

King Amanullah Khan

Pages 183-215, from manuscript of “Conspiracies and Atrocities in Afghanistan,1700-2014”

By

Engineer Fazel Ahmed AfghanMSc

King Amanullah Khan 1919-1929



After the assassination of Amir Habibullah Khan. “Nasrullah, a whole but younger brother of Amir, declared himself king. As Abdul Rahman has pointed out, the succession in Afghanistan went by the choice of people, but if acceptable, to the eldest so. On the other hand, by Moslem law inheritance passes to the uncles. There would be plenty of precedent for Nasrullah’s action had it appealed to the people. Inayatullah, the oldest son of the murdered Amir, was also at Jalalbad, and he acquiesced in his uncle’s action.

The troops in Jalalabad were much incensed at Amir’s murder, and arrested the commander-in-Chief, sirdar Nader Khan.

Amanullah, the third son of Habibullah was officiating as Governor of Kabul, and securing the support of the troops, declared himself Amir, and summoned his uncle and elder brother from Jalalabad to come to Kabul. This they did, and paid him homage as Amir. The circumstance of his father’s murder have never been quite



cleared up, though an Afghan colonel was executed for his share therein. The commander-in-Chief was removed from his appointment and sent to Khost, his place being taken by Sirdar Salih Muhammad. This change with an increase of pay, and what has been described as the somewhat perfunctory steps taken to discover and punish the murderers of the late Amir, appear to have placated the army”.(258-6)

Amanullah Khan was born in 1892 his mother was Queen Sarwar Sultana one of the active member of War party, when Amanullah assumed the power the voice of freedom in Asia and Africa was going louder and louder, in Afghanistan the War Party and the Nation was eagerly waiting for a leader to hear their voice and declare the freedom of the country and return of the occupied areas by British as well the constitutional monarchy instead absolute monarchy. On 28th February, 1919, Amanullah was proclaimed king at

Kabul. "His very first act upon ascending the throne was to issue a royal proclamation to his people, the translation of which, owing to its great importance, must be given here in full:

KING AMANULLAH AND THE DECLARATION OF THIRD AFGHAN-ANGLO WAR

"In the name of God, most merciful and compassionate.

"O high-minded nation!

"O courageous army!

"This weak creature of the Creator of the Universe, viz. your Amir, Amir Amanullah, gives you joyful tidings that, thank God—again thank God—the Government of this great nation of ours and the sacred soil of our beloved country have in a very admirable way remained peaceful and safe from the horrors of such a disturbance as was calculated to make our enemies— near and far—happy and joyful and our friends much concerned. And this by the grace of God.

"Listen, the facts are as follows:

"You have already been informed by proclamations, *firmons* and notices, of the details of what has happened.

"The happy news now is this. The bold and courageous army of our Government at Jalalabad displayed the greatest sense of honour and courage in the discharge of all their obligations. On Thursday the Jamadi-ul-Awal 25th, 1337 Hijra (February 27th, 1919), all the officers and soldiers who had accompanied His late Majesty, my father, the martyr, assembled on the parade ground of the cantonment at Jalalabad, swore allegiance to me with the band playing, a salute of guns and great rejoicings. Thereafter they arrested and imprisoned all persons who were entrusted with the safeguarding of His late Majesty and who were on special duty in the Royal bedroom at the time of the assassination and demanded their being called to account and punished by my uncle, who, without any religious or wordly right, had acted as usurper and declared himself as Ameer. Since no false claimant can establish his illegal claim, my uncle, who had no right, voluntarily abdicated the Ameeriship and recognised me as Ameer. The deeds of his allegiance and those of my brothers, Sirdars Inayatullah Khan and Hayatullah Khan and other members of the Royal family have been received by me. Copies of these are herewith sent for your perusal and information.

"O high-minded nation of Afghanistan! Let us offer thousands of thanks and praises most humbly to the imperishable God of the Earth and Heavens with our burning hearts and bleeding eyes that He has saved our sublime Government from the horrors of commotion and confusion and has inspired our Islamic Government with more strength,

power and freedom. Please do not for a moment think that this King of yours expresses his thankfulness for his success in securing the throne. No, I express my thankfulness to God for safeguarding peace and prosperity of yourselves, my beloved nation, for saving the Muslims of the great nation of my beloved country Afghanistan at these perilous and hazardous times from various troubles and misfortunes and their painful consequences and for giving us a new lease of life.

"O courageous army of the Government of Afghanistan! I offer thousands of thanks and endless praise to God, the Most Holy—Glory be to Him—that your soul-consuming consuming bullets and your heart- piercing steal spearheads which were kept ready for the protection of the honour of the faith and nation of our country have by the grace of God been prevented from being used for our self-destruction and against each other. Understand it well and carefully realise that this is due to the special favour and mercy of God Almighty and the spiritual blessings of the Prophet which have been showered on our Government and nation. It is the eternal will of the unchangeable Creator-- Exalted be His Glory—that all hardship and oppression may be removed from the heads of your nation; and that Afghanistan may be protected from the mischief of enemies of the faith and the country.

"O nation with a nice sense of honour.

"O brave army.

"While my great nation were putting the Crown of the Kingdom on my head, I declared to you with a loud voice that I would accept the Crown and throne only on the condition that you should all co-operate with me in my thoughts and ideas. These I explained to you at the time and I repeat here a summary thereof:

"1. *Firstly* that the Government of Afghanistan should be internally and externally independent and free, that is to say, that all rights of Government that are possessed by other independent Powers of the world should be possessed in their entirety by Afghanistan.

"2. *Secondly* that you should unite with me with all your force in avenging the unlawful assassination of my late father, the martyr, who was spiritually a father to all of you.

"3. *Thirdly* that the nation should be free, that is to say, that no individual should be oppressed and subjected to any high-handedness or tyranny by any other individual. Of course obedience to the sacred law of Mohammed and civil and military laws is looked upon as a glorious honour for which we, the great nation of Afghanistan, are by disposition and nature well known.

"I would not accept your Crown except on these conditions. All of you, members of the high-minded strong nation, accepted these conditions with enthusiasm and acclamation, and I also put that great supreme Crown on my head with extreme honour and with" determined resolution and purpose, thus putting my head under the heavy weight of 'imamat and amarat' (religious leadership and rulership). I hope that you, my faithful prudent and high-minded nation, will pray to the Creator of the Earth and the Heavens to favour me with strength to be successful in my undertaking and in doing all that may be necessary for your welfare and prosperity; and that you will co-operate with me manfully in the execution of my thoughts and ideas. O nation! At present I abolish at the outset the system of 'begar' (impressed labour) in the country. Henceforward no labour will be impressed and not a single individual will be employed by force from among you on malting roads, working on public works, tree-cutting, etc., and by the grace of God our sublime Government will adopt such measures of reform as may prove serviceable and useful to the country and nation so that the Government and nation of Afghanistan may make a name and gain great renown in the civilized world and take its proper place among the civilized Powers of the world.

"For the rest I pray to God for His favours and mercy and seek His help for the welfare and prosperity of you Muslims and all mankind. From God I seek guidance and the completion of my wishes."

"From the above, it is evident that he had his fingers on the pulse of his people, in declaring that Afghanistan under him should be internally and externally independent and free—implying thereby that he would not in future tolerate any interference and control on the part of Great Britain over Afghan foreign affairs, as did his predecessors. He could not have touched a more vital chord in the Afghan heart: for, without an exception, this control of Afghan affairs by England was deeply resented by every Afghan. I am not in the least un-relation to what followed later. It was sent on March 3rd, 1919, only three days after his accession, and the date of the letter should be remembered? Freely translated, it runs:"(103-7)

Then "to the Viceroy of India he dispatched a letter, informing him of the death of his father, and offering to remain friendly, like the late Amir – but with this difference, that he emphasized the fact that Afghanistan was independent. The letter is of all importance in relation to what followed later. It was sent on March 3rd, 1919 only three days after his accession, and the date of the letter should be remembered. Freely translated, it runs"(107-7)

After compliments.

"I am desirous of informing my friend, His Excellency the Viceroy of the great and mighty British Government in the Indian Empire, with much despair and regret, of the particulars of a crime full of poignant grief, namely the crime of the unjust and unlawful assassination of my late father, His Majesty Siraj-ul-Millat-wad-din Ameer Habibullah Khan, King of the Government of Afghanistan, who was killed by a pistol shot at 3 a.m. in his royal bed on Thursday, the Jamadi-ul-Awal 18th, 1337 Hijra, corresponding to February 20th, 1919, during his stay at a place called Kalla Gosh in his royal dominions, by the hand of a treacherous perfidious traitor. I have no doubt that Your Excellency, my friend, will be much touched by the news of this painful event, for the observance of all the conditions of neutrality and the upright conduct and friendly relations displayed during the past and present by His Majesty my late father, the martyr, towards my esteemed friend's mighty Government, were clearly proved and require no mention. I, Your Excellency's friend, had been appointed by order and command of His late Majesty, my assassinated pious father, as his plenipotentiary in the capital of Kabul, and consider myself in every way his heir and successor as Amir and the rightful caller to account and avenger at this time of my father's blood. The people and populace of the capital of Kabul and its surroundings, Saiyads, Ulemas, military and civil classes, traders, artisans, Mohammedan and Hindu subjects of Afghanistan itself as well as all foreign subjects who were in the capital, unanimously and unitedly, with great enthusiasm and of their own free will and consent, swore allegiance to me, your friend; and putting my trust in God I placed on my head the crown of the Ameer'ship of my Government of Afghanistan in the capital of Kabul amid loud acclamations of the people and troops. And this by the grace of God. Later on our Government armies in camp at Jalalabad also took their stand on the path of Right, which was wholly on our side, and proved their fidelity and loyalty by deposing and divesting of office my uncle Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, who had as usurper declared himself Ameer without any right at Jalalabad, and by submitting to me their oaths of allegiance. Thereupon my uncle Sirdar Nasrullah Khan abdicated the throne of the kingdom, and my brothers Sirdars Inayatullah Khan and Hayatullah Khan and other members of the Royal family, who had sworn allegiance to him, considered that allegiance illegal and submitted their oaths of allegiance to me at Kabul and acknowledged and recognized my succession as Ameer and King. Therefore relying upon the friendship and sympathy that exist and will continue to exist between us, I have considered it necessary to do myself the great honour of informing my friend.

