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## **Jinnah's Third Visit to NWFP and the Historical Inclusion of FATA into Pakistan**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*This essay examines the achievements and significance of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's third visit to the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), with a focus on the Tribal Areas (FATA). While Jinnah's visits to Islamia College Peshawar, Edwardes College Peshawar, Kohat, Landi Kotal, and other noteworthy locations in the NWFP have been extensively discussed by historians, his important relations with the Tribal Areas have largely been overlooked. There were little security plans and minimal media coverage of Jinnah's travel to FATA because of the short notice. Consequently, the historical record of this visit remains unfinished and understudied. By providing new insights into the circumstances, outcomes, and local responses to Jinnah's interaction with communities and tribal leaders. By emphasizing the ways in which the inhabitants of the Tribal Areas legally associated themselves with Pakistan and voiced their support, this study makes a substantial contribution to the body of information.*

**Keywords:** NWFP, FATA, Integration, Jinnah, Visit.

### **Introduction**

In 1901, the settled northern districts of the former Punjab Province were combined with the tribal buffer zone that would later become the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to form the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). Despite having a predominantly Muslim population, the area was left out of significant political and constitutional changes that were implemented in other parts of British India. Because the province acted as a frontier defense against outside threats, especially those from Afghanistan and Central Asia, this exclusion was a reflection of the strategic interests of the British Empire. Because of this, local governance was not significantly altered by the Indian Reform Acts. With little political involvement and essentially no institutions that represented the local populace, the administrative structure continued to be based on colonial practices. (Government of Pakistan, 216, 2).

Federally Administered Tribal Areas, or FATA, is a region in northwest Pakistan that's steeped in history and controversy. Located along the Afghanistan border, FATA covers an area of around 27,220 square kilometers. The region is home to Pashtun tribes, who've maintained a degree of autonomy for centuries.

FATA's history dates back to the British colonial era. The British Raj established the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) in 1901, which governed the region. After Pakistan's independence in 1947, FATA remained a part of the country but retained its semi-autonomous status. The region was managed directly by the federal government through a political agent.

The FCR system was based on collective responsibility, where tribes were held accountable for crimes committed within their areas. This system was criticized for being oppressive and

outdated. Life in FATA was marked by a mix of traditional tribal structures and government oversight. (Ayesha Siddiqi, 2019.703).

In 2018, Pakistan's government merged FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province, aiming to bring development and reform. This move aimed to integrate FATA into mainstream Pakistan, improve governance, and boost economic growth. The merger's impact is still unfolding, but it's seen as a significant step towards FATA's development. The region's rich cultural heritage, natural resources, and strategic location make it an important part of Pakistan's future. FATA's story is complex, with a mix of challenges and opportunities. Want to explore more about its history, culture, or current situation? (Khalid Aziz, 2015.12).

### **Historical Background**

The Federal Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) are located halfway between Afghanistan and Pakistan's northwest border. From the Aryans to Alexander the Great and the Mughals, the area that is now known as FATA served as a gateway to the Indo-Pak Subcontinent for invaders and immigrants throughout history. Tribes were allowed to govern themselves in accordance with their codes while the British colonial administration-maintained control over the region through a combination of local tribal elders and appointed agents. To maintain control, the British established tribal agencies and engaged in frequent conflicts with the tribes. The British were driven by a desire to protect their Indian territories and thwart Russian influence in Afghanistan. They established Afghanistan's borders with Russia and India and engaged in two wars with Kabul. The British established organizations such as Khyber, Kurram, and Malakand to exercise control over the tribes. Prior to British rule, the Sikhs had ruled Punjab with a military oligarchy, prioritizing revenue collection and using violent governance, leaving a disastrous impact on the local population. (Norwall Mitchell, 1968, 13).

From 1849-1890, Britain's 'Close Border' policy aimed to manage tribal areas through a mix of humanitarian approach and military response. Governor John Lawrence encouraged tribesmen to join trade and employment to maintain peace. Punishments for raids included fines, blockades, expeditions, termination of employment, and destruction of leaders' homes. The Punjab Frontier Force, composed of Pathans, Punjabis, Sikhs, and Gurkhas, was created to control the border and later merged into the British army in 1886. However, the policy led to 42 military expeditions and indiscriminate slaughter, prompting Governor General Lord Lytton to recommend a policy review in 1877, as it largely punished innocent people. (Olaf Caroe, 1958, 425).

