

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MUSLIMS IN DEVELOPING PRINT MEDIA AND SPREADING ENLIGHTENMENT IN AFGHANISTAN (1870-1930)

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### Abstract

*It is generally believed that invaders, men of letters and religion, from Afghanistan, have significantly influenced the course of history in India. The contribution of Indians, especially Muslims, in spreading knowledge, enlightenment and modernization in Afghanistan did not attract much scholarly attention. This paper attempts to highlight the contribution of British Indian Muslims towards dissemination of knowledge, enlightenment and information in Afghanistan, while working for Afghan newspapers and periodicals in 1870- 1930. Qazi Abdul Qadir Yousafzai Peshawari, the Chief Editor of Shamsul Nahaar; Mauolvi Najaf Ali, Sub-Editor of Sirajul Akhbar; Allah Nawaz, Assistant Editor of Ethihad-i Mashriqi; Fazal Mahmud Makhfi, translator (Pashto, English) of Daily Anees, and Etihad-e-Mashriqi; and Muhammad Hussain, calligrapher, Tolo-e-Afghan, and Director magazine, Habibul Islam, included some of those personalities who pioneered and assisted in developing print media to promote enlightenment and modernization in Afghanistan.*

**Key Words:** Indian Muslims, enlightenment, Shamsul Nahaar, Sirajul Akhbar, Etihad-e-Mashraqi, Anees, Indian Muslims' Contributions: liberalism, modernism, constitutionalism, democracy, and nationalism.

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## Introduction

Afghanistan, in the second half of the nineteenth century, faced numerous internal and external challenges. Overall backwardness and tribal formation coupled with lack of strong centralizing authority had given birth to several factions in the country. The Afghan government and intelligentsia of that time felt increased and urgent need to develop modern means of communications to unite and put the country on path of progress. Print media especially newspapers, journal, magazines and periodicals had already been playing a positive role in disseminating information and enlightenment in the adjoining British India since long (1780s). Afghan government did realize importance and role of print media in awakening the masses and raising enlightenment but lacked professionals and experts along with technical equipment. Indian Muslims were instrumental in resolving problem of professional expertise by offering services to Afghan print media and enthusiastically worked for various newspapers and periodicals as editors, sub-editors, assistant-editors, managers, translators and calligraphers in Afghanistan.

This paper briefly discusses enlightening/modernizing role of some Indian Muslims working for the British Indian and Afghan newspapers and periodicals appearing during 1870-1930. It sheds light on role of Indian Muslims in awakening Afghans by citing services of five leading Indian Muslims who specifically spread printed word. They include: Qazi Abdul Qadir Yousafzai Peshawari (1841-1913); Mauolvi Najaf Ali (1860-1950); Allah Nawaz (1880-1935), Fazal Mahmud Makhfi (1882-1935), and Muhammad Hussain (1883-1939).

### **Print Media in Colonial India: Prelude to Afghan Printed Word (1780s-1830s)**

In 1757, the East India Company became a formidable power in the Indian Sub-continent following the victory in Battle of Plassey.<sup>1</sup> The need of new rulers for day to day information resulted in the emergence of the first newspaper in the region. Mr. James Augustus Hicky, an employee of the East India Company, in 1780, launched an English language newspaper, *Hicky Gazette*, published from Calcutta<sup>2</sup> (now Kolkata). Following disagreement between Mr. Hicky and the East India Company, within a

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<sup>1</sup> British rule in India is conventionally described as having begun in 1757. On June 23<sup>rd</sup> of that year, at the Battle of Plassey, a small village and mango grove between Calcutta and Murshidabad, the forces of the East India Company under Robert Clive defeated the army of Siraj-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Bengal.

<sup>2</sup> Ajmal, M., *Sahafat Soba Sarhad May*. Qaumi Publishers, Lahore 1980, p10.

year, the company closed the *Hicky Gazette*,<sup>3</sup> instead launched, *The India Gazette*, in 1781.<sup>4</sup> Many more newspapers emerged in the area during subsequent decades, however, the first local language newspaper, *The Bengal Gazette*, appeared in 1816.<sup>5</sup>

The first Urdu newspaper, *Jam-e-Jahan Numa*<sup>6</sup> appeared in 1822, originally published, in Persian, was subsequently supplemented in Urdu. The first Muslim-owned newspaper had been *Aine-i Sikandari*<sup>7</sup>, published from Calcutta, in 1831, under supervision of Mirza Ghalib and edited by *Maulvi* Sirajuddin Ahmad Lukhanavi.<sup>8</sup> It was followed by *Meh-i-alam Afroze*<sup>9</sup> from Calcutta, edited by *Maulvi* Wahaj-ud-din. In 1835, two Persian language newspapers: *Ludhiana Akhbar*<sup>10</sup> from Ludhiana and *Sultan-ul-Akhbar*<sup>11</sup> from Calcutta appeared. *Maulvi* Sayyed Muhammad Khan, elder brother of Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan, published a newspaper *Zubdet-ul-Akhbar* from Agra in 1837.<sup>12</sup>

These pioneering newspapers and periodicals in history of print media of this region played an important role in spreading enlightenment, modernization, political awareness and became major source of influencing leaders and interests of particular communities.

### **Print Media in Frontier Region and Punjab,<sup>13</sup> Adjoining Afghanistan (1840s-1860s)**

Printed word in the region now called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, former NWFP, appeared for the first time in 1853. Earlier, Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) appointed news writers/reporters to collect local and international news, in various parts of the Punjab that included the Frontier

<sup>3</sup> Omer, A., *A History of Press in N.W.F.P.* Sadiq Commission Agency, Khyber Bazar Peshawar 1986, p 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p 29.

<sup>5</sup> Rahman, J.U., *Press History of NWFP up to 1947*. Unpublished M.A Thesis. Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 1999, p 15.

<sup>6</sup> With the advent of the printing press and western journalism after the establishment of British government in Bengal, a brainy entrepreneur of Calcutta, Hari Har Dutt, floated the first Urdu newspaper under the title of "*Jam-i-Jahan Muma*" (a Persian term meaning Mirror of the World) in March 1822, just six years after the first short-lived Bengali journal, "*Bengal Gazette*" was published.

<sup>7</sup> Yousafi, A. B., *Sarhad awr Jaddo Jihad-e-Azadi (Urdu)*. Markazi Urdu Board, Lahore 1968, p 143.

<sup>8</sup> Khurshid, A. S., *Sahafi Pakistan-o-hind may (Urdu)*, Maktabe Karwan, Lahore nd, p 71.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p 75.

<sup>10</sup> Pushkalawati, I.U.R., *Dictionary of Mass Media and Journalism*. Unpublished p139.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p 140.

<sup>12</sup> Retrieved from <http://www.milligazette.com/news/1196-birth-of-urdu-journalism-in-the-indian-subcontinent-news>, accessed on 20-11-2015.

<sup>13</sup> Punjab till 1818, remained a part of the Durrani Empire established by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1747. It was then taken over by Sikh ruler Maharaja Rageet Singh. The Sikh rule ended in 1849 by the East India Company.

region and Afghanistan too. The reporters stationed at Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Kabul, Herat and other places in Afghanistan served as correspondents to his *Punjab Akhbar*.<sup>14</sup> Major sources to collect news for *Punjab Akhbar* had been trade caravans and travelers. Battles between locals and Sikh government or infighting got much coverage in this newspaper.<sup>15</sup> In 1849, East India Company defeated Sikhs and took control of the region including Punjab.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile opposition and hostility to rule of East India Company continued to grow and resulted in the uprising of 1857.

Allah Baksh Yusfi<sup>17</sup> (1900-1968), in *Sarhad aur Jadujahd-e-Azadi*, claims that “around 1849, a newspaper had been publishing in this region”.<sup>18</sup> He fails to cite its title and exact date of publication. Files of *Mutiny Reports*<sup>19</sup> exhibit that in 1857, a newspaper publishing from Peshawar, had been forced to close down due to alleged links with mutineers.<sup>20</sup> In 1853, an Urdu Weekly *Murtazai*,<sup>21</sup> edited by Haji Karam Ali Sherazi, appeared from Peshawar. Karam Ali, originally from Persia, settled in Peshawar<sup>22</sup> and owned *Murtazai* Printing Press.<sup>23</sup> The *Murtazai* reached not only influentials of Punjab and

<sup>14</sup> A complete record of the work of the news writers, correspondents and journalists is available in the Punjab Akhbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. An English translation of these newsletters has been given by Mr. Ganda Singh, former Director of Archives, Patiala, in his book the *Punjab Akhbar*. The collection carries hundreds of newsletters written by correspondents of the *Punjab Akhbar*, stationed at Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Kabul, Herat and other places in the frontier region and Afghanistan.

