

# THE LIFE AND STRUGGLES OF SHAKIR BUNERI

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores the political life and struggle of Shakir Buner (1940–2024) from Bajkata village, Buner district. Son of the esteemed scholar Muhammad Yousaf, Buner opposed the autocratic rule of Wali Swat, Mia Gul Jahan Zeb, and played a significant role in the merger of Swat State. Known as the first Buner journalist, he contributed to various newspapers and journals. The study examines Buner's political activism during the Wali Swat era (1960–2003), including his exile in 1963 and subsequent alliances with Pakistani political leaders. His enduring political efforts highlight his resistance against autocracy and commitment to democratic reforms until his death in 2024.

## INTRODUCTION

The political culture of Pakistan is multi-dimensional having conservative, liberal and democratic tendencies. Majority of its population is sensitive to different religious, regional, national and global issues. Hence the political leadership of Pakistan has been in a position to mobilize its masses easily, some in the name of religion and the other through propagation regional, national and international issues. The socio-economic and socio-political factors have been in function behind this phenomenon. Some of the political figures have much affected the regional political history of Pakistan. One of them is Shakir Buner. This research work is focused on the political biography of Shakir Buner, which covers around 60 years of his political life.

## 2. Significance of the Study

Shakir Buner has been a prominent figure in the political history of Buner as well as in Pakistan. He left an everlasting effect not only in the politics of Buner but Pakistan as a whole. Shakir Buner is an eyewitness of different governments, dictatorships and democratic rules. He is an active member in the activities of different nationwide movements like Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and Islami

Jamhuri Itihad (IJI). He established relations with the political leadership of Khyber Pukhtoon khwa as well as Pakistan. He is appointed on key posts of different political parties and their Organizations. As Shakir Buner has a key role in the regional politics, that's why the researcher has made an attempt to highlight that.

## 3. Review of Literature

The primary source which helped to complete this research is an Article of Master Shahid Buner (گرگ (باران دیدہ). It was written in August 2017 in Urdu language. It is not published in any newspaper or journal till now. This Article contains a lot of information about the life and struggle of Shakir Buner. In this Article every aspect of Shakir Buner is discussed in detail.

Another primary source which helped to complete this research work, is a book

ریاست سوات اور اس کا حکمران، میرے ماضی اور حال کے "انینہ میں". This book was written by Shakir Buner in 1969. This book contains personal information of Shakir Buner in detail. It also provides a lot of information about struggle and activities against the Swat State, clashes between Wali Swat and Shakir Buner and the role of Shakir Buner in the merger of Swat State.

The another source which helped to complete in this research , a book which is written by Dr. Sultan I Rome in the name of "ریاست سوات 1915 تا 1969". This book covers the emerging of Swat State , expansion of Swat State and merger of Swat State into Pakistan. This book contains on 15 chapters, in which the 11 number chapters provides the detail information about the merger of swat State into Pakistan. In this chapter different movements and Propagandas are discussed which started against the Wali of Swat State.

#### Public opinion:

The public opinion about the mention book written by Shakir Bunerri basically is a type of apology to Wali Swat. The people said that Shakir Bunerri regretted his struggle and movement against Wali Swat and his ruling.

#### Opinion of Shakir Bunerri:

Shakir Bunerri said that the mention book was not written by him. There was no contribution of him in publication of this book. The book was published by the then ruler of Swat State in 1969. Shakir Bunerri rejected the opinion of people about this book and said that the people attributed this book to him. After the merger of Swat State, in 1970 a meeting was organized by the students of Jahanzeb College Swat in Grossy Ground. In this meeting the people of swat, Shangla and Buner participated. Shakir Bunerri was also invited in to the meeting. The stage secartery of this meeting was Sher Muhammad, who belong to Mian Dam Swat and he was also the president of the student union of Jahanzeb College Swat at that time. He invited Shakir Bunerri to come to stage and share his thoughts about the book which was attributed to him by the people. Shakir Bunerri said about the book that I am not the writer of this book. At that time the name of "Faizan" (Katib of Wali Swat) was written on the front page of this book. Thus in 1970 Shakir Bunerri disowned the book which was attributed to him by the people.

#### 4. Statement of the Problem

The statement of the problem is "Life and Struggle of Shakir Bunerri".

#### 5. Methodology

The following method is used for data collection to complete this research.

#### • Primary Source

In the Primary Source, the interview schedule was used for data collection.

#### • Secondary Source

In the Secondary Source different Books, Articles and Internet have been used for data collection.

#### 6. Research Questions

- What are the family background, early life and education of Shakir Bunerri?
- What were the clashes between Wali Swat and Shakir Bunerri?
- Why Shakir Bunerri was exiled by Wali Swat?
- What is the role of Shakir Bunerri in the merger of Swat State?
- What was the political struggle of Shakir Bunerri during Wali Swat era 1960 to 1969?
- What were the political struggle of Shakir Bunerri in the politics of Khyber Pukhtoon khwa and as well as Pakistan from 1970 to 2003?
- What is the role of Shakir Bunerri in the field of journalism?

#### 7. Objectives of the Research

- To know about the family background, early life and education of Shakir Bunerri.
- To know about the clashes between Wali Swat and Shakir Bunerri.
- To know about the role of Shakir Bunerri in the merger of Swat State.
- To know about the role of Shakir Bunerri in the politics of Khyber Pukhtoon khwa as well as Pakistan (1960 to 2003).
- To know about the relations of Shakir Bunerri with Bacha Khan and his family , Pushto poets and political leaders of different political parties of Pakistan.
- To know about the relations of Shakir Bunerri with Jamaat-i-Islami and National Awami Party in detail.
- To know about the role of Shakir Bunerri in the field of journalism.

#### 8. Chapterization

The researcher divided the whole research into four chapters. Chapter No One is about the "Biography of Shakir Bunerri". Chapter No Two is about "Shakir Bunerri's role in the merger of Swat State". Chapter No Three is about Shakir Bunerri's role in Anti-Swat Movements". Chapter No Four is about "Shakir Bunerri as a Politician".

**Biography of Shakir Buner****1.1 Introduction.**

Shakir Buner is a prominent political thinker, intellectual, well experienced and revolutionary personality in the history of Buner. He is one of the wise and clever politician of Buner district. He is a keen observer of different governments and dictatorships of his time. He has been an active member of different nationwide movements like PNA (Pakistan National Alliance), MRD (Movement of Restoration for Democracy) and IJI (Islami Jamhori Itihad). He remained on important positions of various political parties and their organisations, Such as Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Nizam i Islam Party (NIP), Tehreek i Istiqlal (TI), National Democratic Party (NDP), United Democratic Front (UDF) and National Awami Party (NAP).<sup>1</sup>

His life consists of two important aspects: one is journalism and the other is politics.

**1.2 Family Background of Shakir Buner.**

Shakir Buner belongs to a respectable and religious family of Buner district. The name of his grandfather was Amir Hassan Khan, who belonged to the tribe of Akhon Khail in Buner district. And he held the post of Qazi in the court of Swat State. Shakir Buner's father's name was Muhammad Yousaf. He

was a great scholar and Mufti of his time. Shakir Buner has a brother namely "Atta ur Rahman" who is an Advocate by profession. Shakir Buner has two sons: Khaleeq ur Rahman and Ubaid ur Rahman.<sup>2</sup>

**1.3 Maulana Mufti Muhammad Yousaf (Late).**

Mufti Mohammed Yousaf was a great scholar, thinker, Mufti and devoted personality. He went to Darul Uloom Amenia Delhi in 1932 to acquire religious education. He spent almost seven years in receiving of religious knowledge in Darul Uloom Amenia Delhi. Maulana Muhammad Yousaf read books of Ahadith "Saheeh Bukhari and Sunan Tirmidhi Sharif" from the great Scholar and Mufti "Moulana Muhammad Kifayat Ullah". When he settled in Buner, he read out the books of Maulana Maududi Sahib. Initially was not a permanent member of Jamaat-i-Islami, but later on he was impressed from the writings of Moulana Moudodi Sahib and ideology and struggle of Jamaat-i-Islami. He also remained on the post of Qazi in the court of Swat State for almost three years. He was dismissed from the post of Qazi due to his association with Jamat-i-Islami. In 1950 he was appointed as a Mufti and Muhtamim in Darul Uloom Haqaniya Akora Khattak, after his dismissal from the judiciary.



