, one of whom being secretary to Governor Punjab in those days. He was 26 years of age and a graduate of a college in Lahore. In 1915 he, with fourteen other graduates went to Kabul through the help of Maulvi Fazal Elahi. From Kabul, he came to Smasta and joined Amir Niamatullah as his Mir Munshi. He opened a school there and took part in the Tirah operations. When

Niamatullah felt the necessity of a qualified English knowing clerk to negotiate with the British, Muhammad yousaf refused to perform the task, and when a few letters of Niamatullah's correspondence with the British fell into his hands, he went to Chamarkand and informed the well-wishers of the colony there. He translated the books of British Drills and compiled a small book of military training for the Mujahideen. He instructed the soldiers and kept the record of the correspondence with foreign kingdoms. He was a lover of Pushto language considering it as his mother tongue. He was religious minded and was determined to commit the Holy Quran to memory having done something in this direction. He never forgot the idea of liberating his country and complained of the leaders who sought foreign help for the freedom of their land. He was a man of great fortitude, talked little, loved knowledge and simplicity and kept secrets safely. He brought fuel from the hills and carried stones like the other people.

After the death of Amir Niamatullah, Maulvi Rahmatullah his cousin, ordered that all the Punjabi Mujahids should be killed and burnt. His men thus went out in a hunt. They brought Abdul Karim of Lahore from a mosque and inspite of his pleading that he was innocent, shot him in the breast. He had not died yet when he and the corpse of Maulvi Muhammad Yousuf were thrown in a pile of fuel and kerosine oil sprinkled over them. They were thus burnt to ashes[29].

As the Chamarkand headquarter still stood a big challenge to the British Indian Government under Maulvi Fazal Elahi of Wazirabad, it therefore, concentrated its efforts in breaking the colony. Consequently, Akram, a servant of

the late Amir of Mujahideen of Asmas, who parted his ways with the Asmas Centre on account of its pro-government attitude and became an agent of the Chamarkand Mujahideen, a man active in collecting subscriptions, an editor of "Muhammadi" and "Zamand" newspapers of Calcutta, was arrested in Haripur Hazara in April 1921 in a quadruple murder case of police station Fateh Jang, Campbellpur. During examination, he gave a statement to the police naming the political absconders from Punjab who were at that time employed as workers by the Chamarkand party. The following names were disclosed by Akram to the police:

Real name	Assumed name	Caste	Residence
Karam Elahi	Zulkarnain	Tarkhan	Sakhana, District Gujranwala
Abdullah	Abdus Sattar	-do-	-do-
Pir Muhammad	Abdus Samad	Zamindar	-do-
Abdullah	Abdur Rehman	-do-	Sambhla, District Gujranwala
Allah Dad, Brother of Abdullah	Abdur Rahim	-do-	-do-

Amir s/o Bari	Saleh	-do-	Ratta Pindi, District Sialkot
Alam brother of Amir	Ilyas	-do-	-do-
Khuda Bakhsh brother of Amir	Yusha	-do-	-do-
Ghulam s/o Hira cousin of Amir	Khizr	-do-	-do-
Jabbar s/o Abdullah	Abdullah	Kumhar	Khiano, Mianwali, District Sialkot
Ghulam	Muhammad	Julah	-do-
Allah Bakhsh	Balal	-do-	-do-
Hussain	Umar	Arian	Kot Bawani Das, Gujranwala.
Ilahi Bakhsh	Abdul Awal	-do-	Ferozpur, District Rodweala
Suleman	Ayub	Khokhar Wali	-do-

Abdur Rehman Abdul Karim Fatui Wala Distt.Lahore

The following men were badly needed by the police in a Gujranwala bomb case and the connected conspiracy case:

1. Maulvi Fazal Elahi (2) Umar, (3) Muhammad, (4) Yaqub, and (5) Ayub. Maulvi Aslam was wanted to police in a Risalpur bomb case and Kutbal train robbery case, while Abdullah and Bahadur Shah were needed by the police in Kutbal train robbery and a robbery in illaqa Kalakahar respectively. The former was also required to police in the latter case[30].

In order to Catch hold of offenders and absconders indicated by Akram, the C.I.D. made arrangements appointing British agents at inlets from independent territory with instructions to intercept suspects. Thus two agents one a Punjabi and one a local were deputed at Jamrud to receive all Kafilas, and to take down names and full particulars of all suspects. Returned Mohajirs were to be specially identified. Complete record of the statements of such men was to be maintained. The suspects were ordinarily to be despatched to the C.I.D's Office for further examination. Similar arrangements were made at Shabqadar, Dargai and Haripur to spot the suspects linked with the chamarkand Mujahideen. Lance Naik Jiwan Ram who was provided with a list bearing full description and identification marks of the persons wanted, was appointed to watch the Haripur route. He worked under the direct supervision of a C.I.D. inspector. Mosques and other places were also to be looked into in search of such suspects. The men deputed at Haripur were

instructed that bonafide Smasta men were not to be interfered with, while others intending to go to chamarkand were to be spotted and sent to the C.I.D. for interrogation. These arrangements were ordered on the 20th of August, 1921[31]. Besides, the D.C. Peshawar and the Political Agent Malakand were instructed to break the Chamarkand party by setting tribes under their influence to expel the Mujahideen and if possible to hand them over to the government and to the minimum to cut the communication of the Colony with India[32].

Consequently on 28th August, Abdullah alias Abdur Rehman, Zamindar of Sambla, P.S. Wanda, Distt. Gujranwala who had been transporting bombs from Waziristan; Umar Din alias Shahadatullah, Faqir of Kotli Ghata Pakhm, P.S. Kamoke, Gujranwala, returning from Waziristan and Amir alias Saleh, Zamindar of Ratta P.S. Sardha, District Sialkot, whose two brothers at Chamarkand patronized the train robbery near Kutbul were arrested by the C.I.D., N. W.F.P.[33]. On 3rd September 1921, in another attempt, Hussain alias Umar, accused of importing bombs and fire arms from chamarkand was arrested in Peshawar city. In accordance with the wishes of Punjab and N.W.F.P.C.I.D. the government recommended action on the executive side rather than on the Judicial side on the plea that prosecution in the judicial court would be a protracted task. The provisions of the executive law sought to be applied were Sec.11 of 1901 Regulations and Sec. 2 of 1818 Regulations which exactly covered the case of facts and merits[34], it was opined.

On 6th September 1921, Muhammad Ishaq Mujahid of Chamaich P.S. Serai Maira, District Farukhabad together with Abdul Qadir and Siraj Din,

Chamarkand agents, going to chamarkand were caught at Shabqadar. On the same day another messenger Khairuddin alias Abdullah alias Abdus Sattar of Sakhana, Gujranwala, taking a letter "of important contents"from Maulvi Bashir in Waziristan to Maulvi Fazal Elahi at Chamarkand was also arrested[35].

In order to tighten its hold the government needed to obtain fresh information about the Chamarkand colony and for this purpose they prepared a batch of informers and sent them to various places of importance. An informer who posed as friendly and as the emissary of the Smasta party was deputed to spy on Maulvi Fazal Elahi in Chamarkand. He passed information which led to the recovery on 6th September 1921 in Pesahawar city of papers which included complete record of all the correspondence made by Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum and Mr. Adam with Amir Niamatullah of Smasta. The record was on the point of going down to India for publication in the Indian press[36]. Another informer namely Ataullah was deputed with inspector Bhupal Singh to trace in Pindi Dadam Khan, Wazirabad Abdur Rehman, Abdul Aziz and Younis, agents of the chamarkand Mujahids who had returned to their homes. Orders were also issued to send informer Muhammad Ishaq to Chamarkand again to bring two other Chamarkand agents with bombs and to find out the real mission of those who were already in government's custody. An informer from Charsadda whose name was Abdur Rab and who later produced evidence of "crimes" against the Mujahids in a court of law was sent to Chamarkand in the company of a reliable agent to bring another bomb[37].

In a policy statement, on 7th September 1921, the authorities noted that the Chamarkand colony since its establishment in 1915 during the Mohmand operations as a fanatical outpost of the Smasta colony had been avowedly hostile to government. The members of the Colony, reported to be not more than 50 had a stock of arms in excess their numbers[38]. The authorities were sure that the Chamarkand party formed part of the conspiracy evolved against India by Bolshevik and Indian revolutionary leaders, and as such posed a real danger to the internal peace of the country. Stern action was therefore recommended to be taken with the object of checking its activities. As a consequence on 10th September 1921, liberal rewards for the arrest of the Chamarkand party were announced saying "let it be widely known in the Mohmand country and the parts of the districts bordering thereon that (the authorities) are prepared to pay liberal rewards for the arrest of emissaries or members of the Chamarkand party"[39].

Thus an important Bolshevik agent who worked through the Chamarkand party fell in to government hands. He was Muhammad Akbar of Haripur Hazara, an ex-student of Islamia College Peshawar who performed Hijrat in 1920 and led an "extremist Kafila" to Tashkand where he was trained at the Bolshevik propaganda school. Working as Bolshevik plenipotentiary, he visited the Mujahideen and formed connection with both the Chamarkand and the Makin sections. Returning from a secret tour in Punjab, he was arrested and was recommended for prosecution as enemy of the State. His father, Hafizullah, who was in constant contact with his son through special messengers ever since the latter embarked on Bolshevik

propaganda was also arrested and recommended for prosecution on the same lines. In another action, Bahadar, a Tibetan immigrant who worked as messenger between Muhammad Akbar Khan and his father, was also arrested and recommended for prosecution. In a subsequent move, Sardar Muhammad of Lahore, Ilam Din of Lahore and Abdur Rahim of Gujrat who were thought to have returned from Baku as Bolshevik agents were rounded up. The police conjectured that they had spent some time with Muhammad Akbar of Haripur at Tashkand as their names were found on papers recovered from Muhammad Aakbar's possession. They all were recommended for prosecution under section 121 and 121-A of the Indian penal code. Sanction for which was later conveyed by the Chief commissioner N.W.F.p. Commenting on the mission of Muhammad Akbar Khan, the authorities noted that "the Indian revolutionary organization at Tashknad had prepared plans to put into practice for the overthrow of British rule in India and their modus operandi was alleged to have been to scatter agents throughout India and through them to maintain connection with the extremist leaders in India and to keep open communication between the latter and Tashkand through the Hindustani Fanatic colony at Chamarkand. Muhammad Akbar of Hazara who was arrested later was the special emissary from Tashkand to organize the above mentioned conspiracy"[40].

Besides the group of Muhammad Akbar of Haripur, a number of other Mujahids from chamarkand were arrested with the help of informers, and the total lot of prisoners included the names of Umar, Abdul Kadar, Siraj Din, Shahadetullah, Abdul Sattar, Abdul Rehman, Saleh, Bilal, Muhammad Akram of Haripur, Hafizullah

of Haripur, Bahar, Sardar Muhammad of Lahore. Ilam Din of Lahore and Abdur Rahim of Gujrat. The Chief Commissioner, N.w.F.P. Conveyed his sanction to their prosecution under section 121 and 121-A of the Indian penal Code.[41] The prosecution of the held Mujahids was started in February 1922 and after an indepth enquiry and examination was decided in June the same year. Lehna Singh, additional session judge Peshawar who found some of the Mujahids guilty under section 121-A of the Indian penal code awarded them various penalties in his order dated 17th June 1922. Umar was sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment while Abdul Kadir and Siraj din each were awarded four years rigorous imprisonment. Abdus Sattar was awarded three years rigorous imprisonment while Abdur Rehman, Saleh and Bilal were awarded rigorous imprisonment for two years each[42].