As Viceroy of India starting in 1899, Lord Curzon changed how Britain dealt with tribal regions. He created the NWFP province, consolidated military forces, and withdrew the troops. Tribal allowances were raised, and the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) was revised. Curzon constructed infrastructure, railroads, and tribal militias. Among the reforms put in place after the Third Afghan War were the Scouts, a force comprising tribal recruits, and the Frontier Constabulary, a paramilitary police organization. To maintain peace in tribal areas, a tribal force known as Khassadars was established. These changes were intended to stabilize the region and improve relations with the tribes. Curzon's policies marked a significant shift from the previous "Closed Border" approach, emphasizing engagement and progress over isolation. His activities had a lasting impact on the region's government and security. (Government of Pakistan, 2016, 12). In 1945, Sir G. Cunningham questioned Dr. Khan Sahib about the future of tribal areas. Dr. Khan Sahib suggested integrating tribal territories with

NWFP, providing adequate protection, and recognizing tribal Jirgas and Rewaj as law. (Norval Mitchell, 1968, 113).

National political movements did make an effort to address the province's lack of democracy in spite of this restrictive environment. In their constitutional proposals, the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress both repeatedly called for the NWFP to receive political reforms. The Khuda-i-Khidmatgar movement was the only grassroots force with a wide social base among local political organizations. It promoted Pashtun rights, nonviolence, and political empowerment under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan), but because it opposed colonial authority, it was frequently suppressed. Before significant reforms were introduced, Bacha Khan aligned his movement with the Congress. Meanwhile, the Muslim League remained relatively weak and less organized in the province until the Government of India Act of 1935 and the subsequent elections created new opportunities for political mobilization. (Qaiser and Ayaz, 2022, 12).

#### **Research Questions:**

1. How did FATA integrate into Pakistan??
2. What was the role of Quaid-i-Azam in the inclusion of FATA during his 3<sup>rd</sup> visit of NWFP?

#### **Research Objectives:**

1. To explore the major events which leads to inclusion of FATA into Pakistan.
2. To explore the role of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the integration of FATA into Pakistan.

#### **Research Methodology**

The current research is normative, exploratory, qualitative, and descriptive. Both primary and secondary sources have been consulted. Primary sources included government officials, census reports and open-ended interviews. The secondary sources based on books, research articles, journals, newspapers, and various websites.

#### **Pre-partition politics in NWFP**

The North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) in British India had complicated pre-partition politics. The All-India Muslim League, the Indian National Congress, and the Khuda-i-Khidmatgar, a regional party with a strong pro-Congress attitude led by Bacha Khan, dominated the political scene of the area. Notably, the Khuda-i-Khidmatgar, which had sizable grassroots following and was dedicated to secular and democratic ideals, presented serious obstacles for the Muslim League in the NWFP. The presence of the Khuda-i-Khidmatgar prevented the Muslim League from gaining traction in the NWFP during the pre-partition era, leading to a convoluted and often violent struggle for political power. This led to interesting dynamics. Shah and Kozlowski (1999), 311. In this broader historical context, Islamia College Peshawar (ICP) developed as a significant center for Muslim political consciousness and education. The institution was established in 1913 by Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan, and it grew to become a center for forward-thinking Muslim leadership. The college's importance in producing students who actively participated in the Pakistan Movement is attested to by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's three visits there in 1936, 1945, and 1948. (Olaf Caroe, 1958, 25).

Jinnah's visit to ICP in 1945 had a significant impact on the area. Peshawar's citizens welcomed him with great fanfare, decorating the city with banners that said "Pakistan Zindabad," flags of the Muslim League, and pictures of the Quaid. He was allocated a budget of Rs. 8,000 for

the Pakistan drive by Islamia College and Muslim Students Federation (MSF) students, which encouraged the drive for the foundation of a distinct nation. Additionally, the MSF vowed to send 8,000 educated workers at his later visit, reflecting the youth of the area's strong ideological commitment. The All-India Muslim League's resounding victory in the province in 1946, which reflected this support, marked a turning point in the independence fight. (Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, 1998, 12).