Fig 1.1 Mufti Muhammad Yousaf Sahib (Late)

#### 1.4 Thoughts of Maulana Sami ul Haq (Late)

Maulana Sami ul Haq (Late) used to count Mufti Muhammad Yousaf Sahib as one of his teachers. He said that Mufti Mohammed Yousaf Sahib served in Darul Uloom Haqaniya Akora Khattak for almost fourteen years as a teacher and preacher. According to his saying Mufti Muhammad Yousaf was so impressed by the writings of Maulana Maududi, that Mufti Muhammad Yousaf became his advocate, spokesperson and interpreter. These grounds became the reason that he left the Darul Uloom Haqaniya Akora Khattak in 1964. After leaving Darul Uloom Haqaniya Akora Khattak, Mufti Muhammad Yousaf started teaching in Madrasa Hadeqat-ul- Uloom Peshawar. And he continued to perform teaching there until the end of his life.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1.5 literary works of Mufti Muhammad Yousaf (Late).

Mufti Muhammad Yousaf (Late) wrote many books, but the most popular of them is the book he wrote in response to objections against Maulana Maududi Sahib. The name of this book

is "Analytical review of objections on Maulana Maududi "

(مولانا مودودی پر اعتراضات کا علمی جائزہ).

This book has been published in two parts having more than 800 pages. Along with this popular book Mufti Muhammad Yousaf has written many famous books, Magazines and Articles. The names are listed below:

1: "اسلام اور ضبط تولید".

2: "اسلام میں رجم کی سزا".

3: "قضائے عمری کے شرعی حیثیت".

4: "دیوبند کے رسالے میں شائع ہونے والے مضامین اور

جوابی مضامین".<sup>5</sup>

Mufti Muhammad Yousaf passed away in 1994 in his native village Bajkata in Buner district. Although Shakir Buner's family was a religious family and his father was a great scholar and Mufti but no one in his family acquired religious knowledge. And especially Shakir Buner become a politician nor scholar.<sup>6</sup>



### 1.6 Early life and education of Shakir Buner .

Shakir Buner was born on 3rd April 1940 in Bajkata , a village in Buner district. His real name is “ Hidayat ur Rahman ” but common people know him by the name of Shakir Buner. It has two reasons : firstly when he was against the state of Swat , Wali Sahib brutalized him too much and put him in jail. On which the common people use to say that he is grateful and happy about it. The secondly he would use the name Shakir Buner in different newspapers , magazines and articles in place of his real name.<sup>7</sup> His early life has been spent in extreme poverty and hardships in terms of food, clothing and housing.<sup>8</sup>

Shakir Buner received his early education informally in his village. In 1955 he got his education up to matric from the Government High School Dagger Buner. When he was in 9th class , he was awarded the honor of teaching by the state government at a salary of 46 rupees.<sup>9</sup> He passed F.A exam privately due to his imprisonment.<sup>10</sup>

Once on the order of Wali Swat , his soldiers raided the house of Shakir Buner. And took the important documents and certificates of Shakir Buner and handed over to the Wali of Swat.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.7 Teachers of Shakir Buner .

Shakir Buner had a lot of devotion and attachment with his two school teachers. One was the Head Master “ Abdul Farid “ who belonged to Swat and the other was “ Faridon Khan “ who belonged to the famous village Shalbandi in Buner district. Faridon Khan sent his name to “ Sayyid Yousaf Ali Shah “ , who was the then Educational Director of Swat State for Junior Vernacular (JV) training. And Head Master Abdul Farid advised him to get more education.<sup>12</sup>

### 1.8 Shakir Buner as a teacher .

Shakir Buner was appointed as a teacher by the state government while he was still a student of class 9th. He used to teach as a teacher in Government High School Gagra Buner. From a very early age , Shakir Buner was against the autocratic rule of Mian Gul Abdul Wadood (ruled from September 1918 to 12 December 1949), and his son Mian Gul Jahan Zeb (ruled from 12 December 1949 to 28 July 1969).

He often used to spoke against the policies of the then Swat State , in the school. Due to this he was transferred to Government Middle School

Chanar Buner as a punishment.<sup>13</sup> When Shakir Buner went to Swat for receiving the salary of his five months of service. So Wali Swat gave him extra 500 rupees along with his salary , on which educational director Sayyid Yousaf Ali Shah intervened that he is against the state writ. But Wali Swat ignored his opinion and gave him 500 rupees and also sent him to Haripur for Junior Vernacular (JV) training.<sup>14</sup>

### 1.9 Shakir Buner as a journalist and writer .

Apart from being a good politician Shakir Buner has been an excellent and great columnist , analyst and journalist. From very early age he used to writing in different journals and newspapers.<sup>15</sup> For the first time he wrote a column in “ Bang i Haram “ newspaper with the title of “ Ek Rupee Mein Ek Sall “ “ ایک روپیے میں ایک سال “ in that column he demanded the basic human rights and highlighted the political and constitutional issues of then Swat State.<sup>16</sup> Due to writing of this column Wali Swat terminated Shakir Buner from his job.<sup>17</sup>

### 1.10 Bang i Haram Newspaper .

Bang i Haram was one of the most popular newspaper of its time. It's owner and chief editor was “ Master Khan Gul Khattak “ (Late). This newspaper was published from Qissa Khwani Bazaar , Shaheen Press Peshawar. There are many other famous writers and journalists who wrote columns in this newspaper.<sup>18</sup>

Apart from this Shakir Buner continued to write and published columns in various newspapers like Nawa I waqat ( نوائے وقت ) , Kohistan ( کوہستان ) and Tajalli ( تجلی ). These newspapers were published from “ Lahore “ , “ Multan “ and “ Peshawar “ respectively.<sup>19</sup> Once upon Shakir Buner wrote an article in “ Asia “ (a journal of Jamaat-i Islami) about the merger of Swat State. Due to which Wali Swat put a great pressure on him and also his family members.<sup>20</sup> Wali Swat called on his father and uncle and advised them to get him married. At that time , Shakir Buner was in Multan and his marriage ceremony was performed in his absence.<sup>21</sup>

But it is a matter of affliction and surprising that none of his columns , newspaper clipping and statements have been preserved. It is not known why he did not pay attention to his artworks and were wasted. But one thing is quite clear that

Shakir Buner never used journalism as a source of earning. And he wrote about those things which were based on truth and reality.<sup>22</sup>

#### **1.11 Relations with Bacha Khan Family**

Shakir Buner had a great and deep relations with Bacha Khan ( Abdul Ghaffar Khan ) and his family. Bacha Khan called him leader not Shakir , and always fought for him with other family members . He met with Wali Khan , Ghani Khan and Begum Nasim Wali.<sup>23</sup> Bacha Khan also used to send letters to Shakir Buner.<sup>24</sup>

#### **1.12 Relations with Pushto Poets .**

Shakir Buner had a great attachment with poets of Pushto language and literature. He would sit in the company of famous Pushto Poets like Ajmal Khattak , Qalandar Momond , Ghani Khan and Rahmat Shah Sail etc. But he did not become a poet.<sup>25</sup>

#### **1.13 Views of Master Shahid Buner**

Shahid Sahib is a resident of Cheena village of Buner district. His pen name is Master Shahid Buner. He writes all the columns and newspaper statements under his pen name. He is an employee of Elementary and Secondary Education Department in Buner district. He has a close relationship with Shakir Buner. Both have known

each other for 35 years.<sup>26</sup> Shakir Buner is much older than Master Shahid Buner , but the style of friendship is of same age. If Master Shahid Buner do any mistake , Shakir Buner guides him well.<sup>27</sup> Master Shahid Buner says that when I was in 4th class , National Awami Party ( NAP) organized a meeting in our village. I sat on the ground like other children. Various political persons gave their speeches. Meanwhile , a short man wearing black glasses gave an emotional speech. Later I came to know that he was Shakir Buner.<sup>28</sup>