<sup>15</sup> Ajmal, M., *Sahafat Soba Sarhad May*. Qaumi Publishers, Lahore 1980, p 27.

<sup>16</sup> Omer, A., *A History of Press in N.W.F.P.* Sadiq Commission Agency, Khyber Bazar Peshawar 1986, p 47.

<sup>17</sup> Allah Baksh, son of Muhammad Sharif Jan, was born on 25<sup>th</sup> December, 1900 at Karim Pura, Peshawar city. Mohammad Sharif Jan, originally from Ghazna, Afghanistan was more interested in Afghan politics than that of India and paid frequent visits to Peshawar. Following defeat of his political faction in Afghanistan, he fled Afghanistan for Peshawar. His great grand-father, Yousaf Khan, held a house each in Peshawar and Ghazna, known in Afghan terminology, “DwaKora” (dual house). Later, his son Niaz Muhammad Khan and grandson, Mohammad Khan also migrated to Peshawar. Allah Baksh Yousafi, after getting basic and elementary religious knowledge and having learnt reciting the Holy Quran, at home, was sent to the central Model School Peshawar (Now Government High School No.1). During his school days, Allah Baksh had acquired considerable proficiency in Persian and Arabic and chose ‘Yousafi’ his pen name, passed B.A. examination, in 1915 from University of Punjab. He proceeded to the United Kingdom for higher studies in Journalism and returned to Peshawar in 1918.

<sup>18</sup> Yousafi, A. B., *Sarhad awr Jaddo Jihad-e-Azadi (Urdu)*. Markazi Urdu Board, Lahore 1968, p165.

<sup>19</sup> Hilton, E.H., *The Mutiny Records*. Sang-e-Meel publications, Lahore 2004, p 27.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Two hundred copies of eight to twelve pages, comprising two columns in 8"x12" size were lithographed. The annual subscription of the newspaper had been rupees ten, and six rupees for six-monthly, while one rupee and four Anna for monthly.

<sup>22</sup> Omer, A., *A History of Press in N.W.F.P.* Sadiq Commission Agency Khyber Bazar, Peshawar 1986, p 58.

<sup>23</sup> Rahman, J.U., ‘*Press History of NWFP up to 1947*’. Unpublished M.A Thesis, submitted to Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 1999, p 25.

Delhi but also as far as Kabul, Rampur and Banaras. The first page carried announcements, advertisement rates of the newspaper while local, national and international news and poems filled other pages of this newspaper.<sup>24</sup>

At that time even a mild adverse comment published in an Indian newspaper could earn displeasure of the rulers and lead to closure of newspaper and arrest of the editor. The editor of *Murtazai* was arrested and sent to jail, in 1857, resulting into the closure of this weekly.<sup>25</sup> Abdus Salam Khurshid explained that during the mutiny, the paper had allegedly published false news of revolt by Kalat Ghalzai regiment and killing of officers.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, Col. Nicholson,<sup>27</sup> Deputy Commissioner Peshawar (1821-1857), imprisoned the editor forthwith, consequently, the paper ceased to appear.<sup>28</sup> *Koh-i-Noor*,<sup>29</sup> first cited the Weekly *Murtazai* and picked a news item from it, in 1856.<sup>30</sup> Weekly *Khushbudar* or *Khushbahar*, appearing from Peshawar, in 1854<sup>31</sup>, were some of the contemporaries of *Murtazai*.

A Pashto religious newspaper *Al Islam* or *Al Jihad* owned by renowned spiritual leader Hazrat Abdul Ghafoor Shaheed Babaji alias Hazrat Akhund

<sup>24</sup> Mohammad Ibrahim Zia has testified in his article, *Peshawar men Sahafat*, In, "Maazi Ke Dareechum Se" that there existed no printing press in Peshawar at that time, therefore, the paper might have been published from Lahore. He reports that Haji Karam Sherazi belonged to Muhalla Gul Badshah Jee in Peshawar city.

<sup>25</sup> Amer, U., *History of Press NWFP*. Freelance Research Publications, Peshawar 1986, p 24.

<sup>26</sup> Khurshid, A. S., *Sahafat-e-Pakistan wa Hind main (Urdu)*. Carwan Press, Lahore (n.d), p19.

<sup>27</sup> In October 1840, he accompanied a regiment to Jalalabad, Afghanistan. In July 1841, he went with the regiment to Peshawar to bring a convoy under Major Broad foot, on return to Jalalabad, they were sent to Kabul, to Ghazni, to join the garrison under Colonel Palmer. When Ghazni was attacked in December 1841 by Afghans, young Nicholson took a active part in the defence. When the Indian mutiny broke out and the news of the outbreak at Mirat and the seizure of Delhi reached the Punjab in May 1857, Nicholson was deputy-commissioner at Peshawar. At once movable columns under Chamberlain and Reed were formed, while Cotton, Edwardes, and Nicholson watched/observed the frontier. In May, the news of the outbreak of two native regiments at Nowshera reached Peshawar-Mardan to deal with the mutinous 55<sup>th</sup> native infantry from Nowshera. No sooner did the force appear near Mardan than the mutineers fled towards the hills of Swat. Nicholson, with a handful of horsemen pursued and charged them. They broke and dispersed, but the detached parties were followed to the boarders of Swat, where a remnant escaped.

<sup>28</sup> Parthasarathy, R., *Journalism in India from the earliest times to the present day*. Sterling publishers, New Delhi 1991, p 31.

<sup>29</sup> *Kohi-Noor* newspaper, published in Urdu, was began publishing in Punjab. MunshiHarsukRai, was the editor, and a seasoned and rational/reasonable journalist. The historians are divided on the issue of the starting date of *Kohi-Noor*, majority of historians have mentioned 1849, however, it began publication in 1850. Some of its issues exist in the library of *Anjuman Taraqai Urdu*. Some issue amentioned 1851 as year of publication. In the first year of its circulation it was a bi-weekly. Kaifi Sb, Abdus-Salam Khurshed and Mr. Nitrajen, the researchers have also verified the date.

<sup>30</sup> Pushkalawati, I.U.R., *Dictionary of Mass Media and Journalism*. Unpublished p 166.

<sup>31</sup> Hayder, K.R., *Allah Baksh Yusufi-Baba-e-Sahafat Sarhad*, Karachi: Allah Baksh Yusufi Research Council March 2003, p 26.

Saidu Baba Abdul Ghafoor (1794-1877) and edited by Khalifa Abdul Ghaffar Peshawari of Turu, Mardan, appeared in 1854.<sup>32</sup> It countered propaganda of Christian Missionaries against Islam and was published and distributed secretly in various parts of the Frontier region and Afghanistan. At times, hand written copies were issued too. No subscription was charged and Saidu Baba remained its patron. It had a short life since it was not sighted in 1857.<sup>33</sup> The paper lacked any proper declaration, bore no date, day or place of issue.<sup>34</sup> Abdus Salam Khurshid and Sultan Muhammad Sabir cite the name of the paper *Al Islam*, while Pervish Shaheen and Ajmal Malik, *Al Jihad*.<sup>35</sup> Sultan Muhammad Sabir points to its place of publication as Amritsar or Lahore.<sup>36</sup> It is also said that the paper used to be printed on a piece of paper which was patched by *Halwa* (Paste).<sup>37</sup> Not a single copy is available and no one has seen this paper.

## Emergence of Print Media in Afghanistan

Various scholars disagree on the name, year of publication and name of the editor of the first newspaper of Afghanistan.<sup>38</sup> Habibullah Rafi, in his Pashto article “*Pa Afghanistan ke da Jamaluddin Afghani Khidmatona*” (Services of Jamalludin Afghani to Afghanistan) referred to L. Bagdanov’s article, “*Notes on the Afghan Periodical Press*”, published in “*Islamic Culture*”<sup>39</sup>, 1929, II, pp. 126-152, in this regard. He mentions periodical *Kabul*,<sup>40</sup> circulated in 1868, during the regime of Amir Muhammad Azam Khan (r.1867-68).<sup>41</sup> It assumes circulation of *Kabul* corresponds with the 2<sup>nd</sup>

<sup>32</sup> According to Ajmal Malik, it used to appear during the jihad Movement of Syed Ahmad Shaheed (1776-1831), but it is not true because Saidu Baba was not present at Swat in those days, he returned to Swat, in 1835 and settled in Saidu Sharif in 1845.

