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Politics of Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan (1910-1967)

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ABSTRACT

Political ideology of Nawab of Kalabagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan (1910-67) was based on the perception of a highly educated but conservative feudal. He advocated status quo in almost all the matters including foreign relations. He advised Ayub Khan not to switch over to China because it would antagonise U.S.A. He was not so optimistic about the solution of Kashmir issue. His pragmatic approach favoured the peaceful method of negotiation instead of confrontation. General perception portrays him as a typical landlord who was averse to education and freedom of press. Evidences from history reveal that there is a partial truth in it. He liked a responsible press which should not be left unbridled. Bengalis of East Pakistan made the bigger chunk of the total population of Pakistan. He, as a non-Bengali of West Pakistan, was apprehensive of their strength in numbers. Anti-One Unit politicians were secessionists in the eyes of Nawab so were dealt severely. He treated his political rivals according to their strength and ambitions. He was suspicious of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto because he (Bhutto) was too ambitious to be trusted. He allegedly victimized Chaudhri Zahoor Elahi because Chaudhri had desired to replace him. Mawlana A. Sattar Niazi, Habibullah Paracha and Pir of Makhad Sharif used to challenge his supremacy in his native area so Nawab had to deal them harshly. It can be derived that his political outlook reflected the mindset of a typical feudal lord.

Key Words: Autocracy, Indo-Pak Relations, Presidential Elections of 1965, One Unit, Press and Publication Ordinance

Introduction

Malik Amir Muhammad Khan was born on June 20, 1910 at Kalabagh, Mianwali. He acquired his education from the prestigious academic institutions of British India (1858-1947) and England. His debut, as a politician of all India level, started when he had affiliated himself with Muslim League. He participated in the historic session of Muslim League in Lahore on March 23, of 1940 where historic Pakistan Resolution was passed (Jahan Dad Khan, 1999). In decisive election of 1946, he canvassed for the candidate of Muslim League, Mawlana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi (1915-2001)(Anjum, 1992). At the same time, he ran the affairs of his estate, Kalabagh and took part in local politics as well. He continued to work for the cause of his landlord community as well (Rokhri, 1994). He, with vast exposure,

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was influential in the power circles even before the coup of 1958. Being an intimate to Ayub Khan (1907-74), President of Pakistan, he had to accept the official responsibilities in the new regime (1958-69). At first, as Chairman of Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, and then Chairman of Food and Agriculture Commission; he earned the reputation of a strict, an honest and an able person with great managerial and administrative skills (*The Pakistan Times*, June 01, 1960). Nawab took the charge as Governor of West Pakistan on 1st of June 1960 which had been considered as “the most important office next to that of President” (Jahan Dad, 1999).

As a pure feudal, Malik Amir had both positive and negative traits of his class. He possessed the qualities of generous hospitality, bravery, loyalty to his nears and dears and transparency in financial matters. His feudal bent of mind compelled him to show some unwanted aspects as well like dire “commitment to the maintenance of status quo” and an “authoritarian outlook” (Jahan Dad, 1999). He shared same views with Ayub Khan about the politicians. He, repeatedly, opposed the reinstatement of those ‘discredited’ politicians. His stance on different political and national issues can be analysed one by one as under:

Nawab of Kalabagh and Kashmir issue

Though Altaf Gauhar (1923-2000) says ‘Kashmiris had no worth in Nawab’s eyes’ (Gauhar, 1995), but this impression is not espoused if we listen to this ‘middle of the month broadcast’ by Nawab, (*Daily Dawn* (Karachi), August 16, 1965)

Brave *Mujahids* were fighting relentlessly against the imperialist power in occupied Kashmir. They have staked their lives in order to liberate their motherland. We regard our own independence as incomplete due to their subjugation. Pakistan is trying to solve this problem through peaceful means.

Ayub’s cabinet, except Nawab of Kalabagh, unanimously suggested the arrest of ‘rebellious’ Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas(1904-67) of Kul Jammun-o-Kashmir Muslim Conference because he has opposed the Ayub Government on the issue of Azad Kashmir Act of 1960 and introduction of Basic Democratic system in Kashmir. Malik Amir opposed the suggestion in a strict manner by saying, “If Maharaja Hari Singh could not intimidate Ghulam Abbas then even life imprisonment by us would not make him shaky. His arrest will put us on the same standing with India and we will be in no position to condemn India for putting Sheikh Abdullah behind the bars.” (*Weekly Zindagi* (Lahore) February, 23, 1970) Ayub Khan was convinced by this argument and Ghulam Abbas escaped imprisonment. Despite being sympathetic to Kashmir cause, Malik Amir was not in favour of a “hawkish” approach to resolve Kashmir issue. He with Muhammad Shoaib (1907-97), Federal Finance Minister, was “candidates for the doves” in this concern (Roedad Khan, 2002). After the Tashkent Accord, he had not been so

