

MUHAMMAD AYUB KHAN AND THE ROYAL FAMILY OF SWAT: AN ANALYSIS OF FAMILY TIES AND THEIR POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

JALAL UDDIN

Department of History, Allama Iqbal Open University,
Islamabad, Pakistan

Email: jalalmania@yahoo.com

Abstract

The royal marriages that took place in the princely states have significant historical importance. Although the princely states that acceded to Pakistan after partition have been the subject of academic research, there are still areas that need to be examined further. The royal marriages in these princely states also need to be given academic consideration. In the case of the princely state of Swat, very little has been written. In this research article, the family ties of the royal family of Swat with former President of Pakistan, Muhammad Ayub Khan will be discussed. The article aims to shed light on the political implications of the family's relationship with the president of the country.

Keywords: *Ayub Khan, Miangul Jahanzeb, Royal Marriages, Swat State, Pakistan*

Introduction

Royal marriages have been the topic of immense interest throughout the world and have captured the attention of a large public audience. The intermarriage of ruling dynasties into other reigning families is a tradition that dates back to ancient times in Africa, Ancient Egypt, Asia and Europe. However, in the case of the princely states that acceded to Pakistan after partition of the subcontinent in 1947, very little literature exists on their marriages. It is important to explore how these royal marriages were solemnized, the political motives behind them and their significance, as well as the subsequent political ramifications for the

ruling families. These are critical questions that should be considered in future research. Caroline Keen's work, *The Power Behind the Throne: Relations Between the British and the Indian States, 1870-1909* briefly provides insight into the royal marriages that took place in the princely states during the time period she examined.¹

Intermarriage in the Royal Family of Swat

Abdul Ghafur (1794-1877) was a Safi Mohmand, a branch of the Karlanri tribe. He is remembered with the names and titles Saidu Baba, Akhund of Swat, Swat Babaji, Swat Saib, Sahib-e-Swat and Akhund Sahib.² There has been a significant amount of literature discussing his life and his influential position within the region. His descendants are also known as *Mianguls* (in English) and *Miangulan* (in Pashtu). The terms like Royal Family of Swat, Swati ruling Family, *Shahzadgan* (in Pashtu) and *Shahi Khanadan* (in Urdu) are also used for the *Miangul* family.³ The term 'Royal Family of Swat' is used for the *Mianguls* due to the fact that the two *Mianguls*, Miangul Abdul Wadud (1917-1949) and Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb (1949-1969) ruled the princely state from 1917 to 1969.

Marriages in the *Miangul* family were treated as an internal matter and were formalized in a simple way and without any regal formalities.⁴ The ascendant of the ruling family of Swat, Akhund Abdul Ghafur married a woman in the Spal Bandai area of Swat.⁵ The marriages of his two sons, Miangul Abdul Hanan and Miangul Abdul Khaliq, were solemnized in a modest way. The mother of the first Wali of Swat, Miangul Abdul Wadud (the son of Miangul Abdul Khaliq), was the daughter of the ruler of Chitral State, Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, and half-sister to his successor, Shuja-ul-Mulk.⁶ Similarly, Miangul Abdul Hanan married three times, one of his wives was from a Sayyid family, other was a princess of the Khushwakht dynasty of the state of Chitral and the third was from Jambil village, Swat.⁷

According to Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb, also known as Wali Sahib and the last Wali of Swat, marriages in the *Miangul* family were also at times in order to reconcile and eliminate possible conflicts within the family. Miangul Shirin, the brother of the Miangul Abdul Wadud, popularly known as Badshah Sahib and the first Wali of Swat, was killed in a battle with the forces of Dir State in 1918 when he was leading state forces. He left behind a son and two daughters. His two daughters were married to the last Wali of Swat and his half-brother, Sultan-i-Rome.⁸ The last Wali of Swat believed that when the sister of Sultan-i-Rome was

given in marriage to the elder *Wazir*⁹ it posed a threat to the future prospects of the ruler as the *Wazir* Brothers wanted to have Sultan-i-Rome on the throne of Swat instead of him.¹⁰ In his autobiography he stated:

My eldest half-brother was only four years younger than me, and he was a very capable boy. If he had lived, there might have been great difficulties; because he was intelligent, and ambitious. He always stood first in his class, and if he had been misled by people intriguing against me, it would have been very difficult. His and Sultan-i-Room's sister was given in marriage to the elder *Wazir*; and I know that the *Wazir* brothers, with some *Khans* who were their relations, had some plans to persuade my father to make him the heir apparent. But he died, while still in College. It was fortunate that my father was there, at his death-bed-otherwise some people would have suspected something else.¹¹

