

The Indian Muslims' Services to Afghanistan & Turkey (1901-1929)

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Abstract:

The Paper attempts to highlight the most significant Muslim personalities of British India who rendered services and sacrifices for the cause of pan-Islamism. They travelled to the neighbouring Muslim states of Afghanistan and Turkey for the larger cause of the Muslim brotherhood, and their freedom from the colonial powers. Their visits were either in official or unofficial capacity. The personalities include; Abdur Rahman Peshawari, Zafar Hasan Aibak, Mualana Ubaidullah Sindhi. The paper argues that these personalities have visited the Muslim countries of Afghanistan and Turkey in order to support the cause of Muslim brotherhood and their peace, development, and freedom. Their way of support was in the form of diplomatic negotiation. Descriptive and analytical methods were followed for analyzation/interpretation of data collected.

Introduction:

The British India and Afghanistan, being close neighbours, had cultural ties due to geographical proximity and cross border movement of people. It was observed that whenever the British atrocities against Indian Muslim increased in India, it led to search for refuge in nearby outreaches or in Afghanistan. Later, the same outreaches used to utilize for activities against the British government. Thus, Afghan territory was one such place from where anti-British activities could be resumed. Turkey was another such country where refuge could be taken and travel made by Indian Muslims either individually or in groups.

The Muslims of the sub-continent took pride in the growth of a Muslim State of Afghanistan on the North Western fringes of the sub-continent by Ahmad Shah Abdali. Ahmad Shah Abdali, commonly named as Ahmad Shah Baba, was born in Multan.¹ He was the second son of Zaman Khan Abdali who belonged to the

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Sadozai clan of Abdali tribe. Ahmad Shah Abdali was the incharge of personal guard of Persian king Nadir Shah Afshar. Following murder of Nadir Shah Afshar in 1747, Ahmad Shah Abdali, hurriedly reaches Kandahar and through a tribal consensus elected himself as the leader of the new Afghan kingdom.² Later, under his leadership he defeated Persians. The new Afghan kingdom geographically comprised some parts of India including Peshawar, Derajat, Kashmir and Punjab. Following death of Ahmad Shah on 23rd October, 1772, his successor princes entangled in internecine wars against each other till the first quarter of the 19th century. During these internal wars for succession Afghan kingdom lost territories in India to Sikhs, later occupied by British Indian Governemnt.³

The Muslims residing in the north-western fringes of the sub-continent took pride in the growth of a Muslim state of Afghanistan established by Ahmad Shah Abdali. However, the idea of a Muslim state inside India, in the middle of eighteenth century, was confronted with many threats, both indigenous and foreign. Internally, Sikh, Jat and Marathas were potential source of troubles, while externally, the danger from Europeans, particularly the British and the French. During this period, the Mughal King, Shah Alam (1728-1806) and the Muslim religious leader in India, Shah Waliullah (1703-1762), approached Ahmad Shah Abdali for assistance. Ahmad Shah Abdali responded quickly, attacked Maratha at Panipat in 1761 and defeated them.⁴ The second request was for strengthening position of Tipu Sultan (1750-1799) of Mysore but by that time, Ahmad Shah Abadali was dead and his grandson, Zaman Shah (1770-1844), couldn't honor the request.⁵ Tipu Sultan of Mysore lost all hope from the Mughal state, and wrote a letter to the Ottoman Caliph to ask for help. Instead of help, the caliph handed over the same letter to the British government.⁶ In the process thereon, the East India Company acquiring political power in the subcontinent, gradually seized most of the states. Leaders like Tipu Sultan, wanted to retain their independence in case of threat. Despite failure of governments, continuous individual efforts have been reflected by Indian Muslims against the British imperial power, in one way or the other. Several British-Indian figures are reputed for their individual endeavors in this regard. Abdur Rehman Peshawari, Zafar Hassan Aibak, and *Maulana* Ubaidullah Sindhi were some of these renowned figures. Specifically, Abdur Rehman Peshawari contributed his services, as a journalist, medic, fighter, and diplomate to the Turkish people.