optimist about the solution of Kashmir problem and cordial Indo-Pak relations. Negotiations at foreign minister level in Rawalpindi, in March 1966 did not prove fruitful as he had predicted. To him, rigidity on both the sides is real cause behind that failure. To him, assigning the job to make peace between India and Pakistan to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1928-79), foreign minister of Pakistan, was like appointing an 'arsonist to put out fire'. He remarked that it had been 'unfortunate' to appoint Swaran Singh (1907-94), then Indian Foreign Minister, as chief negotiator who had been "noted for his low brain power" (Roedad Khan, 1999).

Malik Amir's attitude toward education

Malik Amir, an Atchisonian and an Oxonian, always impressed his visitors by his encyclopaedic knowledge on diverse topics. Jacqueline Kennedy (1929-94) wrote on an invitation card, on 24th of March, 1962, "with appreciation to the most marvellous history teacher of the all." (Malik Ammad Khan, grandson of Nawab of Kalabagh, showed this invitation card to the writer). Some of his critics like Altaf Gauhar repeatedly remarked about the feudal and conservative outlook of Nawab and said,

Nawab usually did not use to differ with me except once when I, being Finance Secretary of West Pakistan, proposed Free Primary education and reasonable enhancement in the salaries of Primary teachers but Nawab opposed it and thus the proposal had been dropped. (Gauhar, 2003).

According to Gauhar, Governor justified his argument by narrating a story of painter (or mason) Meraj Khan/Muhammad Din of his native area whose matriculate son became criminal and jail bird while his illiterate son kept on earning with his father. (It is interesting to note that the same story was quoted by the author in his two books; *Gauhar Guzasht* pp. 93-4 and *Likhtay rahay Junun ki Hikayat* pp.64 but with different names). Another noteworthy fact is that reform of Mandatory Primary education was introduced in district Lahore on July 25, 1961 by the same Malik Amir (Razi and Shakir, 1997). Qudratullah Shahab (1917-86) shared another experience while working with Nawab. Colleges in Lahore were closed for the time undetermined because of student riots. Ayub asked to reopen the colleges but Governor was not convinced and argued, "If students would not study, there had been no harm in it. Our forefathers were not educated but it could not keep us from progress and make achievements" (Shahab, 1994).

However, people of Kalabagh were provided with educational facilities due to his personal interest. He showed poor condition of Kalabagh High School to Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan. The visitors immediately ordered to construct new building of school. Needy but talented boys of Tabisar, Tola Bangi Khel, Kalabagh and Patti were helped financially to get education. College students were given free passes of Indus Bus Company, owned by Kalabagh family, to travel to college in Mianwali city. Many educated boys got their jobs either in factories of Daud Khel Industrial estate or in Jinnah Barrage on Nawab's recommendation

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(Shah, 2014). He had some serious reservations about conventional system of education. For Mianwali, he had proposed a school of such a kind that would offer technical, vocational and agricultural education suitable for rustic culture (Jahan Dad, 1999). He, however, did not possess the progressive and magnanimous approach about girls' education. He was in favour to train the girls to turn them into good house-wives and mothers. (*Dawn*, October 18, 1960. He opined this in reply to demand by public of Kohat for a girl's college).

Students and Kalabagh Government

British High Commissioner recorded his impression in these words, (Roedad, 2002).

An unhappy feature of this period was the frequent recurrence of the student riots. The students had some grievances of their own, but they seem to have been mainly concerned to embarrass the Government. They were in fact beginning to be used by opposition politicians.

Sharif Commission proposed three years bachelor degree (B.A) which "met with vociferous opposition from students, parents and teachers." (A series of protest started in West Pakistan on September 18, 1962).

New University Ordinance empowered the Chancellor, Governor of West Pakistan, to withdraw the degrees of mischievous students (Raza, 1997). A resolution, passed by the students of Lahore on April 4, 1963, declared that the Ordinance had converted all the higher education institutions into larger jails (*Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 5, 1963). In 1964, "Commission on Students' Problems and Welfare", headed by Justice Hamud-ur-Rehman, recommended to do away with all the unwanted clauses of the University Ordinance (Raza, 1997). Malik Amir showed his resentment, while talking to Pir Ghulam Ali Chishti (d.1965), about the politicians who had abused the students for their vested political interests. He remarked, "Actually, Student leaders deserved the punishment, not the innocent students"(Rokhri, 1994). Tashkent Accord caused a widespread unrest especially among the students due to arrest on a large scale. Governor handled the situation amicably by withdrawing the cases against students and postponing the examinations (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 15, 1966). He asked his administration to deal the students in a milder way (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, January 16, 1966. A student delegation was told this by Khuda Bakhsh Bucha).