Shakir Buner used to stay out most of the nights in his youth . He does not believe in love affairs. Shakir Buner finds pleasing in listening sitar and staying awake all night. He doesn't have hatred and contempt for anyone. He believes that service to humanity is service to God.<sup>29</sup>

#### **1.14 Shakir Buner as a Speaker**

Being a journalist and politician Shakir Buner is a good speaker as well. Apart from a few politicians in Buner , Shakir Buner had the honor of speaking in rallies of different political parties. Everyone listened to his speech with attention. Shakir Buner liked political gatherings too much, he often attended and addressed these gatherings.<sup>30</sup>



**Fig 1.2 Shakir Buner speech to a Rally**

Shakir Buner is strongly against the beggars. Once he was sitting in a shop in sawari bazar. A beggar came and said “ I want to say something” . Shakir

Buner told him that he could say whatever he wanted except about begging. The beggar talked about begging again and again. Shakir Buner told

him to talk anything but not to talk about begging. At last the beggar disappointed and went away.<sup>31</sup> Once Shakir Buner and Shahid sahib were sitting in the ground of Dagger college. It was time for noon prayer. Shakir Buner often used to wear a hat on his head. Shahid sahib asked him for a topi to perform prayer with. Shakir Buner refused saying that he had already enough hair for a topi on his head then no need of wearing a topi for prayer.<sup>32</sup>

Master Shahid Buner says that during our school and college days, we used to have discussions and meetings at the newspaper shops or Dagger College ground. Master Shahid Buner said that as my respected teacher "Bahramand Saib" used to say that "The news and knowledge of newspapers are understood only by Shakir Buner, and the other people buy the newspapers just for hobby".<sup>33</sup>

Apart from this Master Shahid Buner says that it is not surprising that the new generation is not familiar with Shakir Buner's personality. But people familiar with right and left wing politics always believe and remember the personality of Shakir Buner as an intellectual politician and revolutionary spirits. Even though the young people immersed in the general newspapers and social media are not aware of the name of Shakir Buner. But his writings based on comments and analysis on political situations, judging and evaluating politics and society from different angles became a source of political and social consciousness for the common people.<sup>34</sup> Shakir Buner is an aged man of Eighty Three (83) years.<sup>35</sup>

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#### Shakir Buner's Role in Merger of Swat State

When Shakir Buner was in 9th class, the state government offered him teaching job. At that time his salary was 46 rupees. When he completed his five months of service, he went to Swat to receive his salary. Wali Swat Abdul Haq Jahanzeb gave an additional 500 rupees along with the salary and sent him for Junior Vernacular (J.V) training to Haripur.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 First Failure.

When Shakir Buner reached to HariPur for training, his series of failures started from there. The first thing that happened to Shakir Buner was that he kept criticizing and discussions on the Swat State's political situation in the training school, HariPur. In these discussions, a demand was made that the salaries of all the teachers of the Swat state should be increased. Therefore, all the teachers assigned a task to Shakir Buner. Later Shakir Buner published a portion of this demand in newspaper. In newspaper statement, Shakir Buner gave a threat to Wali Swat that "if it's demand not considered, then the teachers will be compelled to protest."<sup>2</sup> Wali Swat hated such demands, requests and newspaper statements. The demand of Shakir Buner and other teachers was not a crime but a request. As a result of this demand, Wali Swat called back Shakir Buner from the training school HariPur and suspended him from his post as a punishment for this crime.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.2 Reaction of his Father

When Shakir Buner returned his home from Saidu Sharif Swat, his father Mufti Muhammad Yusuf expressed his displeasure at his action. The next day, when his father wanted to go to Akora Khattak, Shakir Buner accompanied him to Sawari. On the way, Shakir Buner's father tried to make understand him and told him that "your actions are completely wrong, the result of these actions is only failure, so you must go and complete your course by apologizing to Wali Swat and get permission to go to HariPur again, it will be better for you".<sup>4</sup>

Shakir Buner listened to his father's advice with interest, but his mental immaturity and inexperience don't allow his father's advice. At that time, Shakir Buner promised his father that he would certainly try to satisfy the Wali Swat by appearing in his majesty.<sup>5</sup>

But when Shakir Buner's father went for his job to Darul Uloom Haqqania Akora Khattak, Shakir Buner met in such an environment that he did not get a chance to satisfy the Wali Swat.<sup>6</sup>

After a few days Shakir Buner made an intention to attend the service of Wali Swat, to provide him some information about his future. Whether they will always be suspended or there are any job opportunities available to Shakir Buner?. Therefore Shakir Buner submitted a written request through Mr. Fazal Wadood (Tehsildar,

Barikot Swat), and he appeared in the service of Wali Swat. There the Wali Swat referred Shakir Buner to Mr. Saiful Muluk Siddiqui (PA to Wali Swat) and he satisfied Shakir Buner and said that "You should sit comfortably in your home, when your fellows come back after completing the junior vernacular training your request will be considered".<sup>7</sup>

### 2.3 Second Failure.

The second failure which was made by Shakir Buner was that he wrote a letter to a wing of college students.<sup>8</sup> The wing contained the Students of Jahanzeb College, Swat.<sup>9</sup> In that letter, Shakir Buner gave an incentive to the students that the existence of the Swat State in its current form is not good for us. And for this we should work unitedly against it. In one of these students presented that letter to Wali Swat, and on this the preliminary arrest of Shakir Buner was carried out.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.4 Reaction of his Family

When the news of Shakir Buner's arrest came to his uncle Shams-ul-Arifin. At that time, he was a teacher in Government High School, Gagra. He reached Akora Khattak to Shakir Buner's father so that arrangements for Shakir Buner's release be made. From Akora Khattak, his father sent a request to Wali Swat for his son's release.<sup>11</sup>

Wali Swat sent a letter to Shakir Buner's father to come to Swat and try to bring his son to the right path. So that he would stop from his mistakes. If Shakir Buner's father appeared in the Wali Swat court and Wali Swat issued an order to release Shakir Buner without any bail.<sup>12</sup> Although the words used by Shakir Buner in this letter were extremely inappropriate. The crime of Shakir Buner was a serious crime and he was sentenced to three years imprisonment. But the sentence did not exceed forty days because of his father Mufti Muhammad Yousaf Sahib role.<sup>13</sup>

### 2.5 Meetings with Jamaat-i-Islami Members

When Shakir Buner was suspended from his teaching job and arrested once, three persons in Buner came forward against the state oppression. One was Hafiz Muhammad who was a doctor by profession, the other was Haji Rahmat Noor and the third was Haji Fazl Raziq sahib. All of them were impressed from the thoughts of Maulana Maududi Sahib. Hafiz Muhammad lost his one eye



in the hands of Wali Swat in the state resistance. Shakir Buner often met all three of them and made a plan for the future. Haji Fazal Raziq wished that Shakir Buner should join Jamaat-i-Islami, but it did not happen.<sup>14</sup>

### 2.6 Shakir Buner and Jamaat-i-Islami

Shakir Buner used to meet with members of Jamaat-i-Islami in Buner, but he was not in Jamaat-i-Islami ideologically. Rather, he was influenced by the discipline and struggle of Jamaat-i-Islami's organization. Even though this struggle is underground, it still organized its activities in Buner.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, among all the political organizations, Jamaat-i-Islami was the first victim of oppression in Swat. Jamaat-i-Islami has launched a propaganda campaign against totalitarianism in the country. Due to which the position of Swat was greatly damaged. Wali Swat arrested some workers of Jamaat-i-Islami and put them in jail. Some managed to escape. Arrested workers were later released, but the hatred remained.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.7 Third Failure.

