



The Formative Years of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan (A Former Chief Minister): An Exploration of His Early Political Journey

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Abstract

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, an influential leader from the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), played a crucial role in the political scene of both British India and subsequently Pakistan. Born in 1901 in the Pashtun tribal areas, his political path commenced during British colonial dominance, and his career was greatly influenced by his educational experiences and increasing awareness of regional socio-political challenges. Khan originally became a member of the Indian National Congress but later changed his loyalty to the Muslim League, where he significantly contributed to the movement for an independent Pakistan. This change signified his tactical move from advocating for a united India to promoting the establishment of Pakistan. The research emphasizes his skill in linking Pashtun nationalist goals with the larger political movements in British India. It explores his initial activism, highlighting his backing for regional self-governance, tackling economic issues in the NWFP, and building important partnerships with other prominent political leaders. Through the analysis of primary sources such as speeches, personal correspondence, and historical narratives, the paper assesses how his early political endeavors established the groundwork for his subsequent impact on Pakistan's political structure. This study enhances our comprehension of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's initial career, illuminating the influence of regional leaders in molding Pakistan's political path.

Keywords

British Indian, Early Political Career, Indian National Congress, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Muslim League, NWFP, Pakistan Movement, Pashtun Nationalism, Political Leadership

Introduction

Mr. Khan had a complex personality, thriving as a lawyer, politician, and political figure. In every one of these areas, he made notable contributions to the country. Our national history features only a handful of individuals who demonstrated such exceptional leadership traits, and Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was among those outstanding leaders. Khan, who was born in Chitral in 1901, emerged as an influential leader in regional and national politics. He started his political career in 1920 while he was still a student. Upon finishing his matriculation in 1916, he was enrolled in the renowned Islamia College Peshawar (ICP). In his two years at college, he took part in student activities and engaged in the notable Khilafat Movement and the Non-Cooperation Movement. In 1922, Khan travelled to London, where he finished his Bar-at-Law in 1926. Upon returning to Peshawar, he commenced his legal career. He was a firm advocate of the Khilafat Movement (KM) and subsequently became a part of the All India National Congress (AINC) at the national level to advance his political ambitions.

Rapidly ascending the hierarchy, he was named Deputy Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party (CPP) in the Central Legislative Assembly (CLA). This served as a definite sign of his political insight and leadership skills. Khan was a proactive participant in the "Quit India Movement," pushing for freedom from British colonial control. At the local level, he became involved with the Red Shirts, a group promoting Pashtun rights, and authored a book named *Gold and Gun* on the Pathan Frontier to emphasize the challenges faced by the Pashtun community. In 1945, because of the unfavorable stance of Congress leaders at the Simla Conference, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan departed from the AINC and aligned with the All India Muslim League (AIML). Once he became a member of the Muslim League, Khan dedicated himself to advancing its mission, and during his leadership, the party achieved considerable support in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). This achievement culminated in the 1947 referendum, where the residents of NWFP cast their votes for Pakistan. This marked a significant moment in the province's history, and even Muhammad Ali Jinnah was surprised by the result. In 1947, when Pakistan appeared on the global map, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah designated Mr. Khan as the Chief Minister of NWFP, substituting the Congress-led government with a Muslim League administration. This signified a crucial turning point in the province's political environment.

Historical Background

In 1929, as the Indian National Congress broadened its agenda to clearly state the demand for full independence from British domination, the Provincial Khilafat Committee (KC) quickly associated itself with Congress, driven by a shared objective of national liberation. Muslim leaders throughout India reacted favorably to this appeal, as it connected with all patriotic factions seeking independence. In the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), numerous prominent individuals, such as the Khan Brothers, Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Samin Jan Khan, and Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, among others, started working closely with the Congress and became some of its most committed advocates. The Congress officially initiated the Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar on April 23, 1930. On that day, British officials shot at a peaceful march of Congress participants as it went through Qissa Khawani Bazaar. The slaughter led to a significant amount of fatalities and intensified public anger towards British colonial authority. The shocking event sparked widespread outrage and heightened backing for the Congress, as individuals from throughout the province started joining the movement in larger quantities to struggle for independence. Even though Barrister Abdul Qayyum Khan had not officially become a member of the Congress at that time, he was a firm advocate for the anti-colonial movement. He took an active role in the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Congress. Although he was not an official member, Mr. Khan regularly participated in Congress meetings and gave fervent speeches against the government. He was convinced that firm resistance and outspoken defiance against British governance were essential actions for India's freedom from colonial control.