<sup>33</sup> Amer, O., *A History of Press in N.W.F.P.* Freelance Research Publications, Peshawar 1986, p 18.

<sup>34</sup> Malik, A., *Sahafat Soba Sarhad main* (Urdu). Qaumi Publishers, Lahore 1980, p 159.

<sup>35</sup> Sabir, Sultan Muhammad., *Pashto Resala* (Pashto). Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, Peshawar, 1986, p 12.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p 14.

<sup>37</sup> It was special Paste, which was the combination of few chemicals. Before writing on the paste, it used to press in a tray same size of paper. Special ink was used for calligraphy on the Paste. Then a white paper used to press on the Paste and calligraphy got transferred on the paper.

<sup>38</sup> Benawa, A.R., *Awwalin Jarid-e-Afghanistan: Shamsul Nahaar* (The first newspaper in Afghanistan Shamsul Nahaar). Aryana, 1951, ix, p 4.

<sup>39</sup> Schinsai, M., *Afghanistan at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Nationalism and Journalism in Afghanistan; A Study of Serajul Akhbar (1911-1918)*. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario Di Studi AsiaticI, Series Minor III. NAPLES 1979, P.51.

<sup>40</sup> Mirza, A., *Hayat Jamaluddin Afghani*, Ishtiaq Press, Lahore 1959, p 19.

<sup>41</sup> Syed Jamaluddin Afghani had been a tutor of Amir Muhammad Azam Khan, an elder half-brother of Amir Sher Ali Khan. Azam Khan was known as an adventurous and aggressive prince brother of the Amir Sher Ali Khan.

tenure (1868-79) of Amir Sher Ali Khan.<sup>42</sup> However, W. Noor claims that printed word, in Afghanistan, appeared in 1871, in *Shamsul Nahaar* at the Lithographic<sup>43</sup> Printing Press Kabul.<sup>44</sup> Amir Sher Ali (r. 1863-1879), the third son of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan (r. 1826-63), sponsored it. He also considers Syed Jamal- ul- Din Afghani (1839-1897) its founder and mentor.<sup>45</sup> Some others too hold that *Shamsul Nahaar* was founded and circulated by Syed Jamaluddin Afghani.<sup>46</sup> Since no copy of *Kabul* is available, hence, no decisive evidence of the said periodical can be cited. It is argued that the name *Kabul* might have been remnant of the name *Shamsul Nahaar Kabul*, written on the corners of the newspaper.<sup>47</sup>

Afghanistan witnessed some of its early reforms during the second tenure of Amir Sher Ali Khan (r.1863-1866 & 1868-1879),<sup>48</sup> the first books, mostly translations of British Military works, were published during this period. The launch of first Afghan Newspaper *Shamsul Nahaar* has been reported in 1873 too,<sup>49</sup> though another source cites its year of publishing 1871. The *Shamsul Nahaar* mainly focused on spreading Jamaluddin Afghani's ideas, and also helped keeping the public informed of government's decisions besides raising awareness, enlightenment discussing situation in the country. Qazi Abdul Qadir Yousafzai Peshawari was the Chief Editor and Mirza Abdul Aali, Sub-Editor, of *Shamsul Nahaar*. Initially it was published fortnightly, later weekly and finally daily.<sup>50</sup> The number of pages also increased from four to sixteen, and most of the editorials were written in Dari. Anti-British feelings visibly manifested in

<sup>42</sup> Reshtiya, S. Q., *Afghanistan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*. Kabul 1968, p 89.

<sup>43</sup> Lithographic printing, invented in Europe in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, spread widely in the Indian subcontinent from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its popularity stemmed from the relative ease with which it could be used to reproduce different scripts not based on the Latin alphabet. By the 1860s, lithographic printing had spread to Afghanistan, including Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat.

<sup>44</sup> Noor, W., *Newspapers and Journals of Afghanistan* (Persian). *Central Asia*, no.3, Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 1979, p 61.

<sup>45</sup> Schinsai, M., *Afghanistan at the Beginning of The Twentieth Century: Nationalism and Journalism in Afghanistan; A Study of Serajul Akhbar (1911-1918)*. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario Di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor III. Naples 1979, p 51.

<sup>46</sup> Abdur Rauf Benawa, *Awwalin Jarid-e-Afghanistan: Shamsul Nahaar* (The first newspaper in Afghanistan Shams-un-Nahaar). Aryana, 1951, p 14.

<sup>47</sup> Afghani, J., *Tarikh-ul-Afghan* (History of Afghans), a translated version of Jamaludin Afghani work by Allama Sayyid Abdul Qadus Hashmi. Nafees Academy, Karachi 1976.

<sup>48</sup> Sher Ali returned Kabul and energetically began a series of far reaching reforms, created a National Army, instituted a system collecting land revenues, founded a Council of Elders to advise him on affairs of state, began a postal system, and published the very first newspaper in Afghanistan, *Shams-ul-Nahaar* (Morning Sun).

<sup>49</sup> Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2333.1/msbcc2pw>., and <http://afghanistandl.nyu.edu/>

<sup>50</sup> After the second Anglo-Afghan war (1878-1879), which effectively put an end to Afghanistan's first newspapers, *Shamsul Nahar*, foreign imports such as the Calcutta based *Habl-al-Matin* provided the main source of information on what was happening abroad.

Afghanistan, and amongst the Muslims of India, its political repercussions were discussed. The British government believed *Shamsul Nahaar* caused alarming situation in India by spreading anti-British propaganda, therefore, took steps to stop it.<sup>51</sup> Thus, in 1878, the newspaper was shut down due to the second Anglo-Afghan War.<sup>52</sup>

Syed Jamaluddin Afghani's eagerness to publish a newspaper may be traced to early 1860s by referring to a society, *Um-ul-Qura*, founded in Hijaz, prior to his coming to Afghanistan, in 1864.<sup>53</sup> The society intended to publish a newspaper carrying the name, *Shamsul Nahaar Kabul*. Syed Jamaluddin Afghani had prepared a sketch of this newspaper but it could not be published regularly. It might have been instrumental in giving birth to *Shamsul Nahaar*, in Afghanistan.<sup>54</sup>

The idea of public responsibility of the print media in Afghanistan was introduced by Syed Jamaluddin Afghani,<sup>55</sup> during the short reign of Amir Muhammad Azam Khan (1867-1868). In strife and civil war ridden Afghanistan, Azam Khan trapped feuding chieftains to embrace Jamaluddin's ideas thinking that publication of newspaper might help in bringing unity and harmony. Jamaluddin Afghani became Azam Khan's Prime Minister in 1868, has been credited to be the editor of a journal entitled *Kabul*. Unfortunately, no issue of this Journal is available in public libraries, although references are made to it in several Afghan publications affirming Jamaluddin Afghani, as editor.<sup>56</sup>

Qazi Abdul Qadir Yousafzai Peshawari, the Chief Editor<sup>57</sup> of *Shamsul Nahaar* had been a contemporary and follower of Syed Jamaluddin Afghani. As chief Editor, he propagated modern and enlightened ideas of Jamaluddin Afghani, promoted and published articles regarding unity of Muslim

<sup>51</sup> [Http://afghanistandl.nyu.edu/](http://afghanistandl.nyu.edu/).

<sup>52</sup> Noor, W., *Newspapers and Journals of Afghanistan* (Persian). *Central Asia*, no. 3, 1979. Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar, p 60.

<sup>53</sup> Dedicating his whole life to the defense of the Islamic Commonwealth, and moving restlessly throughout the Muslim world, Al-Afghani appealed to the rulers of the Muslims to gather their subjects against Western imperialism. While calling for internal reform in line with the Qur'an and prophetic traditions, he insisted on the need for military power in order to end foreign occupation. He founded the *Ummul Qura* which symbolized the concept of Islamic unity and to unite the whole Islamic world. His revolutionary ideas have had a deep impact on the reawakening in the Muslim world. Oh! You poor fellah (peasants and farmers)! You break the heart the heart of the earth in order to draw sustenance from it and to support your family. Why do you not break the heat of those who eat the fruit of your labor? – Jamaluddin Al Afghani.