The Quaid-i-Azam the North-West Frontier Province's (NWFP) decision to join Pakistan was largely influenced by Muhammad Ali Jinnah's trip there. NWFP conducted a referendum in 1947 to choose between joining Pakistan and India. 99% of NWFP voters supported joining Pakistan, despite the boycott of the Indian National Congress.

A pivotal moment in the history of the area occurred when Jinnah visited Peshawar in 1947. He spoke to a sizable crowd at the Bab-e-Koul Ground, calling on the people of NWFP to join Pakistan and stressing the value of Muslim brotherhood and togetherness. The majority of the locals were Pashtun and had cultural and historical ties to them, therefore his message struck a deep chord with them the rest of Pakistan. (Parshotam Mehra, 1979, 22).

### **Post-independence FATA**

Since Pakistan attained independence in 1947, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have continued to be undeveloped. The President is the chief executive of FATA and has the power to enact laws to uphold regional administration and peace, as stated in Article 247 of the Pakistani Constitution. FATA is a specially administered area because, in contrast to other regions of the nation, the national and provincial assemblies have no jurisdiction over it. After independence, the Maliki system—which had been implemented during the British colonial era—was kept. Maliks and Lungi holders, a group of local tribal elders, were granted special status and financial advantages as a result of this system. These people, chosen by the Political Agent (PA) with the governor's approval, served as go-betweens for the tribes and the government, assisting in the execution of laws, preserving harmony, and guaranteeing that the routes remained open. A Malik or Lungi holder's position could be revoked by the PA if they did not serve the interests of the state. (Government of Pakistan, 2016, 11).

Deputy Commissioners of settled districts had the authority to act as Political Agents in FATA, which was run independently of the rest of Pakistan. Because it lacked the military means to integrate FATA into Pakistan's mainstream, the government mostly depended on tribal militias to oppose India's occupation of Kashmir. Article 247 of the Constitution contains the Quaid-i-Azam's 1948 pledge to acknowledge FATA's unique status and to refrain from altering its administrative structure without tribal approval. (Government of Pakistan, 2016, 12).

This distinct administration prevented FATA from receiving funding allotted to provinces by excluding it from fiscal equalization under the National Finance Commission (NFC). A number of problems resulted from this exclusion, such as: Infrastructure and human development were stunted, which led to widespread poverty and backwardness.

Regional disparities in economic metrics, which exacerbate local dissatisfaction. Lower per capita development funding cause feelings of discrimination and neglect. Two structural defects that contribute to FATA's underdevelopment are the absence of constitutional procedures and unequal per capita allocation. The following alarming figures illustrate the extent of the issue:

- Only 29.5% of newborns in FATA receive care from trained medical professionals, compared to the national average of 86%.
- Compared to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where the ratio is 275, the maternal death rate is substantially higher at 395 per 100,000.
- Just 33.9% of children in FATA have got all recommended immunizations, compared to Pakistan's overall rate of 76%.
- The literacy rate in FATA is a pathetic 33.3%, with a stunning 12.7% for women, compared to the national average of 58%.
- Just 8.9% of residents have access to piped water, compared to the national average of 71%, and 38.3% have flush latrines, demonstrating a shortage of essential amenities like sanitary facilities and clean water.

These numbers demonstrate how urgently equitable resource allocation and constitutional changes are needed to address FATA's alarming development indices and integrate the region. Government of Pakistan, 2016, 13.

#### **Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Visit to FATA**

Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) were established as a result of the British government's decision to create a buffer zone between Afghanistan and India. After being taken over by the British in the 19th century, the region was managed separately from the rest of India. FATA was included to Pakistan's tribal areas and granted special administrative status after the country gained its independence.

In 2010, the NWFP changed its name to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), and in 2018, FATA became a part of KP's administrative structure. This measure was meant to bring development and integration to the region, which has historically been one of Pakistan's least developed areas. (Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, 1997, 19).

During his final visit to the college on April 12, 1948, Quaid-i-Azam advised the students to prioritize discipline, character, academic success, and patriotism as the "future builders of Pakistan." He famously compared the government to a garden, stressing that just as a garden grows with care and devotion, a nation flourishes through the sincere and constructive work of its citizens. His aim of having a university in Peshawar was realized in 1949 when the University of Peshawar was founded adjacent to the ICP site. (Anwar Khan Muhammad, 2000, 22).

