

CHAPTER-II

THE TRIBAL AREAS DURING THE BRITISH RULE (1849-1947)

The history of the Tribal Areas and its people may be seen as a battle sequence between imperial invasions and their tribal resistance which never ceased. Throughout the history, the North West Frontier has seen two kinds of forces sweeping across it, the forces of Central or Western Asia directed towards the occupation of the plains of India, and the Indian forces, moving towards the Tribal Areas, to find a more durable frontier. This cycle was repeated frequently in the period between, Alexander the Great's invasion across the Frontier in 323 B.C. and 1750 A.D., which marked the last major invasion of India from the West.

The kingdom of Afghanistan was founded in 1747 by Ahmad Shah Abdali. By 1750, he had assumed direct control over Afghanistan. He made four invasions in India between 1749 and 1761. After defeating the Marhattahs in 1761 and the Sikh Army at Lahore in 1762, Ahmad Shah Abdali acquired control over the Punjab and also annexed Kashmir. Thus, the Afghan Empire reached its greatest extent during Ahmad Shah's reign. The Western frontier of his empire, lay beyond the Hindu Kush.

Since then , the rulers of Kabul exercised some sort of vague suzerainty over the Tribal Areas through hereditary Chiefs selected by the Amirs of Kabul, who paid allowances to the tribes through these chiefs.¹

After the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali, in 1773, followed a period of feuds and rivalries between the various claimants to his throne and the boundaries of Afghanistan saw considerable changes from time to time.

¹ Aitchison, Sir Charles Lord Lawrence, Oxford, 1982, P.21.

In 1826, Dost Muhammad became the ruler of Afghanistan. One of his objectives was to regain the territories which were lost during the period of anarchy that followed Ahmad Shah's death, specially those that were in the possession of the Sikhs. This was partly because Ranjith Singh had now brought Peshawar and other trans-Indus territories upto the Tribal Areas under his control. Dost Muhammad sent an expedition against Ranjith Singh which defeated the Sikhs in a fierce fight near Peshawar. The Amir might have followed up his victory but he deemed it more advisable, to seek the intervention of Lord Auckland, the new arrived British Governor General of India, in settling the differences between himself and the Sikh ruler. Accordingly, in the spring of 1836, Dost Muhammad wrote to Lord Auckland, congratulating him on his assumption of office and asking his advice, on how to deal with the Sikhs. "This letter opened the door to British intervention in Central Asia".¹

After establishing themselves in India in the 17th century,² the British gradually expanded their power and by 1836 they were in possession of the greater part of India. However, beyond the Sutlej River in the North West; the Punjab, Kashmir and North West Frontier remained under the direct administration of the Sikh king, Ranjith Singh (1818-1849).

After the death of Ranjith Singh, in 1849, the British conquered the Punjab and inherited all the territories which comprised the Sikh Kingdom. This included the trans-Indus territories with some tribal population as well.

On their arrival in Peshawar in 1849, in order to takeover Peshawar and other Frontier Districts as part of the new annexed province of the Punjab, the Britishers came into direct contact with the people of the Tribal Areas. The north western boundary of

¹ Fraser-Tytler, Afghanistan: A Study of Political Developments in Central Asia, London, 1953, P. 74.

² The East India Company was established in Surat in 1612 during the reign of Emperor Jahangir.

the new province was drawn along the foothills in the settled areas, where the Sikhs (1818-1849) possessed influence "only in the immediate vicinity of their (military) forts, studded the country".¹ At first, no attempt was made to advance into the highlands (Tribal Areas), or even to secure the main passages through the mountains, such as the Khyber Pass.² The administration of the North West Frontier under the British rule had two aspects: The management of the tribes to ensure the security of the settled districts and the civil administration of the settled districts. Though they managed to fix their final boundary on the Durand Line, however the effective control of the British Government remained confined to the settled districts and could not expand beyond it. This arrangement continued till the formation of the North West Frontier Province in 1901.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the British Government had to face with the menace of the expansion of U.S.S.R. in Central Asia. It regarded the Russian penetration in Central Asian regions as a potential threat to its imperial interests in India. This fear became the decisive factor in British Frontier Policy, and keeping of close relations with Afghanistan were considered essential for safeguarding British India from Russian expansionism.

In British Government, two schools of thought emerged out of the debate, on how best to meet the threat of Russian expansionism. These were known as the Close Border Policy school and Forward Policy School. The fifty years of the British administration from annexation up-to the formation of the North West Frontier Province can be divided into two periods, the first from 1849 to the outbreak of the second Afghan war in 1878, and the second from that date upto the formation of the North West Frontier Province in 1901. "The first thirty years represented the testing time of the so called Close Border Policy. The last twenty years are those of

¹ C.C. Davies, The Problem of the North West Frontier 1890-1908, Cambridge, 1932, P.37.

² Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, Karachi, 1983, P. 329.

the development of the Forward Policy".¹

THE CLOSE BORDER POLICY (1849-1878)

The Close Border Policy meant direct British rule only in the settled areas of the North West Frontier and leaving the tribes in the Tribal Areas to administer their own affairs. It also implied non-interference in Afghan affairs. British policy makers believed that a friendly and stable Afghanistan would make an effective deterrent against Russian expansionism. It was, therefore, necessary for the British, to abstain from military expeditions in Afghanistan and keep out of the internal conflicts of that country.

The main feature of this policy was to guard the border closely with a view to ensure the security of the settled districts from frequent tribal raids. The intention was to treat the Tribal Areas, as an outside zone and to confine the tribes to their areas, through a chain of posts and cantonments, strung around it. Non aggression on Tribal Areas and non-interference in the Tribal affairs were the main objectives of this policy. These areas were commonly referred to as " Ghair Ilaqa" (Un-administered territory) or Yaghistan.²

The tribesman were allowed entry into British territory and to trade freely, but British Officers were instructed, not to cross into tribal territory. Agreements were made with the tribes obliging them to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with the Government. According to British writers, "the tribesmen frequently broke these agreements and the Government had to stop the allowances, impose fines or blockades and when all these proved unavailing, to send expeditions into tribal territory. Between 1849 and 1889, the Punjab Government undertook as many as sixty two expeditions".³

¹ Ibid., P. 371.

² Ibid., P. 347.

³ Davies, Op.cit., PP. 18-36.

In practice expeditions were also sent to discover a better military frontier for the British possession. To achieve this objective, military expeditions and at times conciliatory methods were also adopted. It was during the second Afghan war in 1878, that a special Political Officer, was for the first time, appointed for the Khyber Pass, known as the Political Agent, who conducted relations with the tribes.¹ Subsequently, to maintain and enforce good behaviour on the tribes, a system of tribal subsidies was instituted. But all these measures proved unavailing and the British Government had to send a number of military expeditions to subjugate the tribes, but all in vain. Finally this policy had to be abandoned in favour of what came to be known as the Forward Policy of the 1890s.

BRITISH FORWARD POLICY (1890S)

During the Second Afghan war (1878-80), the region was greatly disturbed and the tribes once again became restless. The British fear of the Russian expansionism in Central Asia and its advance towards Afghanistan posed a great danger to the frontiers of British India. To organize the defence of India, it was necessary to control the passes to the North-West, and to set up advance military posts in the Tribal Areas which would facilitate the occupation of strategic points and control over the tribes. For this purpose, the Close Border Policy was replaced by the 'Forward Policy' in 1890s.

The British Government had already acquired control of the famous Khyber Pass during the second Afghan war (1878-80). To implement the "Forward Policy" Political Agencies were created as units of administration in the Tribal Areas. The implementation of this policy involved, the establishment of a workable relationship with the Amir of Afghanistan and control over the frontier tribes. Thus, the Government introduced the Forward Policy for the Tribal Areas and took a number of measures. In 1890, agreements were made

¹ Lal Baha, Op.cit., P.6.

with the tribes of South Waziristan to open the Gomal Pass. In 1891, the Samana Range was occupied enabling the Government to dominate Miranzai valley and Southern Tirah. In 1892, Kurram Militia was raised. In 1893, the control over the Kurram valley gave the British command of the Kurram Route leading over the Peiwar Kotal Pass to Ghazni and Kabul.

In (1889-90), Robert Bruce, the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan introduced Maliki system for the first time in Waziristan, to control the Mahsuds through their tribal chiefs. The leading Maliks were selected by Bruce, graded according to their supposed power and influence and paid allowances by the Government. In return, they were required to supply tribesmen for service in Militia and Levy Force, to guard the Gomal Pass, to control the tribes as a body, and to surrender individual criminals to the Government for trial.

Under the "Forward Policy", the British assured the responsibility of administering certain Tribal Areas and moved strong garrisons into the other parts of the region. It was in this period, that the British military authorities felt the need of a good communication system, linking strategic locations with the main garrisons in the settled areas. This was the first indication of an investment in development, albeit not for any altruistic motive but due to the dictates of the military policy.

