

Politics of Renaming NWFP: A Historical Appraisal (1947-2010)



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Abstract: *In British India, June 3, 1947 Plan brought drastic changes in politics and shaped attitudes of various political leaders. Feeling treacherous by the Indian National Congress (INC), Khudai Khidmatgars (KKs) demanded Pakhtunistan (independent state). It was not accepted by the British, the INC and All India Muslim League (AIML), led to a boycott of referendum by the KKs, still, Pakhtuns decided to join Pakistan. In post-partition era, the KKs modified their demand of Pakhtunistan with greater provincial autonomy within the state and renaming of the province later as Pakhtunkhwa instead of Pakhtunistan. The KKs political counteracts have doubts that they were on the track of separation in the facade of province's renaming. In fact, this was not the real matter. They were moving towards integration. However, they were looking for an identity by renaming of the province like Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Bengal. As the authority was not satisfied with the demand of Pakhtunistan because of its pre-partition record, the demanding name for the province was changed to "Pakhtunkhwa" during Zia's regime. In April 2010, the Eighteenth Amendment to 1973 constitution was passed and the NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This paper will analyze renaming issue of the NWFP from independence of Pakistan considering parliamentary struggle.*

Keywords: Pakhtun, nationalism, Pakhtunistan, Afghanistan, Constitution, Pakhtunkhwa, Amendment

Introduction

In British Period known as the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) as Eighteenth Amendment was passed by the National Assembly of Pakistan in April 2010 (Islam, 2013, p. 189). The British called it NWFP as it was in the North-West of India. Due to its strategic sensitivity and importance, KP has played a considerable role in history of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, once a gateway for foreign invaders, historians, travelers, politicians, military men, administrators and traders.

As a province of British India, it was situated between 31°. 40' and 36°. 57' north latitude and 69°. 16' and 74°. 40' east longitude (Shah, 1999, p. 1). The greatest length of the province was 408 miles and, greatest breadth 279 miles; with approximately 39,000 square miles. The Hindu Kush range is lying to its northern side; to its south there is Baluchistan and the Dera Ghazi Khan; to its eastern side Kashmir and the Punjab province are located and Afghanistan to its west (Baha 1978, p. 1). The province has an international border of 2250 kilometers with Afghanistan. In fact, KP has a boundary having double status: one administrative and the second

is of political nature. The first one separates five settled districts i.e. Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, from the tribal territory. The second is Durand Line, which had been demarcated by Well Durand in 1893. "The intervening area between the two boundaries was - and still is occupied by the Pakhtun tribes" (Baha 1978, p. 2). The province is administered in three principal geographical divisions, namely: (1) the cis- Indus district of Hazara; (2) a comparatively narrow strip between the Indus and the hills constituting settled districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan; and (3) the tribal belt which lies between settled districts and Durand Line. The tribal belt constitutes an area of 25, 500 square miles (Baha, 1978, p. 2). During the British time, each district was under the administration of a Deputy Commissioner. Along with five settled districts (settled area), there were five Political Agencies i.e. Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan (Baha, 1978, p. 2).

Physically, the province presents an extremely motley and complex image with important passes in the north-western hills. Most of these passes, for centuries, served as routes of invasions on Indian territories as well as trade way, had linked Central Asia and the Subcontinent. In the northern part of Hindu Kush, there are passes of Broghil and Dorah. The first leads to Pamirs and the second to Afghanistan. A route leads from Afghanistan through Kunarh to Bajaur, Swat and then Peshawar. The important and famous Khyber Pass is lying beyond the Hindu Kush leading to Afghanistan via Torkham and then to Central Asia.

Due to the gateway of conquest, it had produced an amalgamation of civilizations. It had been penetrated from time to time by foreign invaders. The adventures were begun from Aryan immigration into India around 2000 BC, who came from Oxus River to Herat and spreading on one side through Ghazni and Kabul and on the other side through Qandhar and Soloman mountains (Obhrai 1983, p. 1). These semi-nomadic people came India through KP and settled initially along the Swat, Gomal,

Kurram and Kabul rivers. During a long time, a great number of Aryan came into the subcontinent, occupied fertile plains by pushing their enemies to hills and forests (Obhrai 1983, p. 2).

KP was the home of the ancient civilization of Gandhara, began in 1000 BC. However, the Persians, then, had become the masters of the whole of Indus valley about 518 BC, with the annexation of Gandhara (Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts) by Darius-I. After that the Persians ruled the area for some 200 years. Alexander's Army ran over the territory of the subcontinent by 326 BC. By that time, Pushkilavati (Charsadda) was the capital of Gandhara. With the death of Alexander in 323 BC, the hold of the Greeks was completely shaken. However, even after his death, one of his generals, Seleucus claimed the Indian Territory.