<sup>54</sup> Rafi, H., *Pa Afghanistan ky Jamaluddin Afghani Khidmatoona*. *Central Asia*, no.11. Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 1982, p.p 12-14.

<sup>55</sup> Loudwing, W. A., *Biographical Encyclopedia of Afghanistan*. Pentagon Press, India 2008, p 267.

<sup>56</sup> Marwat, F. R., *Jamaluddin Afghani and Islamic Resurgence in Egypt*. *Pakistan* no.31-32. Pakistan Study Centre, Peshawar 1995, pp 46-49.

<sup>57</sup> The top editorial executive of a publishing organization directly responsible for the operations and policies of a publication, sometimes known as editor in chief.



Ummah in general and Afghanistan in particular. Mirza Abdul Aali acted as the Sub-Editor.<sup>58</sup>

### **Urwah al-Wuthqa by Jamaluddin Afghani in 1880s**

Jamaluddin Afghani began publishing *al-Urwah al-Wuthqa*, ‘The Indissoluble Link’, an Arabic language newspaper edited by Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905),<sup>59</sup> from Paris, in 1884.<sup>60</sup> Advocating return to the original, unadulterated principles and ideals of Islam, and unity amongst Muslim masses, the newspaper considered return to pristine Islam a must to regain its lost strength and glory and to throw away yoke of European powers.<sup>61</sup> After departing Afghanistan and subsequently India, Afghani proceeded on a journey through Europe, resided in London, Paris and St. Petersburg, for various lengths of time. In Paris, he founded a political organization *Urwah al Wuthqa (The Unbreakable Bond)* with Egyptian modernist, Muhammad Abduh. To modernize Islam and protecting Islamic world from greedy foreigners they published Arabic Journal *Al Urwat-ul-Wuthqa*, from Paris.<sup>62</sup> Scathing criticism and fiery articles in this anti-British organ created a furor in the imperialist circles, however, gained popularity in the Arabic speaking world, eventually the British banned its entry into India.<sup>63</sup> Annoyed, due to its strident anti-European message, the British, engineered shut down of this organization and its mouthpiece, the *Minaret*.<sup>64</sup> The Journal circulated throughout the Muslim world including Afghanistan, since Afghani’s activities were not confined to Paris alone. He moved about in the continent, contacting important personalities and impressing upon them a progressive outlook of Islam. He even proceeded

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<sup>58</sup> Sub-editor same as co-editor or copy-Reader; one of the many subordinate editors who reads, edits; and writes head lines to news stories. He/She may also supervise the lay out and makeup of the copy to be published.

<sup>59</sup> Muhammad Abduh, a student of Jamaluddin Afghani, under Afghani’s influence combined Journalism, Politics and his own fascination in Islamic mystical spirituality. Abduh was appointed editor in Chief of *al-Waqt-al-Misriyya*, the official state newspaper. He was dedicated to reforming all aspects of Egyptian society. In 1884, Abduh moved to Paris, France, where he joined Afghani in publishing *The Firmest Bond* (al-Urwah al-Wuthqa), and Islamic revolutionary journal that promoted anti-British views.

<sup>60</sup> Wasil Noor mentioned 1881 as the beginning date of *al-Urwah al-Wuthqa in Newspapers and Journals of Afghanistan—Bibliography*, published in Central Asia, Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar issue No. 3 on Page 101

<sup>61</sup> Khan, S., *Muslim Reformist Political Thought, Revivalists, Modernists and Free Will*. Routledge Curzon, London 2003, p 163.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Marwat, F.R., *Jamaluddin Afghani and Islamic Resurgence in Egypt. Pakistan no.31-32*. Pakistan Study Centre, Peshawar 1995, p 65.

<sup>64</sup> Shafi, M., *Developments of Reformist and Liberal Ideas in Afghanistan (1900-1950)*. Unpublished thesis submitted to Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2010, p 91.

to London, had prolonged discussions on international relations with Lord Salisbury, a high dignitary of British.<sup>65</sup>

### **Anjuman-i-Serajul Akhbar: The Newspaper *Sirajul Akhbarul Afghanistan***

A nine member Society, *Anjuman-i-Seraj-ul-Akhbar*, was founded in 1905, by *Maulvi* Abdul Rauf Khan, Alias Khaki, Headmaster of *Madrassa-i-Shahi* (Royal School/College), attached to Chob Faroshi mosque, Kabul, the members of the Society include; *Maulvi* Abdul Rauf Khan alias Khaki-Editor, *Maulvi* Najaf Ali Khan-Sub Editor, *Maulvi* Mohammad Sarwar Khan Assef-Clerk, Haji Bashi Ghulam Naqashband Khan-Translator of Turkish Language, Munshi Hafiz Haider Ali Khan, Translator of Turkish Language, Abdul Rahim Beg, Assistant Translator of Urdu Newspaper, Mirza Ghulam Qadir Khan, Scribe/Calligrapher, Mirza Muhammad Ishaq Khan-Scribe/Calligrapher, Qari Nek Muhammad- Proof Reader.<sup>66</sup>

A group, named of Constitutionalists, within this society emerged and founded a newspaper *Serajul Akhbar-i-Afghanistan* on January 11, 1906.<sup>67</sup> Most of the 'Constitutionalists' were Indian teachers of *Habibia* School led by Dr. Abdul Ghani, the founder and second principal of *Habibia* School (1903).<sup>68</sup> Other members of the group included *Maulvi* Mohammad Hussain (Punjab), *Maulvi* Muzaffar Khan Marwat and Saeed Ahmad Khan Kandahari. The organization was also known as '*Jan Nisaran-i-Melat*' (Devotees to Nation) and *Anjuman-i-Moalleman-i-Hindi* (Council of the Indian Teachers). The objective of this association was the same as that of the Society of *Seraj-ul-Akhbaar*. However, the newspaper lasted just one issue and was closed down by the Amir on the behest of the British Indian government.<sup>69</sup>

Weekly *Sirajul Akhbar Afghanistan*, first appeared, in 1906, has been the second, more widely known, Pashto newspaper. *Maulvi* Abdur Rauf Khaki, Headmaster of Shahi Madrassa, Kabul had been its managing Editor and *Maulvi* Najaf Ali, an Indian Muslim, its Sub- Editor.<sup>70</sup> The first issue of this newspaper contained anti-imperialist articles. The British Indian government did not like the tone of the newspaper and pressurized Amir Habibullah to close it, thus, was shut down immediately.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p 69.

<sup>66</sup> Younis, F. S., *Afghanistan: A Political History; The Afghans and The Rise and Fall of the Ruling Afghan Dynasties and Rulers, Volume-1*. The Aays, Peshawar 2005, p 571.

<sup>67</sup> Noor, W., *Newspapers and Journals of Afghanistan* (Persian). Peshawar: Bi-annual Research Journal, *Central Asia*, no. 3. Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar 1979, p 61.

<sup>68</sup> Ghani, A., *A Brief Political History of Afghanistan*. Najaf Publisher, Lahore 1989, p 36.

<sup>69</sup> Shafi, M., *The Reformist Movement and Liberal Ideas in Afghanistan 1901-1950*. Peshawar: Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, submitted to Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 2010.

<sup>70</sup> Haleem, S., *Da Afghanistan Tarikh Ao Khprawanay* (History and Journalism in Afghanistan). Saboor Publishing Centre, Peshawar 2001, p 31.

<sup>71</sup> Ghani, A., *A Review of the Political Situation in Central Asia*. Aziz Publishers, Lahore 1980.