The British Government, thus decided to establish close contacts with the tribes by providing them social amenities of life, such as roads, schools and hospitals etc. But the British failed to make much headway because of the poor response from the tribes.

What the British finally achieved, was the containment of the tribes by friendly agreements, grants of allowances and subsidies and use of force. Almost all the military expeditions resulted in the signing of agreements with the tribes which inter-alia made them territorially responsible for keeping peace with the Government, in return for the payment of allowances by the Government.

DURAND LINE AGREEMENT (1893)

The British forward moves on the Indo-Afghan border alarmed the Amir of Afghanistan and made him suspicious of the intentions of the British Government. While the Afghans were extending their control in the Tribal Areas, the British Government was trying to occupy the strategic points in the Tribal Areas with a sizeable force. Thus a considerable uncertainty prevailed regarding the respective spheres of influence over the tribes. To resolve this problem, both the British and Afghanistan Governments decided to demarcate the eastern boundary line. The mission deputed by the British Government, to negotiate on the delimitation of boundary with Amir Abdur-Rehman, was headed by Sir Mortimer Durand. The Durand Line Agreement was thus concluded in 1893, for the delimitation of boundary between British India and Afghanistan.¹ In 1894, a section of the boundary from the Kalash Valley in Chitral, to Nawa-Kotal in the Mohmand territory was demarcated. Further South, the demarcation could not be carried out, as the Amir of Afghanistan was not prepared to accept the British claim on Mohmand territory. It was finally demarcated in 1919, after the conclusion of the Third Afghan war. From Kurram to the Gomal River, the line was demarcated in 1894-95, when an expedition was sent against the Mahsuds. The South Waziristan was made a Political Agency in 1896. The British had already occupied the Tochy Valley of Daur and Wazir tribes in October, 1895, declaring it as North Waziristan Agency.

At the same time the "Forward Policy" was also pursued in the North, to secure control of the passes, in Gilgit, Chitral and Malakand in the Eastern Hindu Kush range. The active forward moves into tribal territory in 1890's, alarmed the tribesmen, who feared that the British Government was out to destroy their cherished independence. Their reaction took the form of a great tribal uprising in 1897, involving the Wazirs, the Swatis, the Afridis, the Orakzais and the Mohmands. This led the British Government to undertake seven military operations against the tribesmen, in which

¹ Lal Baha, Op.cit., P. 7.

70,000 troops were engaged. The operations were "long, arduous and costly".¹ The object of drawing the Durand Line was to solve the problems, relating to Indo-Afghan border. Instead of solving them, the agreement only aggravated them and projected them into the 20th Century, because of its arbitrary division of the Pukhtun tribes between Afghanistan and British India. The events of 1897, brought home to the Government the fact, that its Frontier Policy needed re-evaluation. All military attempts failed to win political submission. According to C.C.Davies: "When Lord Curzon arrived in India in January, 1899, the Government of India had successfully brought to a conclusion, a series of punitive expeditions against wide spread and violent tribal rising. The new viceroy found more than 100,000 troops contained across the administrative border, in the Khyber, on the Samana range, in Waziristan, and in Malakand area."² The lesson of 1897 seemed to have had no effect upon the authorities in India, for, not only were, they persisting in a policy of dispersion instead of concentration of forces, but proposals were also being brought forward for the construction of fresh and costly fortifications in the tribal territory. Fortunately, wiser counsels prevailed under Lord Curzon, whose policy can be described as one of withdrawal and concentration."³ This policy consummated in the creation of the North West Frontier Province.

POSITION OF THE TRIBAL AREAS AFTER THE FORMATION OF NWF PROVINCE

From its annexation in 1849 until 1901, the area of the North West Frontier was under the administrative control of the Punjab Government. Various schemes had been propounded for an alteration of these arrangements with the double object of securing closer,

¹ Davies, Op.cit., P. 91.

² Bureau of Statistics, P & D Department, Government of NWFP, Vital Socio-Economic Trends NWFP, Peshawar, 1984, P.7.

³ Ibid, PP. 7-8.

immediate control and supervision of the area and of making such alterations in the duties of frontier officials in order to establish improved relations between Government and the independent tribesmen. "Out of these schemes, the most important was the one, formulated by Lord Lytton in 1877, to bring the North West Frontier under the direct control of the Government of India which was put aside on the outbreak of the Second Afghan war in 1878."¹ This question was again raised in 1897 after the tribal uprising which underscored the need for the detachment of the tribal territory from the Punjab administration and placing it under the direct control of the Government of India, for its efficient management.