In 305 BC, Chandragupta Mauriya fought Seleucus and emerged triumphant. Most of the Indian subcontinent came under the suzerainty of Mauriyan kingdom during the time of Chandragupta and his son Bindusra. However, the third Mauriyan emperor Ashoka is still remembered, who made Gandhara the hub of Buddhist culture and the centre of Art. The Kushans, who came from China in 165 B.C, took charge of the area and ruled the area till the middle of first century A.D. They were, then, driven out by the Huns. The decline of the Kushan dynasty and, other brief conquests, prepared a route for the *Shahi* dynasty. Hinduism began to take root in the region, as most of the later *Shahi* dynasty kings were Hindus. The Gandharan civilization was uprooted gradually, as Hinduism had replaced Buddhism. King Harsha, who was regarded to be related to the family of Gupta by blood, ruled over the Punjab in 7th century A.D.

In the first decade of eighth century Islam reached Asia Minor, North Africa and Spain. The Arabs also reached India from Mesopotamia. In 712 A.D., the Muslims came to Sindh. Raja Dahir, the ruler of Sindh was killed and Sindh became the province of Islamic state. Alaptagin, a ruler of Ghazni (962 A.D-963 A.D) invaded unsuccessfully on Raja Jaypala (964 A.D-1001 A.D) kingdom. However, Mahmood

Ghaznavi (971-1030) started his venture and defeated Raja Jayapala in 1001 A.D, the last Hindu Shahi of Gandhara. Next was Muhammad Ghauri (1149-1206), who occupied Peshawar in 1180 A.D. (Obhrai 1983, p. 12).

Qutub-ud-Din Aibak (1150-1210) found the Slave dynasty by assuming the royal title. As disorder followed in Slave dynasty, the Mongols found an opportunity, attacked India and heavy devastation was witnessed in the west of Jhelum and neighborhood of the Salt Range. Khiljis, Tughlaqs, Sayyids, Lodhis and Mughals ruled over India till 1857. So far, the case of NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) was concerned, it was invaded by the Sikhs in 1818. The Sikhs took charge of Peshawar in 1923. They had looted and damaged the city and Bala Hisar fort was put into fire. They crushed down various architectural monuments. The Sikhs also damaged *Masjid* Muhabat Khan (Jonson, 1983, p. 24). The British first contact was made in 1808, when there was a danger of French attack of India through Persia and Afghanistan. A mission was sent to the *Amir* of Afghanistan to settle the issue (Jonson 1983, p. 24). In 1849, the Sikhs were defeated and their area of control came under the British suzerainty. The Punjab was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1849. The British moved across the Beas to Attock and then marched towards Peshawar, Hazara, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. During the time, the British felt Afghanistan as an external element of threat to their rule in India. Most importantly, Russian empire's expansion was a matter of worry for the British. Consequently, the North-West frontier became immensely important strategic area. A "Forward Policy" was initiated to check Russian advancement and KP became a buffer zone. Furthermore, the British had worried about a possible alliance of Russia, the Afghans and local population of KP.

Theoretical Framework

Although an older phenomenon, the scholars have not yet agreed on its meaning and definition. This is why David MacCrone quoted the words of John Hall who stated, "as the historical record is diverse so too must be our concept" (MacCrone 2000, p. 22). Another scholar namely Benedict Anderson admitted this

fact and said, "Nations, Nationality and Nationalism, all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyze" (Anderson 1991, p. 3). The passion of more realism was shown by H. S. Watson by saying "I am driven to the conclusion that no scientific definition of the nation can be devised; yet the phenomenon has existed and exists" (Watson 1977, p. 5). Irrespective of the lack of consensus among the scholars, some scholars had defined the phenomenon of nationalism. Carlton Hayes remarked, "A condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one's national state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and its 'mission' are integral parts" (Hayes 1928, p. 6). Hans Kohn wrote, "Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness" (Kohn 1951, p. 8).

In his book "Nation and Nationalism" Earnest Gellner basically held responsible economic reasons for nationalism development. He thinks the superiority of material conditions in structuring social change and political thought (Adeel 2009, p. 2-6). According to Gellner, 'nationalism is a psychological bond which has political goal to form a separate autonomous, or independent political community' (Gellner 1993, p.1). Extensively, the issue earned Allama Iqbal's strong disfavour by religious as well as political point of view (Ali 1978, p. 194). Allama considered Muslims of the world as *Millat*, then merged in the supra-geographical *Millat*.

KP is the home of multi-racial and multi-lingual people. The province of KP was consisted of Pakhtuns, Hindku speakers and other small ethno-linguistic groups. This was the determinant Pakhtun nationalism who gave tough time to the British. In post-partition era, Pakistan faced the same problem much stronger in form of Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pakhtun nationalities. The notion of nationalism and multi-racial factor created hurdles for the state machinery. Similarly, the provincial politics and Pakhtun nationalist approach was dominated by the concept of nationalism.