The first *Wali* of Swat married twice. After the death of his first wife, he married again to a woman from a *Sayyid* family from the *Kukrai* area of Swat.¹² From the second wife, he had two sons and four daughters to go with the two sons and two daughters from his first marriage. One of *Miangul Jahanzeb's* two sisters was married in *Nowshehra* while the other was married to *Bahri Karam*, the grandson of *Shirin Sahib*.¹³ The last *Wali* of Swat also married twice. His first marriage took place in 1925 at the age of 17. He married his first cousin, who was the daughter of his uncle, *Miangul Shirin*. He commented:

She was younger by two and a half years than I. We were married in March, when I came home for the spring holidays; my father arranged the marriage. It was a very simple affair, like all the marriages in our family. There were no *tamashas*, or celebrations. A *mullah* was called, and my cousin took the consent of his sister and I gave my consent, and the *mullah* recited a few verses from the Holy *Quran* with prayers for success. Then I went back to *Peshawar*, but came to Swat again for the summer vacation in June...¹⁴

His second marriage was solemnized some thirty years later in 1958. This time the woman came from "a poor family from *Mingora*" and had "no big family, with ambitions, intriguing and interfering" in the affairs of the State.¹⁵

Muhammad Ayub Khan's Family Ties with the Royal Family of Swat

Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan was born on 14th May 1907. He was selected for training at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in 1922 and commissioned as an officer six years later on 2 Feb 1928. He

was made Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army on 17 January 1951, succeeding the second man appointed to the position, General Sir Douglas Gracey (1894-1964) who had served as Commander-in-Chief since 1948, thus Ayub became the first Pakistani general to hold the position.¹⁶ Within a short span of time he became a powerful political figure taking over as the President of Pakistan in 1958. He was to be the leading politician until 1969 when civil unrest led to his removal from office.

According to Miangul Aurangzeb (1928-2014), the Heir Apparent and the elder son of the last Wali of Swat and popularly known as Wali Ahad Saib, he saw Muhammad Ayub Khan for the first time in 1951 at Risalpur. He was then also serving in the Pakistan Army. Sometime later Ayub Khan visited Swat State as the guest of his father. It was on that occasion that he met Muhammad Ayub Khan personally for the first time.¹⁷ He recorded:

I was very close to him (Muhammad Ayub Khan) rather; I started out being very close to Iskander Mirza (1899-1969), because from 1927 up to 1958 our friendship grew. He was in Abbottabad as Assistant Commissioner. From then on, I knew him very well. I did not come to know Ayub Khan till 1944. One of my close friends, Said Khan, brought him here to introduce him; he was only a major then. After that we did not meet, because he was posted elsewhere, as Brigadier in Waziristan, and went as Major-General to East Pakistan, from there he was promoted as First Commander-in-Chief. Then he used to come here for shooting, and we became very close.¹⁸

Thus, the relationship between Ayub Khan and the ruling family of Swat State developed before the initiation of family ties. With the passage of time the relationship became stronger before becoming a family tie. The eldest son of the last Wali of Swat, Miangul Aurangzeb, was made A.D.C. that is aide-de-camp or personal assistant or secretary to the Commander-in-Chief on 29 January 1952. The relationship between the two developed into a friendship and on 17 February 1954 Miangul Aurangzeb became engaged to Ayub Khan's eldest daughter, Naseem Aurangzeb (1939-2000). The marriage took place on 10 April 1955.¹⁹ Subsequently in 1954, the last Wali of Swat corresponded with the Government of Pakistan regarding his future Wali Ahad (Heir Apparent). He addressed a letter to the then Political Agent (Dir, Swat and Chitral) stating:

I invite a reference to Article IV of my Agreement with Government of Pakistan regarding my Privy Purse, Private Property Rights and