Joining of Congress

After the Round Table Conferences (1930–1932), the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) was designated as a Governor's Province, leading to the formation of a Legislative Council. The Council was made up of 40 members, with 28 to be elected and the others to be appointed by the Governor. When elections were declared, Abdul Qayyum Khan ran as an independent candidate for the Peshawar City constituency. His primary rival, Peer Bakhsh Khan a well-known attorney was put forward by the Indian National Congress. Peer Bakhsh Khan triumphed in the election, obtaining 3,892 votes while Abdul Qayyum Khan received 965. In 1933, Abdul Qayyum Khan officially became a member of the Indian National Congress and started engaging in its initiatives. With robust leadership skills, he swiftly advanced within the party hierarchy and obtained significant power. During that period, the residents of NWFP were committed to backing the Civil Disobedience Movement. In reaction, the Frontier Congress Committee chose to rejuvenate the initiative in the province. Nonetheless, the British officials imposed strict measures, detaining many political activists. Consequently, political engagement in the province ceased from 1933 to 1935, with the majority of important leaders being incarcerated. In 1934, a number of political prisoners were freed, yet under government pressure, many chose not to rejoin the Congress-led movement. However, in 1936, when the government removed the restrictions on political activities in NWFP, Khan Abdul Qayyum whose previous political efforts had been primarily centered in Peshawar arose as a vibrant and impactful activist within the Congress. Mr. Khan, a persuasive orator proficient in English, Urdu, and Pashto, swiftly achieved a significant role within the party. He journeyed throughout the Indian subcontinent

with senior Congress figures like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mahatma Gandhi, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, disseminating anti-British feelings and motivating the Indian public to participate in the fight against colonial domination. On April 23, 1936, a significant public assembly took place in Peshawar organized by the Congress to remember Martyrs' Day, paying tribute to those who lost their lives in the Qissa Khawani Bazaar massacre. During the event, Abdul Qayyum Khan honored the martyrs with these words: "Martyrs are the cherished individuals, as they gave their lives for the love of their country." "Now, to achieve total independence for our territory, we need to emulate their example." Political Progress and the 1937 Elections. On June 25, 1936, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was chosen as General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). Soon after, on July 29, 1936, he, together with Qaim Shah, went to Rawalpindi to see Jawaharlal Nehru during his visit to the area. Later that year, when Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited Peshawar for the first time, Khan Abdul Qayyum was one of the Congress leaders who encountered him. The Government of India Act of 1935 brought important constitutional changes in 1937. Diarchy was eliminated, and the provinces, including NWFP, were given provincial autonomy. Nonetheless, the Governor of NWFP, serving as a representative of the Governor-General, maintained sole authority over tribal matters. The Legislative Assembly of NWFP had 50 seats, with elections planned for February 1937. Two seats were designated for Peshawar City. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan ran for election on a Congress ticket, whereas his rivals, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar and Peer Bakhsh Khan, were from the All-India Muslim League. Abdul Qayyum Khan faced another defeat, resulting in the election of both Peer Bakhsh Khan and Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar to the provincial assembly. For the first time, the NWFP was also granted the authority to elect one member to the Central Legislative Assembly of India. The Congress Parliamentary Board selected Dr. Khan Sahib as its candidate, whereas Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan backed Raja Haider Zaman from Hazara. Dr. Khan Sahib triumphed in the election, garnering 3,000 votes compared to Raja Haider Zaman's 1,500, thus becoming the representative of NWFP in the Central Assembly. Abdul Qayyum Khan had intensely desired to join either the provincial or central legislature, but he failed in both endeavors. Nonetheless, the Congress triumphed in the 1937 elections, securing a majority of securing a majority of seats and positioning itself as the foremost political party in the NWFP Legislative Council. Consequently, Dr. Khan Sahib was recalled from the Central Assembly and, in May 1937, the Congress appointed him as Chief Minister of NWFP.