Pakhtun Nationalism

Lord Curzon (1859-1925) separated KP from the Punjab and formed a new province comprised on five settled districts. These arrangements were made for the purpose to deal directly with the KP instead of communication with man sitting at the Punjab (Baha 1978, pp. 12-31). It was the birth day of the king i.e. January 9, 1901 that a separate province came into being and formally inaugurated on April 26, 1902. Lord Curzon addressed thousands of dignitaries at Shahi Bagh and declared this inauguration of the new province as sympathy and personal interest on the part of him. He regarded it in the favour of the best interests of the people to provide quick services (Baha 1978, p. 26).

The creation of the new province was important about the beginning of party politics. The first nationalist Urdu newspaper *Frontier Advocate* was published in 1905 by Amir Chand Bombwal. Ram Chand established a provincial branch of Congress in February 1907. However, due to a sense of insecurity, the British government banned this new political group and its leaders were imprisoned under Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR). In 1912, a provincial branch of the Muslim League was established. The time was sensitive due to Balkan wars, thus the British banned the AIML branch. However, the secretary of the party, Ali Abbas Bokhari was able to flee towards Afghanistan (Shah 1999, p.17).

Then, era of pan-Islamism transferred political ideas to rural areas. Haji Fazli- Wahid, (Haji Sahib Turangzai) started a reformation programme in Pakhtun Society to eradicate social evils. Haji Sahib and Bacha Khan (1890-1988) established a network of *Azad Madrassah* system. The British authority was not able to tolerate any extremist and nationalist initiatives and thus all the process was banned. Haji Sahib, to avoid a possible arrest, moved to tribal area. The near future after the death of Haji Sahib saw Khilafat Movement and Hijrat Movement. By the failure of these movements, the Muslims, however, learnt how to organize such kind of movements.

To remove educational and social backwardness and to reform Pakhtun society, Bacha Khan established *Anjuman-i-slahul Afaghina* (Society for reformation of Afghans) on April 1, 1921, followed by the formation of *Zalmo Jirga* (Youth League). The organization started a Journal *Pakhtun* in Pashto language to discuss socio-economic and political issues. In November 1929, Khudai Khidmatgar (KK) was formed. The KK and *Zalmo Jirga* were formally affiliated with INC on August 9, 1931. These events provided a background for the legislative elections in 1932. In these elections the participants, through votes, were in relatively good percentage as compared to India's other parts (Yearly Report of NWFP 1932, pp. 2-4). On April 18, 1932, the viceroy of India, Lord Willingdon (1866-1941) inaugurated the KP's Legislative Council, which was consisted of 40 members, 28 elected and 12 had to be nominated. 22 Muslims, 5 Hindus and 1 Sikh were to be elected. 5 Europeans, 1 Sikh official, 1 Muslim, 4 Muslims non-official and 1 Sikh non-official were to be nominated (Rittenberg 1988, p. 126).

The provincial elections of 1937 were held under the provincial part of the government of India Act 1935. The Congress got majority in 8 provinces including KP. In KP a congress ministry was installed and Abdul Jabbar Khan (1883-1960) known as Dr. Khan Sahib, became the Chief Minister of KP. The party also claimed a majority in KP in 1945-46 elections. Dr. Khan again became the Chief Minister of KP, which lasted till the independence of Pakistan in August 1947.

Quit India Movement and the KK

In 1940 nationalist history of India took another shape. The ML had chosen the track to achieve its goal — Pakistan after the passage of the Lahore Resolution. The INC on the other hand was about to start Quit India Movement. The CWC in a resolution passed on August 8, 1942 called upon the British to quit India (Khan 2016, p. 70). Quit India Movement has little effects on KP (Shah 1999, p. 120). During the unrest in India, Initially KP remained silent in Quit India Movement (Khan 2016, p. 70). For the purpose to popularize the plan of INC in the tribal area,

Bacha Khan deployed KKs (CID Diaries 1942, pp. 82-83). However, the KKs did not earn considerable favour outside the settled districts. The Quit India Movement in KP was given no serious attention by the authorities even after the beginning of civil disobedience by the Congress workers in KP on August 8, 1942. The intensity in the movement was recorded in October 1942 when the courts were picketed for six days continuously. Then, the government *lathi-charged* the crowd and firing was witnessed. Bacha Khan was arrested on October 27, 1942. Although, other leaders of KK were arrested too, but still the impacts of the movement on the people of KP was little as they considered it as a fight of the INC and the British government (Shah 1999, pp. 136-137). The movement ended in April 1943.

The British Government was keen to seek the solution of the problem of India. For this purpose, Simla Conference was convened. It was June 25, 1945 when the conference started its deliberations. Meanwhile, the Labour Party won the elections in July 1945. The new government of England under Clement Atlee gave priority to solve the Indian problem. One of these important steps was to conduct general election for Central and Provincial Legislature in India (Shah 1999, pp. 148-159).