Privileges about Succession which is to be according to law and customs of the State of Swat. This requires explanation. The law and custom in Swat State are that the eldest son is the legal and lawful heir of the Gaddi of the State and to the personal rights and privileges, dignities and the titles of the Wali of Swat. In my case Capt: Aurangzeb my eldest son, is the legal and lawful heir and has been recognized as the Wali-ahd (heir apparent) by the Government of Pakistan. The Succession after that according to law and custom in Swat State is that in case of Captain Aurang Zeb dies without a male issue, the Succession is to go to his second brother but as he is blind it should go to the third son Amir Zeb and after that to his son or if he is without a male issue the Succession should go to the fourth son Ahmad Zeb and so on. It is requested that this explanation may very kindly be confirmed by the Government of Pakistan.²⁰

Seven years after the marriage of Ayub's eldest daughter, third son of the last Wali of Swat, Miangul Amir Zeb (1935-1993), also married one of Ayub's daughters, Jameela Amir Zeb (1945-2021). The marriage was arranged by her sister, Naseem Aurangzeb.²¹ Miangul Amir Zeb was elected to the National Assembly as the candidate of Pakistan People's Party in 1974.²² Miangul Aurangzeb (1928-2014), the last Crown Prince of Swat State, though he started his career in the army, he later opted for a political career, and was elected to the National Assembly in 1970.²³ He was re-elected in 1985, in elections held on a non-party basis. In the general elections of 1993, he was again re-elected. During the Swat State era, that is, until 1969 when Swat was merged with Pakistan and run by the Pakistani Civil Service, he remained a member of the West Pakistan Assembly.²⁴

Political Implications of the Family Ties

With the marriage of Ayub Khan's daughters with the sons of the last Wali, the political stature of both families reached its zenith. The royal family's background and the personal sway of the *Mianguls* added to their prestige both in Pakistan and beyond.²⁵ The marriage ceremonies were held in simplicity and without any widespread publicity.²⁶ Miangul Aurangzeb, one son-in-law of Ayub Khan was "firmly seated in Swat", but his politics was "nationally-based" and his name was "widely known throughout Pakistan." His marriage to Ayub's daughter served him well. He sat in the National Assembly for some years and after his defeat in the 1980s, he won back his seat in 1993.²⁷ Relations between the government of Pakistan and Swat State had been cordial since 1947 and were further strengthened by these family ties so that they were "remarkably amicable."²⁸ "Today the Yusufzai give their name to the well-nigh

autonomous central government which is not only recognized by Pakistan but is said to be connected with President Ayub Khan through marriage in the Ruler's family."²⁹ The historian Ayesha Jalal has remarked about the family ties:

In a typically Pakistani all-in-the-family twist to politics, the president's estranged younger brother, Sardar Bahadur Khan, who headed the Muslim League's parliamentary party in the West Pakistan assembly before the coup, became leader of the opposition in the assembly. The rift between the two brothers was personal, not political. They had fallen out when Ayub Khan married his daughter Nasim to the Wali of Swat's heir instead of Sardar Bahadur's son, to whom she had been promised. Tall, round-faced, and sporting a brushed-up moustache, Sardar Bahadur was the spitting image of his elder brother. Objecting to Ayub's rejection of a more open political system but using his relationship with the president for political advantage, he provided loyal opposition rather than a real threat to the regime.³⁰

When the Basic Democracy Order was introduced by Ayub in 1959, it was also extended to the Frontier States including Swat State. As a result, when it came into effect the following year, the last Wali was able to nominate members to the Basic Democracy Councils created by the system.³¹ As Swat valley offered great potential for tourism the family relations between the families played a role in the promotion of tourism in the State. The visit of Queen Elizabeth II (1926-2022) in the winter of 1961 received worldwide media coverage and made people in the country aware of the unmatched beauty of Swat.³² How the visit of the Queen to Swat came about was recorded by the last Wali in these words:

The President, Field Marshal Ayub, went on an unofficial visit to England in 1960. While dining at Windsor - the story was told to me by my son Aurangzeb, who was there - Ayub, suggested that the Queen make an official visit to Pakistan. So suddenly Prince Philip jumped in and said: "Provided you take us to Swat!" That was the reason they came here, on the 7th of February 1961.³³

Swat Museum is one of the finest of its kind in Pakistan. The museum was inaugurated by Ayub on 10 November 1963.³⁴ In the summer of 1952, the All-Pakistan 4th Science Conference was also held in Swat. A Joint Meeting of Eminent Scientists was also held at Saidu Sharif.³⁵ Another meeting of scientists was held there in August 1965 and it was inaugurated by Ayub Khan. Dr. Mohammad Abdus Salam (1926-1996), the 1979 Nobel Prize recipient, participated as well.³⁶ In 1967, Ayub visited Jordan and was accompanied by his daughter, Naseem