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan serving as a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly (CLA)

After Dr. Khan Sahib was appointed Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), his position in the Central Legislative Assembly (CLA) was left unoccupied. The Indian National Congress later selected Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan to run in the by-election for the position. At that moment, no other political party in the province was as structured or powerful as the Congress, and thus, no opposing candidate emerged to challenge Khan. As a result, he was elected without opposition in the by-election that took place in July 1937. Following his election, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan dedicated the majority of his time in Delhi to carry out his responsibilities as a member of the Central Assembly. He emerged as an important character in the Congress leadership and was actively involved in national politics. In 1942, after Sita Mistri's passing, Khan was chosen as Deputy Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party (CPP) in the Assembly. At that moment, Bhola Bhai acted as the Parliamentary Leader of the Congress in the Central Assembly. A significant contribution of Khan Abdul Qayyum as a legislator was his proposal for the creation of a university in Peshawar. On February 15, 1938, he proposed the resolution in the Central Legislative Assembly, which was accepted unanimously. During his address, he mentioned: "Sir, I respectfully propose that this Assembly advises the Governor-General in Council to promptly establish a university in Peshawar, funded by the Federal Government, for the settled districts and the tribal regions of the NWFP. In his role as Deputy Leader of the CPP, Khan remained living in Delhi. He frequently spent his summers in Kashmir, his ancestral region, where he had a residence close to Srinagar. In this time, he also practiced law at the Srinagar High Court and regularly commuted between Srinagar and Delhi. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who often spent his summers in Kashmir, had many chances to meet and converse with Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan. In these discussions, Jinnah repeatedly encouraged Khan to depart from the Congress, cautioning him that the Hindu leaders were not genuine in their dedication to Hindu-Muslim unity. Jinnah, having observed Khan's leadership talents and political abilities directly in the Central Assembly, was keen to recruit him to the All India

Muslim League to bolster the Muslim cause. Even with Jinnah's constant pleas, Khan Abdul Qayyum, similar to numerous other nationalist figures of that era, maintained faith in the idea of a united India. He saw the Congress leadership as genuine in its stated dedication to Hindu-Muslim unity and stayed loyal to the party for now.

Pakistan Resolution

During the yearly meeting of the All India Muslim League in Lahore on March 23, 1940 led by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah the League officially adopted a resolution calling for a distinct homeland for the Muslims of India. This decision, later referred to as the "Pakistan Resolution" by the Hindu media, signified a crucial moment in South Asian political history. During that period, Abdul Qayyum Khan, who continued to support the concept of a united India, strongly contested the Pakistan Resolution, the Muslim League, and even Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. During a public gathering in Peshawar in March 1941, he expressed his disapproval of the Pakistan plan with these comments: A comparable plan was implemented in Ireland, solely to foster discord but history is aware of the outcomes there. The Pakistan scheme has been launched to foster communalism within the Indian population. Once more, on April 23, 1941, addressing yet another public assembly, Khan remarked: "Muhammad Ali Jinnah is not truly the 'Quaid-i-Azam.'" The true great leader is Abdul Ghaffar Khan, whose actions demonstrate he is truly working to achieve freedom for the nation. As the Pakistan Movement, led by Quaid-i-Azam, was picking up speed, Abdul Qayyum Khan was in the process of writing his book, *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*. In this highly debated book, he severely condemned the Muslim League and its leaders. He lauded the Khan Brothers (Dr. Khan Sahib and Bacha Khan) and dedicated the book to Dr. Khan Sahib. He composed: "The honor of place must rightfully belong to the Khan Sahib and his sibling." They can both reflect with pride on a unique hardship, joyfully faced, and a lifetime of unwavering public service.

The Simla Conference (1945)

In June 1945, Viceroy Lord Wavell called a conference in Simla, asking the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League to select representatives for a planned interim government. Nevertheless, substantial conflicts emerged nearly right away between the two sides especially regarding the matter of Muslim representation in the Executive Council. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah asserted that only the Muslim League possessed the authority to nominate Muslim representatives to the Council. Conversely, the Congress rejected the notion of the Muslim League as the exclusive representative of India's Muslims. This impasse resulted in the collapse of the Simla Conference.