In KP, the elections of 1946 was considered notably a strong contest between The INC and the AIML. The INC had to prove that the Muslims of KP were supporting them on the ideology of Indian Nationalism. The AIML on the other hand was zealous to prove that the Muslims of the province had lost confidence on both the Khan Brothers and the INC (Shah 1999, p. 159). However, the elections were held in between January 26 to February 14, 1946. The INC had claimed an absolute majority by winning thirty out of fifty seats. Out of twelve minority seats the INC won eleven. The ML had won seventeen seats. Thus, an invitation was received by Dr. Khan to form the government in the province which was accepted on March 7, 1946 and on March 9 the KK and Congress Ministers assumed their responsibilities (Shah 1999, p. 167). It was during Dr. Khan's Ministry in KP when June 3 Plan was accepted by the

INC.

June 3 Plan: Beginning of Pakhtunistan Issue

To complete the mission of the peaceful transfer of power to the Indians by June 1948, Mountbatten (June 25, 1900- August 27, 1979), the last Viceroy of India arrived in Delhi on March 22, 1947 (Rasheed 2004, p. 343). Mountbatten had prepared a plan for partition of India which was rejected by Nehru at Simla. Another plan was prepared by V.P. Menon and Mountbatten left for London on May 17, 1947 to get approval of the revised plan. The British Prime Minister (PM) Clement Attlee and his Cabinet approved the plan in the briefest session. The Viceroy came back to India with the approved plan on May 31, 1947 (Rasheed 2004, pp. 349-350).

On June 2, 1947, Mountbatten held a meeting with the prominent political leaders. Nehru on behalf of the Congress accepted the plan. Baldev Singh (1902-1961), a leader from Sikh Community gave his assent. Jinnah assured the Viceroy that he would put the plan before the AIML Council. The council held a meeting on June 9, authorized Jinnah 'to accept the fundamental principles of the plan as a compromise' (Shah 1999, p. 217-218). The Viceroy, on June 3, announced the acceptance of the plan by the notable political leaders of India. Bacha Khan was completely stunned when the Congress accepted the partition. He considered it as an act of treachery on the part of the Congress and he believed they had been thrown to the wolves (Azad 1988, p. 210). The plan had a section about KP stood thus, "As regards N.W.F. Province a referendum will be made to the electors of the existing Legislative Assembly to choose between the existing and the new Constituent Asembly" (Rasheed 2004, p. 355).

Referendum in KP and Role of the Khan Brothers

The KKs and the INC had a political alliance in KP since August 1931 to September 1947. For the first time the alliance was damaged when the Congress Central Command accepted June 3 Plan. This action was done without any consultation of their Pakhtun comrades in KP (Marwat 2017, p. 94). Earlier the INC strongly

opposed the partition of India and assured the KKs that it would never accept partition of India. In these circumstances when June 3 Plan was accepted by the Congress, Khan Brothers were stunned. According to the plan India was to be partitioned into two separate states Pakistan and India and a plebiscite was to be held in KP whether it would like to affiliate with India or Pakistan (Marwat 2017, p. 94). Bacha Khan was very much discontented, so, he wrote a letter to Gandhi telling him about their sacrifices for the achievement of Independence but the Congress had thrown them to the wolves (Lal 1966, pp. 96-97). Gandhi had sympathy with Bacha Khan, meanwhile a protest was recorded from the Congress President Kripalani who showed his disagreement for the referendum to be held in KP without any third option e.g. Pakhtunistan (Shah 1999, p. 219). The KKs convened a meeting in Bannu on June 21, 1947 demanded inclusion of Independent Pakhtunistan as a third option in the referendum (Marwat 2017, p. 95). They proclaimed that as INC has 'disowned' us. Why a referendum should be held on the affiliation issue with Pakistan or Hindustan, 'it should be on Pakhtunistan or Pakistan'. This demand was not accepted by all the three sections e.g. the British, the AIML and the INC. 'There is no other alternative at issue whatsoever' (Booth 1947, MF. 1412).

On June 18 Lieutenant General Lockhart (1893-1981) was given the authority as governor of KP and Caroe (1892-1981) was removed. Then the referendum was conducted from 6 to 17 July. The KKs boycotted the referendum. According to the results announced on July 20, 1947, in favour of Pakistan 289, 244 votes were polled and 2874 for India. The KKs, however, regarded the referendum as one-sided show with bogus votes polling (Shah 1999, p. 226).

Pakistan was now a reality, but there was rumours and press reports of proposals to declare Pakhtunistan on August 15. Lockhart, the Governor of KP asked Dr. Khan about these rumours and reports. He assured the governor that no kind of unconstitutional action would be taken. He stated that his party would not participate in the celebrations of August 15, but would not interfere with them (Lokhart,

Mountbatten 1947). However, it was reported that at various places, the Congress flag has been replaced by the *Zalmy* Pakhtun flag, having two crossed swords and words of *Allah-o-Akbar* in white on a red background. The Red Shirt supporters continued to speak in favour of Pathanistan (Intelligence Report 1947, p. 110).