1. Abdur Rahman Peshawari (1886-1925), (son of Haji Ghulam Samdani, a well-known businessman, contractor by profession,) was born in Peshawar. He, a student of the prestigious Aligarh Muslim University, left his studies to join the team of twenty four doctors and male nurses, led by Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari (1880-1937)⁷ to Turkey to serve their Muslim brothers. The team was supposed to look after the ailing Ottoman Caliph. Abdur Rehman volunteered to serve as a stretcher bearer/Nurse in the team.⁸

Before departure to Turkey as he was unsure of his father's permission, so he sold all his belongings for the journey. The mission reached Turkey in 1912 and established three medical camps there. After performing its duty the mission came back to India while Abdur Rehman prolonged his stay. He also actively performed his duty during the Balkan Wars (1912-13) in Turkey. After the end of Balkan Wars, he kept on staying in Turkey and played further active role in post war period. He was enlisted in Army as lieutenant, trained in Istanbul and posted at Beirut, until the break of First World War. He served with honor in a number of campaigns throughout the war. After the defeat of Germany and Turkey at the end of World War I, the Allied Powers occupied Istanbul.⁹

Mustafa Kamal Pasha (1881-1938) established a provisional government in Angora (Ankara) to fight Allies and the sitting Caliphate. Abdur Rehman joined this force in order to revive and restore sovereignty of Turkish nation. Peshawari has also worked as a journalist in Anadolu Agency¹⁰, the Turkey's first news service.

Abdur Rehman Peshawari was very fluent in Pashtu, Dari, Urdu, English and Turkish. In return for his services to Turkish nation, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk¹¹ appointed him as the first Turkish Ambassador to Afghanistan in 1921. Serving for two years in Afghanistan, he was replaced by Fakhri Pasha (1868-1948)¹² in 1923. Abdur Rehman Peshawari adopted Turkish nationality but always presented himself as Afghan, Once while in Turkey, visited Kabul in private capacity and even spent three months at Peshawar with his family. This was the time before his joining an important assignment in the Establishment Division in Istanbul.¹³ Though he remained almost unknown in his hometown, Paksitan, but, today, is known to many people in Turkey. He devoted his life to the Turkish public as a medic, fighter, journalist and diplomat.

Amanullah since signing of 1919 treaty¹⁴ was well disposed towards Britain. In October 1922, he asked majority of the Indian Nationalists and revolutionaries including *Maulana* Ubaidullah Sindhi(1872-1944) to leave Afghanistan. Thus, it was impossible for *Maulana* Ubaidullah Sindhi, to live more in Afghanistan;¹⁵ in the mean time he got an opportunity to meet with a Turkish Ambassador namely Abdur Rahman Peshawari. From that time onward Ubaidullah Sindhi and his comrades were remained in close contact with Abdur Rahman Peshawari.¹⁶

His career in the newly created Turkish nation ended prematurely as he was assassinated in 1925. His death was a bad luck as he was mistakenly killed for another person, the Rauf Orbay(1881-1964)¹⁷, a prominent Turkish politician (the prime minister of Turkey in 1922-23). Hence, actual target missed due to Abdur Rehman close resemblance to Rauf Orbay. He was buried in the Macka graveyard (Istanbul) where Syed Jamnal-ud-Din Afghani was also buried before final burial in Kabul.¹⁸ He has not been forgotten in Turkey, Tayyab Erdogan, the most powerful and popular Turkish politician in the last decade or so remembered him while addressing Pakistani members of parliament on November 17, 2016.