Abdul Qayyum Khan Becomes a Member of the Muslim League

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan felt that the Simla Conference offered an important chance for India to achieve independence. Nonetheless, its collapse primarily because Congress refused to acknowledge the Muslim League's significance greatly disheartened him. This situation compelled Khan to reassess his position. He reached the conclusion that the Congress was insincere in its dedication to Muslim rights and was, in reality, misleading the Muslim community. He worried that when the British departed from the subcontinent, the Congress would not provide Muslims their rightful share of power. After much reflection, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan took a definitive step in August 1945: he departed from the Indian National Congress and officially became part of the All India Muslim League. Khan believed that both dominant parties Congress and the Muslim League should collaborate against British imperialism and address their disagreements with mutual confidence. He thought that the continuous competition between the two would solely advantage the colonial authorities and prolong India's journey to independence.

Role of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan in the Freedom Movement of Pakistan

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's Contribution to the Independence Movement of Pakistan On August 16, 1945, during a court case in Lucknow, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan sent a letter to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah announcing a significant shift in his political journey. He penned: "I am reaching out to convey what I believe to be the most significant decision of my life one that stems from profound contemplation and intense introspection." I have chosen to become a member of the All India Muslim League because I feel that your position is entirely right, and that any Muslim who disagrees with you is undermining the cause of Islam in India. Mr. Jinnah sent two letters to Khan Abdul Qayyum one dated August 20 and the other dated August 27, 1945. In these letters, Jinnah enthusiastically embraced Khan's choice, noting: "I am extremely happy and truly value your choice to become a member of the Muslim League." I trust other Congress Muslims will emulate your

example and participate in this national body of the Muslims of India at this pivotal moment. Following the Simla Conference, there is no reason for any sincere Muslim to keep backing the Congress or its policies. Jinnah additionally suggested: "Focus on the Frontier Province and assist our people in realizing that our opponents are deceiving them." "They should unite under the flag of the All India Muslim League." Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was a prominent Congress leader and a key component of its foundation, particularly in the NWFP. His choice to depart from the Congress took the party's high command by surprise. They tried to convince him to rethink, but he resolutely refused. He contended that he stayed with Congress believing that Hindus and Muslims could live together as equals in a liberated India. Nevertheless, his experience had exposed to him the genuine nature of Hindu political leadership, which he now thought aimed to control and exclude Muslims. Khan states that Muslims would become second-class citizens in an India governed by Congress. His joining the Muslim League was widely praised throughout the subcontinent. The League embraced him wholeheartedly, acknowledging his leadership qualities, speaking talents, and political background. Critics of Khan's choice proposed that he had changed sides due to doubts about the Congress nominating him for the Central Assembly in the forthcoming elections. His supporters contended that he made a timely and principled choice after carefully assessing the political landscape and recognizing that the Muslim League was the sole party genuinely championing Muslim rights. Since he became a member of the League, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan vigorously advocated for its purpose. On August 26, 1945, he reached Lahore from Lucknow and was welcomed by a large crowd at the railway station, shouting "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan Zindabad." The next day, a massive public gathering took place at Mochi Gate, attracting thousands of participants from all over Punjab. During this event, he was honored with the title "Sher-e-Sarhad" (Lion of the Frontier). In his inaugural public address as a League representative, Khan explained the rationale behind departing from the Congress. He announced: "No force on Earth can strip Muslims of their right to self-determination and the establishment of Pakistan." Following a three-day visit to Lahore, Khan moved on to Peshawar. While traveling, he was greeted at Nowshera Railway Station by a sizable gathering of Muslim League backers. There, he discussed the unfavorable stance of Congress leaders at the Simla Conference. Upon reaching Peshawar, an elaborate welcome parade escorted him to Chowk Yadgar, where a significant public gathering took place. In his address, Khan mentioned: "From my perspective, the Congress has entirely disregarded its 1942 agenda and has now submitted to Lord Wavell in order to obtain political authority." He mentioned: "The Simla Conference has demonstrated that Pakistan is the sole feasible solution for the Muslims of the sub-continent." During the same event, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar announced: "Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan provided lengthy and significant service to the Congress." However, he abandoned it upon realizing it was intent on defeating the Muslim League. When Khan joined, the Muslim League in NWFP was facing internal rifts and a lack of organization. Khan's reputation and influence gained during his extensive tenure with the Congress allowed him to draw considerable public backing for the League. He swiftly emerged as one of its most impactful leaders in the region, relentlessly promoting the call for an independent Muslim state. During Quaid-i-Azam's trip to Peshawar in 1945, a highly favored slogan among the supporters of the Muslim League was: "*Muslim hai to Muslim League ka hissa ban.*" ("If you practice Islam, then become a member of the Muslim League."). This motto was prominently advocated by Abdul Qayyum Khan himself. When Jinnah visited, the biggest political assembly in Peshawar's history occurred at Shahi Bagh. Inspired by the audience and the spirit of the crowd, Quaid-i-Azam recognized: "This assembly demonstrates that the residents of the Frontier have become politically conscious." "No power can prevent them from reaching their individual homeland." After coming back to Delhi, Jinnah penned a personal letter to Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, conveying his profound gratitude for the impressive impact he made on the League in such a brief period.