After the creation of Pakistan, on August 21, Jinnah 'authorized' Cunningham to dismiss the ministry of Dr. Khan Sahib in KP which he did. Charges of dismissal of the ministry were that Dr. Khan and his comrades did not intentionally attend Pakistan's flag hoisting ceremony and by this way they insulted Pakistan (Shah 1999, p. 230). The reason of their absence from the ceremony was to avoid any possibility of violence or misbehave on the part ML volunteers. On the same afternoon when the ministry was dismissed, Cunningham called on Qayyum Khan (1901-1981) to form a League ministry in KP. The dismissal of the ministry seems to be the result of Jinnah's autocratic appearance and distaste for difference of an opinion and the feelings of insecurity on the part of early administrator of Pakistan (Adeel 2009, p. 13). Jinnah's decision to dissolve the ministry of KP can be objected because he should have to ask the governor of KP to dismiss the Assembly and to make arrangements for fresh elections. In contrast, he asked the governor to dissolve KP's Assembly and to invite ML individual to form the new ministry in the province (Adeel 2009, p. 13).

Although, a meeting of *Zalmy* Pakhtun and KK was held at Sardaryab (a town on the bank of River Kabul) agreed on the following points, (i) the KKs regarded Pakistan as their own country and they will devote themselves to work for the safety and interests of Pakistan, (ii) that the dismissal of Dr. Khan ministry was undemocratic but no protest was to be made as it would create hurdles for our country, and (iii) they adopted the red color flag for their party instead of the INC tri-color flag (Marwat, 2017, p. 98). Bacha Khan proved it practically by taking the oath of allegiance to Pakistan on February 23, 1948 (Adeel 2009, p. 13).

In the first session of the First Constituent Assembly (FCA) of Pakistan in Karachi, he

addressed the Assembly:

I confess that I was against the division of India. It was my selfless opinion that India should not be divided. But now, when it has occurred, our differences and disputes have also vanished. Now all the energies of my friends and mine only be devoted to the service of our country (Marwat 2017, p. 99).

Then in a public speech on March 23, 1948, he said that Pakistan should be a free state. It should be free from the influence of any community. He wants that Pakistan should be ruled by its people in true sense. After that Bacha Khan fully concentrated on provincial autonomy.

Rendition of Pakhtunistan

Due to their pre-partition demand of Pakhtunistan, to ensure the early administrator of Pakistan about their loyalty, Khan brothers had to modify the demand of Pakhtunistan. Bacha Khan during his speech in the FCA in 1948, readdressed his demand for Pakhtunistan as following:

What does our Pathanistan mean, I will tell you just now? You see that the people inhabiting the province are called Sindhis and the name of their country is Sind. Similarly, the Punjab and Bengal is the land of Punjabis and Bengalis. In the same way there is the North-West Frontier. We are one people and ours is a land. Within Pakistan we also want that mere mentioning of the name of the country should convey to the people that it is the land of the Pakhtuns...Pathan is the name of a community and we will name the country as Pakhtunistan...we want Pakhtunistan and to see all the Pathans on this side of the Durand Line joined and united together in Pakhtunistan...if you argue that Pakistan would be weakened by it then I would say that it is not so. Pakistan can never become weak by the creation of a separate political unit. On the other hand, it would become stronger. Most of the difficulties are begotten by lack of confidence but when there is confidence the difficulties are resolved.... (Marwat 2017, pp. 101-102).

Bacha Khan's definition of Pakhtunistan demand in the FCA of Pakistan reveals that his post-Partition stand was different from that of pre-partition demand of Pakhtunistan. It was clearly a demand of renaming of the province within the state of Pakistan. Bacha Khan, once again stated about Pakhtunistan in the FCA of Pakistan. He termed five nationalities e.g. Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochis and the Pakhtuns as five brothers. The land of Punjab is known for Punjabis, the land of Sindh is for Sindhis, the land of Balochistan and Bengal for Balochis and Bengalis respectively. "We too have a country of our own but it has no name of its own". The Pakhtun also need a name by which they can be recognized and known that it is the country of Pakhtuns (Bacha Khan Debates n.d, pp. 8-11).

On the plea of delaying the constitution making process, the then Governor General of Pakistan Malik Ghulam Muhammad (1895-1956) dismissed the First Constituent Assembly. Actual reason of delay in the process of constitution making was the differences among the politicians and parliamentarians regarding different issues inside the Constituent Assembly as well as outside. Not only the two wings of Pakistan were indulged in these differences but the West Pakistan provinces were following their differences which resultantly was leading towards provincialism. Like the FCA, the Second Constituent Assembly was also facing the issue to settle the problem of representation of federating units in the federal legislature. To create parity between the East and West Pakistan and to eliminate heavy burden of administrative expenses, the Second Constituent Assembly passed the bill on September 30, 1955 to merge the four provinces of the West Pakistan into a single body of West Pakistan Province (Hamid, 2009, p. 124). Dr. Khan was made the chief minister of the West Pakistan province.