Soon after the arrival of Lord Curzon in India in January 1899, he took up the question of the military disposition and the control of the tribes on the Northern Border. Curzon's policy was, first, the withdrawal of the British Forces from advanced positions, second, the concentration of British forces in British territory, and finally, the improvement of communications in the rear.² Thus regular troops were withdrawn from advanced positions in the Tribal Areas and instead, the Tribal Militia was raised under British Officers. It was expected that the system of Tribal Militia and Tribal Levies would make the tribesman responsible for the maintenance of peace in his own land, make his service a guarantee to the Government and instill in him discipline by close contact with British Officers which in turn would foster mutual trust. At the same time, subsidies to the tribes were increased manifold. The policy was an attempt at developing an intimate relations with the tribes, improving their economic conditions and in this process, gradually acquiring an influence over them.³

The success of frontier defence depended on the reform of the

¹ Imperial Gazetteer of India North West Frontier Province (Henceforth Gazetteer), Lahore, 1979, P. 26.

² Davies, Op.cit., P. 102-3.

³ Sir, T. Raleigh, Lord Curzon in India (1898-1905), London, 1906, PP. 424-25.

administration of the settled districts in the Frontier. The idea was not Curzon's own. Throughout 19th century, various schemes for the formation of a new administrative unit on the Frontier had been mooted by officials and submitted to and debated by the Government of India.¹ After a detail discussion and deliberation, it was in August 1900, that Curzon launched his scheme for taking over the administration of the Frontier from the Punjab Government to constitute a new province. In Curzon's opinion the area between the Swat River and the Gomal Valley was the most critical, most anxious and most explosive section of the entire frontier of India. It was inhabited by the most numerous, fanatical and turbulent of the Pathan tribes. And in regard to such an area, the Viceroy, who was the Foreign Minister of India, could not issue orders or make appointment except through the Punjab Government. This, Curzon asserted, was a most reprehensible system. Curzon also felt that the officers posted in the Frontier did not possess the necessary qualifications and training. Nor could they gain enough experience and specialized knowledge, for they did not serve long enough in the Frontier. He also pointed out that officers of the Punjab Government did not like to serve in the Frontier, for it was a tedious, risky and less remunerative job. Curzon was convinced that the remedy lay in the creation of a new province, by separating it from the administrative control of the Punjab and placing it under the direct control of the Government of India. The North West Frontier province, therefore, came into being on the king's birthday, i.e. 9th November 1901. Sir Harold Deane was appointed as the first Agent to the Governor General and Chief Commissioner of the new province. The formal inauguration of the province took place on 26th April 1902, When Lord Curzon held a big Darbar in Shahi Bagh Peshawar.² Curzon's address to the assembly was a statement of his Frontier policy. He hoped that the creation of the new province

¹ For detail see Lal Baha, Op.cit., PP. 15-20.

² Ibid., P. 25.

would lead to the peace and tranquility and contentment of the Frontier people. He further said " every man in the Frontier districts, ought to look upon it as a direct gain to himself that he has a local government... Merit will be better known under the new system, service will be more quickly rewarded, abuses will be more promptly checked, responsibility will be more strictly enforced and punishment, when needed, will be more swift."¹

The new province was put under the charge of a chief commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, with headquarter at Peshawar, in direct "communication with the Government of India in Foreign Department."²

Administratively, the new province was divided into two parts, the settled districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan and the trans-border tracts (tribal areas) which lay between the administrative border of the Province and Durand Line. In addition to the five Political Agencies, Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan, there were four tribal tracts attached to the Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and D.I. Khan districts under the control of the Deputy Commissioners and were known as Frontier Regions.³

The Cis-Indus tract of Hazara was not included in the original scheme drafted by Lord Curzon. It was later on included in the North West Frontier Province on the recommendation of Sir Harold Deane, who was the administrative head of the new Province. In his capacity as Agent to the Governor General, the Chief Commissioner

¹ Sir, T. Raleigh, Op.cit., P. 427.

² Gazetteer, P. 26.

³ In 1951 Mohmand Agency was created. In 1973, two new Political Agencies, Bajawar and Orakzai were created. Malakand is now part of the Provincial Tribal Areas (PATA). Federally Administered Tribal Areas, (FATA) now comprise of seven Political Agencies of Bajawar, Mohmand, Khyber, Orakzai, Kurram, North, and South Waziristan and four Frontier Regions.

controlled the political relations with the Tribal Areas, while as the head of the new province, he exercised the same powers in the civil administration of the NWF Province.