2. Zaffar Hassan¹⁹ (1895) born to Hafiz Azim-ud-Din, a well- respected person belong to Karnal, located in Panipat. His father belonged to a middle class landowning family went to Deoband for education. Following his studies, he left farming and was appointed as *Qanungo*. His son, Zafar Hassan, following his completion of Arabic knowledge was sent to modern school where he was awarded a scholarship for resuming his college studies. He got admission in Government College, Lahore. Zafer Hassan, while in college, Balkan Wars started in Asia Minor²⁰. Indian Muslim students were supporting Turkey in these wars. These young educated people were contributing articles to the weekly Comrade²¹ authored by Muhammad Ali and to *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balaghof* Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad²². As time passed the company of his friends dispersed, joined different professions. Khushi Mohammad, ShujaUllah and Abdul Majid joined Medical College while Zafar Hassan opted for mathematics.²³

In 1914 World War I broke out between Central Powers and Allied powers. Turkey joined the War on behalf of Germany. Indian Muslim students who were active in support to Turkey in War were approached by a group of Mujahideen living in Asmar, Buner. There was a small network and representatives of Mujahidin in Punjab, such as, Maulvi FazlIlahi in Wazirabad²⁴ and MaulviAbdur Rahim alias Maulvi Bashir in Lahore. These Maulvis prepared fourteen students to migrate to Turkey, including Zafer Hasan and his friends.²⁵

Later the group was joined by other members such as, Shah Nawaz, a brother of Allah Nawaz²⁶ and their domestic servant Abdul Haq. Abdullah and Khushi Mohammad coordinating Mujahideen representatives were ready to bear all the expenses of their intended journey. They started on Friday, 5th February 1915 for Haripur.²⁷ They adopted factious names and Abdul Majid Khan was selected as the group leader. In Haripur they were joined by their guide whose duty it was to take them safely to the Mujahideen headquarters and finally to Kabul.

Zafar Hassan was at Kabul when the Turco-German Mission arrived at Kabul via Iran in1915, under the Chairmanship of Raja MahendraPratap²⁸. The main purpose of the Mission was to agree Amir Habib Ullah, to declare war against the British India. Zafar Hassan informs that the mission was to provoke Afghans to attack India. Thus, as planned, if the British Indian government was entangled in the war with the Afghanistan, then the British government was in difficult position to send troops to the war in Europe. This would have turned out that the German and Turkish forces could have potential offences against Russian forces, Moreover; in case of Indian attacks or revolt against British government could also lead towards liberation of India.²⁹

During the third Anglo-Afghan War (1919), Zafar Hasan fought alongwith Nadir Khan Commander-in-Chief of Afghan Army on southern front. He was considered the most trusted comrade by Nadir Khan and also acted as the private secretary of Nadir Khan. He was posted at the general Staff Office where his job

was to translate news from English and Urdu into Persian. He was made the editor of *IttehadMashriqi*. During his job, the most notable work he did was the preparation of *Who is who* about the tribes of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In addition he translated an English book in Persian named *From Black Mountains to Waziristan* by H.C. Willy.³⁰

Later Zafer Hassan left for Russia. As narrated in the autobiography of Zaffar Hassan,³¹ their meeting with Chechrin, the Russian Foreign Minister. Zaffar Hassan arranged the meeting through Riesner. Reinser managed it through Sukerman, the head of the Central Asian Bureau in the Foreign Office. They met in the first week of June, 1923. *Maulana* Ubaidullah Sindhi discussed things of mutual cooperation in detail. He insisted on full support of Russian government against the British imperialism, to which Chechrin agreed. *Maulana* Ubaidullah Sindhi demanded one crore rupees for Afghanistan, in return Afghanistan would give passage to the revolutionaries from Russia against the British.