Freedom of press and Kalabagh Government

Newspapers changed their tone and became vociferous after the lift of Martial law in 1962. Shahab recorded the reaction of Nawab, "Recently, newspapers have started pouring too much dirt on us. Reading morning newspaper spoils my whole day and makes it difficult to perform my work properly that's why I have stopped to read newspapers" Shahab witnessed a cabinet meeting where suggestions were

given to keep the vocal press under government's thumb especially *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Dawn*. Decision was made by President and his colleagues including Nawab to buy a bigger chunk of shares of the newspapers to control and steer those easily (Shahab, 1994).

Press and Publication Ordinance

Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO) was issued on April 26, 1960. In August 1963, Nawab of Kalabagh amended PPO and promulgated it as the West Pakistan Press and Publication Ordinance 1963 (XXX 1963) which, allegedly, got the shape of "Black Law" in true meanings. The amendments brought some intense restrictions on print media.

- Executive, instead of Judiciary, was given the authority to confiscate the security.
- Printers/Publishers/Editors will not publish reports of proceedings of legislature or courts of law other than provided officially.
- The maximum amount of security was raised from Rs.10000/= to Rs.30000/=.
- Press releases and handouts by government had to be published literatim
- A commission could be setup to investigate through financial resources and employee-management relations.
- Not High court but a Special Tribunal, comprised of a government official, a retired judge of Supreme Court, and a government nominee from media industry, would be setup to hear an appeal against government (Niazi, 1986).

Later, Nawab of Kalabagh nullified these amendments on November 29, 1964 due to the vehement protest by journalist community and editors. According to Altaf Gauhar, he remarked in a derogatory sense about the journalist community, "whoever was a musician before has become a journalist now" (Gauhar, 2003). Majid Nizami (1928-2014) blamed that Governor Malik Amir had threatened to put a ban *Nawa-i-Waqt* (*Nawa-i-Waqt* (Platinum Jubilee Special), March 23, 2015). Nawab visited Temple Road for the condolence of Hamid Nizami (1915-62). Abdul Wahid (General Secretary of Convention Muslim League) tells a different story in this matter,

Press Laws of 1963 were not brainchild of Altaf Gauhar. This is a partial fact. Ayub Khan was responsible for it. He sought the advice of Nawab too and latter advised him to adopt lenient and reasonable way. Nawab argued that most of the newspapers were in the favour of the regime except *Nawa-i-Waqt* and it could not be tamed through the press laws so it would earn the government nothing else but notoriety (Weekly *Zindagi*, October 6, 1969, pp.15-6).

At the closure of *Outlook*, Karachi *The New York Times* in its issue of August 13, 1964 said, "This left West Pakistan without a single newspaper or magazine

critical of government policy. In East Pakistan, four opposition newspapers continued to appear” (Niazi, 1986). Lahore and Multan editions of Daily *Kohistan*, Monthly *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* and Monthly *Afkar* were disallowed to be published for different periods (Razi & Shakir, 1997). Periodicals and newspapers were snatched from Progressive Papers and handed over to National Press Trust, setup on March 27, 1964 (Niazi, 1986).

Tashkent Pact made the atmosphere vibrant so new Press ordinance was put into effect in February 1966. The ordinance empowered District Magistrates who could refuse the renewal of declaration if some mischievous intention of a paper against the defence, law and order, and foreign policy of country had been anticipated (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, February 5, 1966). A journalist’s camera was smashed into pieces by a police officer, Sipra, who ordered to run a truck over it (*Dawn*, April 23, 1966). Malik Amir promised to conduct an enquiry which never happened. Boycott by journalist community was called off on request of Governor who had set up a tribunal on August 16, 1966 to hear the cases about newspapers and redress the grievances (*Dawn*, August 17, 1966).