Saleh, the relative of Amir s/o Bari Sialkot who was arrested at Shabqadar on 28 August, 1921 could not complete the term of his imprisonment and died in Jail on 8 September, 1922, similarly Bilal whose real name was Allah Bakhsh of Kharo, Sialkot who was brought down by a British agent on December,1,1921 from Chamarkand and was arrested in Peshawar, also died in Jail on 23 July 1923. Both were buried in the Peshawar Jail graveyard.

The Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D) was still on the hunt of active Mujahideen. On 9th February 1922, the C.I.D. N.W.F.P. informed the government that Maulvi Bashir, leader of the Mujahideen was proposing to send down bombs to Maulvi Muhammad Hussain, the silk letter "Conspirator" of Amratsar. The bombs, on arrival were to be placed with Ilyas, a pupil of Maulvi

Muhammad Hussain. The city Magistrate Peshawar was, therefore, requested to issue warrant for the apprehension of Maulvi Muhammad Hussain to be included in the Mujahideen conspiracy case. Muhammad Hussain was arrested and handed over to local police[43]. Abdur Rehman, renegade of Shewa, Swabi Tehsil, then residing in Kotki (Bajaur), Ghulam Muhammad, the "Satellite" of Abdur Rehman of Shewa, Maulvi Fazal Rabbi alias Pakhli Maulvi, Maulvi Fazal Mehmood alias Makhfi, Muhammad Ayub Khan of Battal, Hazara and a few others were reported to have reappeared in Bajaur in Mid-february 1922[44]. The number of Mujahideen present in Chamarkand was reported to be only twenty seven in December 1923. They lived in five houses in the close vicinity of Hadda Mosque and that the houses were situated on the hill side. The Mujahideen it was reported were apprehensive of being bombed by British planes[45].

In March 1924, the Amir of Chamarkand colony started to construct a new building, close to the old colony wherein he intended to setup one grinding Mill to be worked by a mule, one cloth weaving machine and one factory for bomb-making[46]. This demonstrated that the fighting spirit of the mujahideen among them was still not on the decrease. The mujahideen, by this time confined themselves to Chamarkand. However, their dak went to Jalalabad via Sarkani every second or third day. By the mid of March 1924, the Mujahideen feared an attack on them by Mian Gul of Swat, and they looked to the Sahibzada of Kunar for an asylum for their families. In this connection the Amir of Mujahideen sent two messengers to the Mehsud country as well to endeavor to arrange for asylum for the whole colony in

the event of definite danger from the Mian. The colony however, could not be shifted to the Mehsud country. Contributions for them still came from Bengal and in December 1924, it was reported to the government that Rahim Bakhsh Mandal of 24 Parganas, Tamizuddin of Rangpur, Maulvi Habibullah of Dakka, Maulvi Bashiruddin of Calcutta and Shah Wali Khan of Bara successfully collected subscription for the Mujahideen in Bengal[47]. The Mujahideen also issued a journal called al-Mujahid of Chamarkand through which they expressed their feelings about the world of Islam and the tactics of their enemies, making appeal to the Muslims to unite in the cause of Umma.

In 1934 the Chamarkand Colony was again stuck in infighting. A follower of Maulvi Fazal Elahi namely Muhammad, on 11th April 1934 quarrelled with Maulvi Bashir while the latter was busy in collecting members of the Chamarkand party in order to give them certain instructions about Jehad. Maulvi Bashir was in those days the Amir, of the Chamarkand party. The moment the offender tried to fire at Maulvi Bashir, he was caught by the nearby Mujahids. The people of Chamarkand Bala then took him to their village and kept in custody[48]. Thereafter, on 15th June, 1934, one Malang of Mardan, a follower of Maulvi Bashir made an attempt on the life of Maulvi Fazal Elahi of Chamarkand with a pistol on the alleged score of his (Fazal Elahi) being at the bottom of the incident of Dak looting which had taken place one and a half month ago, but Maulvi Fazal Elahi escaped injury. Thereupon severe fighting lasting for about two hours, ensued between the parties of Maulvi Bashir and Maulvi Fazal Elahi which was intervened

and stopped by the inhabitants of upper and lower Chamarkand. No casualties were ,however, sustained by either side[49]. Following this incidence, Maulvi Bashir, while sleeping in his house in the Chamarkand colony was killed by his orderly, on the night between ninth and tenth December 1934 (Ist night of Ramazan 1353 A.H. at the time of Sahri) who made good his escape taking with him four rifles and two revolvers belonging to the Maulvi[50]. The C.I.D. report dated 12th December 1934 stated that this murder was arranged by Prince Barkatullah on his return from Kabul with one Lali, brother of Malik Inzar Gul of Bar Chamarkand, who had recently been seriously taken to task for robbing the chamarkand Dak meant for the Afghan government a few months ago[51]. About his prospective assassin, Maulvi Bashir through a will lying on his death bed said, "My murderer is pardoned from my side. However, remove him from the Jamaat. In the same will Maulvi Bashir had nominated Mian Maaz Sahib as the Imam of the Mujahideen of Chamarkand till a new order had been received from the Amir of Asmas Mujahideen[52]. A little before the Asar Prayer on Ist Ramazan (10th December 1934), Badshah Gul the son of Haji Sahib Turangzai laid Maulvi Bashir's blood stained body in his grave with thousands weeping[53]. After the Namaz-e-Janaza, the Mujahideen unanimously informed Badshah Gul Sahib that, "in the murder of their beloved Maulvi Muhammad Bashir, Maulvi Fazal Elahi, Muhammad and the watchman are involved". They argued that this plot was masterminded by Maulvi Fazal Elahi because he had been deposed from the Amarat of Chamarkand Mujahideen seven years ago and expelled from the jamaat owing to the charge of his involvement in the murder of Amir Niamatullah. They

contended that as Maulvi Bashir had been appointed as the Amir in his stead, none, but Fazal Elahi was responsible for his murder[54]. Upon this the Qanooni Jarga (legal council) decided thus "the presence of Maulvi Fazal Elahi in Chamarkand is the cause of ruin for this Jamaat, and is the cause of disgrace for the independent tribes, he is therefore expelled from Chamarkand, but his property shall remain protected. He is in no way allowed to live in the vicinity of Chamarkand"[55]. A. C.I.D. secret note dated 12th December 1934, said that Maulvi Fazal Elahi when he was charged to have a hand in the murder of Maulvi Bashir declared that he was prepared to swear his innocence on the Quran[56]. An important Mujahid who was considered one of the sincerest well wisher both by the chamarkand and smasta Mujahideen was thus murdered and this was probably the most gratifying event for the British.

Another important centre of Mujahideen during world war I was Lakaray, the country of the Mohmands a hilly place lying west of Shahqadar and known by the name of Yaghistan. Haji Sahib Turangzai was the main actor in the centre. Besides Haji Sahib, there were a number of other devotees whose reputation as Mujahids had spread far and wide. The Haji and his coworkers looked to and depended upon the Mohmand tribes for the execution of their jehad schemes. To understand the attitude of the Mohmand tribes towards the British, a survey of their engagements against their enemy is worth studying.

The Mohmand tribes, since the days of Ahmad Shah Abdali were controlled by the Afghan rulers through the local Chiefs in lieu of payment of allowances made to different clans-Khwezai, Baizai, Halimzai, Tarakzai, Isakhel,

Burhan Khel, Dawezai and Utmanzai. After the annexation of Peshawar by the British in 1849, the Halimzai and the Tarakzai who held large jagirs on the Peshawar border, were dispossessed of their landed property, and thus they were driven in to an open hostility against the British. With a view to recovering their lost fiefs, they made inroads in to the Peshawar areas and to avenge them the British had to send punitive expeditions in 1851, 1852 and 1854. During the 1857 uprising, when the British troops were drained into the war centres, the Mohmands found an opportunity to recover their lost territories, but the commissioner of Peshawar assured them that the government was prepared to cede to them their jagirs without any quarrel. This silenced then for some time. In 1869, the jagirs of the Tarakzai Mohmands were restored subject to good conduct and the payment of a small revenue to government. The Tarakzais, however, did not sit at rest and in 1864, made an attack on the Shabqadar Fort as a result of which the government had to sent its fourth expedition against them. During the second Afghan war (1879), the Mohmands attacked the British lines of communication for which they had to face punitive action in 1880. According to the Durand Agreement of 1893, the Mohmand were divided between the British and the Afghan Governments and in 1896, the jagirs of the eastern Mohmands - Halimzai, Kamali, Dawezai, utmanzai and Tarakzais were "received" by the Lt. Governor of the Punjab. An agreement was signed the same year according to which the aforementioned clans on condition of loyalty were granted allowances. Thenceforward they became known as the "assured Clans". During the tribal uprising of August 1897, the Mohmands led by Maulvi Najmuddin, known as

the Hadda Mulla attacked Shabqadar and burnt the town. Upon this the Government sent a punitive expedition as a result of which the Mohmands had to pay a fine of Rs: 15000/- and a few rifles. Their allowances stopped during the expedition were restored. In November 1902, the Baizai Musa Khel of Mitai accepted the British conditions and was declared an "assured clan" . In 1905 the British feared an attack on them by the Tarakzai Mohmands and decided to grant the tribe an additional allowance of Rs: 5000/-.Following this, a few Mohmand Jawans were recruited in the Peshawar border Military police. Almost a year later, influenced by Sufi Alam Gul Sahib and Kama Mulla, the Dewazai, Utmanzai, Mitai Musa Khel and Halimzai were inclined to break their relations with the British and thus were hesitant to come and receive their allowances. The government and the Mohmands relations were thus strained and in early 1908 they raised the standard of rebellion. In September 1908, however a representative Mohmand Jirga visited Rooskeppel at Peshawar and petitioned to him for the restoration and increase of their allowances, for the release of Mohmand prisoners that were held during hostilities and for the appointment of a special political officer in their area. Their request was granted and their allowances were restored[57]. Thus at the time of the arrival of revolutionary Mujahids in their country, their relations with the Government were marked by inconsistency, and at the most had acknowledged Government's strength, hoping to get monetary benefits.

In the last quarter of 1815, Haji Sahib Turangzai, whose original name was Fazli Wahid Bacha, a native of Turangzai, Distt: Charsadda together with a few revolutionary accomplices arrived in the Mohmand country and started preaching

jehad against the British Government. In fact, earlier than the arrival of Haji Sahib, some firebrands were busy in the Mohmand country provoking jehad. Prominent among them were Mullah Sahib Jan Badshah, Babra Mulla and Mulla Chaknawar. On 5th April 1915, Lord Hardinge was informed that "letters were ... sent by the Amir (Habibullah) to the Babra Mullah and Chaknawar Mulla to the effect that they would not be allowed to re-enter Afghanistan if they continued to preach jehad without the Amir's sanction ... Mullah Sahib Jan Badshah undoubtedly came to the Mohmand country with what purported to be a letter from the Amir sanctioning jehad. He came ... and held a great gathering of the Mullahs, the most prominent being the two known as the Babra and the Chaknawar Mullahs and gave them copies of it to show to the tribesmen, sending them out to carry the torch of jehad, through the tribes. They were ,however, disappointed at the result ... Majority of Mohmands replied that they would not even consider the question until the harvest[58]. In September 1915 Mullah Chaknawar saw Mullah Sahib Jan Badshah, the most powerful of all the Mullahs there, and begged him to declare jehad, but Sahib Jan told him that he could not do so until he had received satisfactory assurances that Amir Habibullah had changed his attitude. The Chaknawar Mulla then went to Kabul and met Sardar Nasrullah Khan the Pro-Mujahideen brother of Amir Habibullah. Nasrullah Khan received him well and after talks of two days sent him back with enormous gifts. On his return journey, Mullah Chaknawar met all the Mullahs in the Jalalabad province and gave them assurance of a complete change in the policy of the Amir. This satisfied Sahib Jan Badshah who immediately raised his standard and left

for the Mohmand country with a considerable following. At this, Lord. Hardinge was Informed on 22nd September 1915 thus: "the serious aspect of the situation is that the Amir appears to have lost control of the Eastern Jalalabad province where his authority ... is now openly set at naught. Whether his views have changed or he is aware of what is going on it is impossible to say ... It is possible that he may be kept in entire ignorance of what is happening, but it can not be denied that the situation has suddenly become less favorable"[59]. The arrival of haji Sahib Turangzai further strengthened the jehad Movement. With him stood Mullah Babra, and Mullah Sandakay.