In 1923, *Maulana* Ubaidullah Sindhi proceeded to Turkey from Russia, and stayed for a period of three years. There he observed carefully the Ataturk's (1881-1938). He met many political leaders including Ismat Pasha, the Prime Minister of Turkey. The impacts of Sindhi's political ideology was great on him. He founded *Mahabharat Sarvrajia Party* in 1924, himself became its president, and his close associate, Zafar Hasan Aibak, was made its Secretary General.³²

Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi was deputed to Turkey in order to establish contact with Indian leaders from there. Noor Muhammad left Moscow for Paris where he met Nadir Khan and through Nadir Khan's efforts reached India. Khushi Muhammad was sent to Germany and France. Abdul Hamid was sent to India but was caught by the Afghan Government and sent back to Moscow. Again he tried to enter into Hindustan but was caught at Karachi by the British. Zaffar Hassan spent two years in Moscow and then he too left it for Turkey.³³

Before leaving for Russia Ubaidullah Sindhi spent much of his time in Afghanistan to promote the cause of freedom from English imperialism. Before reaching Kabul in 1915, Sindhi met Hakeem Ajmal Khan, Dr. Mukhtar Ansari, *Mualana* Muhammad Ali Johar and Abul Kalam Azad, at Delhi, informing them to leave for Kabul on the advice of Mehmudul Hasan.³⁴ *Maulana* Sahib met important Afghan dignitaries including Mohammad Nadir Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, *Sardar* Mahmud Tarzi, an intellectual and editor-general of the bi-weekly journal, *Siraj-UL-Akhbar*, Ubaidullah Sindhi also met Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan and tried to convince him to join the anti-British alliance. By the end of the day, all cajoling and efforts both of the Mission and *Maulana* Sahib failed to win over Amir support their argument. Instead, Amir Habibullah proclaimed the policy of neutrality of the Afghan state in the Great War. The Amir instead asked the members of the Mission to put an army of at least one lakh on Afghan border if they wanted Amir's participation on their side in the War³⁵. Other than that, he also demanded a large amount of money that could not be managed by the mission hence, the Turco-German

Mission failed.³⁶ Some members of the Mission stayed in Kabul while majority of them left for their respective countries.³⁷

Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi had organized Indian youths in Kabul into an organization named *JanoodUllah* (the Army of God), on the analogy of Christian Salvation Army. Mahmud-UL-Hassan was chosen as the Commander-in-Chief of this volunteer corps. *Maulana* Ubaidullah Sindhi coordinated the work of Janoodullah from Afghanistan. He wrote the detail plan of the organization on a silken cloth to dispatch it to Mahmud-UI-Hassan, who was staying at Hejaz, at that time. Hence, Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi handed the same silken cloth letter one Abdul Haq, the servant of Allah Nawaz Khan.³⁸ In the year 1916, Abdul Haq left Kabul for Multan. In Multan, he met K.B. Rab Nawaz Khan, father of Allah Nawaz Khan and shared the secret information with him. K.B. Rab Nawaz Khan who was British government man handed the secret letter to British government. Following this disclosure all activities of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and his associates were no longer secret at least to the British Indian Government. In return for his loyalty to British Crown, K. B. Rab Nawaz Khan was rewarded with fief and Abdul Haq got job in police department. In reaction the British Indian Government arrested Sheikh-ul-Hind and was sent to Malta. The sympathizers of the Provisional Government in Kabul were harassed by the Afghan authorities.

Students of Islamia College supported the just cause of King AmanUllah Khan. Some of them (including Akbar Shah) decided to leave for Kabul in order to liberate their motherland from clutches of white people with the help of the Afghan forces. Akbar Shah, eagerly waiting for one of his companions, lost interest in studies and was thinking all the time about his onward journey. The occasion came. One Sarfaraz Khan contacted him in the Chelmosford Hostel of the College. They discussed the matter for a while and left for Hashtnagar by Tonga. On the way Sarfaraz Khan gave him the details of their other Comrades – Gohar Rahman, Sultan Mohammad Khan. After spending six days in Haji Saib's company they started for Chamarqand. Finding himself unable to accompany his friends Sarfaraz Khan returned from Chamarqand. They left the colony for Jalalabad. In Jalalabad they met Nadir Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan forces. During discussion Nadir Khan showed keen interest in India's North West Frontier Province. The students intended to stay in Jalalabad, but were told that by royal orders every Indian, who had left the country, must proceed to Kabul. Nadir Khan briefs the Foreign Office on Phone about their intentions but was reminded.³⁹