The third failure which was made by Shakir Buner was that he joined the "Rorwali organization". When he was caught in the activities of the "Rorwali organization", he was presented before the Wali Swat. Wali Swat expressed his anger and said to Shakir Buner that "You have to choose one of these two options, accept me as ruler or exile".<sup>17</sup>

Shakir Buner agreed on exile and told Wali Swat that "When I come, you will not be there in the state". On the order of Wali Swat, Captain Amir Nawab took Shakir Buner in police custody at the check post in Landaky, and the gates of the state were closed on Shakir Buner.<sup>18</sup>

### 2.8 Rorwali Organization

At that time Jamaat-i-Islami organization were present in Pakistan, but it didn't work in the name of Jamaat-i-Islami in the Swat State. Because at that time Ayub Khan's government was in place and all political organizations and their activities were banned.<sup>19</sup>

Rorwali Organization was a regional organization which was limited to Buner and Swat only. There were some members of Jamaat-i-Islami in this organization in which included some people from

Buner as well as from Swat. The Rorwali Organization has continued its struggle and activities on the manifesto and purpose of Jamaat-i-Islami ideology. Even though it was an underground organization, it would organize such activities in which there was talk of the merger of the Swat State indirectly. Because of this, Shakir Buner has established a practical commitment to this organization and he was an active worker of this organization.<sup>20</sup>

### 2.9 After Exile

When Wali Swat exiled Shakir Buner from the Swat State, he reached Akora Khattak. There, his father Mufti Muhammad Yusuf Sahib Sahib used to teach in Madrasah Haqaniya Akora Khattak. Shakir Buner settled there and kept himself active in political activities. His statements were published in various newspapers and he used to express his emotions against Wali Swat. Shakir Buner used to meet various political organizations and political personalities in Akora Khattak.<sup>21</sup>

### 2.10 Shakir Buner and Haji Rahat Gul sahib

When Shakir Buner settled in Akora Khattak, Maulana Haji Rahat Gul, a friend of his father, was the Mahthamim of Jamia Islamia Akora Khattak. There was a school along with his seminary. Therefore, he appointed Shakir Buner as the Head Master in this school, because Shakir Buner was exiled by Wali Swat and suspended him from his teaching job.<sup>22</sup>

### 2.11 Next Plan of Shakir Buner

The political activities of Shakir Buner were continued in Akora Khattak. Many political and public figures were well aware of his activities. But Shakir Buner adopted a plan in Akora Khattak. He felt the need for such a nationwide organization or party, whose leadership was known throughout in Pakistan.<sup>23</sup>

### 2.12 Meeting with Chaudhary Muhammad Ali

Former Prime Minister of Pakistan Chaudhary Muhammad Ali who was the President of Nizam i Islam Party at that time. In Peshawar, the relations of Shakir Buner were established with him. Once Chaudhary Muhammad Ali said to Shakir Buner, "You are struggling against the Wali Swat and Swat State, you know that Ayub Khan has family ties with Wali Swat and he is the President of Pakistan, it is not possible that You will succeed in

your goal, so you should join a political party.” Actually, Chaudhary Muhammad Ali indirectly invited Shakir Bunerri to join his political party Nizam i Islam. Therefore, Shakir Bunerri accepted his invitation and joined the Nizam Islam Party. Due to his participation in this party, Shakir Bunerri became involved in the politics of Pakistan.<sup>24</sup>

### 2.13 General Secretary

After joining the Nizam i Islam Party, Chaudhary Muhammad Ali appointed Shakir Bunerri as the General Secretary of Peshawar District. And as the district General Secretary of this party, Shakir Bunerri used to participate in other provincial political organizations also.<sup>25</sup>

### 2.14 Clashes between Shakir Bunerri and his father

When Shakir Bunerri started his political activities in Akora Khattak and even his activities spread to Peshawar. His father was not in favor of these political activities. As a result, the clashes occurred between Shakir Bunerri and his father.<sup>25</sup>

### 2.15 Shakir Bunerri in Arifwala

Shakir Bunerri was the Head Master of a school in Akora Khattak, but he did not get any remuneration of his service. Once Shakir Bunerri saw an advertisement in “Asia Magazine”. In that advertisement, it was mentioned that a school teacher is needed in Arifwala. Arifwala is a tehsil of Pakpattan district. That’s why Shakir Bunerri turned to Arif Wala because he had clashes with his father. Shakir Bunerri started teaching in a school there with a salary of 20 rupees.<sup>26</sup>

### 2.16 Shakir Bunerri and Dr Nazir Ahmad

Dr. Nazir Ahmad was born in Jalandhar. Later his family migrated from Jalandhar and settled in Dera Ghazi Khan. He had been a member of Jamaat-i-Islami’s Majlis Shura and Majlis Amila. Beside these, he had also held the post of Deputy Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami in Punjab province.<sup>27</sup> Dr. Nazir Ahmed was a very intelligent, fearless and honest person. Besides being a doctor he was a popular leader too. He defeated Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the 1970 General Election.<sup>28</sup> Dr. Nazir Ahmed was martyred on 8 June 1972 by unknown persons.<sup>29</sup>

### 2.17 First meeting with Dr Nazir Ahmad

Shakir Bunerri taught in a school in Arifwala, basically it was a circle of Jamaat-i-Islami. Once Dr. Nazir Ahmed came to Arifwala and met with Shakir Bunerri. He knew Shakir Bunerri’s father, Mufti Muhammad Yusuf. Dr. Nazir Ahmad said to Shakir Bunerri that “ don’t feel fear my cooperation would be with you”. Shakir Bunerri often used to go around with Dr Nazir Ahmad.<sup>30</sup>

### 2. 18 Shakir Bunerri in Multan

Dr. Nazir Ahmed was the head of Jamaat-i-Islami office Multan at that time. Once the members of Jamaat-i-Islami of Multan held a meeting. In this meeting, Khan Muhammad Rabbani who was Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami of Multan, suggested that we need a Nazim for the office of Jamaat-i-Islami in Multan immediately. Therefore, all the members, including Dr. Nazir Ahmed approved Khan Muhammad Rabbani’s proposal. Dr. Nazir Ahmed called Shakir Bunerri from Arifwala.<sup>31</sup> Shakir Bunerri was appointed as a Nazim in the Jamaat-i-Islami office of Multan. Shakir Bunerri settled in Multan and started newspaper statements and political activities against the Wali Swat and Swat State.<sup>32</sup>

### 2.19 Association of Shakir Bunerri with Jamaat-i-Islami

When Shakir Bunerri was appointed as a Nazim in the office of Jamaat-i-Islami in Multan, he took affiliation with Jamaat-i-Islami organization and started his work against the Swat State. Shakir Bunerri first demanded the basic rights of the people, but later he demanded the merger of the Swat State. At that time, Majlis Shura of Jamaat-i-Islami organization passed a resolution that all the states should be merged into West Pakistan. And as a result of this, wherever Jamaat-i-Islami circles were established, there was a demand for the merger of the states. After being influenced by the resolution of the Jamaat-i-Islami Organization, Shakir Bunerri considered the demand for merger of the states as a controversial issue and continued his work against the merger of states.<sup>33</sup>

### 2.20 Shakir Bunerri in Dera Ghazi Khan

Dr. Nazir Ahmed was basically the resident of Dera Ghazi Khan and Shakir Bunerri was a Nazim in the Jamaat-i-Islami office Multan. They often met each other. Once Dr. Nazir Ahmed asked Shakir Bunerri to go with him to Dera Ghazi Khan.