## SirajulAkhbarAfghania

Mehmud Tarzi began publishing the newspaper named, *Sirajul Akhbar Afghania* (1911-1918) as editor, in 1911. He used it as a means to introduce his readers to the new ideas and modernization. Within eight years of its publication, *Sirajul Akhbar Afghania* prepared Afghans, emotionally if not politically, to demand complete independence from the British.<sup>72</sup> Tarzi served as a mouthpiece for 'Young Afghans', and disseminated their ideas in public at large. The *Young Afghans*, initially aimed at spreading enlightenment, advocating education, development of culture, national unity and struggle against religious fanaticism<sup>73</sup>, later the *Young Afghan's* activities became increasingly political. *Sirajul Akhbar Afghania* denounced colonial policies of the British and openly called for the people to struggle for the country's independence, which thought inseparable from the struggle against backwardness. The *Young Afghans* were organized in a secret society called *Mashruta* (the constitution) within all major cities.<sup>74</sup>

In 1912, *Sirajul Akhbar* circulation reached 1600 in Kabul. State patronage was evident as each government office subscribed a copy. *Sirajul Akhbar* was also distributed in the Tribal Areas across the Durand line.<sup>75</sup> In mid of 1915, it published anti-British and pro-German news, it was also distributed to all leading mullahs. Copies were sent by hand to the few readers in Peshawar.<sup>76</sup> It was during this time that Haji Sahib Turangzai (1858-1937) setup a lithographic press at Lakarhai (Mohmand Agency), published pamphlets against the British government.<sup>77</sup> *Sirajul Akhbar* closed down in 1918, however, Amir Amanullah Khan (r. 1919-1928) began *Aman-i Afghania*, a new official newspaper.<sup>78</sup>

It is probable that the name of *Sirajul Akhbar* may be copied in Afghanistan from the *Sirajul Akhbar* of Delhi, which began in 1841. It

<sup>72</sup> The background and the beginning of the Afghan Press system: Part: V and VI. *Afghanistan* (Historical and Cultural Quarterly, 1969. Vol: XXII. No.2, Ibrahim Pourhadi, Afghanistan press and its literary influence 1829–1969. *Afghanistan Journal* USA. 1976; Notes on the Afghan Periodical Press. *The Hyderabad Quarterly Review*, -Vol –III 1929.

<sup>73</sup> Shafi, M., *The Reformist Movement and Liberal Ideas in Afghanistan 1901-1950*. Peshawar: Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, submitted to Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 2010.

<sup>74</sup> Habibi, A.H., *Pa Afghanistan Kay Da Mushrooti at Ghurzang*. (The Constitutional Party in Afghanistan). Peshawar Danish Kutab Khana Kisakhwani Bazar 2006, p 49.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Hindi, A., *Zawal-e-Ghazi Amanullah Khan 1928: Inqilab-e-Afghanistan* (Downfall of Amir Amanullah Khan: Afghan Revolution), 1931.

<sup>77</sup> Javed, A., *Haji Sahib Turangzai*. Aziz publishers, Peshawar 1980, p 59.

<sup>78</sup> May, S., *Afghanistan at the beginning of twentieth century: Nationalism and Journalism in Afghanistan—A study of seraj-ul-akhbar (1911-1919)*. Naples, Institute Universitario Orientale, Seminario Di Studi Asiatici 1979.

issued from Mughal Court as a Daily Newspaper by the last Mughal ruler, Bahadur Shah-II, popularly known as Bahadur Shah Zafar (r. 1837-58). Musleh-ud Daula Sayed Abdul Qasim supervised it, the last Royal Scribe (Chronicler). Its editor was Syed Aulad Ali. The Magistrate of Delhi J. Lawrance reported about *Sirajul Akhbar* that it was a Court chronicle and issued from the Mughal Court. According to Mehdi Hassan and Dr. Abdul Salam Khurshid in "*Journalism for All*", *Sirajul Akhbar* started by *Maulvi* Faqir Muhammad of Lahore in 1885 and it continued till 1916.<sup>79</sup>

### Services of Molvi Najaf Ali (1862-1950)

Amir Abdur Rahman (r.1880-1901) realized the importance of education for Afghanistan, ordered translation of the useful foreign books into Persian. He employed scholars to translate books written in English and Urdu for this purpose.<sup>80</sup> *Maulana* Najaf Ali, one among the translators recommended by Dr. Abdul Ghani (his younger brother) to the Amir in 1892,<sup>81</sup> earlier, he headed the translation Department of Lahore High Court. He made a brief visit of Kabul during the reign of Nadir Shah (1929-33), translated a few books into Persian at the request of the King, and his brother *Sardar* Muhammad Hasham Khan. *Maulvi* Najaf Ali has been criticized by some researchers, terming him a British agent/spy protected by Yahya Khel<sup>82</sup> family in Afghanistan. Thus, his name appeared boldly in almost all political activities in Kabul.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Pushkalawati, I., *Journalism*. Cristal Publications, Peshawar 2011, p 189.

<sup>80</sup> Hindi, A., *Zawal-e-Ghazi Amanullah Khan, Inqelab-e-Afghanistan, 1928 fall of king Amanullah Khan, Afghan Revolution of 1928*. Multan 1931, p 136.

<sup>81</sup> The name of the father of Abdul Qadeer Najafi was *Hafiz* Abdul Majeed Najafi; he was the son of *Maulana* Najaf Ali.

<sup>82</sup> Those who fled to Pakistan formed an anti-Yahya Khel party known as 'Afghan Democratic Party' in the tribal area of N.W.F.P and Quetta, with the collaboration of the Pakistani Government. Abdul Hay Habibi, Abdul Wadood (brother in law of Dr. Mahmudi), Mazrak Zadrán (a staunch supporter of Amanullah, the father of Syed Akbar) were some of the leaders of the party. They published a journal *Azad Afghanistan* for propagating their views. The formation of the Afghanistan Democratic party in the tribal territory of Pakistan by the dissident Afghans had considerably upset the Afghan government. Pro-government members of the Afghan National Assembly condemned Habibi and declared him a traitor; but Dr. Muhamudi and his group in the assembly strongly supported Habibi by declaring that all people with public interest are friends of Habibi. Even Abdul Majeed Zabuli, who was always criticized by the Mahmudi group, had made a common cause with the progressive group, with a view of enlisting their support for pro-communist propaganda in Afghanistan.

<sup>83</sup> Tazi, S.Z., *Saur Revolution in Afghanistan*. Peshawar: Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, submitted to Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 1997, p 89.

**An Overview of Print Media in Afghanistan (1918-1929)**

The following chart provides an overview of Afghan Print media in the period under discussion:

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup>Year of issue</b>	<b>Editor</b>
Siraj ul Atfal	1918	Mahmud Tarzi
Amani Afghan	1919	Abdul Hadi Davi
Marf Maarf	1919	Muhammad Hussain Khan
Etehad-e-Mashraqi	1919	Burhanuddin Kashki
Afghan	1920	Muhammad Jafar Khan
Etefaq-e-Islam	1920	Abdullah Khan
Sitar-e Afghan	1920	Mir Ghulam Muhammad Hussaini
Irshad-ul Naswan	1921	Asmar Samya
Alghazi	1921	Abdullah Khan
Talue-e-Afghan	1921	<i>Maulvi</i> Salah Muhammad Hotak
Majmua-e Askaria	1921	Abdul Latif Khan
Eblagh	1921	Mirza Muhammad Akbar Khan
Itihade	1922	Muhammad Bashir Khan
Bedaar	1922	Abdul Samad Jahid
Ainae Irfan	1924	Hashim Shaiq
Haqiqat	1924	Burhanuddin Kashki
Sarwat	1924	Salahuddin Saljoqi
Eid ul Istiqlal	1925	Abdul Hadidavi
Anees	1927	Mahuddin Khan Anees
Majmua-e Sahiya	1927	Hasan Saleemi
Al Eman	1927	<i>Maulvi</i> Muhammad Ibrahim
Itihade Afghan	1927	<i>Maulvi</i> Muhammad Yaqoob
Nasim-e Sahar	1928	Hasan
Naoroz	1928	Ahmad Ratib Khan
Pakhton ghag	1928	Muhammad Naoroz Khan
Da kor gham	1928	Faiz Muhammad Khan Nasri
Ghairate Islam	1928	Hasan khan
Habibul Islam	1929	Abdul Hakim Khan
Islah	1929	Ghulam Mahauddin Anees
Maktab	1929	Muhammad Noroz Khan
		Jalaluddin

**Amani-i Afghan**

*Aman-i Afghan* (1919-1929), a semi-official weekly newspaper, stretched over 8-12 pages, appeared after *Sirajul Akhbar*. Abdul Hadi Davi and Sayad Qasim Khan remained its founding editors, respectively; the latter

was replaced by Ghulam Ahmad in 1927. However, *Aman-i-Afghan* could not achieve the caliber of *Sirajul Akhbar*, both culturally and politically. No role was played by the Indian Muslims in this newspaper.