Haji Miraj-ud-Din advised them to leave Afghanistan for Turkey. Turkey at that time was surrounded by the Greeks and other European powers and was not in a position to defend itself fully. To help brethren in Turkey at that difficult time was their Islamic duty. Other comrades favoured the idea and some eighty two members were ready for onward journey. They applied for visa, but king Amanullah asked them to stay but they were unwilling. Finally, they got the

permission. It was decided that six of them should be sent earlier than the other ones in order to overcome exit formalities. Akbar Shah narrates minute details of this arduous journey.⁴⁰

In 1921 Akbar Shah along with Maqsood Ali of Shahjahanpur represented the Indian youth in the Baku Conference. In Baku he met his old comrades. They were in a very desperate condition and were not allowed to enter Turkey by the Turkish authorities. In those days a Hindustani Mustafa Saghir had made an abortive murder attempt on Mustafa Kamal Atatürk. Mustafa Saghir was executed; but on the whole the Turkish nation's hearts remained full of hatred against the Indians whom they considered as British agents. The same Haji Miraj-ud-Din, the spokesman of the extremists was crying to go back to Hindustan. They had submitted an application to the President of Azerbaijan requesting permission as well as help and support in going back to their motherland. Akbar Shah without any difficulty got permission to meet the President. The President was an old Muslim Turkish woman. He met her and informed her about the miserable condition of the Indian Muhajirin. She promised her help and support.⁴¹

Conclusion:

The Muslim personalities of British India such as, Abdur Rehman Peshawari, Zafar Hasan, and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, have contributed to the cause of pa-Islamism, and Muslim Brotherhood. They were revolutionary, and nationalists, but, instead of following violent means, they found diplomacy as the way out. They left their native homelands and families in highlighting the slogan of religion, emancipating Muslim societies from the clutches of colonialism. They played a key political role in liberating the Muslim societies like Afghanistan, and Turkey from the bondage of colonialism/imperialism. Their way of dealing with the cause, was in form of modern political diplomatic negotiations. They worked in the capacity of ambassadorship. Among them, Abdur Rehman Peshawari may be called as the unsung hero of Peshawar. However, recently, the Turkish President, Taib Urdagaan, during his speech to the joint parliament of Pakistan, acceded to the services of Peshawari to the Turkey.

End Notes:

¹ Ahmad Shah Abdali was born in 1722 at Multan, but not at Herat as mentioned by some authors; because in Multan at the exact birth place of Ahmad Shah, there is a monument which bears his date of birth, besides, it is another proof that the adjacent road has also been named as Abdali road. He was the son of Zaman Khan, once the Abdali Governor of Herat. Daulat Khan, the grandfather of Ahmad Shah had remained Governor of Arghistan. Ahmad Shah's mother, Zarghuna was from Alkozai sub-tribe of Abdalis.