Shakir Buner refused, but on the insistence of Dr. Nazir Ahmed Shakir Buner went with Dr. Nazir Ahmad to Dera Ghazi Khan but after spending a few days there, he decided to go to Lahore.<sup>34</sup>

There, Dr. Nazir Ahmed provided such an environment of books and magazines to Shakir Buner. Dr Nazir Ahmad also advised to Shakir Buner to get out of resistance politics and concentrate on his studies. Although all facilities were provided to Shakir Buner in Dera Ghazi Khan.<sup>35</sup>

## 2.21 Meeting with Maulana Maududi Sahib in Lahore

When Shakir Buner reached Lahore, he wished to meet with Maulana Maududi Sahib. Maulana Maududi Sahib was often busy in teaching and there was no time meeting. One day Shakir Buner met with Maulana Maududi Sahib. Shakir Buner introduced himself to Maulana Maududi Sahib through the reference of his father Mufti Muhammad Yusuf Sahib, because Maulana Maududi had close relations with Mufti Muhammad Yusuf Sahib. When Shakir Buner mentioned the resistance of Wali Swat and struggled against the Swat State, Maulana Maududi Sahib appreciated Shakir Buner and his nature of work and gave some advice. "What are you doing is Jihad, but the method was violent. According to my view, the Swat State is going to end very soon, you should work with persistency".<sup>36</sup>

After spending a few days in Lahore, Shakir Buner returned to Jamaat-i-Islami office Multan.<sup>37</sup>

## 2.22 Shakir Buner in Akora Khattak Again

Shakir Buner reached Akora Khattak after taking one-month leave from the office of Jamaat-i-Islami Multan. There, his father and Haji Rahat Gul Sahib opposed Shakir Buner's activities with arguments. Shakir Buner was impressed by the arguments of them and admitted his mistake before him.<sup>38</sup>

## 2.23 Letter from Chairman Rorwali Organization to Shakir Buner

Shakir Buner was an active worker of Rorwali Organization, but when he was exiled from Swat State, he could not participate in the activities of this organization. As a result of this, the Chairman of the Rorwali Organization sent a letter to Shakir

Buner. In which he demanded resignation from Shakir Buner.<sup>39</sup>

## 2.24 Shakir Buner's letter to Chairman Rorwali Organization

In response Shakir Buner sent a letter to the Chairman of the Rorwali Organization. In which he gave an explanation to the Chairman of Rorwali Organization about his resignation. In that letter Shakir Buner said that he was exiled from Swat State, and this organization was limited to Buner and Swat. Due to this he did not participate in the activities of the Rorwali Organization. Unfortunately, that letter fell into the hands of the police at Ambela check post. The police sent the letter to Wali Swat and he made angry.<sup>40</sup>

## 2.25 Came to Buner

Once at night, Shakir Buner went to Buner from Akora Khattak, and in the morning the police surrounded his home from all sides. The police arrested Shakir Buner and presented him to Wali Swat. Wali Swat sentenced Shakir Buner to three years imprisonment.<sup>41</sup>

## 2.26 After Imprisonment

Wali Swat sentenced Shakir Buner to three years Imprisonment, but Wali Swat was not bound to his decision. So they released Shakir Buner after spending a few days in prison. After releasing Shakir Buner reached Multan again.<sup>42</sup>

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## Role of Shakir Buner in Anti - Swat State Movements

### 3.1 Mulki Rorwali Movement

In June 1961, a secret movement called “Fidaien i Swat (فدائین سوات)” was started. In December 1964, this movement was named “Republican Front (جمہوری محاذ)”. But at the end of January 1967, it was given the name of” Malki Rorwali (ملکی رورولی)”. The founders of this movement were educated and government employees, who belonged to the rural areas of Swat.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.2 Objectives of Mulki Rorwali Movement

The main objectives of this movement are as follows.

Ending totalitarianism, struggle for reforming on Wali Swat in the Swat state, introducing laws and regulations in the Swat State, to pressurize Wali Swat for the democratic government in Swat State, taking care of people’s honor and dignity , and providing basic civil rights to the people of Swat State.<sup>2</sup>

### 3.3 President

Molvi Fazal Rabi, who was a teacher by profession, was elected as the first president of the ”Mulki Rorwali Movement “. Later, due to some reasons, he resigned from his post. After that Aman ul Mulk who was a professor in Jahan Zeb College Swat, became the president of the “ Mulki Rorwali Movement” and held his post of President till the merger of State State.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.4 General Sectary

Muhammad Arif who was a teacher by profession, elected as a first general secretary of the” Mulki Rorwali Movement “.<sup>4</sup>



### 3.5 Strategy of Mulki Rorwali Movement

The organizers of the “Mulki Rorwali Movement” adopted different strategies and methods to pressurize Wali Swat for reforming , laws and regulations in the Swat State. Its members started an underground propaganda campaign against Wali Swat. They printed pamphlets and posted them on public places, government offices and buildings in the state of Swat. These pamphlets were printed in Peshawar with the help of Ajmal Khattak and Afzal Bangash. Ajmal Khattak wrote the first pamphlet called “(سوات جل رہا ہے)”.<sup>5</sup>

### 3.6 Prominent Figures

Only the people of the NWFP were involved in the Mulki Rorwali Movement. In which, along with Shakir Buner, Saran Zeb Swati, Tota Bacha (swat) and some people of Jamaat-i-Islami were included.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from this, this movement was supported by Ajmal Khattak, Afzal Bangash, Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil and Pir Fazal Khaliq.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.7 Role in 1965 Presidential Election

In the presidential election of 1965 in Pakistan, the Mulki Rorwali Movement secretly campaigned for Fatima Jinnah. The main reason for this was that Ayub Khan was against Fatima Jinnah , and Ayub Khan have family relations with Wali Swat. Ayub Khan’s two daughters were married to Wali Swat son’s.<sup>8</sup>

### 3.8 End of Mulki Rorwali Movement

Finally, the Mulki Rorwali Movement succeeded in its objectives, and on July 28, 1969 the Swat State merged in Pakistan. And thus the Muki Rorwali Movement came to an end.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.9 Swat Liberation Movement

Swat Liberation Movement was started against the Swat State. The main purpose of this movement was the merger of Swat State into Pakistan.

### 3.10 Background

In 1968, people’s grief and sorrow reached a peak against President Ayub Khan in Pakistan. In October 1968, large-scale public protests and rallies took place against Ayub Khan government. Students also participated in these protests and rallies. In Swat State students’ political grouping and protests were banned, but the students of Swat Swat regularly organized their protests and rallies

against Ayub Khan government. As a result, the situation in Swat State was very complicated. Many students were beaten up, expelled from the college and some students ran away to avoid arrest. Swat students held press conferences and students from across the country issued protests and press releases in support of them.<sup>10</sup> As a result of student protests and rallies in the whole country , President of Pakistan Ayub Khan resigned from his post on 25 March 1969, and martial law was imposed in the country. Six days later on 31 March 1969, General Yahya Khan assumed charge as the President of Pakistan.<sup>11</sup>

### 3.11 Foundation

When Ayub Khan’s government ended , the situation in Swat State became complicated, the Wali Swat ordered to search the houses of his opponents like Aman UI Allah Khan , Aslam Afendi and Mahmood-ul-Hasan Butt. Wali Swat expelled all of them from Swat State. They met in Rawalpindi and there they laid the foundation of the “Swat Liberation Movement”.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.12 Strategy of Swat Liberation Movement

After the end of Ayub Khan’s government, Swat Liberation Movement was came into existence. Actually, this movement continued only in newspapers. It had no effect on common people. In this movement, newspaper statements were issued against the Wali Swat and the Swat State. The Swat Liberation Movement’s propaganda against totalitarianism in newspaper statements proved to be effective in speeding up the process of merger of the Swat State.<sup>13</sup><sup>13</sup>

### Prominent Personalities of Swat Liberation Movement

People from every sector and different schools of thought were included in the Swat Liberation Movement. In which the majority belonged to Swat. Like the Mulki Rorwali Movement it was not limited to the NWFP only , but the people of Lahore, Rawalpindi and Kashmir were also included in the Swat Liberation Movement. Along with Shakir Buner, Kamran Khan , Chacha Karim Bakhsh, Afaan Khan and Mehmood-ul-Hasan Butt (who was basically a resident of Kashmir but doing his business in Swat) were included in the Swat Liberation Movement.<sup>14</sup>

Beside these people , this movement got the support of Amanullah Khan, Saran Zeb Swati,

Humayun Khan, Qalandar Shah Bacha, Sher Zada, Ajmal Khattak, Arbab Sikandar Khan Khalil and Pir Fazal Khaliq.<sup>15</sup>

### 3.14 Chairman of Swat Libration Movement

When the members of Swat Liberation Movement met in Rawalpindi, they suggested the name of Afaan Khan as the chairman. Afaan Khan came to know through newspaper headlines that he had been elected as the chairman of Swat Liberation Movement.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.15 Secretary of Swat Liberation Movement

As a result of the meeting of the members of Swat Liberation Movement in Rawalpindi, the name of Aslam Affendi was considered for the secretary and he was elected as the secretary of Swat Liberation Movement. The responsibility of all the activities of this movement such as press conferences and newspaper statements was entrusted to Aslam Affendi.<sup>17</sup>

### 3.16 Convener of Swat Liberation Movement

Shakir Buneri was elected as the Convener of the Swat Liberation Movement. And the responsibilities of the Convener such as holding meetings, speeches, rallies and press conferences were entrusted to him.<sup>18</sup>

### 3.17 Role of Shakir Buneri in Swat Liberation Movement

As a convener in Swat Libration Movement, the role of Shakir Buneri were prominent in the following aspects.