The tribal question was so important that political considerations became the prime motive in this province. The second question was the relations with Afghanistan. It is because of the Jurisdiction of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India that the higher posts of Chief Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and the Political Agents in the Province were mainly manned by experienced and politically trained officers in the Political Department. However, it is important to note, that the formation of NWF province in 1901, a creation of Curzon, suffered on account of its separation from the Punjab. Directly administered by Central Government under a harsh penal code known as the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), the NWF Province soon became politically backward and was deprived of its share in political advancement. The British Government branded it with political inferiority by deciding, not to extend the reforms of 1909 and later, those of 1919, to the North West Frontier Province.

Likewise, the keynote of the British Policy had been a distrust of the tribes. The administration of the Tribal Areas was treated as a highly specialized function, requiring an unusual insight into the seamy side of the human nature. The British rulers had evolved highly complex techniques for keeping their hold over the tribes. Subsidies, garrisons and punitive expeditions came to be regarded as the principal instruments of a successful Frontier Policy. The typical frontier official was proficient in the art of fomenting trouble between the tribes. The tribes themselves lived in isolation and had little contact with the people of the settled districts. The policy was designed to serve imperial interests. It aimed at maintaining a buffer state of Afghanistan between British India and Russia, and a loosely controlled Zone of the Tribal Areas between India and Afghanistan. Before Independence, the Tribal Areas were not treated as part of British India and the British Governor General exercised very limited jurisdiction in these

areas. The British took steps to acquire legal Jurisdiction in the Tribal Areas under the Indian Foreign Jurisdiction order 1902, which empowered the Governor General to make laws for these territories which were not treated as part of the British Government.¹ After the commencement of the Government of India Act 1935, the Foreign Jurisdiction Order 1902, was repealed and the Governor General exercised necessary Jurisdiction in the Tribal Areas as were provided in the 1935 Act.²

The Governor NWFP was appointed under the 1935 constitution, as Agent to the Governor General for Tribal Areas, to discharge such functions and authority delegated to him by the Governor General.³

The above arrangements came to an end in 1947. The Indian Independence Act terminated the treaties/agreements executed by the British with the tribesmen.⁴ From constitutional point of view, the Tribal Areas became altogether independent and it was left to the tribesmen to come to fresh arrangements with the new Government of Pakistan.

DEVELOPMENT SCENE DURING THE BRITISH RULE (1849-1947)

The development scene in the Frontier during the British period was by discount, rather than by mature planning. The improvement of roads and communication, opening of railways and introduction of new administrative machinery were all done to strengthen the British military hold in this region. The attitude of the Frontier tribes was hostile and the British considered it necessary to gain greater control over them by constructing roads and railways for the quick movement of troops. Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of India (1885-93), was an ardent exponent of the

¹ Government of India, Foreign Jurisdiction order, 1902.

² Government of India Act, 1935, Section 8(1)(C).

³ Ibid., Section 123.

⁴ Indian Independence Act, 1947 , Section 7(1) (c).

Frontier roads and railways policy. He argued, " we must have roads and we must have railways and nothing will strengthen our military position, more than to open out the country and improve our relations with the Frontier tribes. There are no better civilizers than roads and railways, they will be of the greatest assistance to the civil power in the administration of the country."¹

Though Peshawar was made the focal point of all land routes in this region, Rawalpindi, the main cantonment to control the area, became the converging point of all rails and roads. Hence railways were brought from Rawalpindi to Peshawar and Khyber Agency, northwards to Mardan and Dargai in Malakand Agency, southwards to Kohat and Hangu in Kurram Agency, and still further south of Bannu to Waziristan Agency. In 1863-64, the Grand Trunk (G.T) road was constructed parallel to the railway line from Attock to Peshawar. In 1890, began the construction of North-West Frontier roads (234 miles) connecting the headquarters of four trans-Indus districts, Peshawar, Kohat Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.² The development of communications formed one of the main principles of Curzon's Frontier Policy. To implement his policy, Lord Curzon constructed new roads, the most important of these being between Peshawar and Kohat, constructed during 1899-1901. Further south, a 64 miles road was constructed between 1903-1906, from Murtaza to Wana in South Waziristan, to open the routes passing through Tochi and Gomal valleys.

Roads were built for military purposes through the Tribal Areas approaching the cities of Afghanistan. A road leading to Para Chinar in Kurram Agency was built to stop inroads along the Kurram route. In 1904-5, the Kurram Valley road (54 miles) from Para-Chinar to Tal was improved, mainly for military purposes. Another road leading to Jalal Abad, was built through Landikotal in the Khyber Agency .It was 42 miles road linking Landi Kotal with

¹ F.S.Roberts, Forty-one Years in India, Vol II, London, 1897, PP. 407-8.