A. Elections held in 1945–46

After the unsuccessful Simla Conference in 1945, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah called for general elections to ascertain which party Congress or the Muslim League truly represented the Indian populace, especially the Muslim community. In response to this demand, the Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell, declared on 21 August 1945 that general elections would occur in the winter of 1945–46. These elections aimed to assess the political power of both the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League, since their results would greatly influence India's future political

framework. Both sides initiated robust election campaigns. The Muslim League advocated the idea that "Muslims in India form a distinct nation" and claimed that establishing Pakistan was the sole effective remedy for India's communal issues. In contrast, the Congress asserted that it was the only representative of all Indians, irrespective of religion, and promoted a united, indivisible India. The Central Legislative Assembly (CLA) elections took place in December 1945, leading to a sweeping victory for the Muslim League, which secured all the Muslim seats in the CLA. This achievement showcased the League's support among Indian Muslims and validated its assertion of representing the Muslim community. By the conclusion of 1945, the concept of Pakistan had begun to gather significant support even in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). Nevertheless, the League could not completely take advantage of the changing attitudes in the area. The provincial assembly elections were set for February 1946, and similar to other provinces, the Muslim League initiated an extensive campaign in NWFP. Leaders of the Muslim League aimed to secure 32 of the 38 Muslim seats in the NWFP Assembly, which consisted of a total of 50 seats. Nevertheless, the Governor of NWFP voiced doubts about the League's future, stating: "The League's organization and finances lag significantly behind those of the Congress, making them, in my view, less inherently strong than they think." In NWFP, elections took place from January 26 to February 14, 1946, and the results were announced by February 18, 1946. The result was a definitive success for the Congress, which obtained 30 of the 50 seats, whereas the Muslim League could secure just 17 seats. The last 3 seats were allocated to independent or smaller political parties. Concerning the Muslim League's lackluster results in the province, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan remarked: "The outcomes of the election might have astonished watchers in other regions, but not the residents of NWFP." The elections were held under the oversight of the Congress Ministry, and government officials faced pressure to manipulate the results to benefit the Congress. In the constituencies of Peshawar city, the Muslim League put forward Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, whereas the Congress selected Muhammad Yahya Jan Khan. In the results, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Yahya Jan Khan were chosen, whereas Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar was defeated. Despite challenges in NWFP, the Muslim League secured a significant victory across the nation, capturing 446 of the 495 Muslim seats in all provincial assemblies. In contrast, the Congress controlled the Hindu constituencies and established governments in every province with a Hindu majority. In NWFP, Dr. Khan Sahib was designated Chief Minister and established his cabinet by the conclusion of February 1946.

His Administration Comprised:

- Chief Minister Dr. Khan Sahib responsible for Home, Political Affairs, Health, and Public Works
- Qazi Ataullah Khan – Secretary of Revenue, Industries, and Prisons
- Minister of Education – Muhammad Yahya Jan Khan
- Mir Chand Khan – Finance Minister

After the election outcomes, a gathering of the chosen Muslim League representatives took place on 10 March 1946. During this meeting, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was selected unanimously as the Opposition Leader in the NWFP Assembly, and the Nawab of Tank was appointed as the Deputy Opposition Leader.

B. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) in the NWFP.