### 3.18 Meeting with the Governor of NWFP

When Ayub Khan's government ended and General Yahya Khan was elected as the President of Pakistan, the governor who was appointed in the Frontier Province at that time was an army officer. Shakir Buneri and other members of Swat Libration Movement met with the Governor of Frontier Province. In this meeting, they gave a request to the governor of the Frontier Province regarding the merger of the Swat State. The governor assured and told them that when their memorandum were considered, he would inform them.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.19 Reaction of Wali Swat

When Wali Swat came to know about this meeting, he started retaliatory actions against

Shakir Buneri and his colleagues. Shakir Buneri's father, who was a Qazi at that time, and his uncle Shams-ul-Arifin, who was a teacher in Government High School Gagra Buner, both were dismissed from their jobs. Along with this, the other relatives of Shakir Buneri's colleagues were also dismissed from their jobs.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.20 Press Conference of Shakir Buneri

When Wali Swat started retaliatory actions against Shakir Buneri and his colleagues, as a result Shakir Buneri held a press conference in Peshawar from the platform of Swat Liberation Movement. In this press conference Shakir Buneri condemned all these retaliatory actions and demanded the merger of Swat State from the government of Pakistan immediately.

### 3.21 Letter from the Governor of NWFP

A few days ago from the press conference, Shakir Buneri and his colleagues requested to the Governor of Frontier Province. In response to this, Shakir Buneri received an informative letter from the Governor of Frontier Province. In this letter it was written that you should wait for the speech of General Yahya Khan on 28 July 1969. Then on 28 July 1969, General Yahya Khan announced the merger of the Swat Dir and Chitral States in Pakistan.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.22 After Announcement of Merger

On 28 July 1969, the President of Pakistan General Yahya Khan, announced the merger of the states of Swat, Dir and Chitral in an address to the nation. And then on 15 August 1969 the powers of the rulers of these three states were taken through a regulation. Hence till 15 August 1969 they were the legal ruler of their states.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.23 Effects of Merger of Swat State

During the rule of Wali Swat, people were taxed in the production of livestock like ( Milk and ghee ). Beside these , a person could not cut trees in his property without the permission of Wali Swat. Meetings, rallies , Students association , political organizations and their activities , expression of opinions and ideas were banned in Swat State. Newspapers were also banned in the Swat State. After the merger of Swat State, all taxes and restrictions were ended and the people of Swat State were given their basic constitutional and civil rights.<sup>24</sup>



Fig 3.1 Participation of Shakir Buner in a Student Rally

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### **Political Career Shakir Buner**

Shakir Buner has a prominent politician of Buner district. There are two important aspects of his life, one is journalism and the other is politics. Along with being a good journalist, Shakir Buner has been a good politician too. He has an eye witness of various democracies, dictatorships and assemblies. Apart from this, he played his role in nation wide movements like Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and Islami Jamhuri Itihad (IJI).<sup>1</sup>

The political struggle of Shakir Buner can be classified in two periods. i.e Before exile and after exile.

#### **4.1 Political struggle before exile**

Shakir Buner's politics started with the opposition of the then Swat State and its ruler Mian Gul Jahanzeb. In this opposition, Shakir Buner needed the support of various political parties. Therefore, he established relations and links with all political parties such as Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) and National Awami Party (NAP).<sup>2</sup>

When Wali Swat exiled Shakir Buner from Swat State, he reached Akora Khattak where his father Mufti Muhammad Yusuf sahib was teaching in Madrasah Haqaniya Akora Khattak. Shakir Buner often used to meet with various political organizations, political parties and political personalities. In These political personalities include Chaudhary Muhammad Ali Khan, Asghar Khan (Retired), Wali Khan, Ajmal Khattak, Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan and Afzal Bangash. Shakir Buner had close relations with the leaders of Nizam i Islam Party, Tehreek Istiqlal, Pakistan Democratic Party, National Awami Party, Mazdoor Kisan Party (MKP), Awami National Party (ANP) and National Awami Party of Pakistan (NAPP). He has held various positions in the organizations of these political parties.<sup>3</sup>

#### **4.2 Strategy of Shakir Buner**

Individually, the political activities of Shakir Buner continued in Akora Khattak and other areas and many political personalities were aware of his activities. But in Akora Khattak, Shakir Buner formulated a plan, he felt the need for a nation wide organization or party whose leadership was known throughout Pakistan. Shakir Buner wanted to develop and maintain his relations with all political parties and their

leaders. Because Shakir Buner used to struggle against the Swat state, it was necessary to be associated with a political party to maintain this struggle. Therefore, Shakir Buner kept in touch with political parties and political personalities.<sup>4</sup>

#### **4.3 Shakir Buner's links with various political parties**

Shakir Buner has established relations with various political parties and has held various positions in these parties.

#### **4.4 Nizam i Islam Party**

Akhtar Ali Bengali founded the Nizam i Islam Party in 1952 and Izhar ul Islam was elected as the first President. Nizam Islam was a wing of Jamiat Ulama I Islam (JUI) because their goal was the implementation of Islam in Pakistan.<sup>5</sup>

#### **4.5 Chaudhary Muhammad Ali Khan**

Chaudhary Muhammad Ali Khan was a Pakistani politician and he was the former Prime Minister of Pakistan. He became the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 12 August 1955 and resigned from his post on 12 September 1956. Later, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali joined the Nizam i Islam Party and was elected as its President till 1969.<sup>6</sup>

#### **4.6 Meeting of Shakir Buner with Chaudhary Muhammad Ali Khan**

When Shakir Buner established relations with Chaudhary Muhammad Ali Khan, at that time Chaudhary Muhammad Ali was the president of Nizam i Islam Party. Once he told Shakir Buner that "if you struggle against the Wali of Swat State alone, it is not possible that you will succeed in your mission. Therefore, you should join a political party". He invited Shakir Buner indirectly to join Nizam i Islam Party.<sup>7</sup>

#### **4.7 Joining Nizam i Islam Party**

Shakir Buner joined the Nizam i Islam Party on the invitation of Chaudhary Muhammad Ali Khan. By joining this party, Shakir Buner became associated with the politics and political parties of Pakistan.<sup>8</sup>

#### **4.8 General Secretary**

After joining the Nizam i Islam Party, Chaudhary Muhammad Ali appointed Shakir Buner as General Secretary of Peshawar district. As the General Secretary of Nizam i Islam Party, Shakir



Buneri actively participated in the provincial organizations also. Wherever the meetings were held, Shakir Buneri used to emphasize the merger of Swat state in his speech.<sup>9</sup>

#### **4.9 Dissolution of Nizam i Islam Party**

In 1969, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali held a meeting and this meeting he announced the dissolution of Nizam i Islam Party. Chaudhary Muhammad Ali told Shakir Buneri that if you wanted to join any other political party, my cooperation would be with you.<sup>10</sup>

#### **4.10 Political struggle after exile**

When Swat State merged into Pakistan in 1969, Shakir Buneri started his political activities throughout the country.