The amalgamation of the West provinces into One Unit strained the relations between KKs (then NAP) and the Central Government. The former strongly opposed the scheme of One Unit. Bacha Khan and Abdul Wali Khan was of the view that One Unit has shaken badly the perspective of Pakhtunistan. Now, with their

redefined demand of Pakhtunistan, another chapter of dissolution of One Unit was added. To them, One Unit was meant minimizing of regional autonomy and exploitation of the West Pakistan's smaller provinces resources (Marwat 2017, p. 106). Bacha Khan and his colleagues were looking to the One Unit as the main obstruction in the way of renaming the province as Pakhtunistan and reasonable provincial autonomy. This gave birth to serious differences between the Pakhtun nationalist politicians and the centre. Bacha Khan and his followers were dubbed the title of 'traitors' and 'anti-Pakistan' (Marwat 2017, p. 109). Thus, Bacha Khan was kept in imprisonment or exile. In his absence Abdul Wali Khan captained the NAP and remained glued to the edited demands of renaming of the province as Pakhtunistan, abolition of One Unit and restoration of the former provinces of the West Pakistan and greater provincial autonomy within the state of Pakistan. However, in 1969, the issue of One Unit was resolved when Yahya Khan demolished One Unit and restored previous provinces of the West Pakistan.

Change of the Demand : From Pakhtunistan to Pakhtunkhwa

The demand of Independent Pakhtunistan came to the lime light when according to the June 3, 1947 plan of Partition of India was accepted by the INC High Command. So, due to their pre-independence stand of Independent Pakhtunistan and importantly support of Afghanistan to the cause of Pakhtunistan had made the issue of redefined Pakhtunistan and demand of greater provincial autonomy doubtful in the mind of state administrators. Bacha Khan

and his followers were also aware of the fact that the demand of renaming of the province as Pakhtunistan was of no use. Now they had also came to know the fact that their political opponents would never extend their cooperation for the cause of Pakhtunistan. On the same grounds Zia-ul-Haq was also reluctant to rename the province as Pakhtunistan. Zia, in a meeting, assured Bacha Khan that if he would put forward an alternate name rather than Pakhtunistan, he would accept it. Bacha Khan, discussed the matter with his followers and in a letter to Zia proposed him Pakhtunkhwa instead of Pakhtunistan in 1979 (Khattak 2009, pp. 3-7).

Formation of the Awami National Party and Renaming of the Province as Pakhtunkhwa

Abdul Wali Khan founded Awami National Party (ANP) in 1986. Renaming of the province was at the top of its list. The proper demand for renaming of the province as 'Paktunkhwa' was written in the constitution of the ANP after its existence in 1986. It states that according to the aspirations of the people of the province and resolutions of the Provincial Assembly, the so-called name, NWFP would be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa (Hameed 1971, p. 49). As KP is inhabited by both Pakhtuns and non-Pakhtuns, thus to remove possible deprivation of non-Pakhtun population, various writers have given their opinions. The experts had forwarded new names like Khyber, Panjdara, Gandhara and Abaseen for renaming the province (Ayaz 2012, p. 43).

Before analyzing all the aspects of renaming of the province, we have to observe the ethnolinguistic composition of Pakistan.

Ethnolinguistic Composition of Pakistan

Language	Punjab	Sindh	KP	Baluchistan	Pakistan
Urdu	4.5	21.1	0.8	1.6	7.8
Pujabi	75.2	7.0	1.0	2.9	45.4
Pashto	1.2	4.2	73.9	23.0	13.0
Sindhi	0.1	59.7	-	6.8	14.6
Balochi	0.7	2.1	-	58.5	3.5
Saraiki	17.4	1.0	3.9	2.6	10.9
Others	0.9	4.9	20.4	5.1	4.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Muhammad Mushtaq, “Regional Identities in Quest of Separate Province: A New Challenge for the Pakistani Federation”, *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 23 (2016): 292.

The above given figures are at national level, now let’s analyze the proportion of Pashto Speaking and non-Pashto Speaking population in KP.

Proportion of Pashto speaking and non-Pashto speaking in KP

Districts	Pashto Speaking	Non-Pashto Speaking
Chitral	4.44	95.56
Kohistan	4.89	95.11
Mansehra	40.29	59.71
Abbottabad	3.68	96.32
Dera Ismail Khan	29.71	70.29
Peshawar	87.54	12.46
Kohat	86.54	13.25
Bannu	97.93	2.07
Swat	90.28	9.72
Malakand	98.09	1.91

Source: Census Report 1981, M.A. Sofi, *Pakhtunkhwa Kion?* 14.