"Nor let this remain unknown to that friend that our independent and free Government of Afghanistan considers itself ready and prepared at every time and season to conclude, with due regard to every consideration for the requirements of friendship and the like, such agreements and treaties with the mighty Government of England as may be useful and serviceable in the way of commercial gains and advantages to our Government and yours.

"For the rest kindly accept considerations of my friendly esteem."(106-7)

King Amanullah also before declaring war against the British dispatched a letter to Veladmir. H. K. Linin and the foreign ministry of newly born Russian leaders for recognition the freedom of Afghanistan, but the cunning leadership of Russia was waiting to the reaction of British and the news from the battle field.

Therefore, before answering to the Amanullah's request "the Bolshevik Information and other centers for Central Asia were situated at the time at Tashkend in Turkestan. It was a very closely guarded region: and it can be assumed that any communications that reached Tashkend on their way to Moscow from Afghanistan or India would be subject to the utmost secrecy, and the messages handled only by the most reliable agents of Moscow. But it was necessary for the British Government to know all that was passing between Russia and Afghanistan: and towards this end they left no stone unturned; and they were in possession of the most important communications which Amanullah sent to Lenin, and that, too, within two days of their receipt at the secret Russian office at Tashkend.

The Viceroy telegraphed the following on May 23rd to the Secretary of State for India in London, as given on page 18 of the White Paper printed in 1919 for presentation to the British Parliament. It runs: .Following report, dated May 21st, has been received: (134-7)

"W/T station at Tashkend last night sent to Lenin and Foreign Minister at Moscow message that two sealed letters, both dated April 7th, addressed to the President of the Russian Republic, have been received from Kabul, one from Amanullah, Ameer of Afghanistan, the other signed by Mahmud, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Latter expresses hope that friendly relations with Bolshevism will be established on permanent basis. Amanullah, in his letter, says that hitherto Afghanistan has stood apart from all other nations, but now that Russia has raised the standard of Bolshevism he hastens to declare that she has earned the gratitude of the whole world, and that he seizes the occasion of his accession to throne of Afghanistan to announce to Republic of Russia that he strongly adheres to the principle of equality among all men and peaceful union of all peoples: he expresses hope that the honoured President of Russian Republic will not refuse his friendly greeting. Tone of letter, which his signed "Your friend Amanullah," is subservient and not of kind to which we are used. Tashkend asks what replies should be made and says originals will be kept there till direct communication with Moscow is established. In telegram to Eastern Propaganda Department Bravin asks that reminder be sent to Barkatullah of his promise to write a pamphlet on Bolshevism in the Koran, and that the work be hastened on, and 100,000 copies in Persian and Hindustani printed and sent by special courier with all speed." (135-7)

The British "Acting on the assumption that an early reply amounted to recognition of Amanullah as an independent monarch, no reply was sent to the Amir's letter. Not even an acknowledgement was received by Kabul."(110-7)

"Since the British delay in replying to the note to them appeared as a sign that England still desired to retain the Afghan foreign affairs under her control. The Viceroy's

letter, dated April 15th, which stated that perhaps the commercial requirements of Afghanistan called for some agreement with British Government, of course, left no one in doubt about it. From which the evading of the question of Afghan independence was all but too thinly veiled".(113-7)

After King Amanullah sent his best- trained troops under leadership of Salah Mohammad Khan in East, South leading by General Nadir Khan and in Kandahar leading by Prime minister Abdul Qudos Khan). "On the morning of May 8th the first attack of the war was made at Landi Khana, whereby the Afghan guards had to retire. The British aeroplanes bombed the Afghan territory at Dakka, although the Afghans still held western positions near Khar Ghali. But it was impossible that, with all this trouble around them, the proceeding; for, although the Viceroy reported to London that he had instructed the Chief Commissioner of the North –West Frontier to endeavour to secure the tribesmen's adhesion against the Afghans, and "to spend money without stint to achieve this," the Pathans could not longer sit on the fence. On May 11th a large lushkar at Chura sent an ultimatum to the British authorities, and an anti-British spirit in the villages surrounded Peshawar spread like wildfire."(115-7)

The battles were going very well in all fronts, but General Nadir Khan was more aggressive than other two fronts therefore, he made advance and captured lands from British. In Paktia front Abdul Satar Khan Popalza-i (Durani) also companion of General Nadir Khan and actively recruiting militia for war against British from different parts of Paktia Province. "On May 30th the aeroplanes were employed elsewhere and the Afghan artillery kept up a heavy fire all day. By this time they had conveyed a 7.5 –cm .gun across the Kurram south of Thal, and were firing on our piquets from point 2931. Considerable damage was done to the parapet of the fort and to the gun emplacements. On the following day 31st both sides were aware of the approach of the relieving column, which reached Thal on June 1st and little activity was shown."

The news of Nadir Khan's invasion, and of his investment of Thal, put an end, for the time being, to, the preparations were being made for an advance on Jalalabad."(122 -7)

Eventually the British was forced to concede the freedom of Afghanistan therefore, after lengthy negotiations in Rawalpindi, Mussoorie, and Kabul, peace was restored, leaving Afghanistan free and independent from British control and agreed to sing a Treaty with Amanullah Khan and recognize his Kingdom as a free and independent country.

The declaration of war against British by Amanullah Khan the Muslim Nations of central Asia also started uprising against the Bolshevik therefore, Russians also by having the success news of Afghans in the battle field they were obliged to send a mission to recognize Afghanistan's independence on 27th April 1919.

Therefore the British “After much warring, however, peace was signed between Amanullah’s representatives and the British at eleven o, clock on August 8th,1919, at Rawalpindi: the following articles for the restoration of peace were agreed upon:

Article1. From date of signing of this treaty there shall be peace between the British Government on the one part and the Government of Afghanistan on the other.

Article2. In view of the circumstances which have brought about the present war between the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan the British Government to mark their displeasure withdraw the privilege enjoyed by former Ameer’s of importing arms, ammunition, or warlike munitions through India to Afghanistan.

Article3. The arrears of the late Ameer’s subsidy are furthermore confiscated and no subsidy is granted to the present Amir.

Article4. At the same time the British Government is desirous of the re- establishment of the old friendship that has so long existed between Afghanistan and Great Britain provided they have guarantees that the Afghan Government are in their part sincerely anxious to regain the friendship of the British Government. The British Government are prepared, therefore, provided the Afghan Government prove this by their acts and conduct, to receive another Afghan mission after six months for the discussion and amicable settlement of matters of common interest to the two Governments and the re- establishment of the old friendship on a satisfactory basis.

Article5. The Afghan Government accept the Indo- Afghan frontier accepted by the late Ameer. They further agree to the early demarcation by a British commission of the undemarcated portion of the line to the west of the Khaybar where the recent Afghan aggression took place and accept such boundary as the British commission may lay down. The British troops on this side will remain in their present positions until such demarcation has been effected.

After the formal signature of the Instrument Sir Hamilton Grant, the leader of the British Delegation, handed a note to the head of the Afghan Delegation (Sirdar Ali Ahmed Khan) in the following terms:

“You asked me for some further assurance that the Treaty of Peace now offered by the British Government contains nothing that interferes with the complete liberty of Afghanistan in external or internal matters. (138-7)

“My friend, if you will read the Treaty of Peace with care you will see that there is in it no such interference with the liberty of Afghanistan. You have informed me that the Government of Afghanistan is unwilling to renew the arrangement under which the late Ameer, Habibullah Khan, agreed to follow the advice of the Government of Great Britain

in matters affecting the external relations of Afghanistan, without reserve. I have therefore refrained from pressing this matter of which the Treaty of Peace contains no mention. By the said Treaty and this letter, therefore, Afghanistan is left officially free and independent in its affairs, both internal and external. Furthermore, all previous treaties have been cancelled by this war.” (139-7).

After the signing of the above treaty a British writer wrote about the ambitions of King Amanullah Khan and his own anger and unhappiness about the treaty as follows:

..“What was of importance was that the Afghan kingdom should be maintained in an intact and prosperous condition to carry out its time-honoured function of *l'etat tampon* between India and Russia.

The Amir had several ambitions : firstly, that he should no longer be bound to submit his foreign relationships to Great Britain; secondly, that he should be "Shah," or "King," as the Duranis were, and not - "Amir "--and here it may be remarked that "Amir, or "Leader," was a title of Dost Muhammad's own choosing as better suited to the democratic Afghan conception than "Shah"; thirdly, that he should deal direct with Great Britain and not with the Governor-General of India; and fourthly, that as a free king he should have his ministers and consuls where he liked, and receive at Kabul such ministers of other nationalities as he liked. There were other desires, but these were the main ones. He also was, anxious to be recognized as having some control over the Pathan tribes within the British boundary, i.e. within the Durand line, or at any rate obtain from the British some guarantee that punishment would not be exacted from them in their rebellion at the time of the Afghan invasion.”