#### **4.11 Tehreek i Istiqlal**

Tehreek i Istiqlal was the most popular party in Pakistan because it was founded by Air Marshal Asghar Khan (Retired). When Asghar Khan retired in 1968, one year later in 1969, he appeared in the field of Pakistani politics. He formed his own political party in the name of "Justice Party". Its name was changed to Tehreek i Istiqlal in 1970 by Asghar Khan (Retired).<sup>11</sup>

#### **4.12 Joining Tehreek i Istiqlal**

On the behalf of Chaudhary Muhammad Ali, the relations of Shakir Buneri was established with Asghar Khan. When Chaudhary Muhammad Ali dissolved the Nizam i Islam Party in 1969, Asghar Khan invited Shakir Buneri to join his party. Shakir Buneri accepted the invitation of Asghar Khan (Retired) and joined the Tehreek i Istiqlal in 1970.<sup>12</sup>

#### **4.13 Participation in 1970 General Election**

After the merger, for the first time Shakir Buneri participated in the General Election of 7th November 1970 on the platform of Tehreek i Istiqlal. Shakir Buneri ran an election campaign in his constituency but did not succeed in the election and lost his seat in the election.<sup>13</sup>

#### **4.14 National Awami Party (NAP)**

The National Awami Party (NAP) was founded in 1957 in Dhaka. Maulana Bhashani was appointed as President and Mahmood ul Haq Usmani as

General Secretary. Afzal Bangash was appointed as the General Secretary of NWFP. In the presidential election of 1965, the president of National Awami Party (NAP) Maulana Bhashani supported Ayub Khan against Fatima Jinnah. As a result of this, on 30 November 1967, the National Awami Party (NAP) was split into two groups: NAP (Bhashani) and NAP (Wali) group.<sup>14</sup>

#### **4.15 National Awami Party (Wali)**

The National Awami Party (Wali) was founded on 30 November, 1967. Abdul Wali Khan was appointed its first President and Ajmal Khattak was Joint Secretary. After the division East Pakistan 1971 the National Awami Party formed a joint government in NWFP and Balochistan. Arbab Sikandar Khan became Governor of NWFP and Ghos Bakhsh Bizenjo became Governor of Balochistan. Mufti Mahmood (JUI) became the Chief Minister of NWFP.<sup>15</sup>

#### **4.16 Joining National Awami Party (Wali)**

When Shakir Buneri failed to win his seat in the general election of 7 December 1970 on the platform of Tehreek i Istiqlal. Wali Khan and Ajmal Khattak wanted Shakir Buneri to join the National Awami Party (Wali).

The National Awami Party was always Shakir Buneri's favorite party due to the presence of Bacha Khan in it. Shakir Buneri had close relations with Bacha Khan and his family. Bacha Khan used to call Shakir Buneri as leader not Shakir. Before the merger of Swat State Shakir Buneri kept meeting with the National Awami Party leaders.

The leaders of National Awami Party i.e Bacha Khan, Wali Khan and Ajmal Khattak were well aware of Shakir Buneri's political struggle. It was their wish that Shakir Buneri join the National Awami Party. Once Abdul Wali Khan made a decision that he himself went to Shakir Buneri and invited him to join the National Awami Party. Wali Khan went to Shakir Buneri along with some people to give an invitation to Shakir Buneri. Shakir Buneri accepted the invitation and he joined the National Awami Party (Wali) in December 1970.<sup>16</sup>



Fig 4.1 Shakir Buner joining National Awami Party ( NAP )

Left to Right : Mateen Khan (Buner) , Abdul Wali Khan (President of NAP) , Shakir Buner and Afzal Khan Lala (Swat)

#### 4.17 Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP)

Pakistan Democratic party was a political party in Pakistan. It was founded by Nasrullah Khan in June 1967. He appointed it's chairman of this party till 2003. After his death, his son Nawab Zada Mansoor Ahmed Khan was appointed as the chairman. He merged Pakistan Democratic Party with Pakistan Tehreek Insaaf ( PTI) in 2012.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4.18 Joining Pakistan Democratic Party

In 1971 National Awami Party (Wali) was banned in Pakistan. Chaudhary Muhammad Ali, Asghar Khan and Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan often had meetings on the political situation. In these meetings Shakir Buner also used to participate on the behalf of Chaudhary Muhammad Ali Khan. In this way Shakir Buner's relations with the leaders of Pakistan Democratic Party (PDF) were established. Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan invited Shakir Buner to join his party. Shakir Buner

accepted the invitation and joined the Pakistan Democratic Party (PDF) because the political activities of the National Awami Party (Wali) were banned in Pakistan.<sup>18</sup>

#### 4.19 United Democratic Front (UDF)

United Democratic Front was founded on 28 July , 1973. It was a joint alliance of eight parties. Basically it came into existence against the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. In this alliance beside other political parties the National Awami Party (NAP) , Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) , Pakistan Muslim League (PML) , Jamiat Ulama i Islam(JUI) , Pakistan Democratic Party (PDF) were included.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4.20 Affiliation with United Democratic Front (UDF)

In the United Democratic Front , Pakistan Democratic Party and National Awami Party (Wali) were included. Therefore, due to the

presence of Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan and Wali Khan, Shakir Bunerri have also affiliations and support with the United Democratic Front (UDP).<sup>20</sup>

#### 4.21 Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)

Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was formed on 5 January 1977 under the leadership of Sayed Abul Ala Maududi (JI), Ahmed Noorani (JUP), Zahoor Elahi (PML) and Asghar Khan (T.I). It was an alliance of nine (9) parties. This alliance was formed against the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the 1977 election. Nizam i Mustafa was the slogan of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). On 24 January 1978 Pakistan National Alliance was dissolved.<sup>21</sup>

#### 4.22 Affiliation with Pakistan National Alliance

Asghar Khan, the founder of Tehreek i Istiqlal was a founding member of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). Shakir Bunerri had close relations with Asghar Khan. Therefore due to the presence of Asghar Khan, Shakir Bunerri took part in the activities of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) also.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4.23 Awami National Party (ANP)

Awami National Party (ANP) was founded in 1986 by Abdul Wali Khan. Apart from Awami Tehreek and National Democratic Party (NDP), many other parties merged in the Awami National Party (ANP). Wali Khan was appointed as the first President and Rasul Bux Palejo as Secretary General of Awami National Party (ANP). From 1986 to 1988 National Awami Party (ANP) was involved in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD).<sup>23</sup>

#### 4.24 Joining Awami National Party (ANP)

Once a meeting of Awami National Party (ANP) was held at Mateen Khan's residence in Chamla Buner. Awami National Party (ANP) president Wali Khan had come to the meeting. Shakir Bunerri was also invited by Mateen Khan. Wali Khan in his speech indirectly invited Shakir Bunerri to join the National Awami Party (NAP). Therefore, Shakir Bunerri accepted Wali Khan's invitation and joined the Awami National Party (ANP).<sup>24</sup>

#### 4.25 Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD)

On 8 February 1981 Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was founded against Zia-ul-Haq's military rule. It was headed by Benazir Bhutto. Apart from Pakistan People Party (PPP), National Awami Party (NAP), Pakistan Muslim League (PML), Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Tehreek i Istiqlal (T.I), Jamiat Ulama i Islam (JUI) and Mazdoor Kisan Party (MKP). Movement for the Restoration of Democracy dissolved on 24 August 1988.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4.26 Shakir Bunerri in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy

The founder of the National Awami Party, Wali Khan was involved in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. At that time Shakir Bunerri was in National Awami Party. This movement actually existed against the military rule of Zia-ul-Haq, Shakir Bunerri was against the military rule from the beginning. Due to the presence of Wali Khan, Shakir Bunerri also took part in the activities of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD).<sup>26</sup>

#### 4.27 Islami Jamhuri Itihad (IJI)

Islami Jamhuri Itihad (IJI) was founded by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi in September 1988 under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif. It was an alliance of nine (9) parties. Major political parties like Pakistan Muslim League (PML), National People Party (NPP) and Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) are included in this alliance. Islami Jamhuri Itihad (IJI) existed against Pakistan People Party. On 18 July 1993 Islami Jamhuri Itihad (IJI) was dissolved.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4.28 Role of Shakir Bunerri in IJI