Aurangzeb.³⁷ On that visit she was taken to a girl's orphanage. Subsequently, she asked her father-in-law to provide a building for a proposed shelter house in Saidu Sharif. In 1968, he duly arranged for a building near Central Hospital to serve as an orphanage. He agreed to be the patron-in-chief and Naseem Aurangzeb became president of the institute. It was given the Arabic name *Maskan* (Abode).³⁸ On 5 October 1968, Ayub wrote in his diary, he "visited the orphanage for girls" his "daughter Naseem has established in Saidu...meant to cater for about 50 girls...She has received a lot of donations from different people and she keeps on collecting more. I have donated Rs 15, 000 and have promised another Rs 50, 000."³⁹ After Naseem Aurangzeb's death, her son Miangul Adnan Aurangzeb (1960-2022), assumed responsibility for the institute.⁴⁰ To this day (2023) it provides shelter to a number of orphan girls. In 1964, a bridge over Swat River was constructed and was named Ayub Bridge.⁴¹ Naseem Aurangzeb accompanied her father on a number of state visits including to the United States of America and was "the *de facto* first lady of Pakistan" during her father's time in office.⁴²

Ayub Khan was extensively photographed in Swat State and the photos are available in the Miangul Collection.⁴³ Besides, such pictures can be frequently seen on a number of social media pages manifesting Ayub's closeness with the royal family of Swat. In a comparison of the Last Wali and Ayub "the Wali, like President Ayub, was certainly an autocrat, although otherwise scrupulously honest and benevolent."⁴⁴ Ayub who used to stay in Swat, especially during the hot summer months, also set up "Camp President's Camp Saidu Sharif" and from there corresponded with world leaders.⁴⁵ He recorded in his *Diary* on 5 October 1968:

I intended staying in Swat for a week as a break and be with my grandchildren. Two of my daughters are married here. The Wali is also very kind and hospitable. He attends to his own work and leaves me alone, so I can do a good deal of reading apart from sightseeing. The drives into the valleys around here are fascinating.⁴⁶

Ayub even received dignitaries of foreign countries in Swat.⁴⁷ "The Pakistan Army sought permission to launch [Operation] Grand Slam [in 1965] but could not get a decision for a number of days" as Ayub had "taken off for Swat from where he sent a signed instruction with Bhutto [Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979), Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1963-1966 and 1971-1977] for both the army chief and the foreign minister" asking them to "take such action that will de-freeze the Kashmir problem, weaken Indian resolve, and bring her to the conference table without provoking a general war."⁴⁸ "Having given the go-ahead to

[Operation] Gibraltar⁴⁹ he removed himself to Swat hoping to keep the Indians in ignorance of the scope and purpose of the operation.”⁵⁰ Bhutto wrote that “when Indian forces were busy in aggression against Pakistan, Ayub Khan was playing golf in Swat.” Bhutto went to Swat to meet Ayub and encountered him at the residence of the last Wali. Both Bhutto and the Wali asked Ayub to give orders to retaliate against Indian aggression. Ayub responded by saying that “You (Bhutto) go now and tell Musa to take suitable action for retaliation.”⁵¹

On the domestic front, Ayub Khan believed the last Wali had made “many signs of progress and prosperity” in the state and “the Wali has done a lot for his people.”⁵² He admired the Walis for the “traditional old Pathan style” when “the guests and the servants all sat at the same table and had the same food”, “demonstrating the basic equality in Muslim society.”⁵³ The grandson of the last Wali, Miangul Adnan Aurangzeb, thought that after the merger of the other princely states in Pakistan in 1954 (with the exception of the Frontier States), the Wali felt the strain of governing in the light of the prevailing political situation in the country. His signing of the Supplementary Instrument of Accession in 1954 and the vague and indecisive policy of the government towards the princely states had its impact on him. However, with Ayub’s elevation to power in 1958, the strain lessened and he accelerated the pace of modernization and development in the state.⁵⁴ After Ayub was removed from office on 25 March 1969, he preferred a “very quiet and restful life.”⁵⁵

Ayub had cordial relationship with the last Wali, and while he occasionally made suggestions on issues and policies, he ultimately respected the autonomy of the state and did not interfere in its internal affairs. One such issue was the large state expenditure on the army. The Wali commented:

Someone once asked me, I think it was Field Marshal Ayub Khan Why are you keeping an army of six thousand? There is no war you can fight with a foreign country, and no chance of war with Dir anymore?” But it was wise to employ those people in the State to give them jobs: they felt honoured, and the State had free labour. And as for commissions, people felt honoured to become a jamadar and subedar; giving them such posts was a way to appease the Khans, and the Sayyeds and Mians. Even in Britain in the nineteenth century, ranks used to be sold for considerable sums of money, to obtain such honours. It is the same idea, basically. And they had their weapons in their official capacity, and were confirmed in positions of authority.