Jinnah's 1939 will, which designated Islamia College, Aligarh Muslim University, and Sindh Madrassatul Islam as beneficiaries of his inheritance, further demonstrates his love for ICP. The Quaid-i-Azam Trust gave ICP more than Rs. 10 million in later years, which helped develop the Takbeer Block, Jinnah College for Women, Jinnah Residential Quarters, and the Quaid-i-Azam College of Commerce (James W. Spain, 1961, 22).

Outside of the college, Quaid-i-Azam also had a great deal of admiration for the Frontier tribesmen because of their devotion and sacrifices made during the Pakistan Movement. He acknowledged the Grand Tribal Jirga's steadfast support for Pakistan on April 17, 1948, at the Governor House, despite his deteriorating health. His speeches to ICP students and tribal elders continue to be regarded as guiding principles for national progress.

Quaid-i-Azam's affiliation with Islamia College has left a lasting legacy. Inspired by the institution's participation in the fight for Pakistan and by Jinnah's continuing vision of



discipline, unity, and faith, students, scholars, and tourists continue to honor his accomplishments. (Daily Times, 2016, 2).

Nearly 200 tribal chieftains in Peshawar, the North-West Frontier Province's headquarters at the time, asked Governor General Muhammad Ali Jinnah to put their tribes immediately under Pakistani rule, according to The New York Times. These elders, who spoke for 2.5 million people in a wide area spanning from South Waziristan to Chitral, also requested authorization for their tribesmen to enlist in the Pakistani military. They gave Jinnah their word that, with or without Pakistan's help, they were ready to expel the Indian forces from Kashmir. Jinnah stressed the value of Muslim unity and pledged to take their concerns into consideration.

Despite the Frontier Congress Party's victory in the 1946 provincial elections, Dr. Huberty observes in Imperial Frontier that political dynamics changed as the possibility of separation materialized. Due to the Congress's support for Hindu leadership, many Pashtuns turned away from it and joined the Muslim League. Prominent landowners and tribal leaders also started to back the League. Fears for Jawaharlal Nehru's safety were raised when his convoy encountered stone-throwing during his October 1946 tour to the tribal territories. Governor Sir Olaf Caroe issued a warning that violence might result from Nehru's ongoing participation in tribal matters. According to The Pathans, Nehru's attempt to mobilize support in Peshawar failed because the majority of Pashtuns disapproved of his leadership and thought his initiatives were impractical and foolish.

The founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, made two significant visits to the tribal areas in 1945 and 1948, which are still recalled by senior tribal leaders. Many tribal elders over the age of ninety vividly remember these two important visits, according to Sher Alam Shinwari's article Tribal People Still Looking for Jinnah's Pakistan (August 13, 2017). Jinnah made two visits, the first in October 1945 at the Khyber Pass and the second in April 1948 following the establishment of Pakistan.

Malik Raj Muhammad Khan, also known as Rajoon, who is ninety years old, recalls Jinnah's 1945 visit to Landi Kotal. He claims that the Quaid-i-Azam was enthusiastically welcomed. Crowds cheered "Long Live Quaid-i-Azam" as Jinnah got out of his automobile, demonstrating their intense dedication and respect. The Frontier Province's then-governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, said that the route for Jinnah was symbolically prepared and the Islamic flag was flown throughout the area, emphasizing the emotional connection between the tribal people and the newly formed Muslim authority. (Khan, 2022).

According to Dr. Huberty, the Muslim League started a civil disobedience effort in 1947 as a result of growing tensions along the frontier. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other Pashtun leaders called for the Pashtuns to have the right to vote for "Pashtunistan," an independent Pashtun state. But the British administration limited the options for the July 1947 vote to either India or Pakistan. Consequently, the overwhelming political attitude in the region was reflected in the 99.02 percent of votes cast in favor of joining Pakistan. (Kishwar Sultana, 2005, 39)

Following partition, Caroe writes that the Frontier Province joined Pakistan on August 15, 1947, with remarkable enthusiasm. In November the same year, all tribes up to the Durand Line formally acceded to Pakistan. Similarly, the rulers of the Border States Dir, Swat, Chitral, and Amb expressed loyalty to Pakistan, the former through traditional jirgas and the latter through formal Instruments of Accession. (Muhammad Shaffee Sabir, 1999, 25).