During this time Shakir Bunerri had clashes with Wali Khan and he was against the Awami National Party (ANP). Jamaat-i-Islami played a key role in Islami Jamhuri Itihad (IJI). Haji Fazal Raziq sahib was nominated by Jamaat-i-Islami his candidate in Buner. Shakir Bunerri supported Jamaat-i-Islami candidate Haji Fazal Raziq sahib against National Awami Party and Wali Khan. When Haji Fazal Raziq started his election campaign in Shangla and Buner Shakir Bunerri actively participated in the campaign.<sup>28</sup>

Once, Haji Fazal Raziq Sahib was returning to Buner after campaigning in Shangla. A grand reception was arranged at Karakar Buner. Shakir

Buneri and Master Shahid Buneri were standing on top of the Truck decorated with flags and banners , both gave passionate speeches and slogans in karakar, Jowar , Torwarsak , Daggar , Swari, Ambela, Koga Camp and Nawagay. In this way, Shakir Buneri fully supported Jamaat-i-Islami's national assembly candidate Haji Fazal Raziq Sahib against Awami National Party and Wali Khan.<sup>29</sup>

#### **4.29 Thinkers Forum**

When Qazi Hussain Ahmed founded the Pakistan Islamic Front in 1993, Jamaat-i-Islami announced to participate in the elections based on this front. A few people in Buneri, including Master Shahid Buneri, opposed Jamaat-i-Islami in the election. As a result, Jamaat-i-Islami terminated their membership. Finally, all the nominated candidates of Jamaat-e-Islami lost in the election. Haji Fazal Raziq Sahib did not win his seat in Buneri too. The terminated members of Jamaat-e-Islami separated from Jamaat-e-Islami.<sup>30</sup>

The terminated members of Jamaat-i-Islami, formed a Thinkers Forum on 19 May 1993. In which Master Shahid Buneri was a member. Aslam Head Master Sahib, Sher Aman Khan, Bahramand Sahib and Shakir Buneri used to participate in the daily meeting in Brikhna Cafe of Comrade Syed Jamil Shah in Sawari Bazar buneri. In this Thinkers Forum, there were discussions on the political situation of the country. Shakir Buneri used to attend and address this forum every day. The discussions of members of Thinkers Forum were printed in the newspapers of the next day.<sup>31</sup>

#### **4.30 Shakir Buneri with Abdul Mateen Khan**

When the President of Pakistan Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved assemblies and ended Nawaz

Sharif's government on 18 April 1994. So Shakir Buneri participated in the election campaign with Abdul Mateen Khan (Buneri , Bajkata) in the next election and supported him in Buneri district.<sup>32</sup>

#### **4.31 Shakir Buneri with Ajmal Khattak**

Ajmal Khattak was the president of Awami National Party from 1991 to 1999. But the power of struggle was started between Begum Nasim Wali Khan and Ajmal Khattak in 1999. As a result of these clashes , Ajmal Khattak was removed from the presidency of the National Awami Party in 2000 , and he decided to leave the Awami National Party.<sup>33</sup>

#### **4.32 National Awami Party Pakistan**

After leaving Awami National Party, Ajmal Khattak formed a separate political party named Awami National Party Pakistan. He was elected as the president of this party.<sup>34</sup>

#### **4.33 Joining in the National Awami Party Pakistan**

Shakir Buneri had a close relations with Ajmal Khattak. Both of them had been leaders of Awami National Party in the past. When Ajmal Khattak founded the National Awami Party Pakistan in 2000, he invited Shakir Buneri to join his party. Shakir Buneri accepted the invitation and joined the National Awami Party Pakistan along with Ajmal Khattak.<sup>35</sup>

#### **4.34 Provincial Information Secretary**

After joining the National Awami Party Pakistan, Ajmal Khattak appointed Shakir Buneri as the Provincial Information Secretary of his party. Shakir Buneri held his post for two years.<sup>36</sup>





Fig 4.2 Shakir Buner addressing in a meeting of ( NAPP )

#### 4.35 Participation of National Awami Party Pakistan in 2002 General Election

The National Awami Party Pakistan participated in the 2002 general election with the alliance of religious parties in NWFP, but could not win a single seat in the election.<sup>37</sup>

#### 4.36 Joining Awami National Party again

After the 2002 election, Ajmal Khattak realized his political mistake. Therefore, he himself went to Abdul Wali Khan, and joined the Awami National Party again in Wali Bagh Charsadda. And was given the title of Party patron in Chief.<sup>38</sup> Ajmal Khattak requested Shakir Buner to join the Awami National Party, but Shakir Buner refused.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4.37 Retirement from practical politics

When Wali Khan and Ajmal Khattak left the practical politics in 2003, Shakir Buner also left the practical politics of Pakistan.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4.38 Views of Shakir Buner on the political situation in Pakistan

Shakir Buner has no trust in all the political parties which registered with the Election

Commission of Pakistan. According to him, there is no credibility in political parties and their leadership. Shakir Buner wants the provinces to get their due rights, stability in all the institutions of Pakistan, people's confidence in their political leadership and judiciary. Shakir Buner is not in favor of the current form of government of Pakistan. According to him, there is no such institution in the country, in which a citizen can get his proper right. Every officer does not fulfill his responsibility with honesty. According to Shakir Buner, the politics of Pakistan is in the hands of a few people and they do not benefit the people. Shakir Buner believes in this international view that "there is no permanent friendship and relationship in politics, but the interests are permanent only".<sup>41</sup>

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#### Conclusion

The real name of Shakir Buner is Hidayat-ur-Rehman. He was born in 1940. He belongs to the village of Bajkata in Buner district. He completed

his Matriculation from Government High School Dagger Buner. When Shakir Buner was in 9th class, he started teaching at the Government High School Gagra on a salary of 46 Rupees. From his school days, Shakir Buner was against Wali Swat and its government. As a punishment, he was transferred to Government Middle School Chanar. When Shakir Buner completed his five months of service, Wali Swat gave him an extra 500 Rupees along with his salary, and sent him to Haripur for Junior Vernacular (JV) training. When Shakir Buner wrote a column in "Bang Haram" newspaper against the Swat State, as a result, Wali Swat terminated Shakir Buner from a teaching job.

When Wali Swat terminated Shakir Buner from his job, he established contacts with Jamaat-e-Islami members in Buner. Hafiz Muhammad, Haji Rehmat Noor and Haji Fazal Raziq were included among them. At that time they were active in activities against Swat State. Shakir Buner often met all of them. Wali Swat had arrested Shakir Buner two times because he was involved in activities against the Swat State. When Wali Swat arrested Shakir Buner for the third time, he was exiled from the Swat State as a punishment. After leaving the Swat State, Shakir Buner reached Akora Khattak because his father Mufti Muhammad Yusuf Sahib used to teach in Madrasa Haqqania Akora Khattak. Shakir Buner used to write columns in various newspapers in Akora Khattak. Once he wrote a column in the "Asia Magazine" about the merger of Swat State. As a result of this, Wali Swat caused a lot of pressure on his family. Wali Swat advised Shakir Buner's father to get him married. When Shakir Buner got married, he was in Multan at that time.

When Shakir Buner was exiled from Swat State, he used to meet with various Political Parties, Organizations and Personalities. He has held an important post in political parties such as Pakistan Democratic Party, Nizam I Islam Party, Tehreek Istiqlal, National Awami Party and Justice Party etc. Along with this, Shakir Buner established relations with famous politicians of Pakistan including Chaudhary Muhammad Ali, Asghar Khan retired, Bacha Khan, Wali Khan, Ajmal Khattak, Nawabzadeh Nasrullah Khan and Afzal Bangash etc. Finally Shakir Buner died on 1<sup>st</sup> November 2024 in Bajkata village Tehsil Gagra district Buner.

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