The German Mission which arrived at Kabul the same year had fixed it eyes upon the Mohmand tribes. Their strategy included alienating Mohmands from the British and then to organize them in the form of a strong army. For this purpose Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori together with Sheikh Ibrahim were sent from Kabul to Yaghistan. On arrival, Muhammad Ali arranged a meeting with the Haji Sahib Turangzai. Mullah Bashir and Sheikh Ibrahim also participated in the meeting. A detailed discussion concerning jehad was held. Three days later, on Eidul Fitr day, Haji Sahib asked Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori to lead the prayer and deliver a speech on the occasion. Some 500 Maliks had gathered and were keen to know about the proposals of the German Mission brought by Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori. A large number of Sheikhs and Khans were also present. The Maulana delivered his speech in Urdu. Maulvi Fazal Mehmood alias Makhfi, a graduate from Deoband and an associate of Haji Sahib Turangzai worked as his interpreter. The

Maulana said, "History furnishes testimony to the fact that right from the days of the Crusades, the Europeans are at war with the Muslims. They snatched Africa from our hands, took vast lands of India from the Muslims and have presently declared war against Turkey, the last stronghold of Islam. It is, therefore, obligatory upon every true Momen (Muslim) to declare war against the British imperialists. To defeat our enemy, it is necessary for us to stand united, as our enemy has all along put dissention among our ranks and we have ruined ourselves with our own hands. We should, therefore, sink all our differences and stand united against the British. The speech had an impact upon the audience and their feelings for jehad were roused considerably. The audience then requested the Maulana to become the Ameerul Jehad, but he advised them that they should strengthen the hands of Haji Sahib Turangzai, Mulla Babra and Mullah Sandakay. The Government declared the Maulana as a proclaimed offender and a reward of Rs: 10,000/- was promised for his murder or arrest[60].

The Maulana then visited Chamarkand and organized the tribes there. Here a military training school was opened wherein about one hundred Mujahids and tribesmen started receiving training on war tactics. A primary school was also opened in which both religious and secular knowledge was imparted. Besides a dispensary for the treatment of patients was set up in order to win the hearts of the locals. The jehad feelings thus touched a high point. Hundreds of people visited the Jehad leaders and assured their cooperation. Maulana Qasoori then visited the house of Mullah Sahib of Babra, an influential man who had a good number of following, mostly his

disciples. A big public meeting was arranged there. Mulla Babra introduced Muhammad Ali to the audience and said that as a spirited man he was very dear to him. He explained to the audience that those who wanted to please Mulla Babra was to cooperate with Muhammad Ali. Mulla Babra then explained the object of Maulvi Qasoori's visit to the Mohmand area and stressed upon the audience the need of jehad assuring them that Jehad led to paradise. Maulana Qasoori then addressed the audience. Maulvi Fazli Rabbi, a graduate from Deoband was his interpreter . The subject matter of his discussion was the then prevailing condition of the world of Islam, especially the Indian Muslims. The Maulana stressed the need to drive out the British from India and implant the banner of Islam there. The speech appealed to the religious passions of the local tribes who expressed their determination to stand in stiff opposition to the British. Mulla Babra, inspired by the enthusiasm of the tribal people immediately issued invitations to a number of important men including Haji Sahib Turangzai to hold consultations and chalk out a strategy for launching Jehad. Consequently Mulla Sahib Babra, Haji Sahib Turangzai, Mulla Bashir and Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori met and held consultations. It was unamimously agreed that Mullah Bashir should visit all parts of Yaghistan and meet Ameer Abdul Jabbar, the Wali of Swat, Amir Niamatullah, the Smasta Ameer, Mulla Sahib Sandakay, Mehtar Chitral and the Nawab of Amb and ask them for their cooperation. After securing their cooperation it was to be judged as to from which side the British should be attacked. The proposal further said that having prepared a comprehensive plan for attack, Haji Sahib Turangzai and Mulla Babra would invite Ameer Habibullah Khan

to join the cause[61]. The British felt perturbed over the situation and anticipating attacks arranged to spread out electric barbed wires/cables round the border dividing settled and independent territories. At the same time they issued stern warning to the rulers of the princely states and the Ameer of Afghanistan, threatening dire consequences if they joined Mullah Bashir and his party[62]. Mulla Bashir visited the men indicated to him. Their response was encouraging. Maulana Qasoori in order to make an easy entry into the settled territory got insulated scissors which helped to cut electric wires spread out on the border.

On the return of Mulla Bashir from his visit to the leading men of the area, a council was held at Chamarkand wherein it was decided that Mullah Bashir should now go in the court of Ameer Habibullah Khan, and to inform him about the new developments and achievements of the Mujahid leaders. Thereafter his cooperation and guidance was to be sought. The council also decided to conduct raids without wait at Razmak, Parachinar, Kohat, Darra Adam Khel, Thall and Peshawar areas. The raids were to be followed by a request to the Nawab of Amb, Mehtar Chitral and the Badshah of Swat to make a declaration of Jihad. Ameer Habibullah, if he so agreed at the request of Mullah Bashir in Kabul, was to be asked to provide arms, ammunition and monetary assistance to the fighting Mujahids.

Having sent Mullah Bashir to Kabul, Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori and Haji Sahib Turangzai started raids on Gandab, Shabqadar and Michni fronts. Mullah Babra had a separate front to fight on. The Mujahid force consisted of thirty thousand men and it was divided into several divisions. The force fighting on the

Shabqadar front, was led by Maulana Muhammad Ali Qasoori who had 130 men at his command. On this front the British army was entrenched ahead of Shabqadar fort. Eleven aircrafts hovered over the heads of the Mujahideen to locate their hideouts. The British artillery was also on the move. When fighting started seventy two artillery pieces shelled the Mujahideen at a single time. The Mujahideen had however, deployed them-selves in a secure mountain. The artillery shots could not reach Mujahids directly, yet they broke stones into pieces and it was the main cause of harm to the Mujahideen. Machine guns also sprayed bullets on the Mujahid deployments. Eleven men from amongst the Mujahideen as a result received martyrdom. The Mujahids fought gallantly. They reciprocated with rifle shots. The encounter lasted for seventy two hours and during this period they could get no food. They were at the same time weary, but their zeal for jehad was exemplary. After three days of fierce fighting, the British troops retraced their steps to the Shabqadar fort. The Mujahids followed them and when they entered the vacated trenches they seized hundreds of rifles and live magazine. Thus the final victory was of the Mujahids[63]. Women of the tribal people were proud of their martyrs. When the news of the success of Mujahideen was conveyed by Mullah Bashir to Sardar Nasrullah Khan in Kabul he felt delighted. Amir Habibullah however, gave a cold response to Mulla Bashir when he heard about the developments in Yaghistan. Mulla Bashir was disappointed. Sardar Nasrullah Khan however, tried to keep in hope Mullah Bashir. The Amir's attitude at the height of jehad greatly discouraged and disheartened the jehad leaders. The plan of the Yaghistan Mujahids therefore could not be

implemented in toto. Dr. Lal Baha depending on the government account regarding the Shabqadar encounter, says, "Influenced by this (Haji Sahib's) preaching, the Mohmands began carrying out extensive raids in the Peshawar District and in October 1916, the Government felt obliged to impose a blockade of the tribe. When despite this, the Haji Sahib managed to assemble a force of about 6000 Mohmands on the hills west of Shabqadar, it was quickly dispersed with the help of aeroplane on the morning of 15 November 1916. This was the first time that war planes had been used in India, and they were reported to have afforded great assistance. The blockade continued until July 1917, when a settlement was reached"[64].

The Mujahideen, under Haji Sahib Turangzai and his leading associates, stayed in the Mohmand country for a longer period the following years and they tried intermittently to rouse the tribes for jehad, but with no major achievements.

END NOTES

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER-V

1. Peshawar Archives, Special Branch, list No.1, Bundle, No.27 Serial NO.399, P-37
2. C.I.D.,the Wahabi Sect. Op. Cit. Circular No.5 (Political) of 1915, dated Simla, 21st August 1915, pp-10-14.
3. Qasoori, Mushadat.op.cit.PP-116-119.

3-A Peshawar Archives, S.B.1, B.No.27,S.NO.393. Statement of Usman, a Mujahid.

4. C.I.D, the Wahabi sect, op.cit., letter dated 22nd Shawal 1327 A.H, from Amir Niamatullah to one Yar Muhammad khan, n.p.
5. Qasoori, Mushahidat op.cit. P-120.
6. C.I.D. the Wahabi Sect, op.cit. Statment of Jalal S/o Jaman ferozpur, given to CID police, n.p.
7. Baha, Administration, opcit. P-92
8. C.I.D. the Wahabi sect, op. cit., Telegram No.46-s of 5/5/17 from foreign office Simla to Chief Commissioner N.W.F.P. Peshawar,n.p.
9. Ibid. CID Report of 1917, P-172.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid. P-173

12. C.I.D. the Wahabi Sect, op.cit. Statment of Jalal S/O Jaman, Ferozpur,n.p.

13. Ibid. Note dated 22/6/17 submitted by sahibzada Abdul Qayum to Chief Commissioner N.W.F.P.n.p.

14. Ibid .

17. Ibid .

18. Qasoori, Mushahidat. op.cit pp-124,125

19. C.I.D. the Wahabi sect, op.cit, letter without date by Amir Niamatullah to Nawab sahibzada Abdul Qayum of Topi, n.p.

20. Ibid. Letter No.1153-N dated 28 June 1917, from Chief commissioner NW.F.P. to Foreign Secretary, Govt: of India,n.p.

21. Ibid Note dated 22/6/17 submitted by S.A Qayum to Chief Commissioner N.W.F.P.n.p.

22. See photo copy of the original document being in urdu and signed by the parties in Appendix-C.

23. Baha, Administration. op.cit. p-92.

24. Peshawar Archives S.B.No.I B. 27 S. 393.Eye witness Account of Mujahideen Affairs, stated by Usman, a Mujahid, p -61, 63. Usman was an inhabitant of Kaghan (Kashmir).

During the European War, he deserted the army and joined the Mujahideen party at Amas in Buner and served as messenger in Chamarkand, Tirah, Waziristan, Mahsud and Muhmand countries. When a difference between

Smasta and Chamarkand arose over the question of the former's peace with the British, he sided the Chamarkand party. When the Chamarkand Mujahideen made a colony in Tirah among the Kuki Khel tribe under the auspices of Khairi Bey and Ahmad Effendi and Maulvi Muhammad Hussain alias Maulvi Yaqub was appointed to strengthen their hands, Usman served as assistant to Maulvi Muhammad Hussain.