The case of KP is very complex as it is a multi-ethnic province. The abovementioned chart shows that Pashto speaking are more than 40% in 5 districts out of 10 districts. So in this case if the province is renamed as Pakhtunkhwa, it will lead to deterioration and enhance ethnolinguistic feelings in non-Pashto speaking areas.

Parliamentary Struggle

The ANP right from its existence was in pursuit of renaming of the province as Pakhtunkhwa. In search of renaming it remained in alliance with Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) since 1988 to 1999. Although, till that time the issue was not solved but the public opinion was made in favour of the renaming of the province. To achieve desirable results, it was necessary for the ANP to bring the issue on the floor of Provincial and National Assembly.

This matter was first brought on the floor of Provincial Assembly on April 30, 1989 by Haji Abdul Raziq Khan by moving a resolution in favour of renaming of the province. This resolution was not passed yet and was on the floor of the Provincial Assembly when the Assembly was dissolved and the resolution lapsed (NWFP Assembly Resolution 1989). When the next Provincial Assembly was framed,

Abdul Raziq once again brought a resolution to the Assembly in favour of renaming of the province on September 29, 1990 (NWFP Assembly Resolution 1990). In this resolution the Provincial Assembly was requested to make recommendation to the federal government to rename the province as Pakhtunkhwa according to the wishes and aspirations of the people. Abdul Raziq tried to bring the issue in the notice of the present house that the name NWFP was the legacy of the British and the name was kept due to its geographical location. . . . as it was located in the North West of Delhi (NWFP Assembly Resolution 1990). He even claimed that not only KP was the frontier province, two other provinces are making borders with India and two with Iran and Afghanistan. Thus, on the base of these facts the province should be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa. He further argued:

“I want to show the figures of 1981 census that majority of the people speak Pashto and they are 68.30%, second are Hindku speakers they are 18.13%, third are Saraiki speakers they are 3.45%. According to this censuses, 68.30% are Pashto speakers which are in the settled areas of the province. If we include the Tribal belt, which on no grounds out of Pakistan and is a majority Pashtoon area, then 98% Pashto speakers are living in the province Pashto is a worldly

language, we have a Pashto Department in the University of Peshawar in which PhD programmes are offered We watch and listen different programmes from America, BBC and worldly broad castings on Radio and TV I am proud of it, I will use this name (Pakhtunkhwa) This is our politics.... throughout Pakistan Pashto is having the (position) of second majority language.... Punjabi is on the top 48.17% people speak Punjabi, 2nd is Pashto throughout Pakistan which is 13.15% and Urdu is 7.60%. I want to give reference from the Constitution's Article No. 28 "Subject to article, 251 any section of citizens having a distinct language, script, or culture shall have the right to preserve and promote the same and subject to law (can) establish institutions for that purpose" (Ayaz 2012, p. 49).

The ANP members of Provincial Assembly particularly supported this resolution. Undoubtedly, Begum Naseem favoured the resolution and answered harsh questions of few members. Aftab Ahmad Sherpao, the then opposition leader of the House, strongly supported the resolution.

Some of the members opposed the resolution. Mr. Muhammad Yaqoob Khan spoke against the resolution and declared it as impracticable. He warned the House that it would lead to a division on ethnolinguistic base. However, the first resolution regarding renaming of the province was failed as 28 votes fell in favour of the resolution and 48 in opposition (NWFP Assembly Resolution 1990). A year earlier than the above defeated resolution, Pir Muhammad Khan brought a resolution to the Assembly revealing that Sindh and the Punjab are named after rivers, so, NWFP should be renamed as *Abaseen* which has no ethnolinguistic hurdles (NWFP Assembly Resolution 1989). Then, in another resolution Pir Muhammad demanded *Nooristan*, a changed name for the province, but the resolution was withdrawn on November 29, 1990. According to Begum Naseem, "we requested Pir Muhammad and persuaded him to withdraw his resolution and support us" (Ayaz 2012, p. 51).

A second resolution was moved in the Provincial Assembly of KP in 1997. In those days the ANP

was in coalition with Nawaz Sharif under the umbrella of *Islami Jamhoori Ittehad* (IJI). This was presented by the ANP in the Assembly which requested to the Provincial Assembly to make recommendations to the federal government to rename the province as Pakhtunkhwa following the names of the Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan. These names were the recognition and identity of their people. In contrast, the name NWFP was only showing a geographical location. Therefore, the constitution should be amended and the NWFP should be renamed as Pakhtoonkhwa (NWFP Assembly Resolution 1997). The resolution was supported by all the ANP members including Haji Muhammad Adeel who was a Deputy Speaker of the Assembly. Najm-ud-Din had favoured the resolution from the PPP side. Aftab Sherpao was once again the leader of opposition in the Assembly, supported the resolution. The resolution, this time was passed on November 13, 1997. Only two members Salim Saifullah and Hamayun Saifullah opposed it.