Allegedly, creative writings by men of letters faced some restrictions too. Shahab wrote that Adam Jee Award to Abdullah Hussain (1931-2015), for his Urdu novel *Udas Naslain*, had made Malik Amir furious because, in his opinion, the Urdu masterpiece contained four-letters and vulgar content. Nawab intended to file a case against Abdullah Hussain but federal government had shown no interest in the matter. Later, he accused Shahab, in a letter to Ayub Khan, of promoting immoral and abusive work in the guise of literature (Majid, 2007). To him, Writers Guild (A literary organisation formed in All Pakistan Writers Convention on 31st of January, 1959) was promoting peoples of rebellious nature like Shahidullah Kaiser (1927-71), Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-84), Shaukat Siddiqui (1923-2006), Abdullah Hussain and Ahmad Nadim Qasimi (1916-2006), with their traitorous designs (Shahab, 1994).

Abdul Wahid Khan observed that Malik Amir had not favoured to deal the press in a harsh manner. He refused to order an arrest of Shorish Kashmiri (1917-75) (*Zindagi*, October 6, 1969, pp. 15-6). But he was too sensitive to allow the free media in Kalabagh. News hawkers of his locality were asked to throw all the newspapers, with material to defame Nawab, into Indus River and get the bill from the treasury of Kalabagh estate. He knew that sensational content would create unrest in Kalabagh (Shah, 2014).

Zamir Qureshi, a senior journalist, accompanied an opposition leader Mir Abdul Baqi Baloch to visit another opposition leader Malik Ghulam Jilani (d.1984) and was murdered at the doorstep of his host 29th January 1965. He was considered unlucky as, perhaps, Baqi Baloch or Malik Jilani might be the intended target. Malik Amir donated Rs.5000/= and nine provincial ministers Rs.1000/= each, on March 9, 1965, for the Zamir Qureshi Fund (Razi & Shakir, 1997). Investigation could not continue due to some unknown reasons. Towards the end of 1965, Provincial government said that it would be ‘against the public interest’ to disclose ‘details of the investigation’ (Feldman, 1972).

Nawab of Kalabagh and Bengalis

Allegedly, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan looked down upon the Bengalis of East Pakistan (Gauhar, 2003). Nawab, apparently, was sympathetic to complaining Bengalis about allotment of the barrages land but at the same time, declared it a political stunt of some selfish politicians. He argued that Bengali settlers of Ghulam Muhammad Barrage had not paid even a single pie of *malia* and *abyana* despite government had spent 1.6 million on them (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, May 20, 1963. Mujib-ur-Rehman said that those settlers should be sent back to East Pakistan to die on their own land at least).

Being a no democratic in its true meaning Malik Amir, perhaps, was fearful of Bengalis' numeric strength. Ayub's diary disclosed real mentality of Nawab in this context. Diary of April 13, 1969 reveals that Malik quoted the remarks of his cousin, Sardar Muhammad Nawaz of Kot Fateh Khan (1901-68), uttered in 1946 or so "Do you know what this man Jinnah is doing? He is wanting us to go under the *Shudras* of Bengal" (Baxter, 2007).

Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rehman's Six Points and Nawab of Kalabagh

Mujib-ur-Rehman (1920-75) deviated from the agenda *i.e.* unanimous reaction to Tashkent Declaration and put forth his Six Points at the residence of Chaudhri Muhammad Ali (1905-80) in Lahore on February 5, 1966. Six Points, ostensibly, demanded the provincial autonomy according to the draft of Pakistan Resolution of March 23, 1940. The demands which, later, culminated in the partition of Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh, asked for complete provincial autonomy, a centre with the control over Defence and Foreign Affairs only, both the provinces with separate currencies or ban on the flow of capital from East Pakistan to West Pakistan, complete control of the provinces on their taxes and foreign exchange; and right of East Pakistan to recruit its own militia.

Some historians are of the view that it was the brain child of some nationalist Bengali intellectuals (Feldman, 1972). To some, it was a deliberate political stunt of Ayub government with purpose to divide the opposition (Rashedi, 2002). S.M. Zafar put the same theory before Altaf Gauhar to get it ratified but found the following reply,

One can say more surely that Mr. Mujib-ur-Rehman was provided with these points by the then Governor late Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh. [Because according to Nawab Sahib he could control the West and become its head, but could not be the head of East and West combined].

Zafar claims that the statement was "made in all seriousness" (Zafar, 1970). While talking to his confidant Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi (1905-87), Nawab, himself, accused some civil servants of this 'mischievous act'. Nawab predicted with an amazing accuracy. He foretold that Six-Point conspiracy would serve the dual

purpose of miscreants. Advisors of Ayub will insist on using oppressive measures against the Bengalis. East Pakistanis will be encouraged to stick to Six-Points as it will lead them to freedom eventually. He was apprehensive about the bloodshed on large scale if the matter would not be handled sensibly (Rashedi, 2002).