25. Ibid. P.63
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.P.75
28. Ibid P.79
29. Ibid.P.79-83
30. Ibid. PP.11,15.
31. Ibid. pp.40,41.
32. Ibid. S.No.404, p.65.
33. Ibid, S.No.393,P.43.
34. Ibid.p.53.
35. Ibid. pp.47,49.
36. Ibid. S.No.404, p.23.
37. Ibid, S.No.393,p.99.
38. Ibid. S.No.404,p.21,23.
39. Ibid. pp.3,9.
40. Ibid. pp.43,45,49.

41. Ibid. S.No.393, p.119.

42. Ibid, S.No. 396, pp. 61-73.

43. Ibid. S.No.393, p.131.

44. Ibid. S.No.404. p. 67.

45. Ibid. p.73.

46. Ibid. p.97.

47. Ibid. pp. 93-103.

48. Ibid. Bundle No.28 S.No. 419, p.7.

49. Ibid. Confidential note dated 15.6.34, p.61.

50. Ibid.Secret note dated 12.12.34, p. 73.

51. Ibid. p.79.

52. Ibid. Shola, a suppliment issued from Chamarkand dated Ist Ramazan, 1353 A.H. p.87.

53. Ibid. p.89.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid. Secret note dated 12.12.34, p.73.

57. Baha, Administration Op.Cit. pp. 67-76.

58. Letters, Political Situation, Op.Cit. p.16.

59. Ibid. p.32-34.

60. Qasoori, Mushahidat. Op. Cit. pp. 54,55.

61. Ibid. pp.64,65.

62. Ibid. pp.65-66.

63. Ibid. p. 70.

64. Baha, Administration.Op. Cit. p.99

CONCLUSION

The present study points to the fact that the success of a movement depends largely upon the conviction of the people taking part in it. Likewise, their readiness to offer sacrifices for the cause they have in mind is another element that guarantees success. But conviction and sacrifice alone can not push a movement home unless there is judicious management of the available resources, both human and non-human. All these things are dependant upon leadership.

The freedom struggle under study owes its origin to a number of factors. First and the most important was the teachings of Islam. Islam obviously accepts no subserviency under alien domination. Alien people are the followers of Batil (falsehood) and Batil has no right to subdue Haq (truth). Therefore any Muslim who has imbibed the teachings of Islam can not sit at rest under the rule of alien people or ideologies. The efforts of Imam Rabbani, commonly Known as Mujaddid Alf Sani or Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi, Shah Waliullah Delhvi, and Syed Ahmad Shaheed Brailvi furnish testimony to this fact. Thus majority of the participants in the movement whether they called themselves Indian Mohajirs, or Pan Islamists, got their inspiration from the revolutionary teachings of Islam. The second factor that appealed to the general public and attracted both Hindus and Muslims to join the movement was the slogan of the liberation of the motherland. This slogan had such a strong appeal that no native of India could remain unimpressed.

The Strategy of the Pan-Islamists seeking Turkish, German and Afghistan's support at a time when the enemy was in trouble in India in 1915 was thorough and comprehensive and enjoyed the support of the leading indians, both Hindus and Muslims, but it could not achieve the desired results. Certain reasons may be attributed to the perceived fiasco. The writer feels that lack of proper training to the new recruits to organise them into a cohesive whole and to equip them with the knowledge of war manoeuvre and at the same time the lack of a mechanism to detect enemy's spies within their midst were the outstanding reasons that caused the instant crumbling of the edifice of their scheme. Another reason was their deficient finance. Their main source of income was subscriptions and donations granted mostly by the sympathizers of the movement in India. Though considerable amount flowed into their funds, yet it could not suffice their need. They, moreover, had no organized army of their own, nor any substantial stock of arms and ammunition to sustain a prolonged war. What they depended upon was the Turkish, German and Afghan military forces, which had their own difficulties. Their communication facilities too were not on modern lines. The foreign countries which they relied upon also deserted their cause. Though they were able to secure Turkish and German military assistance at the most appropriate time, yet the desertion on the part of the Afghan Amir (Habibullah Khan) gave them a serious setback. The Afghan Amir gave them shelter in his country, but had no sympathy with them whatsoever. He was rival of the Khalifa of Turkey and had promised with the British "neutrality to the universe" in World War I. In return for the rewards granted to him by the British,

he blocked the way of the Indian freedom fighters and prevented them from Inflicting losses on the British.

Russia likewise was not sincere to their cause. The Tsars not only declined them their support, but tried to bargain with the British on their cause in order to promote their own interest. Communist Russia, however, apparently championed their cause, and showed greater sympathy with them, but they too had their ulterior motives. They welcomed the young Indians because the latter opposed British and could help in the spread of Communist ideology in India. A time came that even Communist Russia betrayed their cause. They concluded trade agreement with the British in 1921 and at their indication asked the Indian freedom seeker to stop their activities at Tashkand.

The communist ideology gave them nothing but disunity. Even men like Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi began to doubt the sincerity of his one time close confidants like Khushi Muhammad who had fallen victim to communist preaching. The lack of trust and confidence among the followers of Abdur Rab Barq and those of M.N. Roy at Tashkand is another example of this sort.

Similarly, the suspicion of the Hindu about the intentions and motives of the Muslim which found expression in a debate between Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, and Mehendar Pratap on the occasion of the visit of German Mission to Kabul and the infighting between the Chamarkand Mujahids under Maulvi Fazli Elahi and the followers of Amir Niamatullah based in Smasta over the question of the latter's coming to terms with the British which resulted in the assassination of Amir

Niamatullah and the ensuing rivalry between the Bengali and Punjabi Mujahids were the other causes that gave setback to the movement. Moreover, the belief of the smasta Mujahids that until the reappearance of Syed Ahmad Shaheed large scale preparation for war was useless practically rendered a substantial force idle.

In comparison to the freedom fighters, the British Indian Government was too strong. They had a vast empire and an established administration covering greater portion of India. Being in possession of all the riches of India, they were resourceful to an unimaginable degree. In addition to material resources they were advanced intellectually. They framed policies and evolved strategies about trivial matters and demonstrated great courage and spirit in their implementation. At the same time they had a sound intelligence system. They discovered almost every plan of the freedom fighters through the help of loyal informers and nipped them in the bud. Their communication system was the best all over the world. The rulers of the princely states bordering central Asia, notably the ruler of Afghanistan were not beyond their control. Their cooperation had been purchased in lieu of financial subsidies. Among the Afghan rulers of this time Amanullah was the only exception but he too was made to conclude agreements with the British diluting his support for the freedom fighters. At places where they were confronted by the Mujahid force, they had the facility of a strong regular army supported by artillery and even aeroplanes. The freedom fighters thus materially were no match to the vast and well established British Indian Government.

Have the freedom fighters failed in their effort is a question that can arise in the mind of the reader. I personally feel that they have not gone empty handed. Though they were resource less and were not much organized to the standing of the British Indian administration, yet their craze for freedom, their courage to embark on difficult adventures concerning their cause and their effort in exile to consolidate indigenous and foreign support to oust their enemy from their country are the qualities that place them head and shoulder above any brave people known to history. Their untiring effort in pursuit of freedom must have convinced the British strategists that the Indians could not be kept under constant subjugation and their rule in India was bound to crumble one day at the hands of their opponents. It must have convinced the British that the sooner they gave freedom to the natives in an honourable way, the better it would be for their prestige. The transfer of power by the British to the Indian hands in 1947 was part of the endeavor of the freedom fighters under study.

APPENDIX-A

Muhammad Iqbal shidai was born in Pura Hiran, a village near Sialkot in 1888. He was educated in the Scotch Mission High School and obtained his degree from the Murry college Sialkot. He entered politics in 1914 and worked under the guidance of the Ali bothers. During World War-I, he remained in the Frontier province and worked among the frontier tribes. He remained there for two months when the British authorities ordered him to leave the province with in 12 hours. On August 2,1915 he was arrested and interned in his native place as the most dangerous person for public safety. He was released on November 25, 1918, on condition that he should not take part in any political or religio political activities. In 1919, he again entered the political field but secretly.

In May 1920 he reached the tribal territory returned to India and then went to Kabul. He remained in Kabul as the head of the propaganda department under the guidance of late Jamal Pasha. He stayed in Kabul for more than two years from July 1920 to October 1922 when he was expelled from Afghanistan under pressure from British authorities.

He reached Moscow by the end of 1922 where the Bolshevik wanted to arrest him as anticommunist. The Turkish ambassador, Mukhtar Bey took him under his protection and sent him to Ankara where he reached in the middle of 1923. The Turkish premier hononred him but at last begged him to leave Turkey, as the

Trukish Government could protect him no more. He left for Europe and on the Ist of June he reached Paris where he stayed for one week. On 10th of June 1923 he arrived at Rome (Italy) where he joined Maulavi Barkatullah Bhuphali the veteran revolutionary. In Rome he stayed for 11 months.

In october 1926, his party requested him to go to Marseilles for the purpose of starting propaganda work among Indian sailors who arrived there in large numbers every week. For two years he continued his work there when the French police began to suspect him and he was obforled to ligate fly to Paris, on 13th oct. 1928. He was expelled from France on March 29,1938. He reach Switzerland the same year and remained there till November 1940, when the Swiss police ordered him to leave the country within 10 days. The Swiss Government had nothing against Shaidai, but they were obliged to expel him as an Italian agenct and as a dangerous element working against England. Shortly after he was expelled from Switzerland in Nov. 1940, he reached Rome and founded the Azad-Hind Government and the Azad Hind army. The Italian police also took him for a Communist agitator. Even the German police considered him to be a Communist. When Nahas Pasha came into power, his Government issued orders for Shaidai's arrest if he ever entered Egypt.

In Europe, he represented the Hindustan Ghadar Party, the Kisan Party, the Mujahideen Party and the Ahrars of Waziristan. Money could not buy him and this was evident from the fact that when the Germans offered him rupees sixty lakhs if he only agreed to place the Azad Hind army at their disposal without insisting on Hitler to make an official declaration to the effect that he wanted India

to be a free country and that Germany had no designs on it, he rejected the offer with contempt.

In october 1947, he came back to Karachi and was sent as representative of the Govt. of Pakistan to the U.N General Assembly. When Sikander Mirza came to power, he planned to arrest Shaidai for the reason that the latter had unveiled the malpractice of the former during the Liaqat regime Shaidai made good his escape and arrived in italy where he was appointed as a professor of Urdu in a university there. In 1965, he came back to Lahore and settled there He married a French woman. He died on 13th January 1974 and was buried in Miani Sahib Lahore. He was an authority on Eastern, especially Middle Eastern, Affairs.

(Iqbal Shaidai Collection, National Archives, Islamabad File No.25, P.54)

APPENDIX B

Text of Iqbal Shaidai's tale of migration:

"After saying my morning prayer I was lying on the sofa of my room. It was about 6 or 6.30 in the morning. I was dosing when five persons entered my room. One of them was a comrade of mine... The other four youngmen I did not know them. Mr. Mustafa Kamil my comrade told me that the four young men wanted to go to Afghanistan and I should help them to cross the frontier...