With a land tenure system such as used to be practised among Pakhtuns, it was particularly simple to obtain land for public works.⁵⁶

The Wali also suggested certain measures to the President of Pakistan that he considered advisable, though he acted according to his own judgment.⁵⁷ He maintained a lenient attitude towards Swat and preferred to maintain the *status quo*. One such example was the handing over of absconders to the Pakistani justice system. The Wali stated:

In that Instrument of Accession (signed in 1954), we formally surrendered defence, foreign affairs, communication, and monetary standard to Pakistan. It did not change very much, because with British India we were limited in the same ways, and Pakistan did not move in to take over everything. Even with the British, there was a similar written agreement. It specified that we would be friendly to the government, and that we would surrender all the outlaws, and that we would not seek to extend our borders beyond the agreed limits. There was one point which my father and I did not register at the time: about not harbouring absconders from the settled areas. But afterwards, he put his foot down, and he never surrendered an absconder. He said this is *melmastia* (hospitality), a sort of refuge they have sought here. We will extract an undertaking from them that they will not raid the settled area from here, or misbehave. But as regards surrendering them, that is against Pukhtunwali, the Pathan code of honour. We never did that. Never in my time either, with Pakistan. President Ayub Khan said to me: "This is not good, with these absconders and so on coming here." I countered: "It is very simple: we will make a reciprocal agreement that if our absconders go to you, you will surrender them to us, then we will do the same to you." He said: "Our laws are different, and your law is different. You may mistreat them." I said: "All right: when you surrender absconders to us, we will make a joint commission of myself and the Political Agent to see that nothing wrong is done to such a person. After all - if a Swati Pakistani kills a Swati Pakistani in Swat, is it right that he can take refuge in Pakistan?" By arguments like that, nothing more came of it!⁵⁸

On the Pakhtunistan issue, the Wali said, "I told both Iskander Mirza, and Ayub Khan: if there was a referendum, "Pakhtunistan" would never win. Internationally, it would be very difficult, since it would seem as if Pakistan was willing to give away sovereignty - but if there was a plebiscite, in Afghanistan and in the Frontier Province, we would never join them, though they might vote to

join us!” The reply of Iskander Mirza and Muhammad Ayub Khan was that, “We cannot offer that, because it would be like recognizing their claim.”⁵⁹ Wali Sahib argued that, “When they had made the arrangement, they came for my blessing. Throughout those years, I would say we had very good relations. He was very kind to me. But in one way or another he did not want anything that could be understood as criticism. If I suggested something to him, he would not like it.”⁶⁰

It is a popular perception that Swat State was not merged with Pakistan in the 1950s like the other princely states (with the exception of the Frontier States) due to the fact that it was “linked with Ayub Khan” who was accused of “keeping the State for his own benefit, for his daughter and his son-in-law who would inherit it.” It was also said that when Ayub left the presidency, “the State will go too.”⁶¹ According to the Wali, he had also in mind that the State would end “one day, may be tomorrow, maybe the day after, maybe after one year...” The safety that was derived from the family ties with “President Ayub was equivocal”, the Wali had “little danger” from Ayub as it was certain to him that under “the pressure of public opinion against him because of his connection with us, he might also have felt he had to do this merging - but in a dignified manner.”⁶²

The voices of democratization in Swat dates back to the time when the All-Pakistan State Muslim League was established in the Princely states after partition. The demand for responsible government in Swat also started as in the rest of the Frontier States.