“None of these proposals were, under the conditions then existing, worth fighting over, save that any assurance as to our action towards our own tribes we were not prepared to give. The complete independence of Afghanistan was, it is true, a reversal of much that we had long contended for. But we had always interfered with the sole object in view having this prosperous and self-supporting kingdom intact and definite against either Persian or Russian aggression”. (282-6)

“We recognized the independence of Afghanistan, and we agreed to the new Amir adopting the title of "King" and being in direct communication with London and with the rest of the world. This had been denounced as a most humiliating arrangement, and a giving-away of all we had bled for in the past. In a manner of speaking it was quite true to say so. But all the old agreements were made with the idea of having this strong buffer between India and Russia, whether Imperial or Soviet. The collapse of Russia as an aggressive danger had disappeared, it was thought, for many a year. Our own Government at home had their hands more than full. As we were to see a little later in Turkey, the Empire was too tired to stir to Mr. Lloyd George's call, and diplomacy as well as wisdom pointed to the advisability of a treaty with Afghanistan on the best terms available. On our

side we saved the cost of the annual subsidy, and were relieved of treaty entanglements as regards the defense of Afghanistan. It was, of course, obvious that the necessity for protecting Afghanistan against aggression must always remain, not because of treaty or promise, but because of the hard facts of our geographical position and the justice of the case. The want of any promise would not in the least change the possibilities of action, but would give us a freer hand if necessity should arise. Even with the old agreement the Amir had never been able to agree to our officers coming to the frontier or studying plans on the spot, and Abdul Rahman had given clearly enough his reasons for not inviting either British or Russian to train his armies. With the change of affairs in Kabul we should attain our long-needed objective of a European instead of a Moslem representative in Afghanistan, whose presence as one among the many agents of the countries of Europe would not be likely to afford pretexts for the furies of a mob". (283-6)

King Amanullah after the wining of the war became a national hero and turned his attention to reforming and modernizing his country. When the Russian leadership announced the cancelation of all the Treaties between the previous regime and British and declared the freedom of all the Nations in Central Asia King Amanullah dispatched Mohammad Walli Khan Darwazi to travel to Russia, then to France and Italia with the letters from the King and his signed pictures to meet the leaders of those countries to establish political relation with Afghanistan, during Mohammad Walli Khan's travel he was very warmly welcomed in Russia and on Oct 14/ 1919 he met with the Russian leader Viladimir Ilych Lenin and on the base of his proclamation in Oct 1917, discussed the issue of returning of Shighnan, Panjdah and Darwaz back to Afghanistan which were unjustifiably in 1895 without the consent of the than Amir and the people of Afghanistan were given by British to Russia, though the Russian leadership officially agreed but soon the Russian leadership exposed their true face and occupied back all the Central Asia and became next door neighbour of Afghanistan in North.

That action of Russia made the Afghan government and as well the British Government worried, therefore the Afghan government signed diplomatic and commercial Treaties with Russia,(Feb28th,1921) British, (Nov 22nd 1921)Germany,(Mar 23rd,1926) Italy,(June3rd1921 France (1923), Persia (1921) and started diplomatic relation with each of the countries, British again moved some of their military close to the eastern boarder of Afghanistan and build a military airport for hundred airplanes, it means once again a free Afghanistan was sandwiched between the struggle of the two powers.



His Majesty King Amanullah, established diplomatic and commercial relations with major European and Asian states, founded schools in which French, German, and English were the major languages of education, and promulgated a constitution which guaranteed the personal freedom and equal rights of all Afghans. Changed the colour of Afghan National flag from black to black, red and green. Changed the name of Afghan currency from Rupee to Afghani and dozens of different By

Laws .Lt. General Sir George Macmunn writes about the development and progress of King Amanullah Khan in his country as follows:

DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS:

“With the distractions of the Pan-Turk and Pan-Islamic movements removed and run cold, the young King was free to proceed to develop his country on the basis of the system of administration which his father and grandfather had evolved. The country had now declared itself open for Europeans, but the King was anxious that Russians and British, the two races controlling adjacent countries should not be encouraged to enter. Under Abdul Rahman, as has been recorded, a very few British did assist in developing industries and institutions, notably military munitions factories; but under the new dispensation the Afghan Government deliberately adopted a policy of inviting the races of Europe, other than the British and Russian, to come to their assistance. It held that the presence of nationals of such close neighbours might innocently enough develop an influence inimical to Afghan solidarity. Abdul Rahman himself recorded very similar reasons anent the policy of British or Russian instructors for his troops. In Great Britain there was little to object to in this, for it was impossible to encourage unofficial Britons to work for their living in a country where there were no capitulations, and where the ideas of law and justice were entirely divergent from those held sacred in British countries. So Belgians, Italians, and Germans have worked away at motor transport, engineering construction, electrical development, and the like. Our ally, France, however, was asked to send a mission for education and archeological direction, duties which were her wide experience in Moslem countries undoubtedly well fitted her nationals to carry out. The new King also decided that a large number of young Afghans should go to Paris to study arts and sciences.”

“Much water had passed under the bridges since the British occupation of Kabul in the early eighties. The work of the British developers in Abdul Rahman's time had already paved the way for much Westernization. Bungalows and palaces after the style of British India had grown up outside the old grey city of Kabul itself, and to a lesser extent at Kandahar and the other cities. In Turkistan the Russian styles and models were more affected. The Bala Hissar of grim memory has been allowed to continue in the ruin to which it was falling, and the Amir's palace to-day lies in a fortress of more modern type, surrounded by a deep ditch, while a new palace and residential quarter is rising a few miles away. Army schools of modern type too have grown up close to Kabul, and the Amir Shere Ali's early beginnings at Sherpur are now an aerodrome.”

“Though born and bred, as it were, within the sound of the Bow Bells of Kabul, the King had imbibed some remarkable, shrewd, and progressive ideas. The asbestos curtain of imagination that separated India from Kabul in British eyes had not existed for the Afghans.

Tens of thousands of all kinds and classes came down to India each year-- traders and carriers, merchants, bankers, and the like. The banking having been done from time immemorial by Hindus with branches and relatives in India, the glories and conveniences of the *Pax Britannica* were very common knowledge, and the general influence of many of the British movements in India were well enough known, and some of them much admired. Skilled and trained hands of all kinds of Indian birth found their way to Kabul, as they had done in Abdul Rahman's time. Amanullah by instinct or by predilection, saw that he must be something of a democrat and that he must at any rate think more of the people. But to think more of the people in the sense of a "liberal" development must be to think slowly, in countries where the barons and nobles hold the cards.

"Chiefs of clans meant to be chiefs of clans, and no mistake about it, and the warp and weft of the country has hitherto meant rule through, and not over, the heads of the chiefs and hereditary prince lets. The dragooning ways of Abdul Rahman subsided soon enough when his authority was undisputed, and men were left to go their own way as lords of uplands, valleys, and fertile *kachch*; so that even in his time the developing of a people fit to follow more peaceful ways was in progress. Those ways are described by Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, himself of Afghan descent, in a recently published book, which shows much that is of great charm in the home characters of the people, traits which have already been referred to as pleasantly shared by the British in the early days of our first venture into the country".(291-6)

"And here for a moment we may turn aside to dwell on the genuineness of the patriotism and the desire for the good of his people that animated this unfortunate young man. He believed, and he often remarked to those with whom he conversed on the subject, that his people were steeped in savagery which only drastic remedies could cure. He was determined to lose no time in bringing in his educational and sartorial reforms, and his edicts and example, and the freedom that his Queen had adopted, were to be the pattern for the nation. It was all admirable in intention, genuine in the belief that by this road alone could salvation lie, and all the while his French advisers forgot to impress on him the saying of their wise countryman, the *cordons bleu*, "*Surtout ne pousse pas le poivre jusqu'au fanatisme.*" (327-6).As it said as part of his modernization also he built a new capital, named Darulaman, which include a monumental parliament and other government buildings as well as villas of prominent Afghans. Later after his return from Europe he introduced the social reforms included a new dress code which permitted women in Kabul to go unveiled and by having equal rights to men participate in all Social, Economical and political activities as well encouraged officials to wear Western dress.

"In late October or early November the flame burst out among the Shinwari tribes who live round the winter capital of Jalalabad. The King hurried off to see what the trouble was about and to open the road to India. After the tribesmen had attacked the city without success for some days, parleys and armistices took place, and while these were in progress an apparently different and unconnected revolt broke out in the hills round Kabul, among that

horde of fanatical tribes who had flocked in their tens of thousands to attack Sir Frederick Roberts in 1879. It was the mullahs of Eastern Afghanistan who had fanned this flame by issuing an edict that the King was an infidel". (329-6)

The Khost Revolt

“A revolt broke out in the eastern mountainous region of Khost . Led by Abdullah, the Mullah-i-Lang (or Pir-i-Lang), and his more vigorous assistant, the Mullah Abdul Rashid, the rebellion lasted from March 1924, to January 1925. The local Afghan press referred to the two leaders in the following Rhyming manner: Mullah –i-Lang , wa rafiq-i- dallang (“inflexible friend”).

“The British attitude and his acceptance of Soviet technician made him a prime target for overthrow by the British. In addition, it is always easy to stir up the truculent Mangal Pushtun tribesmen of Khost.”