### **Ittihad-e- Mashriqi**

The first issue of *Ittihad-e-Mashriqi*, a weekly journal published and circulated in 1919.<sup>84</sup> Its first issue was did not carry the name of its editor, however, 8<sup>th</sup> issue during first year, named Burhan Ud Din as Senior Editor, while 13<sup>th</sup> and following issues of the journal lacked editor's name.<sup>85</sup> For 3 year, the journal continued without editor in 4<sup>th</sup> year (in 1923), Muhammad Bashir became Editor. In 1928, *Ittihad-e-Mashriqi* printed under the editorship of Muhammad Amin Khogyani with an increased circulation in the period of Nadir Shah. Shams Ud Din became its Editor In Chief in 1931. *Ittihad-e-Mashriqi* printed in six pages, two in Pashto and four in Dari in size 3x ½, x2 ½.<sup>86</sup>

*Ittihad-e-Mashriqi* produced keeping in view of the demands of readers of different periods, such as during *Amani* era, for the first time Pashto Poetry was given place in *Ittihad-e-Mashriqi*, with the passage of time, prose writing also began to be published.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> The first issue of *Ittihad-e-Mashriqi* appeared in four pages mostly covering writings. *Bismillah-e-Rehman Arrahim, La Elaha Ellallah Muhammad Ur Rasulullah* was written on right side on the top. Nasruminallah Fathun Qareb is engraved. On the same side in a bracket name of Amanullah Alghazi is mentioned with 1298 H. On the left side of the same page Ittihad-e-Mashriqi 1338 H is given. In the bottom of the bracket "WaKafa Billahi Shaheeda Muhammad Ur Rasulullah Wallazeena Magha Ashad Alal kuffar Rehmen Benahim" is inscribed. In front of the bracket on the left side IDara, Jalal Abad and date, Jamadiussani 1338 is given followed by a writing "Farman Alhazrat Ghazi" an announcement from Ghazi Amanullah has been given place. In the writing commitment has been made for the uplift and defending of Afghanistan. The addressers are people of Nangarhar. In the middle of all pages information about "writer, Aziz Ur Rehman Safi, Office located inside the old city. The writer reserves the right of publishing the article received by the Office. Telephone No, 240. On the left side in four lines it is given, price annually 6 Afghani in Jalal Abad. 7:00 Afghani throughout Afghanistan and 4:00 Kaldari abroad" along with other statistical information.

<sup>85</sup> Rafi, H., *Pukhto Khabravane*. Kabul 1927, p 38.

<sup>86</sup> In the year 1941, after 25 issues, *Ittihad-e- Mashriqi* increased its circulation. In the year 1941, Qayam Ud Din Khadim was nominated as its Editor In Chief. At that time the journal started to be print in Pashto only. In the year 1955, Ittihad-e- Mashriqi used to appeared under the editorship of Aziz Ur Rehman Sefi and in 1956 its editorship has been assigned to Ustad Ulfat. In the year 1949 its Editor was Mr Younas Murad and in the year 1951 Mr Abdul Baqi Baghniwal was nominated as its editor. In his editorship before 1958, the name of Ittihad-e- Mashriqi was used as Nangarhar and it was issued as Newspaper in place of Journal. In the year 1959 Abdullah Bakhtani has been nominated as its Editor. In the year 1953 Mr Abdul Jalel Wajdi was Editor of Nangarhar.

<sup>87</sup> In round about 1936, Pashto was given place on the first two pages. A permanent place had been assigned to Pashto Article on the first page. On the other side poetry was given

**Allah Nawaz Khan Services to Afghanistan in 1920s**

Allah Nawaz (1880-1935), son of Khan Bahadur Rab Nawaz Khan, Honorary Magistrate, Multan, and one of the eleven students of Government College Lahore, who entered Afghanistan, in 1915, during the First World War. Having completed their education in Lahore, he became an Afghan national. He assisted the editor Burhan ud din Kashkaki of the *Itihad-i-Mashriqi*<sup>88</sup>, the first newspaper of the province of Nagarahar, in 1920. It was founded by Nadir Khan, the Raees (the Executive Head) of the eastern province, in February 1920 and published twice a week, Saturday and Wednesday. A single page newspaper initially, it progressed to four pages, was simultaneously published in two languages, Pashto and Dari.

In 1928, Afghanistan was rocked by a rebellion led by Habibullah alias Bacha Saqa (r.Oct 1928 to July 1929) resulting into self-exile of Amanullah. Habibullah was ousted by Nadir Khan after nine months with the help of Waziri *Lashker* led by Allah Nawaz.<sup>89</sup> He was appointed as minister of court in October 1929,<sup>90</sup> and also served as an interpreter to Nadir Shah. In May 1930, he supervised the work on *Dar-ul-Aman*, a government building, in the new capital, assisted the Minister of Justice in holding negotiations with

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position expressing Nationalism beside news of Peshawar and news provided by different correspondents. On the same page, agricultural news under the heading of *FALAHAT* used to be given regularly. Articles used to appear under these headings like *Sehawar Ao Jawan mardi wasta Da Abadai Ao Ittifaq, Da Gul La Khwa Zarghonegi Ao Zar La Shagona Haselegi, Da Jaredo mujallo Nafa O Faida. Hes Tegh La Jabi Sara Hamsari Ao Sialina Shi Kawali, Effat Ao Asmat*. Analysis has been given place in Pashto section i.e. in the 21st issue of the year, 1936. such analysis appeared. Issue of 1943 is lying before me. On the first page headlines followed by domestic news further followed by subheadings. On the same page news of Delhi and China can be seen. On the second, a heading under *Ilmi Behes* (Educational Discussions) with text that so far 16 different kinds of natural salt have been discovered as part of our body. At the bottom harms of drug addiction are mentioned. Third page is limited to Literature only where a large portion is given to Pashto poetry. *Itihad Afsana* is also part of this page on the top unlike other journals where Novels are given place at bottom. The fourth page is assigned to local news of surrounding areas. At the bottom an announcement is given, "The current issue of Nangarhar is covering each and every thing just on one page and circulated to everyone in the area". I want to go through the journal thoroughly and don't hesitate to say that it rightly covers everything. News, secrets, current issues etc. it has also given place to novels, political analysis and letters received by the Editor.

<sup>88</sup> It was the first newspaper of the province of Nagarahar, founded by Nadir Khan, the Raees (the Executive Head) of the eastern province in February, 1920. Its editor was Bahauddin Kashkaki, and was published twice a week (Saturday and Wednesday). In the initial stages it one page paper, while later on it was increased to four. It was published in two languages, Pashto and Dari, simultaneously. Later, it was stopped.

<sup>89</sup> The actual support came from the tribesmen of the Waziristan organized by Allah Nawaz, a Multani residing in Afghanistan since 1915, thus placing Nadir Khan on the throne of Afghanistan.

<sup>90</sup> The ministry of court was held between 1920-27 by Yaqub Khan.

the Sulaiman Khel in Ghazni, in July 1930. In June 1933, he was appointed Minister of Public Works but spent most of the year in the Southern Province in quelling disturbances there. In December 1933, he left Kabul on a visit to Europe for medical treatment and served as Afghan Ambassador in Berlin during 1935 to 1945. He spent his last years in Germany where he lived up to 1971. His son Ali Nawaz has been the president of the Chamber of Commerce Multan.

### **Tulo-e- Afghan (Rising Afghan)**

Tulo-e-Afghan, a weekly newspaper, appeared in 1921 from Qandahar and circulated in large numbers under the ownership of Moulvi Saleh Hotak in editorship of Abdul Aziz<sup>91</sup> 1921-1930. In 1928, Khwaja Muhammad worked as co-editor and Muhammad Hussain, an Indian Muslim, as calligrapher. Later Abdul Haye Habibi<sup>92</sup> became its assistant editor in 1928 and after three years rose to the post of Editor in Chief.<sup>93</sup> This newspaper covered major news stories of Qandahar, local news, foreign news and articles on Afghanistan's history, literature and editorials notes on political issues.<sup>94</sup>

### **The Services of *Maulvi* Muhammad Hussain Punjabi**

Muhammad Hussain was born in Jallander (Punjab) in 1883. His ancestors belonged to the Afghan Urmur tribe;<sup>95</sup> he obtained his bachelor

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<sup>91</sup> Abdul Aziz Alkozai Kandahari, the son of Mirza Atta Muhammad Kandahari, worked first in Kabul press (1905) and later in Kandahar press (1921) as the chief editor of Tulo-e-Afghan. He served as member of National Assembly from Kandahar during King Zahir Shah's early reign, but later imprisoned for 13 years in connection with attack on British Embassy. He also remained the Mayor of Kandahar city in 1950s and died in 1963.