In December 1946, the conditions in Hazara worsened drastically after assaults by cross-border tribal raiders on the villages of Battal and Oghi, where they also ignited multiple shops. These assaults led to many fatalities and injuries. In reaction, the administration sent in a significant police presence and enacted the NWFP Public Safety Ordinance, while also implementing Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, barring public speeches, processions, and assemblies of over five individuals in multiple towns throughout Hazara. Capitalizing on the tense climate, the NWFP Muslim League dispatched key figures to visit Hazara, encouraging the populace to resist government directives and ignore fines levied under the new rules. The Muslim League charged the government headed by Dr. Khan Sahib with implementing a harsh policy designed to suppress both the Muslim community and the Muslim League. At this pivotal moment, Abdul Qayyum Khan vehemently criticized the government during a public meeting in Oghi on 19 December 1946, asserting: "Thousands of Muslims in Bihar were murdered in cold blood, but no penalties were levied against the Hindus of Bihar, nor were military campaigns launched against them." He also cautioned that: "If these incidents in Bihar continue, Muslims may struggle to contain their emotions, and comparable

violence might arise here in NWFP." In early 1947, new communal strife arose in Hazara when a Sikh girl voluntarily embraced Islam and wed a Muslim man. This resulted in communal violence, with the Sikh community calling for the girl's return. Unfounded and groundless legal claims were filed by the Sikhs against her Muslim spouse, who was then surrendered to them under duress. The Hazara Muslim community was greatly disturbed by these events. To resolve the matter, a delegation featuring Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and two other leaders from the Muslim League visited Dr. Khan Sahib at his home, insisting on the girl's return to her Muslim spouse. Nonetheless, the delegation's attempts did not succeed. Consequently, the Provincial Muslim League opted to initiate a civil disobedience movement (CDM) in NWFP. In defiance of government prohibitions on public gatherings and marches, Muslim League followers arranged a significant procession on 21 February 1947, which advanced toward Dr. Khan Sahib's home in Peshawar. The demonstrators called for the Congress administration to resign and for the prompt return of the converted woman to her spouse. The protest resulted in the detention of numerous leaders and workers from the Muslim League, prompting the demonstrations to intensify into violent clashes. Later that month, the Hazara matter was briefly eclipsed by the by-election in the Mardan district for a provincial assembly position. The Muslim League put forward M. Ishaq Khan as its nominee, whereas the Congress endorsed Shakir-ul-Allah Jan. Dr. Khan Sahib boldly confronted the Muslim League, stating that this election would be crucial and vowing to step down from the ministry if the League candidate triumphed. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan updated Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah regarding their electoral campaign and was optimistic about winning. Upon announcement of the results, M. Ishaq Khan claimed the seat with 8,942 votes, surpassing the Congress candidate Shakir-ul-Allah, who received 8,355 votes. The sentiment among the public in NWFP started to lean towards the Muslim League, yet Dr. Khan Sahib did not step down from the ministry as he had assured during the campaign. Due to the Frontier Congress having a strong majority in the provincial assembly, it was resistant to giving up power voluntarily. The Muslim League demanded Dr. Khan Sahib's resignation, yet there was no legal justification to compel it. As a result, the League opted to implement extra-constitutional actions to remove the Congress ministry and strengthen public backing in the province. On 28 February 1947, a significant rally was led by Abdul Qayyum Khan in Mardan, where he volunteered for arrest. His detention energized Muslim League activists, and upon learning the news, thousands congregated at Chowk Yadgar in Peshawar for a large gathering, which was succeeded by a significant march to the Governor's House. The detentions of League activists heightened the movement, as thousands willingly presented themselves for arrest each day. Prisons became congested, and the economic strain on the government grew significantly. The Congress ministry, having no other option, chose to free the detainees, yet all declined to exit custody until their demands were fulfilled. The movement for civil disobedience quickly extended from Peshawar across NWFP. Women also became active contributors to the movement. Significantly, on 1 April 1947, a significant women's march commenced from Abdul Qayyum Khan's residence in Peshawar. With Muslim League flags in hand, the women challenged the curfew set by the government and, despite numerous police interventions to thwart them, managed to arrive at the Chief Minister's home. Inside the building, they raised the Muslim League flag, representing their steadfast commitment to the movement.