“The revolt began in the name of religion against Amanullah’s initial reforms and modernization programs, and it might have succeeded had not a dynastic factor been injected into the fray. Abdul Karim, a natural son of the former Amir, Yaqub Khan (who ruled for a few months in 1879 and then accepted exile in India), tried to assume leadership of the rebel tribes. Even the rebels were reluctant to accept him and the tide shifted in favor of Amanullah. The Mullah-i-Lang was brought to Kabul and executed, and Abdul Karim fled back across the border into India, from which the British exiled him for violating asylum. Later, Karim was killed in Burma, possibly by an Afghan agent. A blood feud in Afghanistan usually ends in blood – and more blood.”

“Another factor, one sometimes forgotten by the Afghans, helped turn the revolt in Amanullah’s favor. The British sold the Amir two World War 1 aircraft which were flown by German mercenaries. These had a salutatory effect on tribal forces when they appeared on the scene, bombing and strafing the rebels.”

“Fight between rival Pushtun groups frequently occurred in the 1020s, with the British blaming the Afghans for stirring up the trouble, and vice versa. But in the frontier area trouble does not need to be stirred up; it is constantly whirling in the air waiting to light.”

“The Mullah-i-Lang’s revolt did not end opposition to Amanullah’s modernization schemes. Two factions gyrated around the court, one led by the liberal Tajik, Mohammad Wali Khan, chief of Tarzi’s overseas mission to Russia, the United States, and Europe, the other by the more Conservative General Mohammad Nadir Khan and his five brothers. All of them, in order of age, were Mohammad Nadir Khan, Mohammad Aziz Khan, Mohammad Hashim Khan, Shah Wali, Shah Mahmud, Mohammad Ali Khan. General Nadir Khan realized the strength of tribes and recognized their violent opposition to change, as well as the depth of the influence of anti-Amanullah religious leaders.” For this reason, if

no other, he opposed the drastic reductions in the strength of the army proposed by the amir.”(p449-8)

Amanullah’s solution to the criticisms he received was a general shake-up in the cabinet of ministers which sent General Mohammad Nadir Khan (who had been Minister of war and commander –in- Chief of the Afghan army) to Paris as Minister . Mohammad Ali Khan became Minister of war. Mahmud Tarzi returned to Kabul and took back his old job as Minister of Foreign Affairs, replacing Mohammad Wali Khan (the Tajik) in 1924”.....(p450-8)

“The resentment, at any rate, against the new laws of Amanullah sped apace, so that at one time the rebellious clans were well on the Ghazni-Kabul road, i.e. within a measurable distance of capital.”(p450-8)

“By bribing or by promising the modification of reforms, Amanullah was successful in his policy of sowing dissension amongst his infuriated clansmen, and the Sulaiman Khail, therefore, was the first to submit. Mangals and Zadrans were also persuaded to cease fighting,,.....Last of all , the Ghalzais laid down arms, because practically all the new laws were withdrawn by Amanullah.(p176-7)

So the Modernization proved costly for Afghanistan and was resented by the traditional elements of Afghan society. Eventually on February 1928,the Khost rebellion, a tribal revolt in 1924, was suppressed... The suppression of the revolt was celebrated with much pomp and display at Kabul. It is at this celebration that we find ex-Queen Suraya taking a definite part in State affairs, for she appeared at the steps of the Reception Hall— of course, very much veiled as yet—and made a speech congratulating the returned heroes of Khost. After that, she distributed the various prizes and decorations to those who had rendered conspicuous service during the revolt; then she gave some silver coins tied in a handkerchief to each soldier. The occasion was marked with the usual grandeur of Old Asia.”(p176-7)

This over, Amanullah busied himself over other items of the programme. handsome Government buildings and private houses in the modern style were erected on the heights of Paghman—the summer capital—some eighteen miles from Kabul. The proposals for the electric lighting of Paghman, Jalalabad and Kandahar were next examined, and due attention was given to the hydro-electric plant of Jabalus-Siraj, which is situated fifty miles from the capital. The passport system was reorganised, and steps were taken to participate in the international Post and Telegraph Union.(p176-7)

Having said that for British to stop the propagation of communism trough Afghanistan in other countries was to create a strong anti – Bolshevism feeling amongst the Afghan Nation against Russia, for British the conservatives like Nadir Khan and his brothers were the ideal persons to be in power in Afghanistan after King Amanullah had been thrown out of the throne.

Though Nader Khan was the hero of the third Afghan-Anglo War (1919).But one thing should not be forgotten that he was suspected person of having hand in assassination of Amir Habibullah Khan the father of King Amanullah Khan. As well as if Nadir Khan proclaimed himself the future king, the Afghan Nation would have called him a traitor or

betrayal and not trusted him therefore it would have been very difficult for British to install Nadir Khan as a successor to King Amanullah Khan right away.

Therefore the British made another conspiracy, that was, before bringing Nadir Khan in to power a catastrophic circumstances should be created in Afghanistan before Nadir Khan on coming to throne.

To achieve the aim, the job was handed over to Col. Lawrence of Arabia and Mullahs to work jointly for bringing Habibullah Bacha-i- Saqqao as Amir of Afghanistan for a short period and then the British will take care of everything to smooth the way for bringing conservative Nadir Khan as a head of absolute Monarchy to create hatred against the Communism and stop claiming the return of occupied areas of Afghanistan behind the Durand Line.

Before continuing to the events of King Amanullah's trip to Europe, it would be good to have some knowledge about Col. Lawrence of Arabia and his role in collapse of King Amanullah's Kingdom

Who was Col. Lawrence of Arabia (T.E.LAWRENCE) and what role he played in collapse of King Amanullah's era, the beloved leader of Afghanistan.

T. E. Lawrence who was born in England in 1888 had graduated from linguistic department of Oxford University, in year 1905 went to Soria and Palastin to learn the history of those countries, from 1911-1914 went as a member of a commission for studying the archaeology of Middle East, in 1915 assigned to make a topographic map of boarder between Turkey and Ghaza to study the area from strategical and military points of view, he was a great asset for department of British Intelligence services, the same year he was assigned in to British Embassy in Egypt as a member of intelligent services, when the first world war started because Turkey was in alliance with Germany and also Turkey was ruling the Saudi Arabia, for diverting the attention of Turkey from first world war to Saudi Arabia then in 1916 he was assigned as leader of commission to encourage the Saudi and Syria to get the independence from Turkey and saying to Prince Aziz that, the cradle of Islam is Saudi Arabia not the Turkey. The prince with the help of T. E. Lawrence, who was later called Lawrence of Arabia and became as a powerful advisor to Saudi government and made a lots of contracts for the benefit of British after he with a small Arabian force and British arms got the independence of Saudi Arabia from Turkey and the British got the first footstep in cradle of Islam and from there started their activities in other Islamic countries including Afghanistan for achieving British goals, he also established a very strong relation with Saudi Wahhabies who were already had established the roots in Eighteen century in Saudi Arabia by giving them all his support and encouragement.



Regarding T. E .Lawrence activities in Afghanistan and in the frontier an excellent study of Mohammad Qadeer Siraj, is worth reading. He writes that Lawrence after the world war 1 changed his name to fictitious names, first in 1922 by name of "Ross" in to the

air force then by name of "Show" to division of Tank force and later again to Air force worked and the documents shows that he on 26th May 1928 was sent from Karachi port to Pishawar and from there he was assigned to a very remote area in Miran Shaher in Waziristan after working in an air force camp then went to Afghanistan.

Also Dr. Abdul Rahman Zamani in his book "Review of King Amanullah's Reign and the British Conspiracies" had written in details about the Lawrence activities against King Amanullah's Reign which will be referred to in chapter of King Amanullah's Reign. After the war, Lawrence refused all honours and decorations, and lived under a false name. He told the story of his adventures in a famous book, The seven pillars of wisdom. He died in a Motorcycle accident in 1935.

T.E.Lawrence says about himself:

"All men dream: but not equally. Those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity: but the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dream with open eyes, to make it possible. This I did. I meant to make a new nation, to restore a lost influence, to give twenty million the foundations on which to build an inspired dream-pal; national thoughts. So high an aim called out the inherent their minds, and made them play a generous part in events: won, it was charged against me that the British petrol Mesopotamia were become dubious, and French Colonial post in the Levant. (P24-16)

"I am afraid that I hope so. We pay for these things to honour and in innocent lives. I went up the Tigris with one hundred Devon Territorials,' young, clean, delightful fellows, full of the power of happiness and of making women and children glad. By them one saw the vividly how great it was to be their kin, and English. And we were casting them by thousands into the fire to the worst of deaths, not to win the war but that the corn and rice and oil of Mesopotamia might be ours. The only need was to defeat our enemies (Turkey among them), and this was at last done in the wisdom of Allenby with less than four hundred killed, by turning to our uses the hands of the oppressed in Turkey. I am proudest of my thirty fights in that I did not have any of our own blood shed. All our subject provinces to me were not worth one dead Englishman.(p25-16)

"We were three years over this effort and I have had to hold things which may not yet be said. Even so, parts of this book to nearly all who see it, and many will look for familiar thing find them. Once I reported fully to my chiefs, but learnt that rewarding me on my own evidence. This was not as it should be. Honours may be necessary in a professional army, as so many emphatic mentions in despatches, and by enlisting we had put ourselves willingly or not, in the position of regular soldiers."