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- ² Ahmad Shah Abdali after the assassination of Nadir Shah Afshar, Ahmad Khan, a general, declared independence in Kandahar and founded a new empire which included all the Pushto speaking tribes. His Abdali tribe was renamed the Durrani, because the other Pushtoon tribes considered them as interlopers and the term began at the era Abdalis, his grandfather Daulat Khan, Governor of Arghistan. "Daur" means epoch, later on came (*Durrani*), means his time; eventually "Dauranian" and finally Durrani. One of Ahmad's titles as an independent ruler was "*durr-i-dauran*" means the pearl of the age.
- ³ It is interesting coincidence that exactly 200 years before Pakistan, in 1747 Ahmad Shah Abdali laid the foundation of a state for his countrymen called Afghanistan. To Abdali lay open other choice also to carve out a dominion in Persia or India, but he preferred to find out a homeland for his community. The capital of the new state under Abdali remained Qandahar. Later on Taimur Shah shifted the capital from Qandhar to Kabul. Moreover, his successors also made Peshawar as a capital for winter season.
- ⁴ The destruction of the Marhatta Power not only brought the extension of the British Indian Empire to the banks of Indus and Sutlej, but also led to the creation of a powerful Sikh State in the Punjab neighbouring Afghanistan but equally inimical to her out of Ranjith Singh's sharing of Russian dread with the British. The Russian dread was, therefore, the only cementing bond of the British-Sikh alliance in planning and executing the British aggression against Afghanistan by Auckland 1838.
- ⁵ The British were keeping a very vigilant eye on the political developments within India through their envoys and emissaries at the Marahatta, Mysore, Mughal and the Sikh Courts. The Battles of Plassy in 1754 and Baxar in 1764 made the road open to the whole of India. Afghanistan remained under British surveillance reports through sources based in Punjab long before Elphinstone and Burnes were sent on missions to beyond the Indus River.
- ⁶ Ali, M. (18-5-2014). *Identity Crises*. Islamabad: The Daily Dawn.
- ⁷ He was an Indian nationalist and political leader, and former president of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League during the Indian Independence Movement. One of the founders of the Jamia Millia Islamia University he remained its Chancellor 1928 to 1936. Dr. Ansari became involved in the Indian Independence Movement during his stay in England; he moved back to Delhi and joined both the Indian Congress and the Muslim League. He played an important role in the negotiation of the 1916 Lucknow Pact and served as the League's president in 1918 and 1920. He was an outspoken supporter of the Khilafat movement, and led the Indian medical mission to treat the wounded Turkish soldiers during the Balkan Wars.
- ⁸ The daily, *The News*, Islamabad, dated 18/11/2016
- ⁹ Rai Shakil Akhtar, Turkey (a cultural-historical analysis), Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, n.d,P.26
- ¹⁰ The history of Anadolu Agency (AA) is almost identical to that of the Republic of Turkey. Having been founded on April 6, 1920, 17 days before the Turkish Grand National Assembly convened first time, Anadolu Agency helped announce the first

legislation by the Assembly that established the Republic. Anadolu Agency witnessed all stages of the National Struggle, the War of Liberation and reforms of the Republic. After Istanbul came under occupation on March 16, 1920 and the Ottoman parliament was annulled, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk called on all provinces to hold elections for a new parliament to be established in Ankara. Several intellectuals, who realized that they could not stay in Istanbul any longer, tried to join the National Struggle. This development paved the way for foundation of Anadolu Agency.

- ¹¹ He was a Turkish army officer, revolutionary, and founder of the Republic of Turkey, serving as its first President from 1923 until his death in 1938. His surname, Atatürk (meaning "Father of the Turks"), was granted to him in 1934 and forbidden to any other person by the Turkish parliament.
- ¹² known as Ömer Fahrettin Türkkan after the Surname Law of 1934, he was the commander of the Ottoman army and governor of Medina from 1916 to 1919. He was nicknamed "*The Lion of the Desert*" and "*The Tiger of the Desert*" by the British for his patriotism in Medina. After the Turkish War of Independence, he became Turkey's ambassador to Afghanistan (1923-1926) . In 1936, he was promoted to the rank of Ferik (Lieutenant General) and retired from the army. He died on November 22, 1948.
- ¹³ Rai Shakil Akhtar, Turkey (a cultural-historical analysis), Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, n.d,P.31
- ¹⁴ British delegation for the Rawalpindi Conference consisted of Sir Hamilton Grant as chief delegate, J.L. Maffey, political Adviser, Brigadier-General F.J. Moberly, Military Adviser, Sir Gurbaksh Singh Bedi, and Sir Shams Shah members Nawab Maula Baksh interpreter. Grant attached importance to the provision that Britain should be Afghanistan's advisor and agent in the conduct of her foreign relations. He stated that the government of India regarded the presence of various Indian seditionists in Afghanistan raja Mahendra Pratap, Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindi and Barakat Ullah as an unfriendly act. Their expulsion from Afghan territory, Grant said, would be treated as a sign of the desire of the Afghan Government for friendly relation with the British Government India.
- ¹⁵ After the signing of peace treaty with the British, it was quite difficult for *Maulana* Ubaidullah Sindhi to carry on his work in Kabul. After discussing with Dr. Noor Muhammad, *Maulana* Ubaidullah Sindhi established a Congress Committee at Kabul, taking himself the charge of its presidentship. This was the very first committee of its type outside India. They merged it with the Indian National Congress in 1920 Gaya (Bihar) Session.
- ¹⁶ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah Kaka Khel, *Azadi ki Talash* (Urdu) edt. Qomi Idara e Tahqeeq o Saqafat, Islamabad, Dated 1989. P. 35-39
- ¹⁷ He was an Ottoman naval officer, Turkish statesman and diplomat. Rauf was born in Istanbul in 1881 to an Abkhazian family Ashkharua. As an officer in the Ottoman Navy, he achieved fame for his actions as the captain of the cruiser Hamidiye during the First Balkan War. He was Chief of Naval Staff during World War I and by October 1918 was Minister of Marine and led the delegation that signed the Armistice of Mudros. Rauf Orbay also played a role in