"At about 9 A.M. the same day,20th May, 1920, we all-I mean myself and the 4 young men took the train for Peshawar. At Nowshera we broke the journey and went to Badrashi, a village near it, to pass the night with an old friend of mine ... Khan Mahbub Khan, son of the Khan Bahadur. Well, we all five persons passed the night at Badrashi. On the morning of 21st I and two youngmen started for Peshawar. It was about 10 A.M. When we reached the Hijrat Committee which was situated in the Namkmandi. Taj Gul Khan and Ali gul Khan were there. I explained to them the desire of the youngmen and they, the Khans, agreed to send the four youngmen to Afghanistan. In the Hijrat Committee's office I saw comrade Shaukat Usmani whom I had given a letter for Haji Jan Mohammed, Secretary of the Hijrat committee, to help him to cross the frontier into Afghanistan. When all arrangements for the 4 youngmen were made I left the office and together with Amir Mohammed Bakhsh Australian went to the house of my friend Abdul Khaliq Khan Niazai, one of the sons of Khan Bahadur Maulavi Ghulam Hassan Khan Niazai, and passed the night of 21st May, 1920, there. I had left Asghar Ali, one of the four men, with Ali

Gul Khan. Amir Mohammed had to accompany me to Badrashi so that he could bring the other two men with him to Peshawar on 22nd May. Khan Abdul Khaliq Khan Niazai accompanied us to the Peshawar Cantt. station ...

"Reaching Nowshera railway station I went directly to Badrashi. My friend Mahbub Khan was in panic. He told me that the Lahore police together with the Nowshera police came to his house and asked him where I was and where were the other youngmen. He told the police that we had gone to Peshawar from where the four youngmen had to proceed to Afghanistan with the help of the Hijrat Committee. Hearing this the Lahore police went to Peshawar. When I was talking with Mahbub Khan Mr. Amir Mohammad Bakhsh arrived in a Tonga. My friend told me that I must leave Badrashi at once as the Nowshera police might come at any moment...

"Half an hour later a taxi was found and I and Mr. Amir Mohammed Australian left Badrashi for Mardan...and went to my very dear friend Malik Faqir Mohammad Khan who had always helped me in my revolutionary adventures... I told him the story and he advised me to leave the twon during the night for village where a friend of his was living. At about three in the night (23rd May, 1920)my friend accompanied us to a village some ten miles in the north of Mardan . On 25th of May I left for Peshawar alone to fetch Asghar Ali who was in hiding with Khan Ali Gul Khan. It was the biggest risk and blunder on my part to go to Peshawar. It was the month of Ramazan and I was fasting. I reached Peshawar at about 11.30 A.M. and went direct to the offices of the Hijrat Committee in the Namak Mandi Chawk. There

I met Taj gul Khan who informed me that the Peshawar, Nowshera and Lahore Police had just left the offices and were inquiring about my whereabouts. He advised me to leave Peshawar at once....

"I left the Hijrat committee's office and instead of walking out of the town... I went into the narrow and the busy street. I would have gone some one hundred yards when from the opposite side from Kissa Khani Bazar side, some ten police officers and men were coming towards me. Fortunately I had changed my dress as a Pathan. They, the police had advertised my dress as follows: Frock coat, Shalwar, Turkish cap and Brown shoes. Now I had a "Lungi (Turban) as my head dress, a long pathan shirt and a Khaki "Chadar" on my head which covered my face and Peshawari Chapal. Among the Police officers there were two who knew me very well. One of them was Inspector Dost Mohammad Khan of Mardan whose nephews were my very dear friends and the other was Abdur Rahman Khan of Akora Khattak who was deputed to look after "my welfare" in 1914 (May, June, July and August 1914) and who got me expelled from the Frontier Province...

"They were so much absorbed in their conversation that they did not look in their front. In the meantime I found a side street some three yard ahead of me on my left. I very calmly entered the street but my heart was sinking down and down. But God alMighty was with me. I was safe. I again passed the Namak Mandi and went out of the town towards the Jail. Passing the Jail I went into the fields and then came out on the road to Charsadda just in front of the Shahi Bagh. A tangawalla (Horse carriage) approached me and I stopped him. I asked him what will he charge

me till Charsadda. He asked Rs.1/4 . I thought that if I accepted his price at once he might be suspicious. I said that I would pay him one rupee only. He did not accept and started to go away when he had gone some fifty yards I called him back and accepted his price... The Tanga driver began to ask me questions but I told him every kind of lies. He asked me why I was coming out of the sugar cane field... I told him promptly that I had gone in the field to answer the call of nature... It satisfied him. After an hour or so we crossed the Sawat bridge of boats... When Charsadda bridge remained some half a mile I stopped the carriage and got down with the pretext that I had another friend in the village which we were passing. The tangawalla went away and I just walked through the village calmly...I got down from the Tanga thinking that if the Peshawar Police had informed the Charsadda Police than they must be on my look out and naturally they would be seeing every tanga at the stop which was just a few yards from the police station. Every revolutionary's brain works wonderfully at most critical moment... I crossed the charsaddah bridge very calmly and some times I was looking at the running water standing in the middle of the bridge... Crossing the bridge I left the road and began to walk on the bank of the river towards Utmanzai, the village of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan which was some 4 or 5 miles from Charsadda... I went direct to the Hujrah of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and inquired about him. He was not there. His father told me that I could stay with him for a couple of days and Ghaffar Khan would certainly be back soon. I said that I was going to Tangi-a village just near the border. I did not like to tell that I was going to another village where my friends were awaiting me. I got a

tanga and left for the village to join my friends. I reached there in the evening and told the story. Next day we asked a friend, Mr. Madad Khan to go to Peshawar and fetch Asghar Ali, the lad who was hiding in the house of Ali Gul Khan or Taj gul Khan. After a day and half Madad Khan came back to the village bringing the news that Asghar Ali been arrested by the police and taken back to Lahore along with the other two boys arrested at the city railway station. These two boys, as I have said above, acted on my instructions... My Peshawar friends sent me word that the police was searching for me in every nook of Peshawar and there was a prize of Rs: 500 on my head. I must leave Indian territory at once, they said in the message. Now I once again advised Amir Mohammed Baksh to go back to Lahore. My Mardan friends also advised him to go back. But in vain. Probably it was 27th of May, 1920, we left the village at about 2 P.M. and reached another village where we had some friends. We did not enter the village but we stopped in the garden of that khan friend. Mardan friends- Malik Faqir Mohammed Khan and Madad Khan-were with us. (I do the remember the names of these two villages and of the Khan in whose garden we stayed). We took our dinner in the garden and our Khan friend procured a Mullah who was to accompany us till the village of Haji Sahib of Turangzai in Tribal area of Mohmand. At about 3. A.M. we left the garden together with our friends who were all armed with revolvers. At the foot of the mountain from where no-man's land began our friends except the Mullah said good bye to us...

"We walked the whole day till evening came. We put up in a mosque as all travellers in the tribal area used to do. Next day early in the morning we

started to Haji Turangzai's village where we reached at about 4 P.M... The secretary of Haji sahib who knew Urdu quite well asked us about our mission. I said that we were going to Chamarkand to join the Mujahideen of India. At the same time I produced a letter which Mr. Madad Khan... had given me for Haji Sahib... In the evening after the Maghrib prayer I asked the Secretary if I could see Haji sahib. The reply was in the negative. After the Isha prayer the secretary brought some loaves of barley with some salad. The whole next day we passed in the mosque but the secretary's behavior looked to me very strange. Haji Sahib did not come to the mosque as he was ill, I was told. Third day I was a bit rash with the secretary and told him to tell Haji Sahib that I had met him when he was in Turangzai. (I was then accompanied by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Maulavi Abdul Aziz and Maulavi Fazal Mahmood Makhfi). The secretary went into the house and told Haji Sahib about all that I had said. Soon Haji Sahib came out in the mosque and embraced me.He told me that why he did not see me at once. Even the secretary did not tell him my name. He simply gave him the letter which I had brought. Haji Sahib told me that Madad Khan was a scoundrel and when he was with him some months back he, Madad Khan, became a suspect. He together with another man was imprisoned in a cave under two guards. One of the guards went to fetch some food and the other took a nap. The two prisoners crushed the head of the guard and fled with two rifles. Haji Sahib said that we were to be imprisoned if I had not told to his secretary my name. Haji Sahib soon ordered a Charpi for us and asked excuses for the mistake...

" Next day-probably it was the first of June, I, Haji Sahib gave us a letter for his son-Badshah Gul-who was in Jalalabad telling him to help us in every possible way. I told him that we wanted to go first to chamarkand to meet the Raees-ul-Mujahideen, Maulana Abdul Karim and from there we would cross the border to Afghanistan. At about II a.M. Haji sahib ordered a mullah to accompany us to Chamarkand. It should be remembered that without being accompanied by a mullah no one could travel in those days in the tribal territories. The other mullah who had accompanied us from the last village in the settled district of Peshawar ... to the Haji Sahib's house had returned. So a new mullah was given to us by Haji Sahib of Turangzai as our guide and protector on our way to Chamarkand the head quarters of the Indian Mujahideen. The distance between Haji Sahib's place and Chamarkand was about 15 to 20 miles which we covered in about 5 hours. The head of the Mujahideen and the Mujahideen themselves received us with great cordiality and enthusiasm. The Head-Maulana Abdul Karim know me very well as I had also seen him before a year earlier when I was sent by the famous Ali Brothers on a special mission to Afghanistan in June -July, 1919 ....

"Chamarkand is a very charming and ideal place... There is a small stream with gushing cold water which comes out from some spring under the huge rocks which surroundal the Mujahideen head quarters. In those days there were some three rooms in which some 40 Mujahideen lived. There was a very huge chanar tree which covered the whole area of the Mujahideen Basti... We were received by the Mujahideen and their Raees with great cordiality and affection. We forgot all our

worries and anxieties which we had till we reached that most charming place. We wanted to take rest for a week or so before crossing into Afghanistan. A week passed very slowly and we were quite refreshed. It was the 10th of June when I was asked by the Raeesul Mujahideen to see him in his room as he had a most important thing to consult with me. When I sat near that old venerable and saintly person-in reality he was really a saint-he gave me a letter which he had received that very morning from General Muhammad Nadir Khan, the then commander-in-Chief and War Minister of Afghanistan. This letter was written in Urdu by Mr. Zafar Hassan, the then private secretary of the late general on behalf of the general. The general had requested the Raeesul Mujahideen to send a special messenger to the Indian Muslim Leaders to stop Hijrat(immigration) movement as it would be most dangerous and ruinous both to India and Afghanistan... The letter also contained that if people wanted to immigrate to Afghanistan they should be professors, engineers, doctors and technical men. Afghanistan could not afford to receive the ignorant Muslim masses of India as the country-Afghanistan-was inhabited by ignorant and uncivilized masses, the letter said. When I finished reading the letter the Raeesul Mujahideen asked what did I think. I replied that I agreed cent percent with the contents of the letter and that the Hijrat en-masse should be stopped. The Raees said that he would like me to go back to India and persuade the leaders behind the movement to stop it. I told the Raees that my situation was very delicate as the Frontier and the Punjab Police had issued warrants to arrest me. The Raees said that the movement must be stopped at all costs otherwise Indian Muslims would be ruined and he ordered me to do the job.