"For my work on the Arab front I had determined to accept nothing. The Cabinet raised the Arabs to fight for us by definite promises of self-government afterwards. Arabs believe in persons, not in institutions. They saw in me free agent of the British Government, and demanded from me an endorsement of its written promises. So I had to join the conspiracy,

and, for what my word was worth, assured the men of their reward. In our two years' partnership under fire they grew accustomed to believing me and to think my Government, like myself, sincere. In this hope they performed some fine things, but, of course, instead of being proud of what we did together, I was continually and bitterly ashamed" (P25-16)

"It was evident from the beginning that if we won the war these promises would dead paper, and had I been an honest adviser of the Arabs I would have advised them to go home and not risk their lives fighting for such stuff: but I salved myself with the hope that, by leading these Arabs madly in the final victory I would establish them, with arms in their hands, in a position so assured (if not dominant) that expediency would counsel to the Great Powers a fair settlement of their claims. In other words, I presumed (seeing no other leader with the will and power) that I would survive the campaigns, and be able to defeat not merely the Turks on the battlefield, but my own country and its allies in the council-chamber. It was an immodest presumption: it is not yet clear if I succeeded: but it is clear that I had no shadow of leave to engage the Arabs, unknowing, in such hazard. I risked the fraud, on my conviction that Arab help was necessary to our cheap and speedy victory in the East, and that better we win and break our word than lose."(p26-16)

"The dismissal of Sir Henry McMahon confirmed my belief in our essential insincerity: but I could not so explain myself to General Wingate while the war lasted, since I was nominally under his orders, and he did not seem sensible of how false his own standing was. The only thing remaining was to refuse rewards for being a successful trickster and, to prevent this unpleasantness arising, I began in my reports to conceal the true stories of things, and to persuade the few Arabs who knew to an equal reticence. In this book also, for the last time, I mean to be my own judge of what to say". (P26-16)

Also he writes that, "I was sent to these Arabs as a stranger, unable to think their thoughts or subscribe their beliefs, but charged by duty to lead them forward and develop to the highest any movement of theirs profitable to England in her war."(30-16).

The following documents proves the direct involvement of Lawrence of Arabia in collapse of King Amanullah Khan's regim.

(London Sunday Express Sept13th1928 "Lawrence is in a secret mission in frontier of Afghanistan" " Aman -i- Afghan News Dec12th 1928 had a comment " The person who provoked the ill fated Arabs to get their freedom from Turkey is trying to create disturbance in the border of Afghanistan" London Daily News Dec5th,1928 reported " Lawrence is busy learning Pushtoo in India, wants to go to Afghanistan")(362-35), رويتر نيوز, Dec 9th 1928 " confirmed the involvement of Lawrence in Sheenwar's revolt" Hamdard-i-Afghan News paper reported on April8th1929 " Col. Lawrence using the name of Peer-i- Karam Shah(*The saint of Karam Shah*) has interd in the thick of the revolt in Afghanistan") (363-35

NO ALLEGIANCE TO NEW
Times 22.1.29
AMIR BY ROYAL FAMILY.
A SOLITARY EXCEPTION.
It is stated that none of the mem-
bers of the Afghan Royal family, ex-
cept one Mohammad Kabirkhan, (who
is believed to be a step-brother of
Sardar Inayatullah Khan) have ac-
cepted the new Amir. Incidentally
the latter is stated to be a strongly
built man of over 30, who about two
years ago was running a tea-shop in
Peshawar. Thereafter he went to
Parachinar and worked there as a
cooly. From thence he proceeded to
Kabul and worked there for some time
as a gardener, before he enlisted in
the Afghan Army. From a soldier,
he became a brigand chief and is now
the ruler of the country.

There are also some authentic documents to prove that, T.E.Lawrence after the world war1 changed his name to fictitious names, first in 1922 by name of "Ross" in to the air force then by name of " Shaw" to division of Tank force and later again to Air force worked and the documents shows that he on 26th May 1928 was sent from Karachi port to Pishawar and from there he was assigned to a very remote area in Miran Shaher in Wazeristan after working in an air force comp then went to Afghanistan. Times of India 21st Jan 1929 reported "It is stated that none of the members of the Afghan Royal family except one Mohammad Kabir Khan, (who is believed to be a step –brother of Sardar Inayatullah Khan) have accepted the new Amir. Incidentally the latter is stated to be a strongly built man of over 39, who about two years ago was running a tea- shop in Peshawar. Therefore he went to Parachinar and worked there as a cooly. From thence he proceeded to Kabul and worked there for some time as a gardener, before he enlisted in the Afghan Army. From a soldier, he became a brigand chief and is now the ruler of the country.

"TELGRAM P., FROM MINISTER, KABUL, No ED. 6-A. T., DATED THE 3RD (RECEIVED 4TH) JANUARY 1929, (Repeated Foreign Office, London.)

Please see article in Lahore paper December 8th about Lawrence "Inqilab". This has been reproduced in Aman-i-Afghan of January 2nd. Fact that author of "Revolt in Desert" is now serving as a clerk under name of Shaw in Royal Air Force and has spent recently several months at Miranshah and is now at Peshawar creates ineradicable suspicions in the mind of the Afghan Government that he is scheming against them in some mysterious way which you will appreciate. These ideas are naturally being encouraged by the Russian and Turkish Ambassadors and I am told even by title French Minister.

The Indian press has published several articles which have now been reproduced to the effect that Lawrence. in the disguise of a Mussulman saint by name Junshi Shah intriguing against the Amir. Contrndictiou will not now produce the desired effect and it would relieve me of much embarrassment if Lawrence could he transferred to a distance from the frontier until such time as Civil War in Afghanistan subsides".

"TELEGRAM P., :FROM Minister , KABUL, No .. 211,' DATED (AND RECEIVED) THE 13TH DECEMBER.1928 • (Repeated ' Foreign Office, London.)

"In Aman-i-Afgha of 12th instant long article is published reproducing -with caustic comments article from Sunday Express of September 30th about presence of Colonel Lawrence in mountains of Afghanistan. This article has aroused great intrerest and. speculation among my- colleagues. I should. like to be inforrned by telegram of Lawrence's whereabouts and to 'be authorised to give absolute denial to statement that he is in neighbourhood of Afghan frontier or that he has visited Afghanistan. This refers to telegram from Foreign Office, London. to Minister, Kabul. No; 81 (Pr.rt XXV, Serial No. 95)

(61)

"TELEGRAM P., To Minister, KABUL, No. 458-K., DATED THE 1ST DECEMBER 1928 .

(Repeated Secretary of State for India, No. 2818-S.)

*Immediate. Please see your telegram to Foreign Office, London, No. 211
(Serial No. 52).*

Lawrence is now with his unit at Peshawar whence he has recently been transferred from Miranshah.

You may give absolute denial of his having visited Afghanistan. We have already published demi-official official dementi in strong terms. As regards your telegram No. 200, (Serial No. 40) Government of India trust you will consider also desirability of protesting strongly against insinuation by semi-official Afghan paper that rebellion was instigated by British

Some insinuation has begun, to appear in Indian Press, notably Forward. and we are examining feasibility of immediate prosecution of latter." •

"Encfo III.

NOTE FROM THE FOREIGN OFFICE, K. ABUL, TO THE BRITISH LEGATION, K. ABUL, No 5 123, DATED 3rd Jidi, 1307 (24TH DECEMBER 1928).

The Foreign Office has the honour to request an explanation regarding the arrival of two British officers who arrived by aeroplane on the 2nd Jidi (23rd December 1928), at the Sherpur landing ground and who from there proceeded to the exalted Legation. What is the object of their coming and for what business have they come and what is their appointment because the

Headquarters of the Air Force states that they were not even in possession of passports -and had no papers regarding their arrival.

It is requested that full explanation be furnished regarding this matter".

(248)

"TELEGRAM P., FROM MINISTER, KABUL; TO FOREIGN OFFICE, LONDON', No. 238, DATED (AND RECEIVED) 26TH DECEMBER 1928.

(Repeated Foreign., New Delhi, and North-West Frontier Province.)

Clear the line. 25th December, 8 PM.. It is claimed by the Government troops that they have driven back rebels a distance of 10 miles to-day.

The main road from Legation to the city has been open for traffic to-day. for the first time since 14th December. Up to date we have made our way through gardana and villages. Large Tunker this morning returned from Kandahar.

I received a visit from the Turkish Ambassador this afternoon and he took a pessimistic view of the present situation. He stated that neither the King nor any of his Ministers knew how to deal with the present difficulties. He was particularly concerned regarding the arrival of Kiazim Pasha's mission as they would be confronted with such a ludicrous and absurd task.

The Turkish Ambassador also mentioned that in certain Government circles there were suspicions that the British had with the help of Lawrence engineered the Shinwari, rising. I replied that those who credited such obviously false stories must be entirely mad. My Italian colleague whom I visited in his own Legation told me that Stark had been still yesterday optimistic but since then he had described the situation as very serious.