<sup>92</sup> Abdul Haye Habibi was born in 1910 in Kandahar in a reputed Pashtun tribe, Kakar. He started his career as a primary school teacher (1927), joined *Tulo-e-Afghan*, and served in different capacities during 1940s, including the director general Pashto *Tolana*, advisor in Ministry of Education, president faculty of literature Kabul University, director general Education Kandahar, and as Afghan trade agent at Chaman (Pakistan). He spent the next two decades in Pakistan due to his disillusionment with Afghan government. He started a weekly publication of paper '*Azad Afghanistan*' from Peshawar and '*Sarosh*' magazine from Karachi. He returned to Kabul in 1960s and served in different position; teacher of Pashto literature at Kabul University; President of historical society; advisor Ministry of Information and culture; and member Academy of Sciences till his death in 1984. He authored many books, pamphlets, and articles.

<sup>93</sup> In each issue of *Tulo-e-Afghan*, Pashto prose and poetry had been given due place. In 1932, Pashto was allocated half of its part. In 1941, due to its increase demands, *Tulo-e-Islam* began its issue twice a week. In 1943, its size had been reduced to 34x21 inches, and circulated daily. In 1950, Mr Qiam Ud Din Khadim had been nominated as its editor and 1951, the same responsibility had been assigned to Mr Muhammad Shah Irshad. In 1954, *Tulo-e-Afghan* used to be produced by Mr Najim Aryan.

<sup>94</sup> Rafi, H., *Pakhto Khaprawana* (Pashto), p13.

<sup>95</sup> The Urmur, also called Burki, are a Pashtun tribe mainly living in Pakistan and parts of Afghanistan. Urmur is part of the Pashtun tribal system and identify with



degree from Aligarh University. Being of Afghan origin and educated at Aligarh University, he was equally at home in English, Urdu, Dari and Pashto languages. Muhammad Hussain, in Afghanistan, taught at the premier modern educational institute of Afghanistan. He taught history and Geography at The Habibia School, founded and promoted by Amir Habibullah Khan. He remained imprisoned for more than a decade for his role in the constitutionalist movement advocating limits to powers of the Amir in 1909. He was released by Amir Amanullah Khan, in 1919. Subsequently, he served as a Calligrapher in *Tulo-e-Afghan*, and the Director Primary Schools, Ministry of Education, in 1926. After the fall of Amanullah, Muhammad Hussain served as Magazine Director '*Habibul-Islam*' in the reign of Habibullah alias Bacha Saqa. He escaped to India and remained there till Kabul was captured by Nadir Khan. He wrote 75 books and magazines during his stay in Kabul in Dari, Pashto, Urdu and English.<sup>96</sup>

### **Ittehad**

*Ittehad* magazine, a weekly newspaper from Jalal Abad appeared, in 1922, its publisher Mohammad Bashir Munshizadah<sup>97</sup>, born in Kabul in 1905, belonged to an Indian family. His father, Munshi Nazir, was a refugee from Lahore, then India. Bashir was educated at Habibia School, worked for the Ministry of Education as teacher. His close relations with General Nadir Khan granted him permission to publish *Ittehad*. Apart from him no role was assigned to Indian Muslims in this newspaper.<sup>98</sup>

### **Anees**

The bi-weekly newspaper *Anees* (companion) appeared in 1927 under the supervision of Ghulam Mohi-uddin Anees.<sup>99</sup> The progressive and enlightened minded friends of Mohi-uddin like Mir Muhammad Aziz and Abdur Rashid Latifi also joined the *Anees* and contributed to its progress. An A12 page newspaper, published after five days, a weekly newspaper during

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the Karlan confederacy of the region. The 16th-century Pashtun warrior-poet Pir Roshan belonged to the Urmur tribe.

<sup>96</sup> Younis, F. S., *Afghanistan: A Political History; The Afghans and The Rise and Fall of the Ruling Afghan Dynasties and Rulers, Vol.1*. The Aays, Peshawar 2005, p 571.

<sup>97</sup> King Nadir Shah made him Director Literary council. In 1933 he was imprisoned for involvement in the second Constitutionalism Movement and died therein.

<sup>98</sup> Rafi, H., *Pakhto Khaprawana* (Pashto), p13.

<sup>99</sup> He was a graduate from Egypt, sided with General Nadir Khan against Bach Saqao, and wrote a book '*Bohran O Nijat*' (*In Persian*) on the events leading to the rise of Nadir Shah. However, in 1933, he was arrested following Nadir Shah's assassination, died in 1944 under house arrest. His brother, Mohammad Khalid Anees, sent to Germany for education in 1924, but returned without completing his course, was also arrested and imprisoned.

the early days of Nadir shah's reign, and became a daily in 1929 reducing the pages to 04. Although pages of *Anees* were filled with discussions of the nexus of rights and obligations binding the citizens and the government in a democratic state, the editor did not shy from making his points through the poetry of the great Sufi mystics.<sup>100</sup>

### **The Services of *Maulvi* Fazal Mahmud Makhfi**

*Maulvi* Fazal Mahmud Makhfi, another eminent scholar, rendered his services in print media to promote enlightenment and modernization as well as consultancy in Afghanistan.<sup>101</sup> He offered his services as an advisor in the Court of Amir Amanullah Khan and also worked as a translator of English and Pashto for Bi-weekly *Anees* (Companion). His nationalistic ideas and his association with the leading nationalist leaders in the NWFP, British India, made him a pioneer of nationalism in Afghanistan.<sup>102</sup>

*Maulvi* Fazal Mahmud completed his Secondary School Certificate (SSC) from the Islamia High School Peshawar, in 1900 and was admitted to Edwards College Peshawar. Later he joined *Dar-ul-uloom* Agra, and studied religious subjects for five years. For advance knowledge, he was sent to *Darululoom Deoband* by his uncle. *Deoband* sharpened his political views further, and he was accepted into the circle of the favoured and trusted students of Sheikh-ul-Hind, Maulana Mahmud-al Hassan. Following his advice, Makhfi joined Hizbullah movement. In Pakhtunkhwa, Haji Sahib of Turangzai, *Maulana* Abdul Aziz, *Maulvi* Fazal Rabbi and Abdul Ghaffar Khan organised activities against the British.<sup>103</sup> Sheikh-ul-Hind, in 1910, authorized him and sent for establishing contact with Pakhtun leaders.

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<sup>100</sup> Chughtai, M. I., *Iqbal Afghan and Afghanistan (Urdu)*. Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore 2004, p 75.

<sup>101</sup> *Maulvi* Fazal Mahmud Makhfi belonged to Mamund, a Pashtun clan from Tarkalarni tribe, in Bajaur. Due to family feud, his grandfather migrated to Manrogai, a small village in Dir, there got his pen name *Makhfi*, meaning mysterious or hidden one. In acquisition of knowledge, his family migrated to Charsadda, where *Maulvi* Fazal Mahmud Makhfi was born in 1882 at Mohallah Painsa Khel, Charsadda.

<sup>102</sup> Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, a landlord of Umarzai (Charsadda), and a leading figure of the *Khudai Khidmatgar* movement, considered *Maulvi* Fazal Mahmud Makhfi as his teacher, and wrote that he topped the list of those figures who worked for an awakening of the spirit of nationalism. He described the outlook of *Maulana* as, "The clothes of *Maulvi Makhfi* were always torn and footwear worn out. Sometimes, he was hungry. But he did not lose heart even in the face of ignorant religious and spiritual leaders and the people deceived by them. He was a man of firm determination. He was not the type of leader who enjoy the luxury of cars and who deliver speeches on the stage, but when they lose membership and ministry then they forget the nation and Islam".