Foreign Policy of Pakistan and stance of Nawab

A group of senior research fellows from the Imperial Defence College of London witnessed Malik's vast knowledge of international relations and politics and remarked "Nawab was the best informed person that we had come across in Pakistan. He could discuss any subject, particularly international affairs, with logic and confidence" (Jahan Dad, 1999). Malik Amir knew the importance of phenomena of globalisation and international cooperation.

There is no denying the fact that every developing country needs the assistance of developed nations but it may clearly be understood that positive economic assistance is conducive not only to the promotion of world peace but is also in the interest of various nations of the world....The world of today has shrunk considerably and no power, whether big and small can sever its connection with the rest of the world and live successfully in isolation (*Dawn*, August 17, 1965).

Nawab led the moderate and pro-Capitalist faction in Ayub government. His opponents blamed him for being an "American stooge who had no views of his own and was always tutored by the U.S and British Ambassadors to safeguard their interests." Military Secretary to Nawab, Jahan Dad Khan, thinks, "the Nawab was a patriot and too egoist to be dictated by anybody else" (Jahan Dad, 1999). Governor said on August 6, 1965, "If American aid is stopped, we will not starve" (Razi & Shakir, 1997).

Malik Amir was not zealous about Ayub's pro-China policy. He viewed that opening of door via Silk Route might besiege Pakistan in future. But he was not in favour to un-friend China any way. He concluded that Pakistan should design a neutral and free foreign policy without playing in the hands of both the super powers (Rokhri, 1994). According to him, pro-West policy and affiliation with Capitalist Block might help a lot in achieving economic progress, better security, and preserving cultural legacy (Jahan Dad, 1999). He favoured a pragmatic and moderate approach in the matter of Indo-Pak relations and Kashmir dispute. British High Commissioner in Pakistan remarked in this regard,

According to our information Kalabagh, like Shoaib and other 'doves' in the Government, support the moderate and realistic new policies towards India which were publically endorsed by the President at Tashkent. But he is angry with Ayub for the way he has handled the whole Kashmir affair since August 1965.

Nawab of Kalabagh was cautious “to associate him neither with extreme anti-Indian chauvinism nor with what the public considers to have been unnecessary appeasement of Indians at Tashkent; but he reflects the popular mood” (Roedad, 2002, N.J. Barrington British High Commissioner in Pakistan to R.W. Whitney, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations Office, July 8, 1966).

Dealing Anti-One Unit politics

One Unit plan was executed to make a rapid progress of all the West Pakistan with accumulated revenue at its disposal and to quell regionalism and ethnic prejudices (*Civil and Military Gazette*, March 6, 1963. Amir’s address at Sibi Jirga). Nawab of Kalabagh criticised ‘disgruntled’ anti-One Unit politicians who had favoured the scheme before but then started to oppose it for their own vested interests (CMG January 26, 1963).

Comparatively, stern opposition to One-Unit was seen in Balochistan and, at one time, “it almost appeared as if Baluchistan had seceded *de facto* if not *de jure* by the open defiance of authority which prevailed there” (Feldman, 1972). Rao Abdur Rashid (1926-2007), a retired I.G of Punjab Police, said that, previously, the issue was dealt politically by the officials of political service. At the advent of Malik Amir, government started to handle it as a matter of law and order using blind force. Rao further opined, (Munir, 1985).

He applied the same ruthless philosophy as he had been using in Kalabagh. It was in his instinct to humiliate the noble and the egoist ones. This was the mentality that hurt the self-respect of Baloch *Sardars* and hatred began to spread.

Actually, that insurgency was triggered by a Martial Law Order which asked to surrender all the weapons without valid license. Rumours of implementing land reforms in Balochistan added fuel to fire. ‘Baloch Nationalism’ came with the following demands; (Awan, 1985).

- 1- Government should not on licensed Firearms.
- 2- *Riwaj* (law based on Baloch customs) should be restored.
- 3- All police stations should be shut down and personnel be withdrawn.
- 4- Stop construction of Khuzdar-Saruna road.