On April 17, 1948, Muhammad Ali Jinnah addressed a grand tribal jirga in Peshawar. According to researcher Idrees Mazhar, Jinnah's vision for administering the tribal areas was fundamentally different from the British security-oriented frontier policy. His approach rested on two guiding principles: first, to respect the autonomy, culture, customs, and traditions of the tribal population; and second, to transform them into empowered and dignified citizens through education and socio-economic development so that dependency on government allowances could gradually be phased out. (Fakhr-ul-Islam. 2014, 22).

The International Crisis Group's report *Pakistan: Tribal Areas* explains that during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century the British used the tribal belt as a strategic buffer against possible Russian expansion and to maintain influence over Afghanistan. The region later known as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) consisted of seven semi-autonomous agencies—Bajaur, Khyber, Kurram, Mohmand, Orakzai, North Waziristan, and South Waziristan—along with the tribal regions adjacent to Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan. The larger Frontier Province had been split up into tribal agencies and settled districts during British control. British policy relied on a combination of military intervention, coercion, and rewards. In return for keeping trade routes open and agreeing to colonial rule, the tribes were given a degree of autonomy. Allowances and subsidies were given to Maliks, who then shared them with their followers. Pakistan mainly kept this governmental organization after 1947. On behalf of the Governor-General and subsequently the President, the Governor of the Frontier Province continued to oversee FATA. (Shah, 2025).

### **Conclusion**

FATA continued to be one of Pakistan's most impoverished areas for many years, with little access to infrastructure, healthcare, and education. A complicated web of laws and rules governed the area, including as the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) of 1901, which restricted local inhabitants' rights and granted the federal authorities broad authority. The FATA Local Government Regulation 2012 was developed but not implemented in 2012. The primary justification for not extending LGO 2012 was the precarious security situation. On the request of 200 FATA chieftains, this area was connected to Pakistan during Quaid-i-Azam's third visit to the NWFP on April 17, 1948.

Nonetheless, considerable efforts have been made in recent years to incorporate FATA into Pakistan's mainstream. The NWFP was renamed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) in 2010, and FATA joined KP in 2018 to become a component of the province's administrative framework. The goal of this action was to give the locals equal rights and opportunities while promoting development and integration in the area.

New opportunities for growth and advancement in the area have been made possible by the unification of FATA and KP. The government has started a number of programs to enhance healthcare, education, and infrastructure while giving locals access to employment possibilities. Coal, iron ore, and hydroelectric power are among the natural resources in the area that are being used to produce income and jobs.

Additionally, FATA's integration with KP has created new avenues for political engagement and representation. Locals can now take part in the democratic process and have a voice in their government, and the region is represented in the provincial parliament. In conclusion, FATA's historical admission in Pakistan and Jinnah's NWFP voyage are important moments in the nation's history. They draw attention to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad

Ali Jinnah's vision and leadership as well as the hardships and sacrifices made by the people of NWFP and FATA. A new chapter in the history of the area, one that promises growth, advancement, and equality for its citizens, has begun with the union of FATA and KP.

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), the Hazara region, and the center regions of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) demonstrated three different political characteristics throughout the liberation movement. Among these, Hazara became the All-India Muslim League's (AIML) most powerful political base. During the pivotal political events of the 1937, 1945, and 1946 elections, as well as the July 1947 referendum, in which they overwhelmingly voted in favor of joining Pakistan, the Hazara people continuously gave the AIML their full support.

On the other hand, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, a pro-Congress group headed by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan that rejected AIML policy, dominated the central NWFP. During Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's third visit to the province in April 1948, the tribal people of FATA indicated their readiness to support Pakistan.

Jinnah's three important visits to NWFP played a vital role in gaining support, unifying diverse regions, and consolidating the province within the newly established state. Currently the FATA has been completely merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. The provincial government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been seeing the all-government affairs related to FATA as it were seen by Federal Government before the merger. The status of representation of FATA is also changed as seats were restructure in Upper house (Senate), Lower House (National Assembly) and Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly.

### **Interview**

Interview of Malik Raj Muhammad Khan, conducted by Authors, 2022.

Interview of Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, conducted by Authors, 2025.

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