The talk of reform was in most cases driven by those who wished to have a political say in Swat but were unable to do so due to the popularity and strong control of the Wali. But various stakeholders kept building pressure on the Wali to reform. The Wali managed to delay any serious discussion on democratic reforms partly due to the fact he was the son-in-law of General Ayub, the President of Pakistan during that time. This helped the Wali exercise power without any serious repercussions as the State of Pakistan kept out Swat’s business.⁶³

At the end of 1968, when countrywide protests erupted against Ayub, students in Swat had the opportunity to express their uneasiness. A procession was taken out in support of their demands and protestors raised slogans against the ruler and the prevailing system. The police resorted to *lathi* charges and a number of students were injured, arrested and others were fined. The protests proved to be “a turning point in the history of the Swat State.”⁶⁴ The Jama’at-i-Islami, which took a leading role in organizing protest movements in the country was in fact “one of

the strongest opponents of Ayub Khan's government."⁶⁵ In Swat too, along with other organizations, the Jama'at was very active. About the anti-Ayub protests in the country, and its repercussions on the state, the Wali wrote:

All over Pakistan, the students were agitating against President Ayub Khan, and people came and spread their poison here too, and started agitating against me. I called the students together and asked: "What is your demand?" "To remove the Principal". "All right." And we should have this and that". I said: "But there is no fee charged you!" And they said: "The hostel fee should also be waived!" I said: "These are personal matters connected with your education. We will solve them." But when they started saying: "And you should increase the pay of the Police, and you should discontinue this tax and that tax ..." I said: "These are political questions; I am not willing that YOU should put pressure on me for that." So, I closed the College, for two months. But now after the merger, whenever agitation starts in Peshawar University, it spreads here also.⁶⁶

He further elaborated:

Strong agitation against Field Marshal Ayub started in October 1968 and gained momentum quickly. By the middle of January 1969, people were sure he would abdicate, or be thrown out. As we were linked with him by marriage, people started thinking that when he goes, they will go. This feeling spread, even though my own administration. If I ordered something, they just did not care very much; they said: "Yes Sir, yes Sir", but they did not act on it. So, I was losing my grip on the officials - not the people, but the officials. And those officials were smiling, thinking there were only a few days left, and so on. Under those circumstances I approached the then Political Agent, and also General Akbar Khan, who was Intelligence Officer in the Army - and later became Ambassador in the U.K., where he died. I also consulted a few other friends. I said to them: "You should tell Yahya Khan (who took over from Ayub Khan as President of Pakistan in March 1969) to take over the State." If one cannot rule properly, it is better to retire honourably. The Political Agent, Doctor Humayun Khan (who is now ambassador in Bangladesh), was very friendly to me. And when I told him to try to have the State merged, he said: "No Sir, no Sir - not in my time!" I said: "If it is going to be merged, then it is better that it should be in your time, because you are my friend and it would be a peaceful transfer of power." If I had to deal with someone else who was not friendly, he might think and report to the Government that I was obstructing their action. One must always seek to judge the actual circumstances, and then find the best way under those circumstances.⁶⁷

It was argued that as Ayub's two daughters were married into the state's royal family, it managed to survive as an independent entity until 1969.⁶⁸ The Wali was fully aware of this fact and wrote:

President Ayub used to tell me: "I would merge Dir today. But that would affect you and that is why I am not doing it!" I said: "Please, don't think of merger. You can order the Nawab to make a certain number of schools. And if he does not make the schools, the Government can go ahead and make schools, without taking a penny from his State revenues. But you should insist that there should be schools and hospitals for the people!" "No, I can't do that, for if he refuses, as I have committed myself it would be necessary to take strong action..."⁶⁹

The anthropologist Frederik Barth stated, "The interests of Swat State depended on the Wali's relationship to Ayub" and "only a few friendships, to higher echelon civil servants in Pakistan, seem to have survived from the Wali's youth by never having been subject to the strains of political necessity..."⁷⁰ Charles Lindholm, the anthropologist who also studied Swati society, supported that contention:

During Ayub Khan's presidency in Pakistan (1958-1969), great favor was shown to the Swati royal family. Since two of Ayub's daughters were married to sons of the Wali and, in 1966, President Ayub declared that the Wali was henceforth to be addressed as "His Highness" and given a fifteen-gun salute at all official occasions. The Wali and his family, however, were soon to fall from this pinnacle. Tied closely to the rule of Ayub, the Swati royal family was associated with Ayub when he was deposed in 1969. Popular reaction against the royal states Ayub had favoured led to the full incorporation of the principalities of Swat, Dir, Chitral, and Amb into the nation as parts of the newly formed Malakand agency. The Wali was pensioned off and a Deputy Commissioner took his place. The Badshah's dynasty had lasted only two generations.⁷¹