C. Lord Mountbatten's Visit to the Frontier

After British Prime Minister Clement Attlee declared that power would be handed over to Indians, it was clear that British governance in India was drawing to a close. A definitive solution to the Indian political crisis seemed near. In this setting, Lord Louis Mountbatten was designated as the final Viceroy of India. He reached India on 22nd March 1947 and officially began his role as the 29th and last Viceroy of British India. Upon taking office, Lord Mountbatten promptly initiated discussions with significant political leaders throughout the subcontinent. In line with this initiative, he engaged with leaders from the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League in Delhi to evaluate the current political circumstances, especially in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). These gatherings took place in the final week of April 1947. In preparation for Mountbatten's arrival at the Frontier, top officials of the Muslim League most of whom were incarcerated received parole and convened a gathering at Peshawar Central Jail from April 24 to 27, 1947. In these discussions, they examined the political situation and concurred to present a memorandum to the Viceroy via an official delegation. Lord Mountbatten reached Peshawar on April 29, 1947, where he met with a group of leaders from the Muslim League. This group consisted of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Arbab Noor

Muhammad Khan, Samin Jan Khan, and the Pir of Manki Sharif, all of whom were granted temporary parole from prison for this purpose. During the meeting, the Viceroy communicated that the British Government would declare the full transfer of power in two months. He additionally called on Muslim League leaders to halt any unconstitutional actions and refrain from exerting excessive pressure on the Frontier Government until a conclusive decision was reached. On May 26, 1947, Abdul Qayyum Khan and Samin Jan Khan transmitted a telegram to Muhammad Ali Jinnah from Peshawar Central Jail, notifying him that Abdul Ghaffar Khan (or Bacha Khan) wished to see him in Delhi. Jinnah embraced the proposal and conveyed his readiness to meet with Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the others. Two days later, Abdul Qayyum Khan went to Delhi, where he met Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib (the NWFP Premier), who were participating in the All India Congress Committee meeting. After the declaration of the Mountbatten Plan (also referred to as the 3rd June Plan) for India's partition. The Provincial Muslim League Council decided not to halt the ongoing Direct Action Movement. The proposal suggested a referendum in the NWFP to decide if the province would align with Pakistan or India. Jinnah reiterated his backing for the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) while directing Muslim League members to take all required measures to avert communal conflict in the area.

D. Contribution of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan in the NWFP Referendum (3rd June Initiative)

Following thorough discussions, Lord Mountbatten completed a Partition Plan by mid-April 1947. On May 1, 1947, the Congress Working Committee convened and officially accepted the suggested plan. The final draft was also approved by the Muslim League. Mountbatten subsequently went back to London to obtain the approval of the British Government, which was appropriately provided. The formal plan often known as the 3rd June Plan was revealed on 3rd June 1947. As outlined in the plan, a referendum is set to take place in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) to determine if the province will become part of the upcoming Dominion of Pakistan or stay with India. During that period, the provincial government led by the Congress, with Dr. Khan Sahib at the helm, was against the formation of Pakistan. In a significant political action, Dr. Khan Sahib alongside his brother Abdul Ghaffar Khan started promoting the establishment of "Pathanistan" or "Pakhtoonistan", a sovereign nation for the Pashtuns. The demand received backing from the Indian National Congress. Nevertheless, both the Muslim League and Lord Mountbatten dismissed it, explaining that the residents of NWFP would only be given the choice between Pakistan and India, with no alternative option. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and other Muslim League leaders campaigned energetically. During a large public gathering in Peshawar, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan announced: "This referendum concerns not ministries or authority it is about deciding the fate of the Muslims in the Frontier." The referendum started on 6th July 1947. Of the 572,798 voters registered, around 50% participated in the election. Out of these, 289,244 votes (99.9%) favored Pakistan, while just 2,874 votes were in favor of India. It was necessary to assess the condition of the tribal regions, which were administered by distinct legal frameworks and were excluded from the established districts. Professor L.F. Rushbrook Williams notes in his book *Pakistan Under Challenge* that an informal referendum occurred in these tribal regions, where local tribes willingly indicated their intention to join Pakistan. It is important to highlight that these tribes had the potential to align with Afghanistan, yet they predominantly opted for Pakistan. Consequently, the NWFP and the tribal region were incorporated into Pakistan. After this political achievement, a Muslim League delegation featuring Abdul Qayyum Khan conferred with Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, now the Governor-General of Pakistan, to demand the substitution of the Congress Ministry in the province with a Muslim League administration. Please provide the text you would like me to paraphrase.

Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Following the successful referendum in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was chosen as the Chief Minister of the province. As Chief Minister, he significantly advanced the growth of NWFP, transforming it into a benchmark province in various important areas. A major accomplishment of his was in the area of education. He was instrumental in founding the University of Peshawar, addressing a long-standing demand for higher education in the region. His administration further broadened access to primary and secondary education, prioritizing educational advancement. In the industrial sector, Khan established a strong base by promoting industrialization and developing infrastructure to foster economic growth. He also implemented agricultural changes to

enhance productivity and assist farmers, acknowledging the province's farming characteristics. Moreover, he initiated projects in the social sector, such as health and community development, with the goal of improving the general quality of life in the province. His contributions received broad recognition nationwide, and in 1953, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was included in the Central Cabinet as a Federal Minister, highlighting his leadership and administrative skills.

Conclusion

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's political career started after he returned from London, where he first backed the Indian National Congress in the NWFP. He officially became a member of the Congress Party in 1930 and took an active part in its initiatives. In 1937, he was chosen as a representative of the Central Legislative Assembly (CLA) of India from NWFP and was designated Deputy Parliamentary Leader of the Congress in the Assembly indicating his increasing prominence within the party. Khan's dedication, leadership skills, and political insight positioned him among the elite of Indian politics. Nonetheless, following the unsuccessful Simla Conference in 1945, he grew disenchanted with Congress policies and chose to depart from the party. Acknowledging the evolving political landscape and the hopes of Muslims in India, he became a member of the All-India Muslim League. Because of his political background and fame, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah graciously admitted Khan into the party and assigned him a significant position within its provincial framework. Although the Muslim League was established in 1906, it faced difficulties in establishing a notable presence in NWFP. Nonetheless, following Khan's joining of the party, its appeal in the province increased significantly. A distinct illustration of his impact was evident in November 1945, when Jinnah travelled to Peshawar merely three months after Khan became a member of the League. A significant audience assembled to greet the Quaid, highlighting the change in public backing. In his speech, Jinnah openly recognized and valued Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's contributions in shifting support towards the Muslim League in the NWFP. In the provincial elections of 1946, Khan secured his position from the Peshawar constituency and subsequently became the Leader of the Opposition in the NWFP Assembly. Following the declaration of the 3rd June Plan, a vote took place in the province to determine if NWFP would become part of Pakistan or stay with India. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was instrumental in rallying public sentiment in support of Pakistan. His ability to lead, organizational talents, and rapport with the people resulted in a decisive triumph for the Muslim League, as a vast majority of the populace cast their votes in support of Pakistan. His efforts during this pivotal time secured him an enduring role in the history of Pakistan's formation and strengthening.

Following are the recommendations for the future research that highlighted the potential areas for further study

1. **Leadership Comparisons:** Analyze Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's leadership alongside other regional figures in colonial India to gain insights into various political ideologies and leadership approaches.
2. **Tribal Dynamics:** Explore how tribal influences in the NWFP affected Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's political journey and his associations with Pashtun nationalism.
3. **Colonial Influence:** Analyze how British colonial policies affected his initial political ideas, especially concerning significant occurrences such as the Rowlatt Act.
4. **Connection with the Muslim League:** Examine his association with the All India Muslim League and his position on the Pakistan Movement.
5. **Family and Social Connections:** Examine the ways in which Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan's familial history and social relationships shaped his ascent in politics.
6. **Gender and Politics:** Examine how women and gender relations influenced political movements in his time.
7. **Geopolitical Landscape of NWFP:** Investigate the ways in which the geopolitical setting of NWFP shaped his political beliefs and leadership style.
8. **Role of religion:** Examine how Islam shaped his political agenda and nationalist perspectives.
9. **Heritage and Public Image:** Explore how his heritage and public persona have changed throughout the years
10. **Economic Aspects:** Examine the economic environment (land, resources) that shaped political movements in the NWFP during his early years

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