Here I must state that any one disobedient to the Raees was liable to be killed. Being one of the members of the Mujahideen Party I could not disobey the order. The Raees prayed for my safety and for the success of my mission. There was nothing left for me but to obey the order. He promised to send my companion, Mr. Amir Mohammad Bakhsh Australian to Jalalabad with the messenger who had come with the letter from general Mohammed Nadir Khan. When I broke the news to my comrade he, too, said that he would return to India with me. This young man who had been brought up in luxury could not bear the hardships of the revolutionary life. I told the Raeesul Mujahideen about this young man's intentions and he, the Raees, agreed to it readily and told me to take him back with me to India. He advised me to leave him alone on reaching the first border village.So the next day, 11th June, 1920, a mullah guide was procured and we all three left for India. On the route the village of Haji Sahib was situated and I wanted to avoid it by taking a long detour. There were two reasons to do that. Firstly Haji Sahib would not have liked return, and secondly he was always surrounded by British Indian spies. At about 5 P.M. we reached a village which was some 20 miles from Chamarkand. We had to pass the night there. we got up early in the morning, said our prayers and started towards our destination. Between the Mohmand tribal area and Shabkadar there was no man's land which was mountainous and infested with decoits. On the Mohmand side of no man's land people had to travel in large numbers and therefore we had to wait for more men desirous to enter the settled territory. We were three and our guide did not like to take the risk to pass the no man's land. Two others arrived and we became

five. We were still not enough to start. A sixth man with a donkey loaded with grain arrived. He asked me in Urdu if I had been to Afghanistan and how was it that I was returning to India. I did not reply to him.when he was a bit away from me the mullah guide told me in whisper that the man was a jasoos of the Farangis and he knew him quite well. He told me to start at once and not to wait for the Kafila (a caravan). God Almighty will help us, he said. So we started without telling the people who were gathered there. The Jasoos cried after us not to take the risk as there were many decoits in the no man's land. But we did not listen to him. We would have gone some two miles when we heard a rifle shot. The bullet passed above our heads. The mullah guide told me to stop as the dacoits were nearby and if we did not stop they would shoot us. We all three stopped and after a few minutes the dacoits with their rifles ready to shoot approached us. The mullah at once told them in Pashtu that we were Sayeds and relatives of Haji Sahib of Turangzai who had told him, the mullah, to accompany us to Shabkadar. Hearing this the dacoits addressed me to pray for them.I prayed and put my hands on their shoulders. In those days I could understand Pushto very well. The mullah asked the two dacoits if there were more men of their gang on the route. They said that it was their turn on that day and therefore we could go on our way without any further molestation.

"It was a terrible ordeal for the young Amir Mohammad Bakhsh and for me. But I had already some experience of this kind during my early journeys in the tribal areas. Well, we pushed on to the "settled" land without any further molestation. The "Jasoos" (spy) could not follow us as he had his don-key loaded

with grain with him.In that part of the country the spies go as merchants so that they should not be suspected. That spy had followed us till Haji Turangzai's place from where he had heard that we hand gone to Afghanistan. That was the reason that he questioned me that how it was that I together with my companion was returning to India. Our mullah guide knew him will and therefore he told me to take the risk to enter the no man's him well and therefore he told me to take the risk to enter the no man's land. And it was sound advice. Well, we were saved from the dacoits. We reached the border and made a detour in order to avoid the police station of Shabkadar...The mullah told us that he could not go further as he would be arrested if the police would see him. He bade us good bye and I gave him three rupees for his services. We entered the village and went direct to our friend, the Khan in whose garden I had passed a few hours on our way to Chamarkand. He was surprised to see us back but when I told him that I returned because the Raeesul Mujahideen had ordered me to do sohe kept quiet. This Khan was very favorable to the Mujahideen movement and he had very good relations with the Chamarkand people. I requested the Khan to send Amir Mohammad to Mardan from where he was to take the train for Lahore. I instructed Amir bakhsh that he should inform my Mardan friend Faqir Mohammed Khan that he should inform Madad Khan that I would stay with him in his village. I did not tell Amir Bakhsh the name of the village. It was TORU MA'YAR some 5 or 6 miles from Mardan...The Khan put Amir Mohammad on a Tanga (horse carriage) for Mardan and I remained behind. In the night I did not sleep in the house of the Khan. He sent me to another nearby village situated between two

rivers. It was a wonderful place and I slept very soundly after such an hazardous and tiresome journey.

"Amir Mohd before leaving gave me 450 rupees for my expenses for the long journey in India. But I accepted the sum as a debt of honour. He very faithfully executed the mission I had entrusted to him i.e. to inform my friend Faqir Mohammed Khan of Mardan about my return. Amir Mohd took his train from Mardan for Lahore and my friend Faqir Mohammed Khan saw him off at the Mardan railway station. Later on I got news that he was arrested by the police at Jehlum. But there was no need to arrest him as he was going himself to his house.He did not tell any thing to the police about me. He simply told them, as he was instructed by me, that I had gone to Kabul. This statement of his and the other young men put the police hounds off the scent.

"I passed the night at Abazai in the settled area. My companion Mohammad Amir Bakhsh Australian had left Abazai on the same day-12th June, 1920, for Lahore via Charsadda and Mardan...

"Next day on 13th June, 1920, I said good bye to the Khan of Abazai and went to Tangi from where I had to take he "tanga". Before leaving the Khan of Abazai I gave him a message for Abdul Ghaffar Khan that he must not leave his place for Afghanistan and persuade others not to be Mohajirs. At Tangi I took a Tanga for Charsadda. At the tanga station of Charsadda there was no carriage and so I had to wait. There was only one man who was also waiting for a tanga. He

was busy in reading a small poster. The man was going to Peshawar. In the meantime a tanga arrived which was to go to Peshawar. When alone I approached the poster and began to read. It was for my arrest but the description did not fit me. In the poster it was stated that I had a frock coat on and a Turkish cap, white Shalwar and brown shoes. I had changed every thing and had become a Pathan. I had just finished reading the poster when a tanga arrived. It was for Mardan. I jumped on the back seat and told the driver to start. He said that he would like to take some more "sawaris" I said that I would pay for the whole tanga which was one rupee and four annas. I think it was about three o'clock in the afternoon when I reached Mardan. There I left the tanga and when it went away I took another one for TORU MA'YAR which was some 5 or 6 miles from Mardan.

"It would be about 5 p.m. when I reached the HUJRA of that man-MADAD KHAN who had given me a letter for the HAJI SAHIB of Turangzai and which put me in trouble. Haji Sahib had told me that Madad Khan was a Jasoos of the Farangis but I did not believe him to be spy. He had already received my message through my friend, Malik Faqir Mohammad Khan of Mardan that I was to stay with him for a few days. If he had been a Jasoos (spy) of the Farangis he could get me arrested as soon as I reached his place. But nothing happened. (In February last-1967, I saw khan Mohammad Ali Khan of Hoti in his office There were some five or six men from the ex-province of Frontier. One of them was from Toru Ma'Yar-a venerable gentleman. I said that I was in Toru Ma'Yar in June 1920 and was a guest of Madad Khan the old man said that Madad Khan was a spy. I did not

believe the man for the reason I have mentioned above). Any how I went to the Hujra of Madad Khan (House for men). He was not there. I just entered the room and pretended to sleep covering my head. After some 20 minutes Madad arrived with some 10 seers of Kharbusas and dropped then on me. He knew that I was very fond of the fruits. I got up and shook hands with him. Next day on 14th of June, 1920, I requested Madad Khan to go to Peshawar and get me made 6 shirts and six shalwars of Latta and a nice Chapli and a fine "lungi" (head dress). I also requested him to buy a "Yakhdan" in which to put the cloths. So he left for Peshawar and I gave him money for the clothes etc. It should be mentioned here that I had left all my clothes at the place of Dr. Sayed Mohammad Hussain Shah Sahib...I had only a khaki shirt, khaki shalwar, a lungi and a khaki chadar like a pathan. Madad Khan returned to Toru Ma'Yar on 17th June, 1920, with all the things needed closed in the Yakhdan...

"On 18 June together with Madad Khan and Faqir Mohammad Khan I left for Mardan to take train for Nowshera. It was about 9 p.m. when I took the train and said good bye to both friends. At Nowshera I took another ticket for Campbellpur where I reached at about 3 a.m. I went to the house of a friend of mine-Qazi Mohammad Saeed-then a second year student of the Lahore Medical College. He received me very affectionately but at the same time he scolded me why I had committed such a blunder to leave Lahore with those four young men. He informed me that it was Mustafa Kamil who informed the police that I had gone to Peshawar and I had to stay with a friend of mine at Badrashi. Mustafa Kamil

pretended to be a great nationalist but he could not withstand the pressure of the police and thus he vomited every thing and got me in trouble. Qazi Saeed informed me that I could get into trouble if I went to Lahore. I just told him that I had not the least intention to got to Lahore for some time. On 19th I went to see Mr. Mohammad Akbar Khan, a big landlord and a disciple of Maualana Abul Kalam Azad. Mr. Muhammad Akbar Khan was intending to leave for Afghanistan with a big "Kafila". I told him not to do so as General Nadir Khan had written to the Raees-al-Mujahideen to stop the Hijrat movement. I also told him that I was going to see all big Muslim Leaders and he must wait for my final massage. On 20th June, 1920, I left Cambellpur by the evening train via Mianwali and Saeed arranged with the railway guard who was a friend of his to take me to the Sher-Shah junction some 20 or more miles from Multan. The guard said that he would take me to Mianwali and not to Sher-shah but he promised that his substitute guard would take me to Shershah. The journey was to be without ticket I took my seat in the second class and slept. At Mianwali station the other guard took me to Shershah from where I had to change the train for Karachi. The reason of my going to Karachi was to take a friend of mine-Khan Muhammad Khan Wardak, to Larkana from where a special train full of Sindhi Mohajirs was to leave for Afghanistan via Peshawar. I stayed a couple of days with my friend and then we both went to Larkana. The Khan Knew the leader of the Kafila. He was a bar-at-law and a very big landlord. His name was Mr. Jan Mohammad Junejoo. My friend did not tell Junejo my name but he told him that the message was authentic and he must believe me. I explained to Junejo

what General Nadir Khan had written in his letter. Mr. Jan Mohammad Junejo answered me very havehtily that "he preferred Jail in Afghanistan to freedom in India". People en-masse were coming to Larkana to join the Kafila. There was an old man who told me that he was the grand son of Hakim Madan, a famous personality of Lucknow. This Hakim must have been some what about 70 years of age. There was a young man from Dehli who pretended to be the secretary of the Hijrat Committee of Dehli. But I took him as a C.I.D. man. He had come to Larkana to know who were the prime movers of the movement in Sindh. He was very curious to know my name and from where I had come. As Junejo did not know my name he could not inform the Dehli man any thing about me. The whole day and the night I remained at the place of Mr. Junejo. The Dehliwala had left Larkana by the night train.