Prominent tribal chiefs like Khair Bakhsh Marri (1928-2014) and Attaullah Mengal and Nawab Muhammad Akbar Khan Bugti (1927-2006) were sent to jail on charges of sedition (Baluch, 1975). All these provocative *sardars* were deposed and their pro-government and loyal relatives had taken their places. (Tummandari of the Bugtis was snatched from Akbar Bugti and given to his teenage son, Salim on July 5, 1961. Provincial government ordered the Political Agent of Sibi to administer Bugti areas by the help of administrative council. Karam Khan Mengal, an elderly relative, replaced Attaullah Mengal. Kher Bakhsh Marri was deposed and Doda Khan Marri took his place). Later, those government nominee *sardars* were killed, one after the other (Mazari, 2000). In the mean time, a guerrilla force of young Balochs, Pararis or Fararis, emerged to pester the government. Malik

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Amir tried to convince Ayub Khan for the release of Attaullah Mengal and Akbar Bugti on the request of Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo (1917-89) and find some political solution (Kutty, 2009). But Khair Baksh Marri made such demands that Governor was left with no option but use of apolitical measures:

- *Sardars*, not government, own the minerals of their areas.
- Provincial government should withdraw police and officials of revenue department.
- Marris killed in 1965-6 should be compensated through the government exchequer.
- Only *Sardars* should be given the right to recruit levies and nominate the members of *Jirga*.
- No new roads will be constructed.
- Government should restore all the privileges of *Sardars* and release the assassin of Doda Khan Marri. (This murder was allegedly commissioned by Kher Bakhsh Marri himself to punish his uncle for taking his place as Chief of Marri tribe).

Ayub Bakhsh Awan remarked, "Fighting for which one of these demands means fighting for the national identity?" (Awan, 1985). Mir Ahmad Yar Khan (1902-79), Khan of Kalat, thinks that Ayub Khan was the real architect of 'anti-Baloch' policy. According to Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, Malik Amir accused Ayub of working against the interest of Baloch to please Government of Afghanistan. For that purpose, Ayub adopted the policy of oppressing the Baloch and giving the Pathans an upper hand. Mir further says that, according to Malik Amir, Ayub had been desirous to "see the Pathans as bosses of the Province" (Baxter, 2007).

Malik Amir with his rivals in politics

Jahan Dad Khan opined that "ruthlessness" of Nawab is nothing else but defamation as direct use of physical force was not his method. Malik Amir's method, in his own words, was "neither use the physical force nor torture but strike at the pocket" (Jahan Dad, 1999). How he used to deal with his political rivals can be guessed by the following instances:

- It is alleged that Nawab asked the authorities of Regional Transport Authority to cancel the route permits of Gujrat Bus Service owned by Mian Akbar Pagganwala, an MPA of opposition from Gujrat (Munir, 1989).
- *Khan Bahadur* Hafiz Muhammad Habibullah Paracha (1896-1988), an old Muslim Leaguer and owner of Paracha Textile Mill, was "nothing more than a son of petty shopkeeper from Makhud" in the the eyes of Malik Amir (Mazari, 2000). Property rights over royalty of Makarwal collieries proved the first bone of contention (Ayub, 2013). In May of 1966, Paracha, as candidate of Convention League in by-election on seat of Lyari, Karachi, was defeated by an anti Ayub politician, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Two provincial ministers of Malik's cabinet, Ghaffar Pasha and

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Mahmud Abdullah Harun (1920-2008), overtly supported Bizenjo. Many Basic Democrats voted against Paracha and received from Rs. 1500/= to Rs.2000/= per vote (Mazari, 2000). Governor connived at it though his deliberate involvement had not been on the record (Roedad, 2002).

- Syed Muhi-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Pir of Makhad Sharif (1908-63) encroached on Nawab's arid lands. Pir paid no heed to Nawab's request so the latter had to order to shoot the trespassers. Number of *Saghris*, disciples of Pir, lost their lives and the incident earned him the title of 'Nawab of terror' (Jahan Dad, 1999). Nikki murder case of 1938 caused not only a murder but put Pir behind the bars for 6 months also (Shah, 2014). According to Sub-Inspector (Rtd.) Sher Muhammad (died recently, served as the personal guard of Jinnah and, later, was included in security staff of Governor Malik Amir Muhammad Khan), it was a command performance by the estate's employees to teach the *Pir sahib* who used to interfere with domestic life of the Nawab. (Nawab's first marriage, in Gheba family, failed very soon. Pir of Makhad sided with in-laws of Nawab and meddled in the affair that made the Nawab furious).

However, political rivalry was due to some ideological differences. Pir of Makhad sided with progressive front of Muslim League, headed by Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana (1916-95), which had been vocal about the peasant friendly Land reforms. Malik Amir aligned himself with Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot's (1906-69) group (Roedad, 2002). *Kisan* Conference in Khanewal, presided over by Pir of Makhad, with attendance of almost 150,000 to 200,000 tenants and farmers "made land lords of Punjab worried" (Rokhri, 1994).