<sup>103</sup> In part, Nadir's coolness can be attributed to Red Shirts Progressive ideas and Abdul Ghaffar Khan's close ties with Amanullah, Nadir had reason to suppose that Movement might be used against the Afghan monarchy and Afghan interests. But really Nadir did not want to become involved in a military conflict with the British, and he did not want to see

Political leader *Maulvi Makhfi* had been a pioneer of nationalist movement in North West India and consistently opposed and severely condemned the British when others could not even dare speak in their *Hujra* against the British.<sup>104</sup> He was dubbed as Soviet agent/spy by the British Indian government to,<sup>105</sup> undermine him and his political struggle. Fazal Mahmud was a follower of Mahmud-ul-Hassan (1851-1920)<sup>106</sup> who along with Saif-ur-Rahman and Fazle Rabi, to organize the tribesmen across the Durand line against the British.

Haji Sahib of Turangzai an eminent leader from Hasht Nagar with cooperation of *Maulvi Makhfi* formed numerous advisory committees, in Mohmand Agency, to create strong armed militia. Haji Sahib with *Maulvi Makhfi*'s assistance mobilized Indian revolutionaries to go abroad, to Kabul on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1916 in order to coordinate efforts with *Sardar* Nasrullah Khan opposing the British. He also persuaded Amir Habibullah Khan, brother of *Sardar* Nasrullah Khan to fight against the British. *Sardar* Nasrullah Khan supported the movement and strengthened the cause by supplying munitions in cash and kind. Conversely Amir Habibullah sided entirely with the British. Record of the British government demonstrates that members of that deputation occasionally visited Kabul and lodged with Ubaidullah Sindhi.<sup>107</sup>

During his stay in Kabul *Maulvi* Makhfi joined the *Jadid*, Modernist movement. On July 1916, *Maulvi* Makhfi visited Haji Sahib of Turangzai and delivered a message from *Sardar* Nasrullah Khan. It is believed that *Maulvi Makhfi* was involved in the assassination of Amir Habibullah Khan on 19/20<sup>th</sup> February, 1919 and supported Amanullah Khan in accession to the Afghan throne. *Maulvi Makhfi* was appointed by Amanullah Khan as an adviser representing group of Indian revolutionaries, residing Kabul. The Amir Amanullah Khan was hugely popular amongst Indians as an enlightened reformer and anti imperialist political leader supporting aspirations of Indians for independence.<sup>108</sup>

*Maulvi Makhfi* held long discussions with Ghaffar Khan known as Bacha Khan on the political and educational conditions of *Pukhtuns* in Hashtnagar He travel from Kabul in 1920, via Bajaur secretly to reach Hashtnagar for this purpose and helped formed *Anjuman-e-Islah-e-Afaghina*, in 1921. The Anjuman professed to work for spread of education and

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the tribal belt make into an ideological and political base for a movement that might easily turn against the Afghan throne.

<sup>104</sup> Yousafi, A. B., *Sarhad awr Jado Jihad-e-Azadi* (Urdu). Markazi Urdu Bazar, Lahore 2004, p 124.

<sup>105</sup> Javed, A., *Haji Sahib Turangzai* (Urdu). Azeem Publisher, Peshawar 1960, p 95.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p 97.

<sup>107</sup> Zalmay, M. W., *Zamung Ghazyian*. Kabul, 1368 AHS, p 260.

<sup>108</sup> Marwat, F.R., *Celebrities of NWFP Vol-I & II*. Nes Awan printers, Peshawar 2005, pp 41-42.

awareness amongst the *Pukhtuns* against British rule, and to reform Muslims masses. Bacha Khan and his comrades spread their nationalist and reformist ideas and kept close contact with Pakhtun peasants.<sup>109</sup>

King Nadir Shah used to invite *Maulvi Makhfi* to Afghanistan to discuss situation of British India and Afghanistan. For instance, in 1931, *Maulvi Makhfi* visited Kabul on Nadir Shah's invitation to discuss situation in Afghanistan and proposed formation of organization of Islamic States in order to defend and develop the Islamic world.<sup>110</sup>

*Maulvi Makhfi* worked as translator of English and *Pashto* for daily *Anees*, Kabul.<sup>111</sup> and for *Ittehad-i-Mashriqi*, Jalalabad. He was prolific both verse and prose writer to weekly *Pukhtun*, published by Bacha Khan, and recited poetry during annual gatherings of *Anjuman-e-Islah-e-Afghania*, which not only earned awards, but were much popular too. As a press correspondent, *Makhfi* provided news regarding the Holy War to *Al-Hilal*, published by *Maulana* Abdul Kalam Azad.<sup>112</sup>

On 8<sup>th</sup> November 1933, *Maulvi Makhfi* returned to Peshawar, remained in contact with nationalist political leaders until his arrest in 1934. After his release, the *Maulana*, along with his nephew and son-in-law Fath-ur-Rahman, left for India on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1936. He held long meetings with *Maulana* Uzair Gul (prisoner of Malta), supervisor of *Dar-ul-Uloom* at Rorki, *Maulana* Hussain Ahmad Madani and *Maulana* Kifayat Ullah. He also met *Maulana* Azad, in Calcutta, Habib-ur-Rahman, in Dhaka and Dr. Abdul Karim, in Habib Ganj. The main topic of their discussions and consultations remained Independence of India from colonial yoke. He spent three weeks with his nephew Siddique in Agra and upon return settled himself in ancestral village, Manroga, to many he was known as Manroga *Mullah*.

## Conclusion

There is no denying the fact that invaders, men of letters and religion entering India from Afghanistan did significantly influence the course of history in India. However, influence of Muslim intellectuals and revolutionaries from India on events in Afghanistan in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had not been adequately studied. India under direct colonial rule of the British came into contact with print technology, journalism, concepts of modernization, liberalism, democracy, constitutionalism and the universal

<sup>109</sup> Tendulkar, D.G., *Faith is battle Abdul Ghaffar Khan*. Bombay, pp 33-36.

<sup>110</sup> Government of India. *Who is Who in Dir, Swat, and Chitral Agencies*. Government of India Press, New Delhi 1937, p 18.

<sup>111</sup> Chughthai, Ikramullah., *Iqbal and Afghanistan* (Urdu). Sang-i-meel Publication, Lahore 2004, p 227.

<sup>112</sup> Marwat, F.R., Fazal Mahmood Makhfi. In Marwat, F.R., (Ed.). *Celebrities of N.W.F.P.* Vol-I. Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar 2005, p 85.

secular modern education. These technologies, ideas of development and nationalism diffused from colonial India towards north i.e., Afghanistan too. Printed word played pivotal role in spreading modern ideas and concepts reversing flow of ideas rather paid back historical debt to north. Ideas of modernity enlightenment and development moved from India to Afghanistan, as Indian Muslims served in various capacities there. Since 1747, many inhabitants of British India had been displaying keen interest in the socio-political developments of Afghanistan. Migration on both sides occurred having varied purposes: ranging from search of food, political safety, teaching and preaching their own respective versions of Islam to military conquests. Earlier numerous conquerors, *sufis*, saints, *Muhadeseen* and *Mufasssireen* from Afghanistan visited India due to their superior sociopolitical and military strength. The change in pattern in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries was evident since Afghan remained tribal and fragmented devoid of modern ideas, scientific education and technology. Therefore, Indian Muslims contributed significantly to Afghanistan in the fields of education, printed word, modernization and constitutionalism.

The services of Qazi Abdul Qadir Peshawari Yousafzai, Najaf Ali, Allah Nawaz Khan, Muhammad Hussian, and *Maulvi* Fazal Mahmud Makhfi include some of the leading lights in this regard. Intellectuals and other Indian Muslims served with missionary zeal for a long time in Afghanistan in return for insignificant remunerations considering it a duty to Islam and their own kith and kin. Some researchers raised objection to dual role of these Muslims doubting their commitment to Afghanistan and termed them agents working under the banner of British imperialist India. Yet their job had been tremendously important for Afghanistan especially in terms of spread of information and education. Contrarily, the British government considered *Maulvi* Fazal Mahmud Makhfi as agent/spy of the Soviet Union. The British agents termed "*Mullah Makhfi* as Bolshevik agent".<sup>113</sup> Similarly, *Maulvi* Najaf Ali has been criticized by some researchers, terming him as a British agent/spy under the protection of Yahya Khel. Despite such controversies the fact remains that Indian Muslims played a leading role in Afghanistan's march towards enlightenment and modernization through their services in the Newspapers to spread ideas of enlightenment in Afghanistan.

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<sup>113</sup> File. No.8, Head XXVI, Dir Affairs and Office of the Political Agent, Malakand.

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