"I have mentioned abnove that I left Larkana by the morning train for Lucknow whe4re I had to see Hazrat Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib of Farangi Mahal and to persuade him to issue orders to stop Hijrat. At Sammasetta Junction I had to change the train for Bathinda. I think at Bahawalnagar or at another statio a burly man entered my compartment with that fellow of Dehli...The burly man asked me where I was going to. I smilingly said that I was going to the place where he was proceeding to. He saw my Peshawari dress and said "These dogs of the police were always behind him". He was cursing me with filthy words till Bathinda reached. There the Dehliwala went to some other platform. The burly man also got down from the train in order to take the train for Saharanpur. I also had to take the same

train. The burly man looked at me furiously and again asked me where I was going to. I replied that I wanted to accompany him. At this reply he became furious and began to abuse me in a very filthy language. I lost my patience and told him to shut his dirty mouth. I was Iqbal Shaidai I said in a very loud and angry voice. The man became so thunderstruck and said he could not recognize me in my pathan like dress. He began to ask pardon with all humility. He told me that he had my photo hanging on his drawing room. (In January, 1918, thousand of my photos were printed by the Anjuman-i-Nazarbandan-i-Islam and were being sold for one anna each throughout India and thus politically minded Muslims and Hindus bought them). The burly man became a friend and till Saharanpur he served me very nicely...He asked me where he could find me in Lucknow and I gave him my address of Farangi Mahal. When I reached Lucknow I went to see Hazrat Maulana Abdul Bari but he was away to Barabanki to take part in an URS. I left my luggage with Maulana Salamatullah, a nephew of Hazrat Maulana Abdul Bari and went to meet Sayed Jalib Dehlavi, the editor of the Daily Hamdam. Sayed Jalib was very happy to see me and at once ordered his servant to bring fine monagoes for me when we weve eating mangoes some one knocked at the door. The Sayed became nervous thinking that police had come after me. We asked the servant to ask the name of the knocker without opening the door. The man said: Abdul Aziz from Bahawlapur state and wanted to salute Sayed Jalib. "The Sayed looked at me. I said let him come in as he was a friend. The Burly Abdul Aziz seeing me with sayed Jalib remained thunderstruck. He told me that he went to the Farangi Mahal and inquired about me. But the people

there said that they did not know who was Iqbal shedai? They took him as a policewala. I laugh and told him to eat mangoes first and then we would go to the Farnagi Mahal I related the story of the Burly Abdul Aziz to Saeed Iqbal that how we met and how he abused me till Bathinda taking me as a policewala. After satisfying our stomachs with nice mangoes we went to the Farangi Mahal. I introduced Abdul Aziz to Maulana Salamatullah and other Ulema. We slept there. Next day Hazrat Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib arrived and I told him about my mission. The Maulana Sahib replied: "I am not for Hijrat as our ancestors made India ISLAMISTAN with their blood It is un-Islamic to leave the country." I told the Maulana that his disciples the famous Ali Brothers had started the movement and he must tell them to issue a "Fatwa" that the movement was un-Islamic and people must not leave India. The Maulana replied that the BROTHERS would not hear any one. He said that I must go to Calcutta to request Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to issue such a "Fatwa". Maulana Sahib at once gave me Rs 90/-for the journey...I think it was 28th june, 1920. I together with burly Abdul Aziz took the train for Calcutta the same evening.

"Next morning at about midday or a little later we reached Calcutta. Leaving our luggage at the railway station of Howrah we went to the house of Maulana Azad. "We met Maulana's brother in-law, Mr. Badr-ud-Din Ahmed, who told us that the Maulana was in Bombay but he would be back home in three or four days. I requested him to cable Maulana Shauket Ali to stop Maulana Azad for a few days more till I reached Bombay. He promised to do so buit I do not know if he

sent the telegram as I had requested him. The same evening-29th June, 1920, we, myself and burly Abdul Aziz, took the train for Bombay via Nagpur etc. We reached Bombay on 30th June, at about 11 P.M. we took a taxi and went directly to the Khilafat House. There were several persons still talking in the saloon but I did not know any one of them personally. I asked if I could see Maulana Shaukat Ali. A man replied that he was out somewhere in the town. He asked me who was I and why I wanted to see the big Maulana. I told him my name-Iqbal Shedai. Hearing my name the rudeness of the man melted away as every one in the Khilafat Committee had heard my name. The man said that the Maulana would be here at any moment. While we were talking the Maulana arrived and seeing me in a funny dress smiled and embraced me. He ordered for dinner. During the dinner he asked me from where I had come. I told him the story and my mission. I asked him if he could send me to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He was a bit surprised because he and his brother took me for their own man. He with a wry face said that why I wanted to see Maulana Azad He also said if I wanted to join the Azad group. I replied that people who worked for the liberty of their country I would certainly join them. At this blunt reply Maulana Shaukat Ali Said that if I left them then thousands other would join them. I said that Maulana there was no doubt about it but I wanted to work with those persons who would work for the freedom of India and not for other countries. At this the Maulana being surprised used is they were not working for the freedom of India I replied that I had never doubted that. Then Maulana asked one of the men present to take me to the place where Maulana Azad was staying. It was now about

12.30 A.M. I now told to my companion Abdul Aziz that I could not take him to the place of Maulana Azad. My companion, the burly Abdul Aziz, said that he would like to see Maulana Azad. But I refused to have him with me-thus I got rid of Abdul Aziz. (He was an official-Zialdar-in the canal department of Bahawalpur state). My guide took me to the railway station from where we took the train for Dadar-a suburban railway station. At about two o'clock in the morning we, myself and the guide, reached Patel- Lodge-Matuga Road-where Maulana Azad was staying. He was the guest of Maulavi Muhammad Ali Qasuri who was in those days occupied in hides and shins business. My guide left me at the place. I knocked at the door and a Chawkidar asked me what did I want. At that moment Maulavi Muhammad Ali came out of a room and in a very rough manner asked me who I was and what did I want. I said that I wanted to meet Maulana Azad. The Maulavi again spotre in an unfriendly rather hostile manner. Probably it was because I had disturbed him at such an early hour of the morning. Any-how he said that "Hazur Maulana was sleeping and could not be disturbed". I should, he said, come in the morning. I replied in the same coin that I must sleep there and he should give me a cot He was surprised at my "rude" reply and very angrily said to the Chawkidar to put a cot for me in the park. Early in the morning at about 5 every one was up. I also got up and made my "wozu" (ablution) and joined the "congregation". Maulana played the part of "Imam". After the prayer Maulana asked me from where I had come and what was my mission. I told him that I was coming from Chamarkand and Amir-al-Mujahideen, Maulana Abdul Karim, had entrusted me with the mission to get the

Hijrat Movement stopped. I also told him that Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal had proposed his name that it was he who could stop the movement. Maulana said that a few days ago a man came from Chamarkand and had come with the same message. I said that no one except myself was entrusted with the mission and he, the Maulana, could ascertain my bona-fide from the Chamarkand people. I thought that Maulana did not believe me and he had the right to think so as he had never met me before. He asked me if I knew any of the leaders of the Mujahideen in India. I said that I knew Hafiz Abdul Ghafur of Ratlam and also Maulavi Fazi-Elahi of Wazirabad. At this reply Maulana said that Hafiz Sahib was in Bombay and would come to see him at 8 A.M. and when he would arrive I would be received in the presence of the Hafiz. Maulavi Abdul Qadir Qosuri was also there. There was nothing to do till the arrival of Hafiz Sahib. Just at 8 A.M. I saw Hafiz Sahib near the gate and I rushed to meet him. He embraced me very affectionately. Maulana Azad, Muhammad Ali Qosuri and his father were seeing us embracing each other. I told hafiz Sahib in a few words about my mission and at the same time I said that Maulana Azad and his companion were suspecting my bona-fide. Hafiz Sahib said that he would tell them who I was and how great faith the Mujahideen had in me. When we reached the veranda were Maulana and the Qasuris were sitting Hafiz sahib after customary Salam introduced me in such a praiseworthy way that ia, too, was surprised to here the words. He said that every muslim muist be proud of me for the services I had been doing for the Mujahideden and the Muslim of India. Etc. etc. From that moment Maulana Azad, Maulavi Abdul Qadir Qasuri and Maulavi

Muhammad Ali Cantab became very nice and showed full confidence in me. They also recorded about my internment during the first world war. I stayed with them from lst till 7th of July, 1920. Both Maulana Azad and Maulavi Abdul Qadir Qasuri heard my talks with great interest. One day Maulana Azad in the presence of others said: "I wish to have Allama Iqbal's and my own Iqbal's dusts mixing them and to creat a new Iqbal of "ILM-O-AMAL". It was a strange idea of the Maulana. Any-how it was to praise me or maulana Azad agreed completely with the idea of General Nadir Khan that only educated men should go to Afghanistan so that they could help the country with their knowledge. He also said that some one must go around the country to tell the people not to go to Afghanistan en-massl. Who could be the man for that tremendous work? Maulana said that although he was against Hijrat and it was not his idea but to give a fatwa against it was not useful. Rather was harmful for his reputation.

"Now as for me it was decided by Maulana Azad and Qasuri that I should go to Afghanistan with a programme which was very important and if it had come to a successful end it might have changed the history of India. I shall write about this "most important programme" in the following pages. It is an historical thing and if it is not written it would be a dis-service to the future historians of both India and Pakistan. The prime movers or planners of this programme are all dead ..... I was just an organizer or a messenger to bring the programme to a successful end. But I am sorry to say that some people blundered and the whole plan went to the winds. As for myself I had been successful in my effort.

"A millionaire Muslim merchant (Mian Allah Bakhsh or Maula Bakhsh of Gujranwala) who was dealing in hides and skins at Dharavi, Bombay, promised to put one million rupees at the disposal of Maulana Azad group to reinvigorate the Mujahideen movement whose headquarters were at Chamarkand in the Mohmand tribal area. With this sum it was decided to start a commercial concern in India and Afghanistan naturally with the help of the Afghan government. But who was to be entrusted to get in contact with the Afghan government? Maulavi Mohammad Ali Cantab had been to Afghanistan during the first years of the "FIRST WORLD WAR" as a teacher in the "Habibia College" but being involved with the Indian revolutionary movement left the service and joined the Chamarkand Mujahideen who had started war against the British on the Mohmand frontier... Maulavi Mohammed Ali Qasuri could not go to Afghanistan as he had lost credit with the Afghans. The field was to be prepared by someone else. The profit derived from this big concern was to be divided in three parts. Fifty percent was to go to the Mujahideen centre, 25% was to be allotted to the Afghan government for hospitals etc. and 25% was to be spent on the workers. After long discussions and deep thinking by the "elder" it was decided that I must be entrusted with the job. I did not like to go to Afghanistan and requested the Maulana to send some one else to Kabul for the Job. But as on 3rd of July I had accepted Maulana Azad as my spiritual as well as political leader there was no other way but to accept his order to proceed to Kabul. I was to discuss with Afghan Officials of the Foreign Office and other people concerned to get a charter for commerce between India and Afghanistan.

"On 7th of July, 1920, I was ordered to leave for Afghanistan via Ahmadabad, Marwar, Hyderabad and Karachi. Maulavi Mohammed Ali Qasuri gave me Rs.50/- as expenses for this long journey. And mind I was carrying with me a programme for the sum of rupees one million: i.e. 10 lakhs... Maulana Azad Sahib also charged me to persuade Jan Mohammed Junejo of Larkana not to take with him the ignorant masses to Afghanistan.

"The same evening 7th July, 1920 I left for Karachi via Ahmedabad, Marwar etc. It was a long journey and a terrible one. Probably after 30 hours I reached Karachi and met my friend Master Mohammad Khan and persuaded him to accompany me to Larkana in order to deliver the message of Maulana Azad to Mr. Jan Mohammed Junejo. He accompanied me but when we reached Larkana the special train of the KAFILA had left for Peshawar, via Lahore. I requested Mohammed Khan to go to Lahore and to give the message to all people who wanted to migrate to Afghanistan.The Khan promised to go to Lahore but first he had to go to Karachi to make arrangements for the journey. I took the train for Shershah and from there I changed the train for Mianwali-Campbellpur. I did not like to see my friend, Qazi Mohammad Saeed, because it was imprudent to tell even to a dear friend like him about my programme. From Campbellpur I changed the train for Peshawar where the SINDHI QAFILA had already arrived a couple of days earlier. I mixed among the SINDHIS as one of them. Only my firends, ALI GUL KHAN, TAJ GUL and HAJI JAN MOHAMMED knew that I was there. I requested them to ignore my presence among the Sindhis. They did what I asked them. It was 13th of July, 1920.