² Lal Baha, Op.cit., P. 108.

Peshawar Cantt, passing through the territories of Afridis, Shinwaris, Shilmanis and Mullagoris, who had friendly relations with the British Government. To re-enforce its position at Landi Kotal, and to provide an alternate route to move troops against the Afridis, a road was constructed through the Mollagoris territory between 1902-5. This encouraged Lord Curzon to improve the existing means of communication between Peshawar and Landi Khana through the famous Khyber Pass. The contract for the North Khyber section from Landi Kotal to Landi Khana was given to the Shinwari tribe and to the South Khyber, from Jamrud to Gurgurrai beyond Ali Masjid to Kuki Khel and Malikdin Khel Afridis. In 1910, two motor cars of the Amir of Afghanistan passed through the Khyber Road to Peshawar, an event, which in the Government's opinion "deserved to be placed on records as a landmark in the history of the road".¹

The Third Afghan War (1919), once again impressed on the British Government to construct a railway in the Khyber pass. Thus the construction of 26 miles Khyber Railway was completed between 1920-26, linking Jamrud with Landi Kotal and Torkham.²

Another road led over the Malakand Agency and across the Swat river at Chakdara, one going to defend the Pamir route and the second to Bajawar Agency, to control the infiltration from the side of Afghanistan, through the old Nawa Pass on the Juncture of Bajawar and Mohmand Agency.

Indirectly, the improvement of roads led to some flow of trade and Peshawar profited by the overland trade with Afghanistan. Peshawar had remained the main cantonment and administrative headquarter for centuries in this region. For the feeding of this cantonment, a road between Rawalpindi and Peshawar was improved and a bridge was built on the River Indus at Attock. For the further protection of the traffic on this road, another cantonment was built at Nowshera. It is along this line that the British hoped to

¹ Ibid., P.118 .

² Ibid., P. 128 .

keep up their Frontier Position. North of the Kabul river, to control the Yousafzais, a cantonment was built at Mardan. Still further north, a military station was established at Malakand Agency with an outpost at Chakdara. There were other subsidiary military stations in the Tribal Areas, such as Shabqadar Fort in Mohmand Agency, Jamrud and Landi kotal in Khyber Agency, Parachinar in Kurram Agency, Wana and Razmak camps in Waziristan Agencies. But the three important cantonments of Peshawar, Nowshera, and Mardan developed into sizeable cities with trade markets. Outside these cities, the entire population lived in the villages and earned their living by agriculture. Due to meagre rainfall in this region, it was necessary to improve irrigation system, but for years, no attention was paid to open new prospects of irrigation to develop the productive capacity of agriculture. As a result, we find several barren lands even in the settled areas. The British did not make any attempt to irrigate the dry land south of the Kabul river. However for the northern part, two schemes were made to tap the water resources of the Swat River. A bund was constructed at Abazai near Mohmand Agency and irrigation channels were constructed to supply water to the fields in Mardan and Charsaddah districts and a tract of Mohmand Agency in Panjopow area near Shabqadar Fort. The second important scheme was that of Malakand tunnel, to bring down the water of Swat river to irrigate the fields in Malakand Agency and Mardan district. The Tribal Areas, with which the British had friendly relations, were deprived of any development scheme in irrigation sector. More over, we hardly notice any attention paid to the industries in this region. Another line of development was in social sector. New English and Missionary Schools and Colleges were opened in the main cities to attract the sons of the natives, in order to make them amenable to the British rule. The Punjab Province was the model province of the British Empire. By the latter half of the 19th Century, the new canal system converted Punjab into an area of agricultural surplus. New towns named after victorian heroes, like Abbottabad, Montgomery, Lyllpur and Cambelpur etc, appeared on the map. New educational institutions like

Aitchison or Chiefs College, Forman Christian College, St. Anthony School, Lawrence College were producing a new kind of elite. Female education started in the last Century in the Jesus and Mary Convents in the large towns of the Punjab. Agriculture development and administrative security made life in the Punjab Province, secure and stable. The synthesis was in stark contrast to life across the Indus in the Frontier and in the Tribal Areas. Here the encounter was real and the bullets never stopped. Military Forts, columns, bugles and sudden death, preoccupied the Britishers. Here, it was the British who learned the language of his subjects and rarely, there was any Pathan from the Tribal Areas, who spoke, dressed or ate like the British. The only encounter of any sort, took place in dark ravines or on rough mountain crags or perhaps in the exchange of wit with political officers. The Tribal Areas remained a closed system in the most profound sense of the term. It was not only a different world, it was almost a different century. Though mainly built for military purposes, the railways and roads also served some economic and commercial interests. It was expected that they would promote trade and through trade bring peace to the North West Frontier. Addressing a Darbar at Peshawar in April, 1902, Lord Curzon said: "The Pathan is a curious mixture. He is a man of war but he is also a born trader. I see him conducting business right away in the bazars of Bengal. I have come across him in Burma and Assam. The trade of Swat pours down the line to Nowshera. Some day the trade of Afghanistan will descend the other Frontier lines. As people trade together, they get to know each other better and every mile of Frontier rail-road that we built, will turn out in the long run to be a link in the chain of friendship as well as peace."¹