assisting Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in a near court-martial during a feud with Djemal Pasha and Enver Pasha. In 1918, he signed Armistice of Mudros as the Minister of Navy, which ended the Ottoman Empire's participation in World War I. The Turkish War of Independence began; he resigned from his position and went to Ankara to collaborate with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He was elected as a member of the representative committee in the Congress of Erzurum on 23 July 1919. The War of Independence ended he became the first Prime Minister of the new provisional Government of the Grand National Assembly in 1922. In 1924, he was one of the founders of the Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Progressive Republican Party) at the request of Atatürk as part of Atatürk's attempt to begin the tradition of multiparty democracy in the young Republic, in opposition to Atatürk's Republican People's Party. When this party was closed down in 1925 after Atatürk found that Islamist reactionaries had infiltrated its ranks, Rauf went to exile in Europe for 10 years.

- ¹⁸ See for more details Mansoor Akbar Kundi, Turkey: A Rich Mix of Past and Present, Istanbul University, Turkey Istanbul, 2000, pp. 120-124.
- ¹⁹ Aibak Hasan Zafar. (1990). *Khatirat* (an autobiography), Istanbul (Turkey): Faculty of Arts and Literature. Translated into Urdu. Lahore: Urdu, Sang-i-Meel Publishers.p.88. Zafer Hasan, in 1915 left Lahore, when he was a student, for Afghanistan. At Kabul he remained as a close associate of Ubaidullah Sindhi. He remained at Kabul, and even took part in Third Anglo Afghan War, when he was with Sardar Nadir Khan at Thal Front. They established Congress Committee at Kabul and then he went to Turkey in 1925.
- ²⁰ Asia Minor, a peninsula also called Anatolia, comprises most of the Asian part of modern Turkey and the Armenian highland. Most people there today speak Turkish. The seas surrounding Asia Minor are the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. Because Asia Minor is between Christian Europe and Asia, many different cultures have lived there.
- ²¹ *The Comrade* was a weekly English-language newspaper that was published and edited by Maulana Muhammad Ali (1911-1914). Mohammad Ali was a forceful orator and writer, contributing articles to various newspapers including *The Times*, *The Observer* and *The Manchester Guardian* before he launched *The Comrade*. Produced on expensive paper, *The Comrade* quickly gained circulation and influence becoming famous even internationally, securing subscribers in several foreign countries. The paper, launched from Calcutta, shifted to Delhi, the newly announced capital of the *Raj*, in 1912 where the first issue of the Delhi edition appeared; in 1913 in order to reach out to the Muslim masses he started an Urdu daily, the *Hamdard*.
- ²² Abdul Kalam Azad was born at Makkah in 1888 of a Muslim emigrate father and an Arab mother. When his father returned to India, he settled in Calcutta in 1898. He sent Azad to al-Azhar for advance studies. On his return to India, he entered into politics at the age of 20. In 1912, he started an Urdu weekly al-Hilal, in 1915; he was interned at National Congress and on its behalf centered into negotiations with the Cripps mission in 1942 and later with the cabinet mission in 1946. Both in the interim Government and later the portion, he was the minister for educations of India.