Bacha Saqao reported to be wounded in shoulder has retired to Paghman

/ which is 16 miles' west of Kabul. Here he is holding his court in (gr. ept. ~ vicinity of?) Amanulla's summer palace. It is reported that Government troops are marching towards Kabul from Mazar-i-Sharif and Kandahar. 'The truth is that. entire country is in a religious turmoil and Ama.null's only hope

of carrying on lies in conciliating the Mul lahs and other tribal leaders". (Appendix #)(R35)

King Amanullah's Trip to Europe

“In the winter 1927-28 Afghan king started down through British India on his trip to Europe. It is not clear if this was the emanation of his own brain or if anyone else was behind him. It was obvious that so zealous a Westernizer should himself desire to see more of the civilization and progress he wished to introduce, and learn something of proportion in the great places of the world. But there were many wise heads in Afghanistan and in India who looked askance and wondered. Never before had an Amir of Kabul felt secure enough on his throne to leave it. Time and again internal doubts prevented his predecessors even coming as far afield as India. Money indeed was none too plentiful, and the expensive legations in irrelevant Courts of Europe had already put a severe strain on the exchequer. Could the card-house stand this added story? (325-6)

King “deputed the work of the State to a Vakil or his principal favourite, one Mohamed Wali. Even then people were doubtful of Amanullah's wisdom regarding his leaving the kingdom at a time when his subjects were not pleased with him: but, of course, Amanullah was not aware of, or purposely shut his eyes to, the ugly facts which obtained at home. Meantime, the Vakil Mohamed Wali was busy filling his pockets, and incidentally encouraging the brigand chief Habibullah— Bacha Saquo—to undermine the authority of the Government. The intensity of sordid behaviour during this period had attained a degree which it is repugnant for the Afghans to recall. Twice did the brigand chief, Bacha Saquo, come within a few miles of Kabul during Amanullah's absence; and twice did Amanullah's representative turn him away, telling him not to believe in Amanullah's word if he valued his life, and advising him not to submit to the Government”(193-7).

“The first shock which he gave to the Moslem world was when he and his queen landed on the Egyptian soil dressed in European garb. Queen Suraya's unveiled face, of course, sent a nasty thrill through the Arabic- speaking peoples, who expected to see a real Afghan patriot, a true follower of the Mecca Law. Thence Amanullah and his consort journeyed to Italy, France, England, Russia, Turkey and Persia, and were received with great pomp and show wherever they went, details of which are too well known in England to require elaborate mention here. Suffice it to add, however, that in every European country Amanullah's one great endeavour was to show that he was the embodiment of ultra-Westernization”.(192-7)

THE RETURN FROM EUROPE

“For a moment we may turn aside to dwell on the genuineness of the patriotism and the desire for the good of his people that animated this unfortunate young man. He believed, and he often remarked to those with whom he conversed on the subject, that his people were steeped in savagery which only drastic remedies could cure. He was determined to lose no time in bringing in his educational and sartorial reforms, and his edicts and example, and the freedom that his Queen had adopted, were to be the pattern for the nation. It was all admirable in intention, genuine in the belief that by this road alone could salvation lie, and all the while his French advisers forgot to impress on him the saying of their wise countryman, the *cordon bleu*, " *Surtout ne pousse pas le poivre jusqu'au fanatisme.*" (327-6)

“In the early autumn of 1928 King Amanullah and his Queen returned by way of Meshed and Herat, and they returned to an Afghanistan to outward appearance much as they had left it. By sea via the ports of British India had come the acquisitions of their tour, and especially the gowns of London and Paris which were to inaugurate the emancipation of the women of Afghanistan. Their doings in Europe had, of course, been much canvassed. The eager writers of the young Afghan press had described with gusto their freedom from the trammels of old-world Islam. And all the while the underground dissatisfaction from which all Eastern lands suffer had been spreading. Taxes were heavy, money was short; the outlandish goings-on in the capitals of Europe, so lusciously dwelt on by the telegrams and letters from the West, were magnified and bandied about. And folly piled on folly. Rumor had it that army pay, already in arrears, was likely to be withheld to meet other drains. How far this was really so we shall no doubt hear, but an army based on little national sentiment or tradition and on no great personal draw cannot be expected to stand such a strain. Again M. Fouchet might have emphasized the truth of *pas d' argent pas de Suisse*.”(327-6)

“The European tour did produce results, for, as a result of trip, diplomatic treaties were concluded with Finland, Latvia, Liberia, Poland, Switzerland, Egypt, and Japan, among others 3. The fairy –tale aspects of King Amanullah’s tour, which lasted until July 1928, turned his royal head. With great style he visited India, Egypt, Turkey, and Persia as well as the major European capitals. Rome, Paris, Brussels, Bern, Berlin, London, Warsaw, and Moscow. The crowned heads of Europe spared no efforts, because Amanullah’s visit was the first extensive post-War 1 royal tour. All Europe curiously followed the exploits of this visitor from another world. But Amanullah felt melancholy in London, where he told a confidant that he believed the British still wished to have him out of the way”

“While Europe feted Amanullah, conservative forces at home, purportedly aided by the British, began a campaign condemning his personal life and his modernization programs as anti-Islamic. Unknown hands distributed photographs of Queen Soraya (Mahmud Tarzi,s daughter) unveiled at European receptions. Rumors flew that the King planned to bring back

from Europe machines to make soap out of corpses. The King, so the country was told, "had turned against Allah and Islam!"(L. Dupree, AUFS Reports, LD-64, 13)"(450-8).

3-Previously, diplomatic relations had been established with Russia (1919),Iran(1921), Britain(1922), Turkey(1922), Italy(1922), France1923.

"The fact that, despite the underground workings of the mullahs and malcontents, nothing had occurred to prevent the King's return to his capital does, however, show that the latter's confidence in the wisdom of leaving it for many months was not actually misplaced. The crop of discontent need not have borne fruit even in the autumn of 1928 had His Majesty left well alone."

"As late as the end of October the fascinating game of "Europe" still continued, and a whole series of treaties on the subject of extradition were announced with Persia, Turkey, Egypt, Finland, Switzerland, and Bolivia. But already were the fatal proclamations and orders launched that were to blow the smouldering discontent into flames. In September Government officials were forbidden to practice polygamy, despite the Islamic sanctions. In October European dress was imposed on the people of Kabul, even as a like edict has debased the beauties and dignity of Constantinople. But European dress must postulate European habits. You cannot sit cross-legged or squat on your hunkers, which Eastern calves are especially shaped to do, in trousers. Yet chairs exist not. While wearers of Western sleeves cannot eat by dipping their hands in the cinnamon stew, and such unthinking edicts postulate knives and forks and mean expenditures. The capital of Kabul was very naturally annoyed, and showed it. In this connection we may imagine the hurried passage to the nearest lamp-post that would await a Home Secretary who issued an edict ordering the men of London to wear the reformed dress, or the business young ladies to lengthen their skirts and sleeves, with penalties for disobedience, accompanied by a stoppage of police salaries".

"In late October or early November the flame burst out among the Shinwari tribes who live round the winter capital of Jalalabad. The King hurried off to see what the trouble was about and to open the road to India. After the tribesmen had attacked the city without success for some days, parleys and armistices took place, and while these were in progress an apparently different and unconnected revolt broke out in the hills round Kabul, among that horde of fanatical tribes who had flocked in their tens of thousands to attack Sir Frederick Roberts in 1879. It was the mullahs of Eastern Afghanistan who had fanned this flame by issuing an edict that the King was an infidel."

"Even Abdul Rahman with all his ruthless ways had to bow at times to the mullahs and all they stood for, while they in their turn took care not to oppose him beyond bearing. But the changes that the young King had introduced were insupportable. Priestly revenues were being sequestered, endowments confiscated, and now an order had been published

forbidding asylum to all refugee priests evicted from the Sovietized khanates of Russian Turkistan”.

“So, to add to the Royal troubles the priesthood went out wholeheartedly against him. But the army, the army said to be short of pay, what of them.? There were several factors here to be backed with. In the first place, the troops were largely Tajik, from those more biddable and easier disciplined folk of Persian or Perso – Arab descent from the neighbourhood of Oxus.”

“The second Turkish military mission charged with training the army was no more popular than the first, and this fact has not conduced to content. With an army drawn largely from the races other than those dominating the country, with military schools and colleges full of young men wedded possibly to the alluring prospects of an Afghan future, but with no pronounced loyalty to the Durani throne, there was ample room for dissatisfaction to grow apace. Standing armies, unless anamited by a carefully cultivated loyalty of long standing, can be hot-beds of propaganda when their serenity is upset, and this what happened with the army of Amanullah with all its imitation of Balkan ways”.(327-6)

BEGINNING OF THE END

“When the general revolutionary conflagration eventually seized the Western Province of Herat as well, Amanullah’s court was staggered, for the Shinwaris and men of Badakhshan in the east and south, and the brigand water-carrier’s son from the north, were causing enough alarm without the western section of Herat. This last straw broke the camel’s back: and one more effort was decided upon”.

“It was considered that, notwithstanding the fresh defeat of the Royal troops at Nimla on the high road to Kabul from the Eastern Section, if the greatest danger which threatened the capital from the north under the water-carrier’s son could be averted, the situation might yet be saved. With this end in view, Ahmed Ali Khan was deputed to proceed to the highland in order to effect the speedy defeat of the brigands. The chief courtiers, still saturated with the aroma of Westernization, advised the King to pursue the brigand from one side, and, on the other, informed the brigand to be on his guard and not to trust to Amanullah’s words and promises. This last effort is so well described in an Afghan official book by Ahmed Ali Khan, who led the Royal troops against Bacha Saquo, the brigand-chief, that its translation deserves attention”.

“In his statement he reiterates that twice the Vakil or the King’s representative at Kabul received the offers of submission from the brigand-chief, and both times Mohamed Wali, the King’s Vakil, counseled him to go back to his highland, and continue his depredations, “for

Amanullah's word," said the Vakil, "cannot be relied upon." Throughout this brigand's career of freebooting, the King's most trusted Vakil used to send rifles and ammunition to the chief of that gang; also he presented a valuable rifle to Bacha Saquo, which the brigand used to show to everybody upon becoming the King of Afghanistan".(p215-7)

"To crown all this, Shair Jan, a close confederate of the brigand, was appointed the Governor of the brigand's province by the Vakil of Amanullah, which shows the height of treason against the State".