He also asserted, "The Badshah (the first Wali of Swat) only managed to maintain his central position with the help of the colonial power and, later, with the aid of President Ayub."⁷² After his dismissal from office, Ayub commented in his *Diary* on 1 April 1969, about the deteriorating situation in Swat:

The Wali too had a spate of troubles starting with the students leading to defiance by some people whom he had nursed for so long. But it is quiet now and people are coming to him in hoards owing allegiance. But the writing on the wall is clear. Personal rule is no longer fashionable in these times of individuals and agitators. He

will be wise in making necessary changes and shedding power gradually before opposition mounts up.⁷³

When Ayub was removed from power:

The royal family of Swat offered him refuge, and suffered in consequence of their close relationship with the deposed national leader. Popular reaction in Pakistan against Ayub Khan was combined with agitation against the last Wali of Swat and it resulted in the merger of Swat State with Pakistan". Thus "the short-lived dynasty of the Badshah came to an end, and a deputy commissioner took over the Wali's place. Factionalism once more returned as the order of the day, now that the total power of the Wali had been replaced by a manipulable democratic state."⁷⁴

It can be safely asserted that "Miangul Jahanzeb's close relations with the politicians at the helms of affairs in Pakistan also had its impact on the future scenario of the State. More importantly the Wali's family relations with Ayub Khan, the then President of Pakistan further delayed the merger of the State."⁷⁵ According to Ayub's granddaughter, Anila Adnan, "The demise of the Swat state was provoked by the resignation of Pakistani President Ayub Khan in 1969, the father of the wives of two of the Wali's sons. At that time, Swat formally acceded to join the Republic of Pakistan."⁷⁶

With Ayub's fall, the ruling family of Swat also suffered as the political campaign against Ayub in the country was combined with agitation within Swat against the last Wali. It led to full incorporation of Swat with Pakistan.⁷⁷ Prior to the merger of the Frontier States, the Chief-of-Staff to General Yahya Khan (1917-1980), General Pirzada, informed the Wali about the merger of the state and that it would be announced on 28 July 1969. It is also argued that the tense relations between Miangul Aurangzeb and General Pirzada played its part in the merger.⁷⁸ "Once General Ayub left power, General Yahya announced the merger of the State of Swat, Dir and Chitral with Pakistan. It is said that General Yahya was reluctant to have this merger but his hand was forced by his Chief-of-Staff, General Pirzada."⁷⁹ The announcement of the merger was made on 28 July 1969.⁸⁰ The *Pakistan Times* wrote the following day:

The President [Yahya Khan] said: I would like to make a mention of a subject that has agitated the minds of our people for some time. I refer here to the status of the Frontier States of Chitral, Dir and Swat. I am happy to announce that my Administration has decided that the time has come to merge the states of Chitral, Dir and Swat in West Pakistan. I

have already issued instructions to all concerned to work out the detailed arrangements in this behalf.

Merely four months after Yahya's *coup*, Swat State was merged with Pakistan along with the other Frontier States. In the words of the Wali, "we were close to Ayub Khan, so by his end our end came."⁸¹ Some believed that after Ayub was removed from power, the Wali considered the visits of ex-President Ayub to Swat to be harmful to its continued existence.⁸² However, the *Diaries of Muhammad Ayub Khan* negates this notion and shows that the relations were smooth even after the collapse of his regime. In March 1969, he visited Swat and recorded the following month:

Started for Swat where I intend staying with Naseem and Aurangzeb...I hope to be able to rest, do some reading and have an opportunity of playing with my grandchildren. In any case Swat is a heavenly place to stay in and especially during the spring when the blossoms are out...reached Saidu Sharif midday, had lunch with the Wali, rested in the afternoon and went out for a walk.⁸³

He also provided an insight into the events that took place just after the merger of the state. On 30 July 1969 he observed:

Naturally he [Wali Sahib] is upset about the merger though he has been talking it over with the authorities. I think his real grouse was that this announcement was not made without making reasonable arrangements for his safety in case people rose against him. In fact, what happened was that the people took just the opposite view. They felt that their fate was decided without consulting them. Besides they had never been under outside rule since the times of Alexander the Great so there were demonstrations in favour of the Wali. I think it is fear of the unknown that is worrying them. They are used to a certain way of life. They are afraid of changes which may be to their disadvantage. I warned the Wali against allowing the situation to get out of hand. There is marital law and it would not do any good to the people or the Wali. The thing has to be taken calmly and people's point of view represented to the authorities should they be in a listening mood.⁸⁴