The same day a certain "SHAHJI" began to make "Rahdaris" permits to enter Afghanistan. At that moment I was sitting near Maulana Taj Mohammad, one of the greatest Alims of the time in Sindh. Suddenly Malik Lal Khan arrived. I was afraid that if he recognised me I would be lost as he would have shouted my name loudly but not with bad intentions. I kept my head down os that he could not know who I was fortunately he did not sit and after a few minutes left the place.

"Now some one asked me to get my name enrolled as a 'Muhajir'. That man Shahjee asked me what was my name? I replied: Nasir-ed-Din. My father's name? I readily said: Abdullah. What is my birth place, he asked? Larkana, I replied. What was my occupation, he asked? "I am a peasant", I replied. he wrote down all these particulars and asked me to stretch out my thumb. I put out my right one. He said "Idiot! Havn't you ever put your thumb on any paper?" I said, "No sir". He asked me to bring forth my left thumb. I did so. Taj Gul and Ali Gul were laughing at our dialogue. But the idiot of that SHAH did not know why those two friends were laughing. The business was thus finished.

"In the evening I was sitting with Ali Gul, Taj Gul, Haji Jan Mohammad and Khan Yaqoob Khan on a cot when that Shah arrived . He was surprised to see me setting with the leaders. He was a bit ashamed and wanted to apologise for his ugly behavior in the morning. Ali Gul angrily said to him, "leave us alone". he went away. On 14th July, 1920, at about 8 o'clock the Qafila was to leave for Landi Kotal. All Tangas were hired by the Hijrat committee for the Muhajreen. There was no seat left for me. There were some two hundred Punjabis

and many of them with their families. The rest, more than 8 hundred, were Sindhis.Haji Jan Mohammed and Ali Gul Khan found a seat for me among the Sindhis as according to the entry permit I was a Sindhi. Our first stop was at landi Kotal where we reached at about three in the afternoon. There was a "sarai" where most of the people put up. Haji Jan Mohammad, Ali Gul Khan and Taj Gul Khan had also come with us. Hundreds of Peshawaris had also come to say good-bye to the Muhajreen...

We slept the night at Landi Kotal and on 15th July, 1920, our Qafila started for Afghan frontier at about 6 a.m. After crossing the frontier we thanked God. At about midday we reached Dakka and stopped there. There,the Afghan Governor came to see the Qafila and picked up a few "Notables" from among the Muhajreen to have dinner with him. Here the question of Sindhis and Punjabis arose. Jan Mohammad being the Qafila salar did not like that any Punjabi should be invited. When I heard this Sinndhi-Punjabi story I approached Jan Mohammad and said: Mr Jan Mohammad we are now all, Muhajirs and hence equals. There is no Punjabi and no Sindhi. He must forget such petty things. "But he was too much of a sindhi and therefore did not heed my word. We passed the night there. Next morning we started for Jalalabad which was some twenty five miles from Dakka. The heat was terrible. Our Tanga horses refuged to march. At about ll o' clock we reached a place called Bhatikot. The sun was terrible and it would have been some 120 degree in the shade. The Tange drivers did not like to move any farther. It was really a hellish place. Any-how we passed a few hours there thinking ourselves in

hell. At about 4-0 o' clock we started for Jalalabad where we reached at about 7 p.m. We put up in a sarai which was a decent one. I changed my clothes and went out to meet Mr. Zafar Hassan, one of the 15 Muhajir students who had left India in February 1915, I think, I would have gone some 200 yards when I saw two men mounted on two fine horses. I stopped them and asked in Urdu if they could give me the address of "Maulavi Zafar Hassan". One of them replied that he was Zafar Hassan and asked me what was my name. I replied: "Iqbal Shedai". Hearing this he got down from the horse and very affectionately embraced me. He told his companion to get down from the horse so that I could mount it. The other man's name was Allah Nawaz. I together with Mr. Zafar Hassan went to the Sarai where Zafar Hassan met Mr. Junejo, the Qafila Salar and told him that the Commander-in-chief had told him that he, Junejo and Myself would be the guests of the government and we had to stay in the "Ainul Imarat", the palace of Amanullah Khan when he was just a prince Now Junejo was quite surprised that wherever we went I was received with great honours. But still he remained a :SINDHI". I never knew before that we Punjabis were being hated so much by our Sindhi brethren and especially when we were in the same boat. Well, we passed the night under the same roof of Ainul Imarat. In the evening we met General Mohammad Nadir Khan whom I found a very intelligent and sympathetic personality. I told him that according to his letter addressed to His eminence Maulana Abdul Karim, the Raes-al-Mujahideen, I had to travel in India telling to some Muslim leaders that "Hijrat"en-masse was not advisable but no one could turn the tide. We remained with the

General for about two hours. Our talk was in Urdu. The General talked our language very fluently. He was sorry that ignorant people were coming to Afghanistan who were quite useless for his country and for themselves also. IT WAS TRUE. We Indian Muslims had been brought up in ignorance by "ignorant" leaders who being "highly educated were wandering in darkness. The General scolded our leaders but in a very diplomatic language...

"Next morning our Qafila left for Kabul but we stopped for the night at Jagdalak which was a wonderful place surrounded by lofty mountains. It was very fresh in the night. Next morning-17th July, 1920, we left the place and stopped at Butkhak Many Indians from Kabul had come to receive us. It would have been about 6 p.m. We wanted to proceed to Kabul which was some 15 miles from there but Agha Ali Abbas Bokhari stopped me that I must not enter Kabul before the evening. He was very superstitious and did not take any step before consulting "Diwan-i-Hafiz" Other people of the Qafila had started for Kabul but Agha Bokhari did not allow me to start before darkness fell. Well, I together with Afgh Ali Abbas Bokhari and Khan Mohammad Hussain Khan, principal of the "Habibia College" reached Kabul at about 10 p.m. Agha Bokhari took me to Maulana Ubaidullah's place. The Maulana had already received news about me from Mr. Zafar Hassan that I was reaching Kabul with the Sindhi Qafila.He received me very cordially and offered me his hospitality. Maulana Ubaidullah was staying in the "Sarachs Ainul Imarat", an annexy to the Ainul Imarat Palace where Maulavi Mohammad Bashir alias Maulavi Abdur Rashim was staying. Next morning, 18th july, 1920 I went to see Maulavi

Bashir Sahib in the Ainul Imarat. (Ainul Imarat palace belonged to Amaullah Khan during the reign of his father). He had given this palace to maulavi Mohammad Bashir, one of the heads of the Mujahideen Party. Maulavi Bashir also represented the Mujahideen Party in the court of king Amanullah Khan I had not met Maulavi Bashir before but he knew my relations with the Party and it was he who presented presents which I had brought for king Amanullah on behalf of the Ali Brothers and had left with Amir Abdul Karim, head of the Mujahideen Party at Chamarkand in July 1919. Maulavi Mohammad Bashir knew all about these things and therefore he was very kind to me and asked me to stay with him in the AINUL IMARAT and I accepted his offer of hospitality.

"I must take my readers back to Bombay again. If I had been successful in my mission in getting the charter from the Afghan Government, then I had to go back to Chamarkand. Maulavi Abdul Qadir Qasuri had to come there after hearing that I had been successful. Later on Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had to arrive there to start a kind of government whose head was to be the Maulana himself. But unfortunately the whole affair was spoiled by the mistake of Maulavi Mohammad Bashir. It happened like this. Three weeks earlier before I left Bombay thirty thousand rupees were sent to the centre of Mujahideen. It was the first instalment. Maulavi Bashir thought that the sum was sent for terrorist work. He bought some bombs and revolvers and sent to India with a man named khan Bahadur, once a big dacoit and who had be come a Mujahid. This man met Maulavi Fazali Elahi of Wazirabad and when in the night at two o'clock was marching near the

Wazirabad railway line he was ordered by a policeman to stop. He ran away but was caught red-handed with bombs and revolvers. He was sentenced to prison for ten years. Maulavi Fazli Elahi had to run away from Wazirabad to Karachi and from there he went to Quetta, Qandhar and from there to Waziristan. I was quite ignorant of all these things. Maulana Azad the Qasuris and the Millionaire merchant of Dharavi were all afraid and stopped all activities.

"In Kabul I had made friendship with Abdul Hadi Khan, Assistant Minister for foreign affairs who had agreed to the programme. Sometime in the middle of August, 1920, he wrote to me a letter in which he said that his government was ready to recognise me as the Indian Nationalist representative or the representative of Hizbullah, the party of Maulana Azad. When I explained to Maulavi Bashir my programme wich i had brought from Maulana Azad and the Qasoories,hetold me about his mistake.Thus whole affair came to an end.Ifmaulvi Bashir had not committed the mistake Maulana Azad and Maulavi Abdul Qadir would have come to Chamarkand to start a government in the tribal area. Now I was left in Kabul without any programme. Maulana Azad and the Qasuris forgot me. GOD'S WILL MUST BE DONE."

APPENDIX - C

قرارداد

اول ۔ امیرالمجاہدین اپنی جماعت کے کل افراد کے جہاں کہیں کہ وہ ہونگے ذمہ دار ہونگے کہ ان سے کسی قسم کا فعل مخاصمانہ برخلاف گورنمنٹ برطانیہ وتوابعین گورنمنٹ برطانیہ سرزد نہین ہوگا ۔ جسکے بدل مین گورنمنٹ عالیہ اس جماعت کیساتھ مزاحم نہوگی اور جماعت کے کل افراد کو جنکے برخلاف کوئی فوجداری الزام ہندوستان مین عائد نہو ہندوستان کیساتھ آزادانہ آمدورفت کی اجازت دیگی ۔

دوئم ۔ امیرالمجاہدین اپنے گروہ کو چمرکنڈ سے اور نیز ان کل افراد مجاہدین کو جو تیراہ یا بلاد قطہ مہمند و باجوڑ وصوات مین ہون بتدریج واپس منگوائین گے ۔

سوئم ۔ جن مجاہدین کے برخلاف کوئی تا نونی یا فوجداری ذاتی مواخذہ نہو انکو اجازت ہوگی کہ آزادانہ آمدورفت ہندوستان کیساتھ رکھین اور اگر وہ چاہین تو مستقل طور پر وہان رہائش اختیار کرلین ۔ لیکن بہرحال امیر صاحب کو ایک معقول عرصہ کیواسطے بذات خود لازم ہوگا کہ اس قرارداد کے اجرا کیواسطے اپنی جماعت مین رہین ۔

چہارم ۔ بعد از تکمیل اقرارنامہ وہ کل اشخاص جو بوجہ یا بہ شبہ مجاہدین ہونیکے گرفتار ہوئے ہین چھوڑ دیئے جاوینگے اور جو روپیہ ضبط ہوا ہے انکو واپس دیا جاویگا ۔ اس قسم کی ترسیل زرین آئندہ کیواسطے جب تک بہ قرارداد عمل پذیر رہے کوئی دست اندازی نہین کیجاویگی ۔ فقط تحریر مذکورۃ الصدر بتاریخ ۱۲ مزالمظفر ۱۳۳۶ھ مطابق ۲۸ نومبر ۱۹۱۷ء مرقوم شد ۔

دستخط حضرت امیرالمجاہدین بسمت بیز

قلم نمبر ۱۲

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