"Ahmed Ali Khan, it should not be forgotten, had newly returned to Kabul after his four years' service in Berlin, and naturally was cautious in undertaking an expedition which did not augur well on account of the hatred which could be perceived against Amanullah amongst the people of the northern province; but yet he hied forth to the brigand's lair".

"He convened a big Jirgah or tribal gathering. Some two thousand men assembled to hear what he had to say, and for two days and nights he continued his pour-parlers with them. Their Elders agreed to provide six thousand men to keep peace in the highlands, and seven hundred men were sent to Kabul as recruits for the Shinwari front to fight for Amanullah. Further, three proposals were made to the Elders: (1) To kill the brigand and his band and to receive one lakh of rupees as reward; or (2) To remove these brigands from amongst the general body of the highland men; or (3) To surrender these men to the Government on their own security. The Elders accepted the third proposal". (p216-7)

"Seven hundred men gathered to see the two volumes of the Holy Koran, to which the pardon of the King in favour of the brigand and the brigand's signature to Cease his escapades were to be appended. The signature of the King was awaited for three days, for the two Holy Books had been sent to Kabul. At the Court, when the Korans were brought before Amanullah so that he might sign the pardon on the sacred Book of Islam and thus make the undertaking an inviolable one, the same court favourite, Wali--- who helped the brigand secretly--- did not allow Amanullah to sign, saying that it was much below a King to have a pact with a mere brigand. Even before the unsigned Korans reached the camp where Ahmed Ali Khan waited with the clansmen, the brigand-chief, Bacha Saquo, came and jeered at Ahmed Ali Khan". (p216-7)

"There were three men in the room," he grinned, "when the Korans were presented to Amanullah for signature. One of these three men has informed me that the King has not signed the Holy Book; and that I am to be careful of thee, oh Ahmed Ali Khan!"

"The opportunity of any further *rapprochement* was utterly destroyed; the camp of the Royal troopers was surrounded, and Ahmed Ali Khan with his brother were thankful to escape with their lives. Meantime, the men whom he had sent to Kabul to be enrolled in the defence

force against the Shinwari were not given arms at the capital, and returned to their homes only to swell the number of recalcitrants. On the following night the Royal troops on the other section of the highland were routed; and, although Ahmed Ali Khan could yet have changed defeat into victory by his skillful maneuvering, on reaching Kabul he was relieved of the command. The brigands now were already on the heights of Kabul. The last hour of Amanullah's regime had struck". (p217-7)

"On 7th January, this was followed by a proclamation withdrawing decrees about conscription and dress and forming a council of fifty. Such concessions, however, were too late, and fighting round Kabul recommenced. The evacuations of Europeans and Indian subjects by the plane were continued, one hundred and thirty –two more persons getting away. A serious set-back to the King's cause now took place in the assassination of an important supporter of the dynasty, one Mirzaman Shah, a leading chief of Afghan Mohmands who dominate the country north of the Kabul River and Jalalabad.



"By the middle of January the unfortunate young King had realised that fate was too strong for him, that he had been deserted by his army, and, like the Dost his ancestor, must leave his capital. To add to this, his Queen was expecting her confinement in a country where there was little ruth for those who were down. He managed to get his wife and family, however, flown away to Kandahar in his Russian planes, and then accepted the representations made to him by his advisers that the country would have no more of him, and that the only hope of saving even the dynasty lay in letting his elder brother Inayatullah take the throne. Any attempt to resist could but mean a hopeless attempt to defend the modern fortified palace outside Kabul that had long taken the place of the Bala Hissar, and would only result in bloodshed harmful to Afghanistan and injurious to the dynasty". (332-6)

"But the good Inayatullah was not the man to sit on that throne of uneasiness even in the way of peaceful succession. Stout, amiable, lethargic, not even, so far as was known, wise in council, the situation was far beyond his control or the group of king-making sirdars who hoped to save the dynasty and secure continuity. Bascha-i- Saqao on the top of wave of Islamic fevour, which was for the moment almost reaching the height of Wahabism in its clamour for the dour tenets of the desert and the old, simple ways of "The Submission." He had denounced Amanullah and all his ways, and those of his house and his entourage, his laws his proclamations, and his iniquities, and the drums ecclesiastic throbbed and rolled on the mountain- sides and poured forth warriors from the glens and gorges.The Government post of Jagdalak fell, and Kabul was cut off from the outside world. The hearts of the Barakzai surdars turned to water within the palace, and good Inayatullah realised that

that throne was no place for him. In five days he too abdicated, and his withdrawal by plane to Peshawar was arranged”(333-6).

“Presently, a public notice was circulated summoning the people to the Dilkusha Palace. Hundreds and thousands came to listen to “an important announcement,” as the official circular styled it. Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, the elder brother of Amanullah, and the real heir to the throne, appeared on the balcony; the Court Chamberlain bore a paper in his hand. People stood mute, while this, Amanullah’s Proclamation of Abdication from the Throne of Afghanistan, was read out aloud to them. Amanullah renounced the kingship in favour of his elder brother, Inayatullah Khan: and till midday did the people come and go to the Palace, signifying their allegiance to the new King”.(218-7)

“The same afternoon at three, a large delegation of Elders and clergy led by such Holy Sheikhs as Hazrat Mohamed Sadiq Khan started on motor cars towards the highlands. As soon as they reached the camps of the Royal army, they informed the soldiers that the matter of revolution has solved itself, because Amanullah had abdicated: and they were not proceeding towards the opposing forces of the brigand. This news, however, did not produce the desired effect: for, so far as the highland cut-throats under the command of the water Carrier’s son were concerned, the matter was not settled”.(218-7)

“The whole night fighting continued between the brigand’s men and the Royal troopers, till towards the dawn a large body of the highlanders vigorously attacked Kabul forces and broke their ranks. The city lay at the mercy of the brigand chief. Presently, the brigand’s men had entered the city, and their commander Syed Husain, was already motoring through the streets of Kabul. The citadel of Arg with the new King Inayatullah and his few retainers was besieged. Inayatullah, too, abdicated and, taking a British aero plane, made for Peshawar in India, leaving a disgraced throne and an empty Treasury to the victorious hordes of barbarians, under the brigand chief, who had himself proclaimed King of all Afghans as Habibullah Ghazi on January 17th 1929, by occupying Kabul. And thus ends the last act of this tragic drama”. (219-7)

“During all this period the British minister appears to have stood for reason and for moderation before all parties, and became strangely enough the counsellor of each. Above all was he able to impress on them that the civilized world was looking on, and that no one's purpose would be served by an orgy of dynastic or vengeful bloodshed.”(333-6)

Because_“*The British Government is only too anxious to learn that the country has made a decision and can agree about it. Recognition, and recognition in practical form, will very soon follow in interests of civilization and trade. Habibullah Ghazi, or whoever may be chosen, will find better advice and support from a Government which still considers revealed*

religion the proper basis on which to build a state, and which, moreover, has ever been cognisant of the power for good that dwell in the discipline and teaching of "The Submission."(342-6)

"On 17th January the water-carrier's son proclaimed himself Amir of the Afghan people, or such as would follow him, until such time as the people should elect their own Amir, vowing that he sought not aggrandisement but only the will of God, under the style and title of Habibullah Ghazi, " the beloved of God and the Defender of Fait."(333-6)

"Amanullah at Kandahar found many supporters of Durani against a Tajik claimant. Somewhat reluctantly Inayatullah, murmuring the Persian equivalent for nolo episcopari, was rushed in a State train by the British from his rest at Peshawar when he landed from his aeroplane to the frontier at New Chaman, whence he drove to Kandahar. There the King was gathering together as much of the garrison as would support him, and endeavouring to enlist the support of the Duanis of Zaindawar. nortunately the king's kinship was not enough to counterbalance, in their zealot minds, his modern practices , had not Amanullah had a brain-wave,. Outside Kandahar was the famous shrine of the Khirqa-i- Sharif," (p335-6)

"The Holy Cloak" For two hundred years this genuine and thrice-holy relic of the Prophet had lain locked in a brass-bound chest. No infidel, no wavering and uncertain follower of the Prophet, could unlock the chest. It was in this shrine that the mullah had taken refuge who had so far forgot himself as to call Abdurrahman kafir, and where that man of blood and iron, as already told, had him brought forth and slew him with his own hand "that so impious a dog should not defile the earth." King Amanullah established his orthodoxy by opening the box with ease and drawing forth the relic in the presence of many thousands of excited populace. For a while his influence was restored and he was able to push up the road to Ghuzni, reoccupying Kelat-i-Ghilzie and getting as far as Mukkur, whence incidentally had come that mysterious British mullah whom men used to talk of as "the Buster's double."