The general elections of 1997 gave a tremendous victory to the PML (N). As the ANP was an ally of Nawaz Sharif thus, a coalition government of the ANP and PML (N) was made in KP. The two parties continued for quite some time despite their divergent and different point of views until the issue that had been swept under the carpet resurfaced. The ANP wanted the renaming of the province as Pakhtunkhwa. This was not acceptable to Nawaz Sharif because he did not want to take on the forces of establishment dominated by his constituency in the Punjab (Yusufzai 2006). The differences between these two allies were worsened further when after the nuclear tests on May 28, 1998, Nawaz Sharif announced that we would go ahead with the construction of KBD. This announcement made bitter the ties between the ANP and PML (N). Thus, the alliance collapsed and the ANP left the coalition government in KP (Yusufzai 2006).

After Abdul Wali Khan retirement from politics, Ajmal Khattak (1925-2010) was now the president of the party and according to the constitution of the ANP, he worked for renaming of the province (Constitution of ANP 2013, pp. 1-11). Wali Khan kept himself out of active

politics (Yusufzai 2006). After Parvez Musharraf coup (1999-2008), Ajmal Khattak quit the ANP for some time and established National Awami Party Pakistan (NAPP), however, after two years he came back to the ANP which was welcomed by Wali Khan. But the leadership of the party passed into the hand of Asfandyar Wali Khan. Under his leadership the party has made government in KP after the elections of 2008. In the pre-defined era, the party leadership and workers remained fix to the politics of renaming of the province and opposing the construction of KBD and no compromise was made on both the issues.

After the elections of 2008, the PPP made the federal government. Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani (2008-2012) became the PM of Pakistan. Moreover, Asif Ali Zardari (2008-2013) was also elected as the President of Pakistan. All was in favour of the ANP. Soon a bill of Eighteenth Amendment containing 102 Clauses of the constitution to be amended, was presented in the Parliament of Pakistan. Till March 31, 2010 all political parties were agreed on the bill. It was passed from National Assembly and Senate by April 15, 2010. The President of Pakistan gave his approval on April 19, 2010. Under this amendment the Clause of 58-2(B) ended and NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Haq Nawai Ihtisham 2010, p.65). The amendment reveals:

In the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, hereinafter referred to as the Constitution, in Article 1, in Clause (2), in paragraph (a), for the word “Baluchistan” the word “Balochistan”, for the word “North West Frontier” the words “Khyber Pakhtunkhwa”, and for the word “Sind” the word “Sindh”, shall be substituted (The Gazzete of Pakistan 2010, p. 268).

The ANP’s actual demand was to rename the province as ‘Pakhtunkhwa’, however, this all made them happy even, on renaming it as ‘Khyber Pakhtunkhwa’. In fact, a huge number of non-Pakhtuns are also living in KP. Particularly, Hazara Division, where the PML (N) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-i-Azam (PML-Q) have strong voting

bank. It was possible that the name ‘Pakhtunkhwa’ would led to intensify ethno-nationalist sentiments as well as sense of deprivation in Hazara Division and other non-Pakhtun region of the province. On this matter a hot debate between the ANP and PML (N) members was recorded on the floor of the Parliament. At last, the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms recommended Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as a new name of NWFP. Thus, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of 1973 renamed the NWFP as KP.

Conclusion

It is a solid fact that stronger and stable provinces may lead to a stronger federation. Acceptance, recognition and grant of due rights and powers to the provinces can tighten the strings of provinces with the federation. Moreover, diversities may also be recognized

as it will lead to strengthen the provincial ties with the federation. Renaming of NWFP was a long standing issue on the part of the Pakhtun nationalists. They initially opposed the creation of Pakistan and demanded Independent Pakhtunistan. However, their later steps were not basically for separation but they were only demanding for their rights. The Pakhtuns are the most loyal people and doubts over their loyalties and devotion to the state will be injustice. In post-independence period, the modified form of Pakhtunistan came into lime light that the NWFP should be renamed as Pakhtunistan. Then the name Pakhtunistan was altered with ‘Pakhtunkhwa’ to be the name of the province. Renaming of the province was a just demand of the Pakhtuns on the ground that other provinces of Pakistan e.g. the Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan were representing their inhabitants. The case of the NWFP was quite different. The name NWFP was the British legacy. This name was only indicating the side where the province was situated and did not identify its inhabitants. Thus, on the ground of other provinces names who are representing their masses, the Pakhtun leaders were quite right to demand renaming of the province. As a matter of fact, only ‘Pakhtunkhwa’ was not enough to represent a multi-ethnic populated province, adversely it

could intensify ethnic sentiments rather than national integration. The law-makers of the state took good step to add a prefix 'Khyber' to the name Pakhtunkhwa and thus the province was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa which represented and satisfied the non-Pakhtun sections of the province on the one hand and pleased Pakhtuns on the other hand. The renaming process was completed under the Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution of 1973, which was a positive and important step towards centre-province relations and relations among the provinces.

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