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- ²³ Zahid Shah, *Indian Freedom Fighters based in Central Asia*, ASC,UoP, n.d, pp. 62-66
- ²⁴ Moulavi Fazlilahi was born at Wazirabad, Gujranwala in 1882. In the middle of 1920 slipped off to Kabul and from there to the Mujahidin, colony at Chamarkand, where with the help of the Maulavi Bashir, he worked for the downfall of Ni'martullah, Amir at Asms. In 1921 proclaimed himself Amir of Chamarkand. In 1923 a dispute arose between Falilahi and Maulavi Bashir over the Amirship at Chamarkand and in November 1925 Maulavi Bashir per-suaded the Amir of Asmas to join with him in evicting Fazlilahi
- ²⁵ W. Adamec, *biographical Encyclopedia of Afghanistan*, Pentagon Press, India, 2008, pp.213-19
- ²⁶ Indian of Multan. Son of Khan Bahadur Rab Nawaz Khan, Honorary magistrate, Multan. In 1915, as a student in Lahore went to Afghanistan and adopted Afghan nationality. In Jalalabad 1920, was an Assistant Editor of the Itihad-i-Mashriqi. Superintendent of Schools, Jalalabad.
- ²⁷ Two other companion Abdul Khaliq and Sheikh Ghulam Hussain were left behind because Abdul Khaliq failed to reach the station on time and Ghulam Hussain's poor health did not permit him to travel.
- ²⁸ Mahandra Pratap, *My Life Story of Fifty Five Years*, dehrandun, world federation, p.39
- ²⁹ See Aibak Hasan Zafar. (1990). *Khatirat*, pp. 95-96
- ³⁰ Biography of Maulana Saifur Rehman, Collection of Professor Ubaidur Rehman (Retd), Department of Geology, University of Peshawar.
- ³¹ Zaffar Hassan Aibak *Autobiography (Aap-Beti)* was published in three volumes. The first two volumes were published in Urdu from Lahore while the 3rd one from Sargodha in 1973. It consists of sixty three chapters; six hundred and sixty two pages with many rare photographs of historical importance. Zaffar Hassan Aibak *Autobiography (Aap-Beti)* was published in three volumes. The first two volumes were published in Urdu from Lahore while the 3rd one from Sargodha in 1973. It consists of sixty three chapters; six hundred and sixty two pages with many rare photographs of historical importance.
- ³² Tanveer Anjum, p-160
- ³³ Zafar Hassan Aibak got a commission in the Turkish Army and was appointed as Military Advisor to the Afghan Government from the Turkish side. There he married and got a Turkish citizenship.
- ³⁴ See *Katirat* by Hasan Aibak, p. 97
- ³⁵ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah Kaka Khel, *Some Indian Travelers in Central Asia*, bi-annual Research Journal, *Central Asia* Issue-25, Winter 1989. Pp-75-77
- ³⁶ Tanvir Anjum, *A Voice from the Margins: An appraisal of Ubaid –Allah Sindhi's Mahabharat Sarvrajia party and its Constitution*, Journal of Political Studies, Vol.20, Issue – 1,2013, PP-159-177
- ³⁷ *Ibid*, p-163.
- ³⁸ Abdullah Khan, *Maulana Ubayd Allah Sindhi's Mission to Afghanistan Soviet Russia*, Area Study Center (Russia & C.A), Peshawar University, 2000, PP-27-32

³⁹ Ibid, p-73.

⁴⁰ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah Kaka Khel, *Some Indian Travelers in Central Asia*, bi-annual Research Journal, *Central Asia* Issue-25, Winter 1989. Pp-75-77

⁴¹ Ibid, p-79.