"But though he reached Mukkur, Ghuzni was not to be attained. Whether or no the King's personality was at fault it is not yet possible to say. The hard school that bred the *Bacha* is probably a better start when kingdoms are in the balance than the luxury of an Eastern Palace. We have yet to know if Amanullah could really draw a badger. But whether he could or whether he could not, it is certain that he was short of money, short of the needful to pay his soldiers, buy his petrol, which meant ready cash, and short of the large sums necessary to buy those faithless ones whose natural home is on the fence".(336-6)

"During the attempts of Amanullah to rebuild his fortunes from Kandahar, the world was treated to a series of proclamations aimed at each other from Habibullah and the King which were not particularly edifying. Sirdar Ghulam Nabi, formerly the Afghan agent at Moscow,

arrived at Herat in April to work in the interest of Amanullah, with no great success; while as early as 24th February General Nadir Khan arrived at Peshawar from his residence on the Riviera and proceeded to Khost, anxious to see what the situation really was, and if possible to save at any rate Afghanistan from itself, and to preserve the organised kingdom as a state in being. His efforts have been backed by some of the Mangals, who have long been at loggerheads with the Government both of Amanullah and his predecessors, and the Jedrans and the Jajis, none of them very important politically. He had advanced into Logar from via the Althmur Pass, apparently hoping to come to some arrangement with Malik Ghaus-ud-din and the Ahmadzai Ghilzais, but has now been beaten by Kabul troops, with whom are said to be the lashkars of the Sulaiman Khel group of the Ghilzai clans, which means that the Ghilzai influence itself is split. Nadir Khan is also said to have joined the ranks of the soi-disant Amirs, but is credited by the better informed to be anxious to put forward Asadullah Khan, Amanullah's nephew, for election as Amir. The latter is or has been in durance in Kabul.(336-6)

“Meantime, Abdul Ahad Khan, leading Amanullah’s advance guard, reached the gates of Ghazni; but the people showed hostility and place of opening the gates, opened fire on Amanullas men. Another two weeks of fruitless adventure on the part of Royal troops ensued: and the court of the distracted monarch decided to disband the tribal levies, and rely only on the regular troops. As soon as the tribesmen were disarmed, and were being sent back to their homes, dissatisfaction broke out afresh in the rear of the Royal troops. What could be said of Amanullah’s capture of Ghazni in the North, now his retreat to the South at Kandahar was menaced? The collapse was final; and on reaching back at Muqr when Amanullah was informed that tribes had gathered in large numbers, and were being assisted by a strong force of the water- carrier’s son from Kabul, Amanullah broke down completely on May 14th; and gave orders for general retreat to Kandahar”.(233-7)

“He betook himself to Kandahar, ahead of his defeated army: and on the way the hardships of the soldiers, what with the sniping of hostile clansmen, and what with the shortage of rations, can be better imagined unfortunate monarch issued his last abdication writ. He sent word that he was striking for Chaman, in the British territory, and that his wife and relations were to join him on the way. At 2 a.m., in the dead of the night, Amanullah,s motor sped past the last frontier post of his kingdom. As he was leaving Afghanistan, “This is the end of my ten years, reign,” he said “that I now leave my country as a rejected monarch.....But why?” he asked. Any man with the least imagination, and viewing the turmoil in which he was leaving Afghanistan, need not have asked this question. But Amanullah could understand, could not see the viewpoint of his people: and indeed, woe betide a king who cannot see the viewpoint of his nation”!(233-7)

It could be bear in mind that “Three of the Musahiban (lineage name) brothers (Nadir Khan, Hashim Khan, Shah Wali Khan)returned through British India, and the British established ground rules for the game to be played. An unstable Bacha Saqqao worried the British, as did the spectre of Amanullah’s supporters, such as Ghulam Nabi Charkhi (son of Ghulam Haider Charkhi, a general under Abdul Rahman Khan), sitting across the Oxus

with valunteers from the Soviet as well as the Afghan side, waiting to strike in support of the defeated king”.(458-8)

We also should not forget during the history the close relation of Afghan Amirs with Russia had not been tolerated by British, the Russian from first days of independent of Afghanistan tried to build up a cordial relation with King Amaullah. “In 1919 . The Soviet Union sent Amanullah a gift of thirteen airplanes, plus pilots, mechanics, transportation specialists. and telegraph operations. Before 1928, the U.S.S.R. Established an air roure from Moscow to Kabul via Tashkent,⁴ . In 1924-1925, the Russians laid telephone lines between Hearat-Qandahar and Kabul-Mazar-i- Sharif. The British offered to complete a good road from Peshawar to Kabul via Tang-i-Gharu (finally built after World War II with American assistance), Amanullah demanded cash to build the road, but British refused. His annual verbal attacks on Great Britain during Jashn (Afghanistan’s national independence holidays), with the British Minister present, embarrassed many Afghans as well as the diplomatic corps. Amanullah scorned the advice of Tarzi and others, and the British, snubbed, worried more and more about Russian penetration” (451-8).

There is no doubt the coming of so called valunteers from Soviet across the Oxus had made Amanullah Khan worried, because King Amanullah from history knew that once “ John Lawrence had advocated taking a strong line with Rassia: “ Russia should be told that; it cannot be permitted to interfere in the affaiers of Afghanistan or in those of any state which lies contiguous to our frontiers ... If this faild we might give that power to understand that an advance towards India beyond a certain point would entail on her war, in all parts of the world...”(36-10). and “ In 1910 German writers again pressed for this junction in the intrest of the world , saying frankly enough that Afghanistan as a buffer stare, *an etat tamption*, must go, and Russia and India march together”(304-6)

Thereby King Amanullah might have thought by inviting Russian for help the country will be Occupied by Russia, the British won’t tolerate that, in result Afghanistan will turn to a battle field of the than two powers and the country might split between them, which was un acceptable for him, so King Amanullah after a short battle didn’t want to have bloodshed in his country just for keeping his power therefore, he preferred to sacrifice his throne for the freedom the Afghan Nation have got it on the price of their blood in 1919,

So “on May 24th, 1929, both the dethroned kings of Afghanistan—Amanullah and Inayatullah---were in the Taj Mahal Hotel at Bombay with their Queens, waiting till Queen Suraya was better before leaving the Indian shores for Rome and Tehran respectively: with which let the curtain ring down on the great tragedy that has ever been visited upon the God- Gifted Kingdom of Kabul”.(234-7)

Louis Dupree the writer of his book (Afghanistan) has rightly said “Mahmud Tarzi lived partly in action, but mostly in thought. King Amanullah, a man of action, seised events and tried to twist them to his desires. If Tarzi, the thinker, and Amanullah, the activist, could have pooled their intellectual resources – backed by a



loyal, Turkish trained army – Afghanistan might today be farther along the road of modernization, instead of just beginning.” (457-8)

Ex King Amanullah Khan died on April 26, 1960. in Rome and buried in Jalalabad Afghanistan, next to his father Amir Habibullah Khan’s tomb. His soul be in Peace. ¹The 1

References:-

6-Lieutenant General Sir George Macmunn, Afghanistan, from Daruis to Amanullah, London,1929.

7- Sardar Iqbal Ali Shah, The Tragedy of Amanullah, London,1933.

8-Louis Dupree, Afghanistan, Princeton,New Jersey:Princeton University Press,1980.

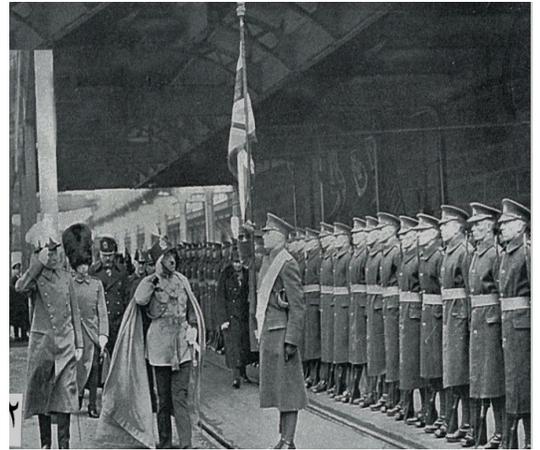
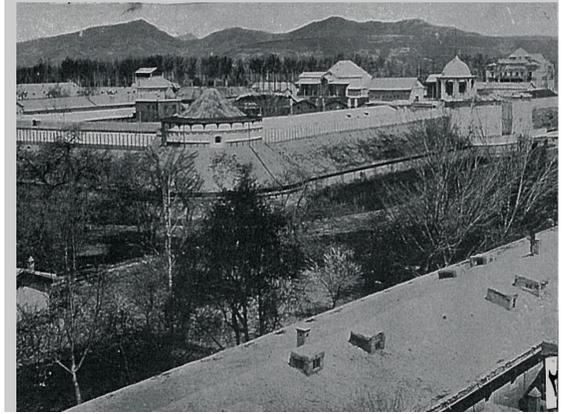
16-T.E.Lawrence, Seven Pillars of Wisdom (A Triumph). 666 Fifth Ave., New York, New York10103:Doubleday a division of Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1929

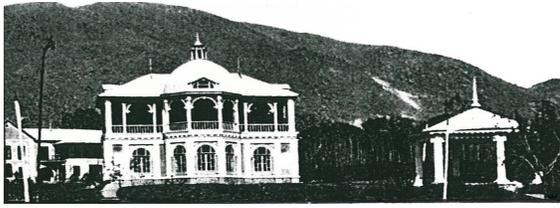
35-Dr. Abdul Rahman Zamani, the writer of “ Review of King Amanullah's Reign and British Conspiracies,Jalalabad Afghanistan, 2013.

Some pictures in next pages

SOME LEGACIES OF KING AMANULLAH'S GOLDEN ERA.







شاه امان الله با قوای نظامی و ملکی خود در روز استرداد استقلال افغانستان ۱۹۲۰م (۷)



Bundesarchiv, Bild 102-20490
Foto: 6. Aug. 1928



امان الله در حالت تدریس در یک صنف مکتب عسکری



ز



منار استقلال افغانستان

شاه امان الله در ستشن ریل لندن در موقع سفر رسمی شان به لندن ۲۸