The roads and railways in Frontier opened up new avenues for trade, not only with Afghanistan but also in Swat, Dir, Bajawar, Mohamand, Kurram and Waziristan. So far as commerce was concerned,

¹ Sir, T. Raleigh, Lord Curzon in India (1898-1905), London, 1906, PP. 425-26.

the Frontier Province mainly depended on its land trade. Situated as it was across the historic trade routes, the Province linked the tribal territory and the markets of Afghanistan and Central Asia with India.

After the third Afghan War 1919, Roos-Keppel framed a new Frontier Policy, the aim of which, he contended, should be to civilize the Frontier tribes upto the Durand Line, first by crushing their fighting power and disarming them and then by making roads throughout their countries and establishing and maintaining order, which would be welcomed by a large percentage, who are tired of the anarchy prevailing in tribal territory.¹ This policy called the "Modified Forward Policy" was adopted by the Government after the Waziristan Campaign in 1919-23, to ensure British control of Waziristan through a road system and to maintain some 4,600 Khassadars and about 5000 troops at Wana and Razmak. These Khassadars were tribesmen, mainly trans-border. They patrolled and picketed roads, furnished escorts and intercepted raiders. Denys Bray, the Secretary to Foreign Department, maintained, this was a forward policy in a very real sense of the word. He also felt that it was a policy of progress ... a big step forward on the long and laborious road towards the pacification through civilization of the most backward and inaccessible, and therefore, the most truculent and aggressive tribes on our border.² Although the Modified Forward Policy was originally adopted in Waziristan, it was gradually extended to the whole of the Frontier, from the Gomal Pass in the south to the Malakand Pass in the north and remained in operation till 1947. The British came into contact with the Mohmand Tribe in 1849 when they annexed Peshawar. Two important clans (Halimzai and Tarakzai) of eastern Mohmands, who held large Jagirs on the Peshawar border, were deprived of their Jagirs by the British. The clans naturally took a hostile attitude towards the British and

¹ Lal Baha, Op.cit., P. 105.

² C.H. Philips, The Evolution of India and Pakistan, (1857-1947) London, 1964, PP. 495-99.

when in order to recover their lost Jagirs, they made inroads into Peshawar, they had to face punitive expeditions in 1851, 1852, and 1854. During the uprising of 1857, the Mohmands were enthusiastically excited, considering the event as an opportunity to strike a blow against the British and to recover their lost territory. The British Government had no troops to move against the tribes and in 1859, their Jagirs were restored.

However in 1864, the Mohmands attacked Shabqadar Fort and the Government had to send the fourth expedition against the tribe. In 1873, Major Macdonald, commandant of Michni Fort was murdered in an assault in which a Mohmand Chief of Lal Pura was implicated. During the Second Afghan war, Mohmands constantly attacked British lines of communications and in 1880, the British finally took punitive action. The Durand Line Agreement (1893), divided the Mohmands into two sections, eastern and western, one came under the control of the British while the other lay on the side of Afghanistan. In 1896, the Jagirs of eastern Mohmand Clans were returned by the British Government and at the same time, were granted allowances to replace those which they had hitherto been receiving from Kabul.

In August 1897, during the tribal uprising, the Mohmands led by Najam-ud-Din, known as the Adda-Mulla-Sahib, attacked Shabqadar-Fort and burnt the town.¹

The Government at once, took a punitive expedition against the followers of Adda Mulla. Mohmand Field Force, roaming at will, in the most inaccessible areas of the Mohmand Territory upto Baezai Jarobi glen, destroyed villages, water tanks, and grain stores. This was the first and last invasion of the deepest area of Mohmands Territory. Churchill, who accompanied the Force, wrote: "Far beneath was a valley upon which perhaps no white man had looked since Alexander crossed the mountains on his march to India."²

¹ Lal Baha, Op.cit., P. 69.