Nawab, on assuming the charge of Governor, sent a message to Pir, "I am burying the hatchet till I will be relinquished from the governorship" (According to Rokhri, "Muhammad Hussain Chathha can ratify this statement"). Later, Pir Safi-ud-Din (d. 1986), son and political heir to Pir of Makhad, sided with Miss Fatima Jinnah and opposed Ayub Khan in Presidential election of 1965 (Anjum, 1992). According to Pir Ghulam Abbas Shah, present Pir of Makhad, Governor Malik Amir ordered to cut the canal water to lands of Makhad family in Khanewal (Shah, 2014).

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

Nawab of Kalabagh had some serious suspicions about Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1928-79). Nawab thought that Bhutto family had been groomed by British civil servants. Bhutto apprehended, "certain people in the government, particularly Nawab of Kalabagh, were keen to see him eliminated because he was leading the pro-China group of the Ayub' cabinet" (Gauhar, 1995). Malik had a firm belief that 'misadventure in occupied Kashmir' by Ayub government was the brainchild of Bhutto only. To him, Bhutto did so to weaken Ayub Khan and "reach the pinnacle of power himself" (S.M. Zafar in foreword, Jahan Dad, 1999).

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When Bhutto tried to politicise Tashkent Accord for the sake of political point scoring, portfolio of foreign ministry was taken from him. Governor, in a meeting with Bhutto, “read out the Riot Act and told in no uncertain terms what his future would entail if he decided to publically oppose the government” (Mazari, 2000). According to Gauhar Ayub, Governor offered Ayub, “Bhutto can be eliminated if you are agreed to connive at it” Ayub declined, “You will be held sole responsible if Bhutto gets even a scratch” (Ayub, 2013) An F.I.R was filed by a woman against Bhutto charging him with her abduction and rape which, later, proved to be untrue and malicious (Hasan, 2009).

Pir Rashedi remarked that Zulfiqar Bhutto though was an influential Federal Minister but had desired to be powerful in West Pakistan as well. But Nawab was too sensitive to allow any type of interference in the administrative affairs of West Pakistan. After being sacked, Bhutto visited Malik in Governor House and was welcomed with much kindness and politeness with these words, “As you have come to me [humbly], I have no more malice against you, and promise not to harm you any way” (Rashedi, 2002) Later, Bhutto exploited the hectic political atmosphere to oust Ayub but waited till the Malik Amir’s resignation.

Mawlana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi

Nawab of Kalabagh supported Mawlana with full zeal and zest in the crucial election of 1946 (Mawlana Niazi defeated candidate of Unionist Party, Deputy Commissioner (R) Khaliq Dad Khan (Dogar, 1977). Later, both of them remained at daggers drawn in political arena for the rest of life. Mawlana Niazi blamed that he was deposed as President of Mianwali Muslim League on the behest of Nawab who, as a friend of Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, had wanted to punish him for inquiry into ‘Sahiwal Firing Case’(Some Rajput Muhajirins of Rao Rashid Ali Khan’s tribe were killed by Police firing. An inquiry committee comprising Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, then Chief Minister of Punjab, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Mawlana Sattar Niazi, was setup to investigate the issue. This committee declared the Provincial Government responsible for negligence. (Monthly *Zia-i-Haram* (Lahore), April, 1973, pp. 22).

According to Hakim Anwar Baberi (1922-77), Mawlana was offered with Rs.5, 00,000/= for not contesting from Mianwali in the proposed election of 1958 and let Iskanded Mirza contest from the same constituency. Refusal of Niazi made the Malik furious who foretold, twisting his moustaches, with utmost certainty, “O.K, stick to your plans but you will witness no election but Martial law.

According to Niazi, state machinery was used in favour of Malik Amir’s son Malik Muzaffar Khan to defeat him in the provincial elections of 1962. (*Weekly Rafiqat* (Sargodha), November 20, 1972).A memorandum entitled “Petition against the criminal governor of West Pakistan, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan [History Sheeter Column B]” with seventeen allegations was mailed to Ayub on August 14, 1963.(The ‘petition’ from Mawlana and ‘the people of Mianawali’ was comprised of 37 pages and charged Malik Amir with rigging, murders,

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smuggling, black marketing, slave-trafficking, corruption, misconduct etc.) A petition, filed in the court of Justice Abdul Qadir Sheikh, said that false charges of looting and arson in Islamia College Lahore were levelled to arrest the petitioner (Sattar Niazi) while he had been protesting against University Ordinance. In police custody, he was tortured by 9 police officers. Police made him awaken for continuous fifty-five hours. He was not provided with warm clothes and proper beddings in severe cold (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, December 10, 1965).