He further wrote, "On 31st July 1969, there were a lot of commotion and demonstration in Mingora and Saidu. These people had gathered from all parts of Swat and Buner to protest against the merger decision. The Political Agent asked Wali Sahib that he must do everything to stop the protests and Martial Law was imposed in the country and that 'the army was put on two hours' notice to march if necessary. Resultantly, Wali Sahib sent messages that the demonstrations

must stop. The last Wali of Swat however told the demonstrators that they could send their petitions to the Government, if they wish to. About 25,000 petitions were sent to General Yahya Khan till 31st July 1969 and the post offices were full to its capacity. Wali Sahib ensured that the people remain calm and peaceful. The people wanted Wali Sahib to face them and to get consoled.”⁸⁵ Ayub Khan interestingly mentions that, “during the agitation against him (last Wali of Swat), he even offered to pressmen to publish his side of the story. But they refused, they said they could write anything against him for nothing, but nothing in his favour for anything. Those were the instructions from the administration. I have heard that similar instructions have been issued about me and my regime.”⁸⁶

In a comparison of pre- and post-merger Swat, Dervla Murphy wrote, “since my last visit (to Swat State) a lot of water had passed turbulently under Pakistan’s political bridges. In 1963 Swat’s legal status was that of a princely state within Pakistan: the Central Government had a right to intervene only on foreign policy and the Wali administered justice according to custom, Islamic law and his own common sense-which was abundant.”⁸⁷ The author continued, “I had stayed with Aurangzeb and his wife Naseem, eldest daughter of the late Field Marshal Ayub Khan, who was then at the height of his power as Pakistan’s benevolent military dictator. And I had been impressed by the efficiency of Swat’s non-bureaucratic administration and by the state’s comparatively high level of prosperity.”⁸⁸

Post-merger family ties also had its repercussions on the fate of the royal family. Miangul Aurangzeb in an interview with a television channel said that he had very cordial relations with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto but when he came out in opposition to Ayub his relations with him became strained. The last Wali was exiled from Swat during the elections of 1970. Miangul Aurangzeb further said that Bhutto exacted revenge from the deposed royal family by weakening their hold on their ancestral lands.⁸⁹ After assuming power as Chief Martial Law Administrator in 1971, Bhutto “decided to move against the princes.” According to historian, Yaqoob Khan Bangash:

More so, his recent adversary, Ayub Khan, had married his daughter to the son of Wali of Swat, and so something had to be done. Therefore, in 1972, using his almost dictatorial powers as president abolished the titles, rights, and privileges of the princes through the Abolition of Privy Purses and Privileges Order, 1972. Shortly, thereafter, most of the princes were granted what was now called a ‘maintenance allowance’ which was in fact, the same amount of money they had

received as Privy Purse. The small, yet in some ways, significant, change was that the princes no longer had the 'right' to a privy purse, but were given an 'allowance' through the generosity of the government.⁹⁰

Conclusion

Muhammad Ayub Khan developed friendly relations with the Walis of Swat in the pre-partition era by frequently visiting the State for recreation. His two daughters marrying the last Wali's sons further strengthened these ties. These familial ties had positive effects on Swat's governance before the merger. It not only improved working relationships at the individual level but also at the governmental level. This sound footing facilitated the last Wali in ruling with a firm grip in the 1960s. When the anti-Ayub protests gained momentum in the country, however, they had an impact on Swat State as well. Following Ayub's removal from power, Swat State remained independent for four months before it was merged with Pakistan on July 28, 1969.

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³Altaf Hussain used the word 'Shahzada' for the Mianguls in *ibid.* For details see the illustrations.

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⁵Hussain, *The Story of Swat*, p. xlv.

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⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁹For details about the *Wazir* Brothers, see *ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 26- 27.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁶Muhammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 35.

¹⁷Miangul Aurangzeb interview with Geo Television Channel, Program Jawab Deyh, <https://youtu.be/fDefqB1TBO>. (Accessed 10 December, 2022).

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- ²²*Ibid.*, p. 183.
- ²³*Ibid.*
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- ⁴⁰Anila Adnan, “The After-school Extracurricular Needs of Swat’s College Girls”, MA Thesis, Department of International Relations, University of Oregon, 2018, pp. 61-62.
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⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

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⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 131

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