² W.S. Churchill, Frontier and Wars, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1972, P. 81.

In 1902, the Baezai Mohmands became an assured clan. In 1905, the Tarakzai Mohmands were granted additional allowances and a few were recruited to the Peshawar Border Military Police in order to obtain their cooperation in the Kabul River Railway project. The Mohmands generally remained quiet until 1908, when the Bazar Valley expedition, gave them a chance to rise against the British. In the words of Deane, " the uprising was due to a rumour that the Indian Government intended to invade the Mohmand territory."¹ On 24th April, 1908, General Willcocks dispersed a mixed Afghan-Mohmand Lashkar near Matta Maghul Khel. "During the 1908 Mohmand expedition into Gandhab Valley, 38000 maunds of grain were destroyed and the British lost 89 dead and 184 wounded."² The expedition, was short and successful because of the cooperation of Tarakzai and Halimzai Mohmands and the friendly attitude of the khans of Dir, Swat and Bajawar. After the expedition, the Mohmands were left in a suspense for some time, whether peace had been made with them or not. It was only with the outbreak of the First World War that fresh disturbance in the Mohmand territory occurred. Influenced by the teachings of Fazal-i- Wahid known as Haji Sahib of Turangzai, to support the Turks against the British, Mohmands (6000) assembled on the hills west of Shabqadar Fort, who were quickly dispersed with the help of an aeroplane on the morning of 15th November, 1916. This was the first time that war planes were used in India.³ The Government imposed a blockade on the tribes to keep them off from the Empire. Two wires, one of which was charged with electricity, were put-up between the Kabul and Swat rivers, for about 17 miles. In between and at every 600 yards, strong guarded block-houses were constructed and as a final solution, nearby villages were destroyed. As a result more than 400 Mohmands were

¹ Lal Baha, Op.cit., PP. 74-75.

² Ahmed, "Special Articles" Asian Affairs, Oxford, 1978, P. 2094.

³ Lal Baha, Op.cit., P. 99.

electrocuted. Mohmands still carry a bitter memory of this period and date events from the year of expulsion.

For the destruction of Mohmand tribe by air-action, mud water-tanks and towers were listed as targets. Also selected was the Safi Chammarkand area, where more Russian influence was suspected.

In 1933 and 1935, campaigns were undertaken to build a road through the Mohmand area upto the Nahqi Pass for gaining effective control over the Mohmand Tribe. Under the title of "Progress in Tribal Areas" discussing the fundamental reasons for the Mohmand Campaign, it was argued that "launching of road construction projects side by side with plans for the economic development of the country, through which the proposed roads pass, will give a new orientation to the thoughts of tribesmen, of the reasons underlying the road programmes.¹ But the tribesmen rejected the road totally. Thus a blockade of Mohmands was proclaimed by the Chief Commissioner in August, 1935. As a result, cloth was soon practically unobtainable in Lower Mohmand Country, the Upper Mohmands only obtained it at a great cost through Kama and Kunar. Salt could be purchased in Pindiali and Kamali on high price and the cost of sugar, tea, soap and other commodities rose in proportion. Above all, the annual winter migration of Mohmands to the Peshawar Valley for labour and trade was stopped. Numerous arrests of Mohmands were also made and property of considerable value was seized by the Frontier Constabulary which was disposed-off through auction.²

The standard Military Report on Mohmand Country, General Staff India, recommended that "the only means by which the submission of the tribes can be secured, are the temporary occupation of the country and the destruction of crops and villages." The report had sections entitled "Best Seasons for Operations" which recommended autumn, so that "the chief harvest of

¹ Civil and Military Gazette, 23rd August, 1935.

² Ahmed, Special Articles, P. 2094.

the year can then be taken for the use of the expedition, any surplus destroyed and the sowing of the next crop disturbed or prevented."¹

Hostility to modernization in the Pathan minds results from the memory of the policies of the British colonization. An American scholar comments, "As far as the Frontier is concerned, however, the story throughout is one of a struggle for control, a control which was never completely established and a struggle which ended only when the British departed in 1947. In this context, the political history of the Frontier under British rule, hangs more on milestones of suppression than on those of reform."²

Due to the hostilities between the British and the Mohmands, the Mohmand territory remained the most neglected part of the Tribal Areas.

In 1947, when the British left, there was not a single school, dispensary, electric bulb or security post in the areas what is now, known as the Mohmand Agency.

¹ General Staff, Military Report on the Mohmand Country, Calcutta, 1926, P.34.

² J.W. Spain, The Pathan Borderland, Hague, 1963, P. 145.