According to Niazi, life attempts on different occasions and places were made to teach him lesson for his support to Miss Fatima Jinnah against Ayub Khan (*Naya Piyam*, September 15, 1969).

Chaudhri Zahoor Elahi

Shahab wrote that Malik Amir became furious upon the growing intimacy between Ayub and Chaudhri Zahoor Elahi (1920-81) (Shahab, 1994). Governor summoned him on duty as head-constable (Munir, 1985). Chaudhri Zahoor served in Police before the emergence of Pakistan, later, he entered in the field of politics and, gradually, reached the position of General Secretary of Convention Muslim League. Zahoor Elahi got the ownership of Progressive Papers Ltd. on September 16, 1962. A minor news about failing health of Nawab was published in *The Pakistan Times* which added fuel to fire (Shahab, 1994). On 18th of February, 1965, Chaudhri was arrested and charged with possessing illegal firearms. Bashir-ud-Din Ahmad, High Court Judge, declared this case null and void on 4th of November, 1965 (*Daily Jang*, November 5, 1965). Later Zahoor Elahi was arrested again and put to a lengthy trial in a case registered under an 'obsolete and least known' Telegraph Act (1885). According to Shahab, Nawab levelled the charges of corruption and "unleashed an S.P. of special branch" on Chaudhri (Shahab, 1994). Moreover, he cancelled transport route permits, cinema licenses, agencies owned by Chaudhri (Jahan Dad, 1994). To damage the political interests of Chaudhri's family, his constituency was re-demarcated in 1964. Despite all these things, if correspondence between Nawab and Chaudhri is read, then the alleged enmity will look unreal and mythical. Six days before resignation of Nawab, Zahoor wrote a letter to Nawab in a very devotional tone. He supplicated and requested not to part with governorship because it would prove harmful to him (Zahoor Elahi), the President and Pakistan (The letter is in the custody of Malik Ammad Khan).

Conclusion

Critics must keep social background and grooming of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan in the view while analyzing his political outlook. He earned fame for his high character. Valour, utmost loyalty to friends and generous hospitality were the commendable properties of his character. At the same time, his rough and harsh exterior showed him as vengeful, arrogant, and extremely ruthless to his

opponents. But an impartial study might rectify if not refute the general perception about him. He used to execute his plans unscrupulously. No doubt, he dealt his opponents harshly in his native area to keep them under his thumb. He suppressed his rivals by using different tactics like teasing, threats, temptation and impeding their business. Allegations on him about physical elimination of his opponents have least truth. His loyalty to Ayub made him use autocratic measures though it had earned him bad name. Many of his suspicious about some intimates of Ayub like Bhutto proved true. His alleged aversion to education and free media is the mixture of truth and myth. Being a dictator, Ayub Khan was not in a position to afford an unleashed press. Despite some disruptions, newspapers continued to work as the organs of different communities and schools of thought. Facts reveal that usurpation of Progressive Papers, its re-birth in the form of National Press Trust and imposition of Press and Publication Order were the ideas of civil servants. Education sector, during his tenure, flourished even more than past. Undoubtedly, he was not so enlightened and magnanimous in the matter of girls' education.

His inclination towards the Capitalism was due to his class, education and upbringing. Nawab being a landlord could not admire Communist ideology which had promised an egalitarian society, confiscation of large estates and distribution among the peasants. He did not like the growing promiscuity between Pakistan and China. He advised Ayub to stick to the Capitalist bloc without antagonizing USSR. Nawab was known as 'Dove' because he had been against military confrontation with India. Nawab was sympathetic to Kashmiris but had argued to adopt a pragmatic approach towards Kashmir Dispute. But he was not optimist about the tension free relations between the neighbours due to rigidity on both sides.

Nawab started to mistrust the Bengalis because of their agitational politics. To him, their numeric strength might bring their perpetual supremacy over the West Pakistan. He viewed that centrifugal politics of the Bengalis would lead to the partition of Pakistan. He was too keen about success of One-Unit because it would ensure the integrity of Pakistan. He was of the view that Baloch *sardars* and National Awami Party had been involved in activities of secession. He handled them strictly due to their 'un-patriotic' designs against federation. In short, history will place him at the position of an efficient administrator. He will be remembered as an autocrat who did untiring efforts to execute the plans given by his dictator friend to get some desired results. He was no democratic but a great manager to run a vast territory with low crime rate and efficient state machinery.

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